FROM FIELD TO TEXT & DANCE AND SPACE. PROCEEDINGS FOR THE 24TH SYMPOSIUM OF THE ICTM STUDY GROUP ON ETHNOCHOREOLOGY

Nuances of diversity

FROM FIELD TO TEXT & DANCE AND SPACE
PROCEEDINGS FOR THE 24TH SYMPOSIUM OF THE ICTM STUDY GROUP ON ETHNOCHOREOLOGY

(10–16 July 2006, Tranzit House, Centre for Contemporary Art and Culture)

Editors

ELSIE IVANCICH DUNIN – ANCA GIURCHESCU – CSILLA KÖNCZEI

The Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities
International Council for Traditional Music: Study Group on Ethnochoreology

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Introduction

The International Folk Music Council (IFMC) Study Group on Dance Terminology, the predecessor of the International Council of Traditional Music (ICTM) Study Group on Ethnochoreology met in Bucharest in 1969. After a passing of thirty-seven years, a symposium of the Study Group was again organized in Romania in 2006. This long pause is partially explained by the political history of the time. Before 1989 all humanities and social sciencies in Eastern Europe and especially in Romania suffered severe isolation from the rest of the world by the iron curtain. Anca Giurchescu, one of the signatories of this introduction, was highly committed to Romanian dance research as an active member of the ICTM, did not have the chance to integrate her contribution to the local academic curricula for years due to political reasons. Belonging to another generation Csilla Könczei's start in the field was also hindered by the political context of the 1980s. Ethnochoreology in Romania followed its own way without direct contact with the international scholarly world. A few professionals are doing their work individually in the field, but in spite of some attempts there is still a lack of interest towards developing academic education in dance research. The mutual respect and friendship between the two representatives of different generations of scholars both aiming for the integration of the dance anthropology as carried out in Romania in the international academic circuit was the main reason for the organization of the 24th Symposium in Cluj, Romania. The publication of the proceedings of the 24th symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology therefore has a special importance in the local and regional context. From this point of view it is a good sign to have had an important number of graduate, master's and doctoral students among the conferees as well as among the attendants.

Participants from Eastern and Southeastern Europe at the 24th symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology quantitatively form a relative majority, coming from the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, and Macedonia. A strong presence of the colleagues with an Anglo-Saxon background is also felt, as almost one quarter from the participants come from the English speaking regions of the United States, Canada, and United Kingdom. The Eurocentrism of the conference is perceivable. Of the colleagues from Eastern-Europe and the Anglo-Saxon area the majority of the attendants come from Western-Europe (France, Germany, Italy) and Scandinavia (Norway, Sweden). A special value is added thanks to the presence of our Asian colleagues coming from Malaysia and Taiwan. The overview is impressive; the symposium had altogether 51 speakers from 19 countries.

Looking at dance as the subject matter of the presentations, the palette becomes even wider. Out of the dances from the already mentioned countries, Irish, Belgian, Portuguese, Mallorcan, Ukrainian, Japanese, South Korean, and Balinese add to the spectrum. Professionals in dance research or performance may create first of all an overview of the European traditional dance culture, partly in its vital form as a continuum of a condition documented since the 19th century or before, partly in different communal, staged or festive revitalized forms, but they can find a historical example of the 15th century Italian dances, and even an avantgarde one from the 20th century, the Japanese *buto*, at this time as performed in Slovenia. The case study on *buto* is an exception not only because it shifts the attention from local traditional dances towards a new type of art, but also because its author, Nataša Visočnik is the single Eastern European scholar from the participants who does not deal with his or her own traditional culture in the book.

Those interested in rituals and traditional dance forms can read about the rituals of Magduwata in East Malaysia, the South Korean masked dance-drama, the Turkish Hıdrellez and Zeybek, the Semah of the Alevis and the Çingene of the Roma from Turkey. Urban, new forms of folk dancing are described from Turkey and Bulgaria, the spring ritual on Saint George's Day from Bulgaria, Thracian women dances, the *hora de pomană*, the dead one's wedding from Romania, different dance forms in various historical and social contexts from the former Yugoslavia, as the *kolo* in Serbia or the *štajeriš* performed in Slovenia. The *leg*ényes, the Transylvanian male solo dance, the phenomenon of the Hungarian *táncház* in Hungary and the United States and the carnival festivity of *koleda* in Bohemia are presented. The *bourrée* from Auvergne in its patrimonial preserved form, the *ballada* from Mallorca, the *Os Pauliteiros*, a Portuguese stick dance and the Swedish *polska*, or the *halling* from Suldal in Norway and the Faroese chain dance are analyzed. Across the Ocean, the Newfoundland set dance, the Ottawa Valley Step Dance from Canada, and the revitalized English country dance in the United States are investigated. Interestingly the different historically developed scholarly traditions of the West and the East still have their effect. Scholars from Eastern countries have chosen as their research topic dances from their own national culture continuing the classical ethnographical pattern, while most of their Western colleagues made their field research in countries different from their own, following the model of conventional cultural anthropology.

The two themes of the conference, "From field to text" and "Dance and space" proved to be very generous and inspiring, permitting a variety of interpretation of the concepts. The transfer of dances into another medium, or "text", for the sake of theoretical analysis, education, or artistic interpretation, is conceived in different alternative ways, from the abstract graphical representation, through visual documentation, physical embodiment, up to verbal description. A few scholars use Labanotation, an internationally accepted notation system in their presentations as research tools. Elena Bertuzzi convincingly demonstrates with her examples taken from the works of her stu-

dents of ethnomusicology and ethnology from the University of Paris X Nanterre, how Labanotation is indispensable and efficient in ethnological dance research and education. János Fügedi and Gábor Misi implement their structural analysis through dance notations, the latter emphasizing the importance of standardisation of the notation system in formal analysis. Visual documentation of dances has for a long time been an organic part of field research. Here we find some original approaches in using the camera in representing dances which can raise the interest of visual anthropologists and filmmakers as well. Judith E. Olson breaks the old tradition of frontal static filming of dances and analyzes a number of techniques and alternatives of the possibilities of taping in order to catch also the interactions, while questioning the impact of videotaping on the dance itself. Daniela Stavělová experiments with a complex multimedia presentation, combining the potential of academic paper, film documentary, and photographic material in her research on the Bohemian *koleda*. Irene Loutzaki chooses a different path. She produces an anthropological film about senior women coming back from Germany to rural Greece trying to organize a community and recreational life for themselves. Loutzaki offers a deep understanding of the conflict between the classical gender roles and the aspirations of the protagonists.

The relation between the theoretical and practical knowledge of the dance is at the core of dance research. In the same way as it would be hard to imagine a musicologist without a practical knowledge of performing music, it would be considered a serious handicap for a dance researcher not to be able to experience the dances bodily. Some researchers focus on the issue of the role of embodiment in the research and educational process, challenging the transgression of the border between science and performing art in the same time. Helene Eriksen, who identifies herself as a researcher and as an artist in one person, considers the dancing fieldworker's body as a repository of dance knowledge, a medium for "recording" and later disseminating and transmitting dances. Ruth Anne Moen touches upon an exciting topic, the phenomenon of embodied memory. She has worked out a special fieldwork method in reconstructing an old social Norwegian dance, the *halling*, which consists of interviewing and showing embodied knowledge to the interviewees. Joëlle Vellet investigates the role of the fieldworker in the transmission of dance, questioning what it means to dance *bourrée* in a contemporary social context when the process of research itself becomes a part of transmission, having an impact on the discourse, self definition of dancers, and so on.

As it is rare to have traditional dances and rituals preserved in their long-term local communal context, the ethnographic descriptions of Narcisa Alexandra Ştiucă and Silvestru Petac of the *hora de pomană,* the "dead one's wedding", documented in 2006-2007 in southern Romania, stay singular in the proceedings. Both of the authors interpret the social and ritual functions of the custom in Olt and Dolj County. Narcisa Alexandra Ştiucă defines it as an initiation rite in a post-funeral context and Silvestru Petac as a metonymic symbol for the wedding of the deseased. More case-studies from Eastern- Central and Southeastern Europe are preoccupied with the changes of dance culture in the 20th century, framed by late urbanisation and modernisation in the newly established nation states. More accounts on the political affiliation of dance groups or state-sponsorship of networks of dance ensembles and on their homogenisation of style and repertoire as a processual consequence of constructing homogeneous nations are presented. Tvrtko Zebec highlights what he calls the political orientation of the folk dance practice in Eastern-Europe, giving as an example the Croatian Peasant Party, which in the 1920s and 1930s included the staged folk dance in its political program. Tvrtko Zebec suggests also to adopt the model elaborated by Naila Ceribašić. According to her, folk music public practice is divided into the modernistic model until the 1930s, the traditionalistic model in the second half of the 1930s, and the socialist realism model during the 1950s. Zebec draws attention to the similarities between the trends in the socialist period in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria (and we can add Romania and other countries from the Eastern block) of creating an "a-national" or a "super-national" culture with the help of dance. Zdravko Ranisavljević's analysis of the changes of the dance heritage of Vojvodina over the past 150 years is consistent with these remarks. He depicts how a regional ethnically and culturally mixed and diverse dance culture has turned to be homogeneous as the Serbian *kolo* became the carrier of ideological, and wider national connotations. Daniela Ivanova compares the periods before and after 1989 in Bulgaria in a political context. She finds that controlled new forms of folk dancing following the Soviet model of uniformism in the communist regime absorb the traditional vital forms of dancing and that in the transitional period diversification and descentralization occurs. The Turkish model as described by Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin is parallel in some extent to the Eastern-European one. Here the local dances are incorporated in the 20th century into the nationalizing movements. The research and education are supported by state institutions for the purpose of the building of a modern nation-state.

The folk stage art exceed the boundaries of Eastern Europe. Vincent Rees follows the trajectory of a dance called *berezniańka,* adapted to the stage by Klara Balog, director of the Transcarpathian State Folk Dance Ensemble of Ukraine in the early 1970s, and distributed in the Ukrainian diaspora communities in Canada as a Transcarpathian national symbol. The *berezniańka* is not the only newly created dance described in the book, defined as an invented tradition by Eric Hobsbawn. Egil Bakka, evoking this term, writes about the connection of the Faroese chain dance and the Norwegian genre song dance, born at the beginning of 20th century and danced in the clubs of the liberal youth movement. Marie-Pierre Gibert mentions the official birth of the Israeli folk dance at a meeting in Kibbutz Dalia in 1944, and Kendra Stepputat gives a brilliant survey of the Balinese *kecak* created in the 1930s, as a local genre exclusively staged for tourists.

The proceedings also address a wider audience. Relatively few studies in the book strictly focus on the formal,

compositional and choreographical aspects of dances. Many of the subjects deal with more general sociocultural phenomena, such as: globalization, transnationalism, religious and political functions, or effects of developing tourism upon dance culture. Next to knowing local and regional traditions, readers get an idea on how transnational influence acts in the case of *buto* embedded in the contemporary Slovenian theatre, or how a newly created Ukrainian dance, *berezhianka* in the socialist regime, can be assimilated by a Canadian diaspora, but also how the Hindu diaspora in Great Britain is adopting their heritage to the changing realities. The study of Ann R. David on the sacred dances of British-Hindu communities can be also exploited by those, who wish to understand forms of new religiosities, as the author describes with subtlety how a process of sacralisation of secular places in Britain is going on by the practice of elaborate rituals.

The role of tourism on cultural creativity, as in the amazing example of the Balinese *kecak*, can be grasped in a series of other cases, as for instance, the Newfoundland set dance, which in the interpretation of Kristin Harris Walsh, is taken out of its original socializing and partnering role, and is commodified in a contemporary situation. As the tourists enter the game as unknown people, its spacial usage shifts in a dramatical way, "from the kitchen to the stage". Barbara Alge's detailed presentation of the Portuguese stick dance of the different Pauliteiros groups takes into account the tourism as a factor in the diversification of the *Os Pauliteiros.* It offers us a vivid modeling of how a dance, which since the Middle Ages had been performed during religious festivities, can take parallel connotations in different contexts, and how the boundary of secular and sacred can be blurred. Like some other studies in the book, the investigation by Linda Dankworth on the Mallorcan *ballada,* depicts the influence of the political background on the dance heritage. She surveys the Franco regime, and later the periods of democratization and autonomy. The parallel, double content of the contemporary dance forms are documented here as well. The Mallorcans create contemporary live art forms for themselves and in the same time "authentic" variants representing a national romantic ideology for the tourists.

The second major theme of the symposium, "dance and space", is conceptualized in two different ways. Some scholars perceive it as the basic category of proxemics, that is, the cultural usage of space, while others as the terrain of political geography. Olivera Vasić, Vesna Bajić, and Zdravko Ranisavljević, who map the diffusion and regional differences of the Serbian *kolo,* refer to an ethnically determined cultural area. Olivera Vasić suggests there would be a "core area", that is the Dinara Mountain region, from where it is disseminated by migration into a wider territory; Vesna Bajić and Zdravko Ranisavljević give a follow up of how the various step patterns of the *kolo* have been simplified into one basic step pattern. Vesna Bajić looks at the spreading of rural forms of *kolo* towards cities as a symbol of the idea of homogeneous national identity in and outside Serbia, and Zdravko Ranisavljević demonstrates how separate dance forms received national connotations in different historical contexts. He shows that the symmetrical dance form becomes a national symbol following the Central European pattern in the 19th century, and in the 20th century the assymetrical form dominates the national imagery because of the Yugoslavian influence.

A number of papers examine the growing trends of the extension of the performing space. We learn from Barbara Sparti, who is deeply familiar with the 15th-century Italian dance, that beside dancing in private intimate spaces in those times, performing in large halls is a political statement, making use of the visual aspect as seen by the audience. Rebeka Kunej compares the new, staged forms of the *štajeriš* (Steierisch) couple dance in the 20th century, with their ancestral forms from the eastern Alpine area of Europe, and in Slovenia since the late 17th century, and draws the conclusion that body contact and spatial usage of dance-floor are irreversibly changed since the dance is no longer in the private sphere, only in the public one. Sherry A. Johnson's case study on the Ottawa Valley Step Dance demonstrates that the change of the usage of space in a dance is not automatically linked to the transformation of traditional dance location in a stage context, but in some occasions it occurs due to the personal involvement of some performers in other dance projects offering a different model of space use. Judy Van Zile deduces from her ethnographic research on the *Kosông Ogwangdae* performance in South Korea, that in spite of the changes of the social and performing contexts of the masked dance-drama, the traditional goal of *shinmyông* continues to survive by its interaction with the audience. Defined as "invading" the space, the interaction is still achieved in the present, as performers consciously adapt traditional performance practices to break down the non-traditional spatial boundaries.

Near the proxemical analysis of dances, another particular approach, specific to dance research is presented in the works of János Fügedi and Gábor Misi, who continue the traditions of the Hungarian school of structural analysis. Both of them are concerned with the problem of delimiting the minimal units in dance. János Fügedi introduces the concept of "contrakinesis" as a basic principle of creation, understood as an immediate, successive movement opposition and which has to be differentiated from the sagittal symmetry, which is based on mirroring and is expressed by turning the sides of the body. Gábor Misi experiments with a computer-aided formal method of dance analysis, which tries to exclude the subjective elements in segmentation proposing the method of searching repetitive patterns throughout the dance process.

Other classical basic issues of dance research are preserved as important priorities. Revival, ritual and fieldwork are the topics of the three panel discussions. The aim of the first panel, entitled "Diverse fields to text: revival case studies", proposes a shared etic terminology for cross-cultural discussion of dance revivals, and tests the applicability of these on specific cases. "Past orientation", "national orientation", "recreational orientation" and "spectacular orientation" are the four analytical concepts suggested by Andriy Nahachewsky and Stephanie Smith, the panel organizers.

All the participants of the panel discuss an application of these terms to their own field materials, agreeing that in most of the cases they appear as continuums, or as combinations of two or more of them. Some scholars underline that each social-cultural context needs to be looked at very closely in order to understand the particular intentions of the actors. Egil Bakka analyses a specific "critical event" from 1925, when the revival of the Norwegian genre song dance is faced with its vival form, the Faroese chain dance in Oslo. His study is an expressive treatise about the dramatic differences that the vital and the revival forms might reflect, and about the contrasting modernistic and "faithful revitalization" intentions of the so called "past orientation". Tvrtko Zebec argues that from the emic point of view, stage dance in Croatia has never been considered as revival. He demonstrates that contrasting symbolic meanings can be attributed to the same or very similar spectacular forms in different political and social situations or even in the same situation by different segments of the audience. He enhances the importance of the "national" orientation of dances, focusing on local, regional, and ethnic/national identity, especially when social and ideological circumstances are changing. He proposes the use of the term "political orientation" instead of the "national". Stephanie Smith, when tracing the different revitalization waves of the English country dance in the United States through the 20th century, observes a series of changes in the dominant orientations of the dance. She suggests the introduction of a very useful concept, the "orientation shift", to describe this cultural historical phenomenon. Mats Nilsson adapts the conceptual frame offered to the Swedish context, in which as he says, they are still creating the "Swedishness", because of a low profile of nationalist thinking explained by historical circumstances. He sees the basic concepts much more as a continuum, and suggests adding more, like revitalization, transition, consolidation and standardization, and the differentiation of popular dance from folk dance. Andriy Nahachewsky concludes in the end of this extremely exciting panel discussion that although it remains important to identify cross-cultural patterns, attention has to be paid to the great variety of revival dances' orientation, to the shifts in time, the parallel characteristics and to the peculiar local, regional or national contexts. He agrees with Zebec's suggestion that the term "political orientation" would be more appropriate then the "national orientation", denoting "any specific ethnocultural or political identity". As another alternative he proposes the introduction of the term "identity orientation". He also urges for a more precise use of the concept of revival, because as he states, there is no need for a dance tradition to be "dying" before next phase can be called "revival".

The goal of the second panel, named "Walking fifteen thousand steps with St. George: from field to text", explores rituals cross-culturally. The panel contains two interpretations of two rituals, one of them being the Saint George's Day in Varvara, Bulgaria, the other a ritual from Malaysia. Adrienne L. Kaeppler gives an ethnographical description and anthropological interpretation of the Bulgarian spring ritual, understanding it as ritual, theatre and spectacle in the same time, and as an identity festival, which connotes present-day political identities. The paper of Mohd Anis Md Nor and Hanafi Hussin is an ethnographical description of a private ritual healing of the Bajau Kubang, using Turner's theory on liminality, pointing at the function of the collective calendrical events to reintegrate social crisis through redressive actions.

The third panel is a result of a common fieldwork experience carried out in the region of Izmir, Turkey, and it reflects the different perspectives of the scholars involved. Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin, the planner of the fieldwork, proposes to show both the rural and urban staged forms of the dances, organizing events in different, rural, urban and staged contexts of performances in different "dance milieus", like entertainment events, religious ceremonies, communal festivities; therefore he implies not only local communities, but also their officials, and the Ege University Conservatory. Fahriye Dinçer is concerned with the different identities of the ethnically diverse and marginal Alevi population in Turkey, interrogating the role of dancing in manifesting the solidarity between various Alevi groups. Jaynie Rabb Aydin prepared a DVD documentation of the fieldwork, which is presented at the symposium. The panel is introduced and framed by a theoretical perspective suggested by Anca Giurchescu, revealing the great diversity of the "field culture texts" inspired by the same situation. The author proposes a reflexive approach to the field, which allows to represent how researchers can see the same thing from different points of views, and offers the interpretative model of Clifford Geertz for perceiving dance performances as cultural realities, which can be turned into cultural texts by the interpreters.

To keep the totality of the whole symposium, the editors include the abstracts of those few presentations which do not appear in a full version. A limerick composed during the weeklong meeting by Adrienne L. Kaeppler encapsulates the essence of the symposium and honors Anca Giurchescu for her continuing research. The photographic collage in the appendix in part restores the non-verbal experiences of a scholarly event. The editors hope that in spite of the long and difficult process of publishing the results of the 24th symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology organized in Tranzit House in Cluj, Romania, the volume reaches a wide and various audience and transmits the energy of its authors towards the local and regional academic community.

Anca Giurchescu
and
Csilla Könczei

Acknowledgments

I would like first to thank all those whose contribution was essential for the organization and for the successful completion of the symposium. The spiritual mother of the conference was Anca Giurchescu without any doubt, who formally chaired the symposium, and whose charisma attracted an important number from the members of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology of the International Council for Traditional Music to Romania, the country she had to leave involuntarity decades ago because of political reasons, but to which she had always remained loyal. Anca Giurchescu had as colleagues in the international program committee of the symposium Theresa Buckland, László Felföldi, Corina Iosif, Csilla Könczei, Colin Quigley, a small collective who conceptualized the main themes of the conference and made the job of constructing the program. It was a source of pleasure and pride that so many ICTM members from all over the world, came to Cluj to participate in the symposium.

The local organizing committee was composed of Hajnalka Harbula, Corina Iosif, Csilla Könczei, Csongor Könczei, and Silvestru Petac. All of them did their best in preparing the symposium, the extra events, and proved to be good hosts. Csongor Könczei was a permanent contact person creating a functional database with addresses, conversations, abstracts, and later on texts, with a precise working style. Helene Eriksen joined the team offering her expertise both in the academic and the practical course of the event. The sharing of dance-knowledge not only at a theoretical level, but also in practice has always been one of the strong points of the ICTM Study Group. Helene was one of the vigilant supervisors and agents of embodying dance during the evening workshops together with Nancy G. Heller, who held a workshop in flamenco, Anne Murstad, Ruth Anne Moen, Siri Maeland, and Sigurd Johan Heide who showed how to dance traditional Norwegian couple dances *springar* and *halling*, to mention just a few passionate people. Longer and systemic workshops in local traditional dances were led by Csongor Könczei and Mikó Hajnalka, who were teaching *învârtita* and *csárdás*, Romanian and Hungarian dances from the local region of Călata/Kalotaszeg and by Silvestru Petac, who taught *românește de purtat* from Ceanu Mare/Mezőcsán (Câmpia Transilvaniei/Mezőség) and traditional Romanian *învârtită rară* from Fărău/Forró (Alba/Fehér region). Music was performed at these occasions by the traditional band from Pălatca/Palatka (Câmpia Transilvaniei/Mezőség), namely Martin Florin Codoba, Lőrinc Codoba, Ștefan Moldovan, Márton Kovács "Puki", Mihai Remus Radac and by two revival bands having as members Albert Szilárd, Albert Balázs, Könczei Bálint, Gyárfás Róbert and Doru Zamfir Dejeu, Mircea Câmpeanu, Liuța Câmpeanu, and Romul Copălean. Some of the videos of the dance workshops can be accessed at <http://www.tranzithouse.ro/tranzit_dance-archive/home.html>.

The main local organizer of the symposium was Tranzit Foundation. As the president of this organization I can state, that this was one of the happiest projects organized by Tranzit, which brought both professional satisfaction and joy of life. Thanks for this to my colleagues who worked at that time on the staff: Bajkó Árpád, Damó Zoltán, Harbula Hajnalka, Kolumbán Levente, and Plájás Ildikó Zonga. Student volunteers made our work easier and more pleasant, namely Dragoman Irina from the Music Academy, Olutean Alin, Sabău Adrian, and Szilágyi Levente from the Technical University, Magyari Noémi, Sângeorzan Laura, Stupar Cosmin, and Vulpe Isabela from the Babeș-Bolyai University. Special thanks to Bíró Emese and Ternei Orsolya Beáta, students in ethnography at BBU, who assisted and helped non-stop.

We had the moral and logistical support of local academic institutions. The Institute Folklore Archive of Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca and the Institute for Cultural Anthropology of The Faculty of European Studies from Babeș-Bolyai University had been involved as co-organizers. Prof. Ion Cuceu and Prof. Enikő Vincze being the leading personalities of these institutions not only helped to anchor the symposium into the local academic life, but they actively showed their interest and exchanged ideas.

The City Council of Cluj as well as the County Centre for Preserving and Promoting Traditional Culture of the Council of Cluj County co-financed the event, facilitating to assure the necessary infrastructure for the running of the project. Their help was indispensable in the organizing of the one day trip when we visited three villages in the region. The monumental Baroque Bánffy Castle from Bonțida/Bonchida was destroyed in World War II, neglected in the communist regime and is currently being restored by Transylvania Trust for use as "teaching material" for young restorers coming from many countries as a newly Built Heritage Conservation Training Centre. After we were introduced to the history of the castle and the experiments they make, we continued to Frata/Fráta (Câmpia Transilvaniei/Mezőség), where the performers and local authorities organized a real festivity with set tables offering regional food and drinks, giving the chance for the visitors to watch the local dance repertoire, but also to interact with good performers and kind entertainers. A group of Romani dancers from Soporul de Câmpie/Mezőszopor joined as well, delighting us with their virtuosity. The icing on the cake was the reunion of the Sub-Study Group on Field Research with old friends among local people whom they met during their fieldwork in 1995. In Chidea/Kide (Borșa/Borsa region), a tiny picturesque village with an original stone architecture, our hostess was Júlia Péter, the owner of VIA restaurant in Cluj, who with the assistance of local gastronomers created a charming atmosphere in the courtyard of her village house culminating in an international informal dance event.

Years after 2006, when the 24th symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology was held in Cluj, the publishing of the proceedings of the symposium became possible due to the perseverance of the former and the actual chairpersons of the ICTM Study Group, Anca Giurchescu and László Felföldi, who did not stop to encourage and help me to find the human and financial resources, and finally due to The Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities and to István Horváth, the president and Estera Hetea, the vice-president of the institute, who appreciated the content of this volume and advocated for gaining financial support from the Romanian National Cultural Fund Administration. Zsuzsa Bokor was of great help in the editing and mediating process being one of the series editors.

Anca Giurchescu and Elsie Ivancich Dunin, as editors, had made great efforts on the last hundred meters to gather the missing texts and to compile the volume with success. Thanks to all those who submitted their texts for publishing. The completion of this book would not have been possible if Elsie did not apply her time and professional skills to carry out the technical editing and the proof reading of the texts. It was a nice experience to work with them, I am really grateful. Special thanks for the courtesy of photos from the collage to Anca Giurchescu, Elsie Ivancich Dunin, Emir Cenk Aydin, Barbara Sparti, and Erling Flem.

As a final step, I add a personal idea. The photo on the cover page, representing Anca Ghiurchescu and Felföldi László, a Romanian and a Hungarian scholar, doing fieldwork together, is of special symbolic significance, which brings optimism. Before 1989 an artificial isolation of the scholarly life between different countries was created by the nationalist-communist political context. The ICTM is one of the good examples of how to build a truly international scientific network which helps transgress all kinds of borders. I am sure, that Martin György, the eminent promoter of ethnochoreology and the ICTM in Eastern-Europe, who unfortunately is not anymore with us, would have been very happy to see Romanian and Hungarian scholars cooperating and estimating each other's work.

Csilla Könczei

SYMPOSIUM PROGRAM

SUNDAY 9 July

17^{00}–21^{00} REGISTRATION

MONDAY 10 July

CHAIR: MOHD ANIS MD NOR (Malaysia)

11^{30}– 13^{00} **Colin Quigley** (USA): "Dance in field and text: strategies for bridging (dis)juncture"
Chi Fang Chao (Taiwan): "Searching the ethnic domain of body and movement: reflection on representations of dance in Taketomi Isle, southern Okinawa"
Kristin Harris Walsh (Canada): "From the kitchen to the stage: shifts in spatial usage with the re-contextualization of Newfoundland set dance"

13^{00}-15^{00} LUNCH TIME

CHAIR: TVRTKO ZEBEC (Croatia)

15^{00}-16^{30} **Linda Dankworth** (UK): "Embodied translations of Mallorcan dance and the influence of romantic ideology as a process in the production of cultural heritage"
Daniela Stavělová (Czech Republic): "Word and image: dance as a visual symbolic form in a cultural-historical framework"

16^{45}-19^{00} **PANEL 1** – "Diverse fields to text: revival case studies"
Stephanie Smith (USA, organizer), **Andriy Nahachewsky** (Canada), **Tvrtko Zebec** (Croatia), **Mats Nilsson** (Sweden), **Marie-Pierre Gibert** (France), **Egil Bakka** (Norway)

19^{00}-21^{00} SUPPER TIME

21^{00} **OPENING CEREMONY** - Special guests: Florin Codoba, Laurenţiu Codoba, Ştefan Moldovan, Remus Radák and Márton Kovács "Puki", traditional music band from Pălatca / Magyarpalatka (Câmpia Transilvaniei / Mezőség).

TUESDAY 11 July

CHAIR: ANDRÉE GRAU (UK)

9^{00}-10^{30} **Georgiana Gore** (France): "Understanding the other's dancing experience: methods and issues"
Joëlle Vellet (France): "Du terrain au texte: la relation chercheur – danseur comme facteur de développement de la maitrise de la danse et de son enseignement"
Nancy G. Heller (USA): "From the caves of Granada to Radio City Music Hall: the effects of changing spaces on the politics, economics, and aesthetics of Flamenco dance"

CHAIR: IRENE LOUTZAKI (Greece)

10^{45}-11^{15} Students' presentations – current research
Anne Murstad (Norway): "Conceptions of space and gender in Norwegian *springar*"
Nataša Visočnik (Slovenia): "Perception of space in *Butō*"

CHAIR: ADRIENNE KAEPPLER (USA)

11^{30}-13^{00} **Ann David** (UK): "Dancing in the deities space: questions of sacredness in UK Hindu dance practice"
Kendra Stepputat (Germany): "From temple, to stage, to temple – changes in performance space of the Balinese *kecak*"

13^{00}-15^{00} LUNCH TIME

15^{00}-17^{15} **PANEL 2** – "Walking fifteen-thousand steps with St. George: from field to text"
Mohd Anis Md Nor (Malaysia, organizer), **Hanafi Hussin** (Malaysia), **Adrienne Kaeppler** (USA)

CHAIR: LÁSZLÓ FELFÖLDI (Hungary)

17^{30}-18^{00} Students' presentations – current research
Vesna Bajić (Serbia): "*Kolo* and its cultural space"
Zdravko Ranisavljević (Serbia): "The role of space in the process of forming and shaping of dance heritage – the problem of authenticity of the dance heritage of Vojvodina"

18^{00}-18^{30} **Sztanó Hédi** (Hungary): "Mundruc" (DVD presentation)

19^{00}-21^{00} SUPPER TIME

21^{00} **WORKSHOP** - Traditional Romanian *"Învârtita"* from Călata region/Kalotaszeg, with Csongor Könczei and Hajnalka Mikó. Performing band: Szilárd Albert, Bálint Könczei, Balázs Albert and Róbert Gyárfás.

22^{00} "Dance sharing" among participants

WEDNESDAY 12 July

CHAIR: JUDY VAN ZILE (USA)

9^{00}-10^{30} **Elena Bertuzzi** (France): "Some applications of Analysis and Kinetography Laban in anthropology research of dance"
János Fügedi (Hungary): "Motivic microstructures and movement concepts of expression in traditional dances"
Gábor Misi (Hungary): "Formal methods in form analysis of Transylvanian male solo dances"

CHAIR: ANDRIY NAHACHEWSKY (Canada)

10^{45}-12^{15} **Vincent Rees** (Canada): "*Bereznianka*: no longer revival dance"
Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin (Turkey): "From field to stage"
Sherry Johnson (Canada): "Dancing outside the box: how Ottawa Valley Step Dancers conceive of performance space"

CHAIR: GEORGIANA GORE (France)

Electronic technology

12^{30}-13^{00} **Elsie Ivancich Dunin** (USA/Croatia): "Transformation of research and communication in the field of dance ethnology with four decades of electronic-aided technology"
13^{00}-15^{00} LUNCH TIME
15^{00}-15^{30} **Victor A. Stoichiță** (France): "Indexing and comparing audio/video sequences: *Esonoclaste*, an open source software designed by (and for) ethnomusicologists and ethnochoreologists"

CHAIR: ANN DAVID (UK)

15^{30}-17^{00} **Ruth Anne Moen** (Norway): "*Halling* from Suldal: embodying the source material"
Siri Maeland – Sigurd Johan Heide (Norway): "Analysed dancing – danced analysis"
Helene Eriksen (USA/Germany): "From field to practice: the embodiment of field research"

CHAIR: ANCA GIURCHESCU (Denmark/Romania)

17^{15}-19^{00} **Ştiucă Narcisa Alexandra – Teodorescu Florian** (Romania): "Dancing with the death (Romanian initiation rites in post-funeral context)"
Silvestru Petac (Romania)**:** "The wedding of the dead in Oltenia – relation between space and dance"
Owe Ronström (Sweden): "Representing ritual events: the *Căluş* in the village Vităneşti, district Olt, Romania"
19^{00}-21^{00} SUPPER TIME
21^{00} **WORKSHOP** - Traditional Hungarian *"csárdás"* from Călata region/Kalotaszeg, with Csongor Könczei and Hajnalka Mikó. Performing band: Szilárd Albert, Bálint Könczei, Balázs Albert and Róbert Gyárfás.
22^{00} "Dance sharing" among participants

THURSDAY 13 July

8^{30}-11^{30} **General Business Meeting**
12^{00}-17^{00} Excursion: to Frata (Câmpia Transilvaniei), with the contribution of local gastronomers, musicians and dancers. Traditional music by Lia Pop band from Frata and the Sopor band.
18^{00}-24^{00} Excursion: to Chidea / Kide (Valea Borşei / Borsa Völgye), with the contribution of local gastronomers. Visiting local architecture.

FRIDAY 14 July

CHAIR: ELSIE IVANCICH DUNIN (USA/Croatia)

10^{00}-11^{30} **Ivona Opetcheska – Tatarcevska** (Macedonia): "Spaces/places in the Macedonian dance tradition"
Edwige Dioudonnat (France): "Space of dance: scenic organization and ritual re-creation"
Judy Van Zile (USA): "Invading space: achieving goals in a South Korean masked dance-drama"

CHAIR: COLIN QUIGLEY (USA)

11^{45}-12^{45} **Zamfir Dejeu** (Romania): "*Feciorescul des* (fast lad dance) in binary and syncopate anphybrachic rhythm. Research, archiving and turning to public"
Omer Barbaros Unlu (Turkey): "Crossing point of dances: Artvin"
12^{45}-13^{00} **Mats Nilsson** and **Ingegerd Sigfridsson** (Sweden): *Polska* dance demonstration
13^{00}-15^{00} LUNCH TIME

CHAIR: STEPHANIE SMITH (USA)

15^{00}-16^{30} **Barbara Sparti** (Italy): "Partitioning the terrain: the importance of space in 15th-century Italian dance"
Carol G. Marsh (USA): "Dance notation and space in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries"
Barbara Alge (Portugal): "*La Danca* or *Os Pauliteiros* – Different spaces of a Portuguese stick dance"

CHAIR: THERESA BUCKLAND (UK)

16^{45}-18^{15} **Olivera Vasić** (Serbia): "Space and dance formations"
Rebeka Kunej (Slovenia): "The role of space in the *stajeris* dance"
Daniela Ivanova (Bulgaria): "The folk dance ensemble as a cultural phenomenon in Bulgaria (in the period after 1989)"
18^{30}- 19^{00} **Irene Loutzaki** (Greece): "My place in the dance" (DVD presentation)
19^{00}-21^{00} SUPPER TIME
21^{00} **WORKSHOP** - Traditional Romanian *"Învârtita rară"* from Fărău (Alba region), with Silvestru Petac and his group. Performing band: Dejeu Doru Zamfir, Câmpeanu Mircea, Câmpeanu Liuţa and Copălean Romul.
22^{00} "Dance sharing" among participants

SATURDAY 15 July

CHAIR: MATS NILSSON (Sweden)

9^{00}-10^{30} **Varga Sándor** (Hungary): "Symbolic use of space on the dance events of Visa/Vişea village"
Judy Olson (USA): "The intersection of dance structure and videotape: making a record of Hungarian *Táncház*"
10^{45}-11^{15} **Péter Csempesz** (Hungary): "Dance in the context of sheep-measuring ritual in Magyarlóna, Kalotaszeg Region/Luna de Sus, Călata Region" (DVD presentation)
11^{30}-12^{30} **PANEL 3 –** "Representation of different realities experienced in the fieldwork carried out in the region of Izmir, Turkey."
Anca Giurchescu (Denmark/Romania, organizer), **Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin** (Turkey), **László Felföldi** (Hungary), **Fahriye Dinçer** (Turkey), **Helene Eriksen** (USA/Germany)
12^{30} -13^{00} **Jaynie Rabb** (USA) "From field to text: a video presentation"
13^{00}-15^{00} LUNCH TIME

CHAIR: EGIL BAKKA (Norway)

15^{00}-17^{00} **Summaries of the two themes**
19^{00}-21^{00} SUPPER TIME
21^{00} **WORKSHOP –** Traditional Romanian *"Românește de purtat"* from Ceanu Mare (Câmpia Transilvaniei), with Silvestru Petac and his group. Performing band: Dejeu Doru Zamfir, Câmpeanu Mircea, Câmpeanu Liuţa and Copălean Romul.
22^{00} CLOSING PARTY

THEME ONE

FROM FIELD TO TEXT: TRANSLATIONS AND REPRESENTATIONS

Research paper presentations (alphabetical order)

DIFFÉRENTES MODALITÉS D'UTILISATION DE LA CINÉTOGRAPHIE LABAN EN ÉTHNOLOGIE DE LA DANSE

ELENA BERTUZZI
France

Depuis 1993 un cours d'"Analyse et écriture du mouvement - Système Laban" est proposé aux étudiants en Éthnomusicologie à l'Université de Paris X Nanterre. Jusqu'en 2005 ce cours était intégré au cursus de maîtrise. Depuis la dernière réforme des cursus universitaires, ce cours est proposé en Licence à tous les étudiants d'Éthnologie, et il est obligatoire pour les étudiants d'Éthnomusicologie.

Une dizaine d'élèves par an le suit. Parmi eux, il y a souvent des étudiants étrangers bénéficiant d'une bourse dont la plus connue est celle d'Erasmus.

Tous suivent l'enseignement avec beaucoup d'intérêt et de régularité. Les résultats des examens sont, la plupart du temps, excellents. Parallèlement à l'étude théorique du système, chaque élève effectue un travail de recherche sur le terrain, et rédige un mémoire complété par des transcriptions en cinétographie.

Deux mots sur la notation Laban...

La Cinétographie Laban est une écriture du mouvement conçue pour transcrire tous les mouvements, simples ou complexes, du corps humain.

Elle est un outil de travail comparatif parmi d'autres. Elle offre la possibilité de fonder une "littérature" du mouvement en créant des archives exactes et directement accessibles. Elle constitue un moyen de communication accéléré. Elle peut assurer une protection juridique.

Le système de notation Laban est utilisé au niveau international. Chaque année, de plus en plus de danses de tous styles (folklorique, classique, contemporain, jazz, etc...) sont notées et cela depuis une soixantaine d'années, créant ainsi un important fond documentaire.

Une organisation internationale, l'International Council of Kinetography Laban/Labano- tation, créée en 1959, sert de structure d'information et d'échange pour les pratiquants du système. Cette organisation publie la bibliographie internationale des partitions en notation Laban, qui recense les transcriptions réalisées dans le monde entier.

Déroulement des cours:

Le cours d'Analyse et Transcription de la danse est composé de 12 leçons de trois heures chacune pendant lesquelles les fondamentaux du système sont expliqués et appris (les signes de direction, les transferts, les sauts, les tours, les mouvements des parties du corps, les tracés au sol, les signes secondaires, la mise en place d'une partition).

Chaque cours est composé d'une partie théorique suivie d'une partie pratique pendant laquelle des lectures sur le thème du jour sont proposées, ainsi que des dictées.

Les lectures sont des extraits de danses traditionnelles de différentes origines. Elles permettent de mieux comprendre l'utilisation des signes avec une pratique corporelle personnelle.

Les dictées sont des courtes séquences de mouvements proposées par le professeur ou par les élèves à tour de rôle. A travers la dictée, on apprend à affiner le regard analytique, à percevoir les moteurs du mouvement et les cheminements, à faire attention aux détails, à saisir les qualités d'énergie et à comprendre la valeur temporelle de chaque mouvement avec toutes ses qualités rythmiques. La formation et l'entraînement de l'oeil sont indispensables. Le développement de la capacité à observer le mouvement avec précision fait partie intégrante de l'apprentissage de ce système de notation.

A partir du 5ème cours, les étudiants commencent à écrire des cinétogrammes en rapport avec leurs travaux personnels. En effectuant les corrections sur leurs écrits, de nouveaux thèmes sont abordés pour répondre plus efficacement aux exigences qu'on trouve dans l'observation sur le terrain. On réfléchit ensemble afin de trouver les solutions les plus appropriées aux problèmes d'analyse et d'écriture rencontrés.

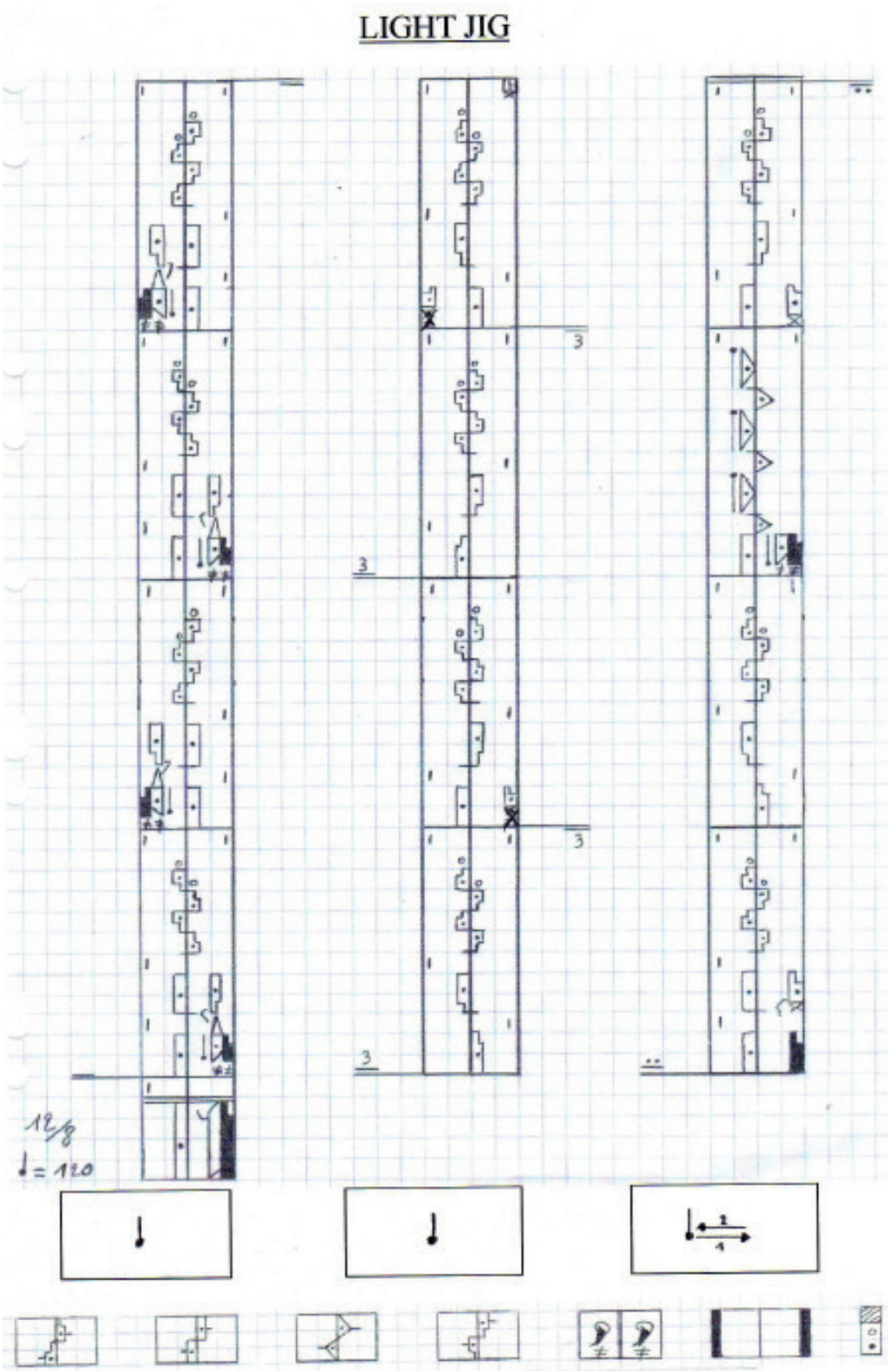
Avantages de l'utilisation de la notation Laban dans l'Ethnologie de la danse

A) Collectage - Création d'archives - Partage de connaissances

Malgré la courte durée du cours, les résultats, concernant l'utilité méthodologique de ce système de notation dans la recherche en ethnologie de la danse, sont très satisfaisants.

Certains étudiants ont collecté des danses traditionnelles. Après avoir mené une recherche historique, ils les ont notées de façon claire et précise et tout le monde a pu les lire, les comparer et les danser.

Voici quelques exemples.



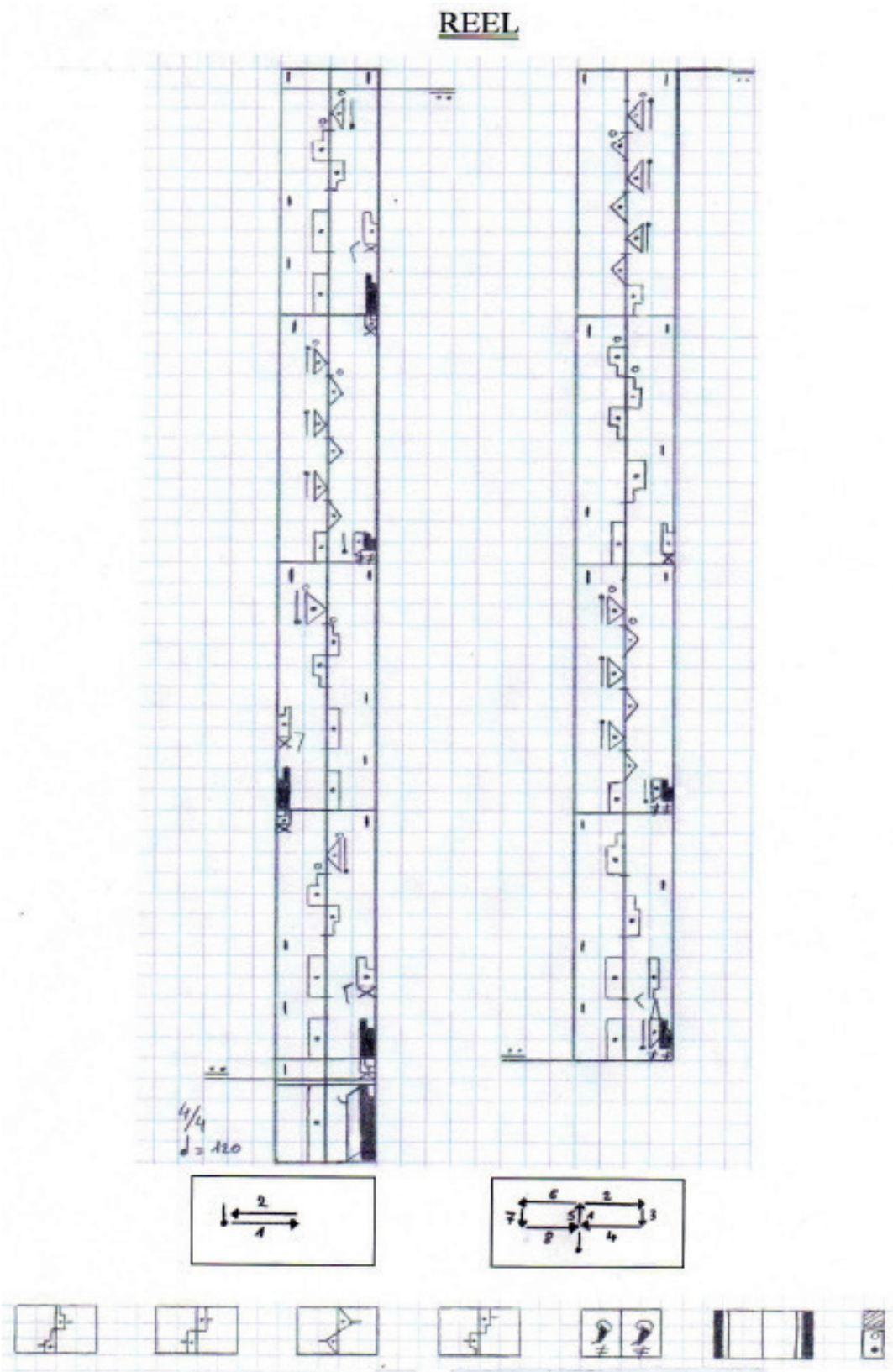


Figure N° 1 et Figure N° 1bis "Jig et Reel" (Irlande) notation Jean Marc Potterie.

Les premières références sur les "step dances" en Irlande datent de la fin du 16 siècle, mais ces danses se sont surtout développées à partir du 18ème siècle avec les "dance masters". Ces professeurs de danse sillonnaient les campagnes et dispensaient les rudiments de la danse en échange du gîte et du couvert. Chaque professeur avait son répertoire de "steps", qu'il renouvelait régulièrement. Ils organisaient d'ailleurs des concours, où le gagnant était celui qui connaissait le plus de figures différentes.

La particularité des "step dances" réside dans le fait qu'elles s'effectuent sur une surface exiguë: le haut d'un tonneau, une demi-porte, la pierre du foyer de la cheminée. Certaines danses, comme celles qui sont notées ici, sont très rapides et composées exclusivement des pas et de petits gestes des jambes, les bras sont le long du corps, le tronc reste droit sans être

rigide. La danse évolue dans un espace restreint. Les petits pas vers les directions cardinales opposées, impliquent qu'on retourne tout le temps à la même place. Elles peuvent être dansées en solo ou à plusieurs.

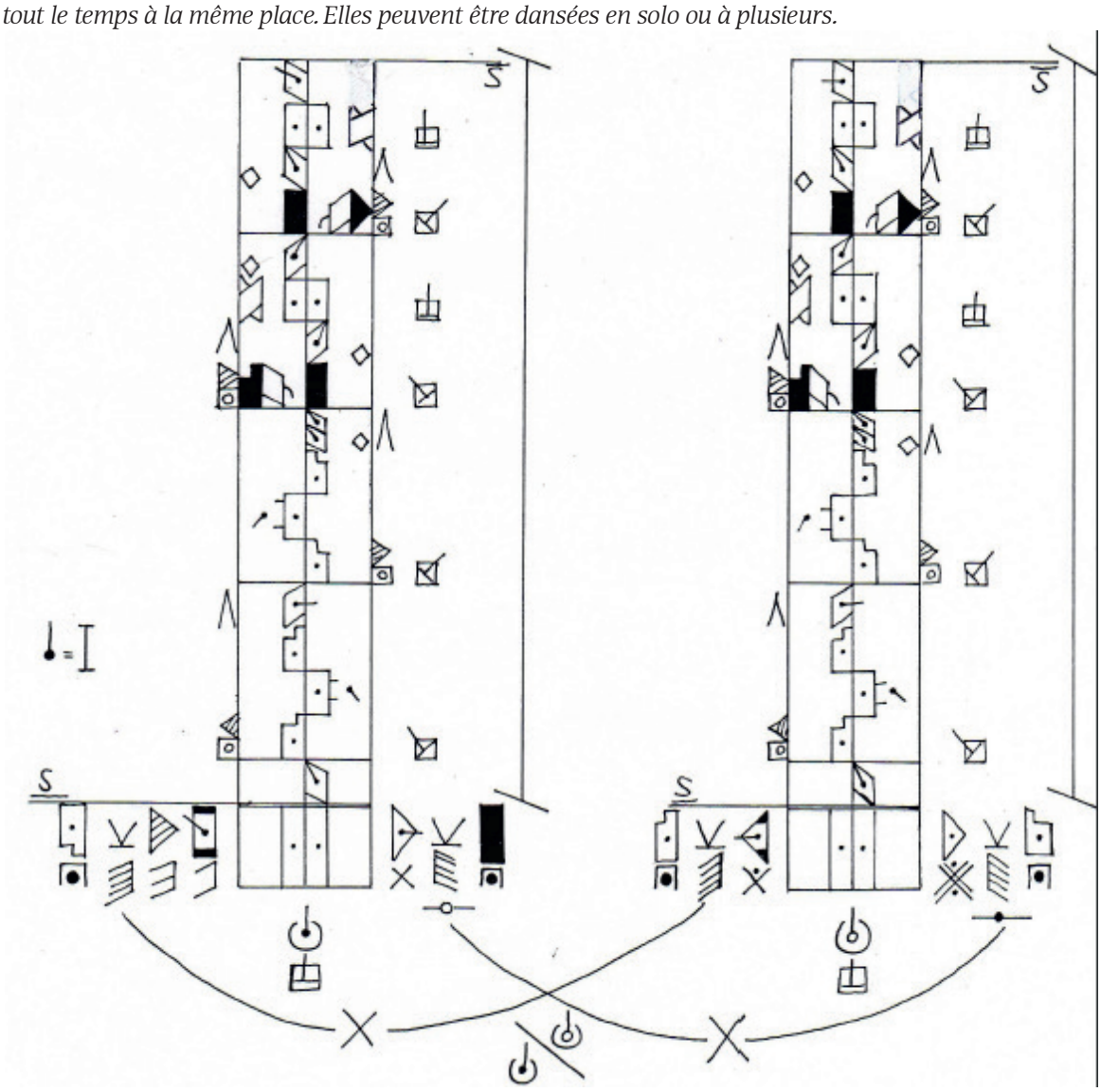


Figure N° 2 "La Troïca de Saint-Mard" (Gaume –Belgique) notation Emmanuelle Garrot

C'est une danse de couple qui se danse le mardi soir de la fête de Saint-Mard (Gaume). Les couples se suivent en formant une ronde. Cet évènement festif a lieu la dernière semaine du mois d'Août, à la fin de la saison agricole. La fête commence le vendredi avec une farandole de jeunes gens, dans les rues du village menée par un "maître jeune homme", généralement célibataire, désigné pour l'occasion. C'est une danse qui dérive de la Polka, danse d'origine Bohémienne apparue dans la Gaume vers 1846. On ne peut donc pas la considérer comme une danse "traditionnelle".

Les paysans gaumais, qui se rendaient à la fête, endossaient, par-dessus leurs beaux vêtements de fête, le sarrau pour ne pas se salir et ils le retiraient avant de danser. Le folklore s'est emparé de ce vêtement mais à sa façon, en l'utilisant aujourd'hui comme le costume "officiel" de la Troïca.

Cette danse est composée de deux pas glissés et de deux "talonnements" latéraux. A la 3ème reprise de la mélodie, le tempo s'accélère et on passe d'une mesure à 4/4 à une mesure à 2/4.

La Troïca fait véritablement partie aujourd'hui du folklore saint-mardois. On peut la considérer comme l'unique danse populaire encore vivante en Wallonie.

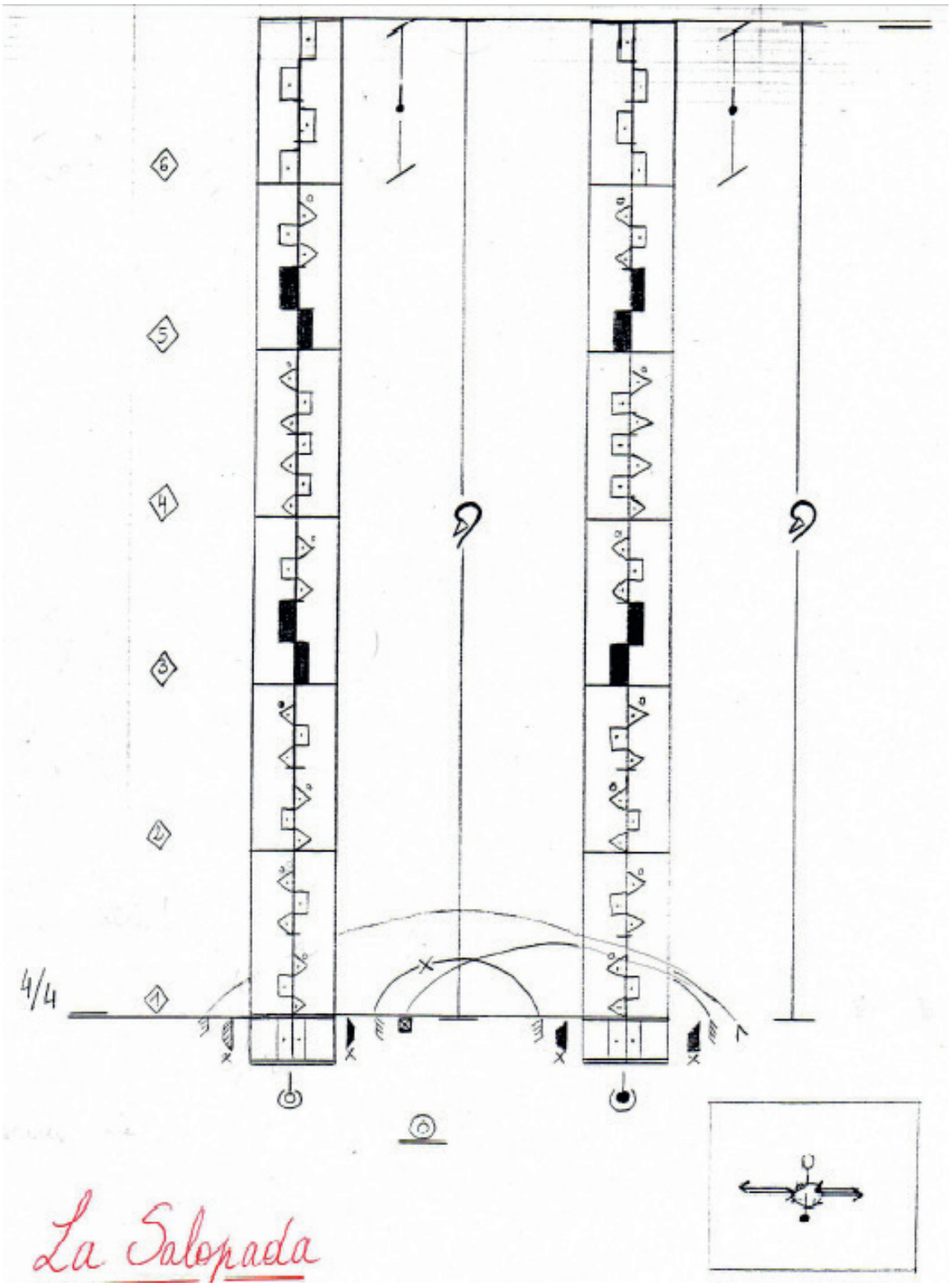


Figure N° 3 "La Salopada" (Occitanie - France) notation Carole Bourg

La Salopada appartient aussi aux danses de couple introduites pour la plupart après 1860, sous l'influence des salons bourgeois, des sociétés musicales et des différents flux migratoires en Occitanie, région sud-occidentale française.

Depuis toujours dans cette région, la musique et la danse traditionnelle ont un rôle capital dans la vie quotidienne de ses habitants et elle est également le mode d'expression privilégié de la fête. Un déclin irréversible s'est manifesté dans le patrimoine musical occitan à partir de 1850, avec l'apparition des danses de l'Est de l'Europe comme les polkas, les mazurkas, les scottisches, etc. L'arrivée de ce nouveau répertoire coïncida avec un profond bouleversement économique, social et culturel qui agita les campagnes françaises de 1870 à 1914. La révolution industrielle, l'attraction économique des villes, la création de nouveaux transports, la modernisation, l'enrichissement, la remise en cause du patriarcat rural, furent à l'origine d'une véritable fascination des jeunes paysans pour les citadins.

La Salopada est une danse qui se pratique encore aujourd'hui dans les bals du dimanche après-midi ou du samedi soir, dans les réveillons et dans les bals qui suivent les mariages ou les baptêmes. C'est une danse de couple. Hommes et femmes ne sont pas forcément mariés. Jeunes et moins jeunes peuvent y participer. C'est une danse distrayante. Les personnes rient lorsqu'elles dansent.

Nous pouvons observer un cycle de six mesures 4/4 alors que la musique est composée avec des cycles de 4 mesures. Il y a d'abord deux mesures qui se répètent et qui sont symétriques, ensuite il y a des pas "chaloupés" aux mesures 3 et 5 et des variations à la 4ème et 6ème mesure. Ces variantes demandent une attention constante, ce n'est pas possible de rentrer dans un automatisme d'exécution. Par conséquent, cette danse provoque souvent des éclats de rire, car lorsqu'on ne la maîtrise pas bien, il arrive qu'on "s'emmêle les pieds".

B) Analyse gestuelle – relation avec la musique et technique de jeu

Jean Marc Potterie a choisi d'utiliser la Cinétographie Laban pour analyser la gestuelle d'un musicien irlandais qui joue le "Bodhran".

La notation lui permet de montrer la technique gestuelle du percussionniste et de décrire l'évolution du mouvement par rapport au contenu musical. Grâce au cinétogramme, on comprend tout de suite la posture du musicien, la façon de tenir son instrument et le "stick", un petit bâtonnet qui sert à frapper le tambour. En mettant côte à côte la portée musicale et la portée chorégraphique, on visualise immédiatement le jeu des frappes à travers les accents créés par la rotation du poignet. La notation lui permet aussi de décrire le "pushing" une pression du pouce sur la surface interne du tambour qui a pour but de rendre le son plus aigu. Le signe de "pause" indique le maintien de cette pression. La notation lui permet donc de montrer de façon visuelle la notion de durée et l'énergie développée dans le jeu.

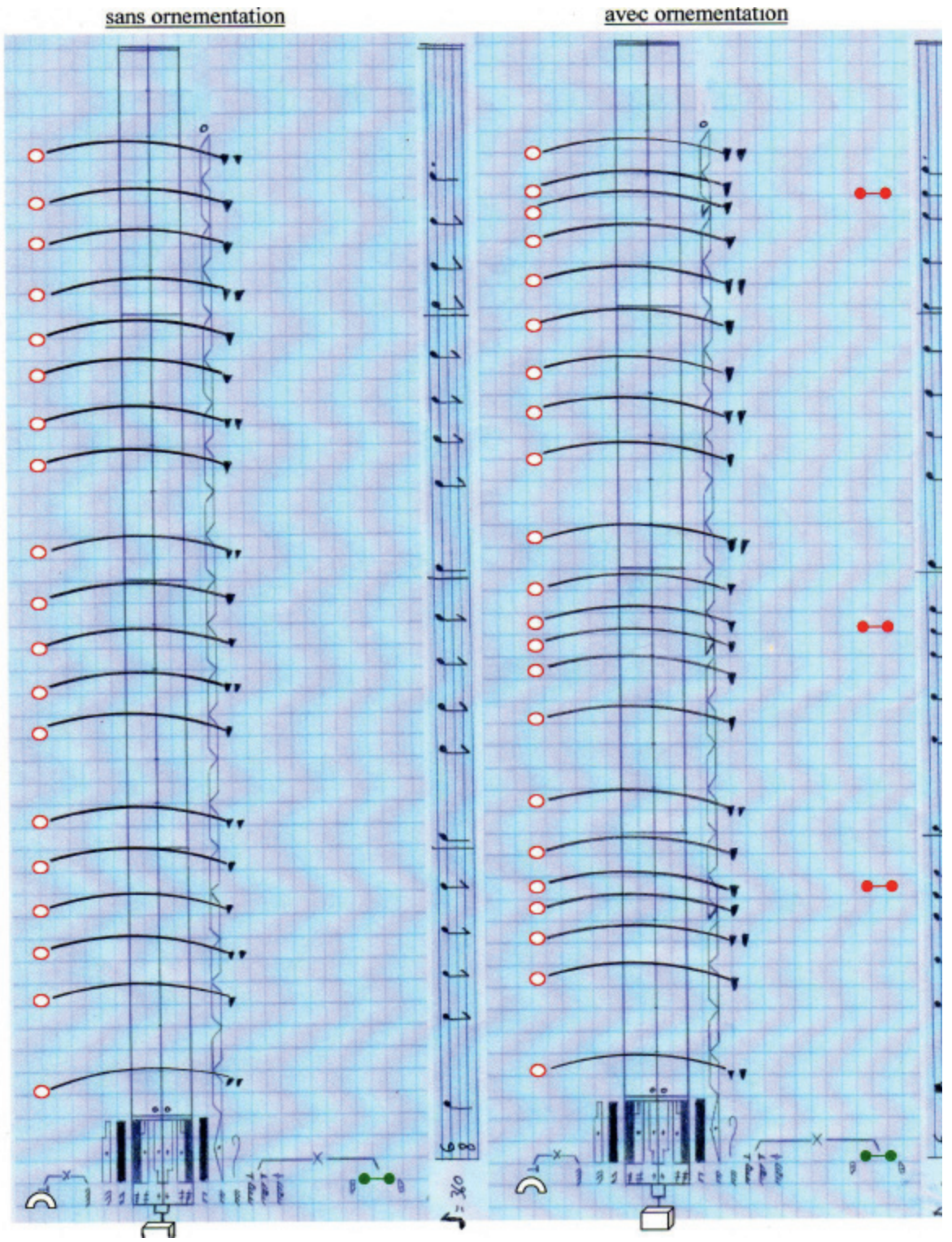


Figure N° 4 Le "Bodhran" (Irlande), notation Jean Marc Potterie

Cet instrument fait partie de la famille des tambours sur cadre que l'on retrouve un peu partout sur la planète. Il existait déjà au Moyen-Orient, 3000 ans avant J.C.

On ne connaît pas ses origines exactes concernant l'Irlande, mais aujourd'hui il est parfaitement intégré dans le répertoire et il est considéré comme un"instrument traditionnel". Le Bodhran doit sa popularité au travail du compositeur Sean O'Riada à la fin des années '50. Depuis les techniques de jeu ont considérablement évolué et nombreux instrumentistes sont reconnus comme de véritables artistes.

Il est composé d'un cadre cylindrique en bois dont une face est recouverte d'une peau de chèvre. Parfois, il possède également une barre en bois qui renforce le cadre et qui permet au musicien de mieux le tenir.

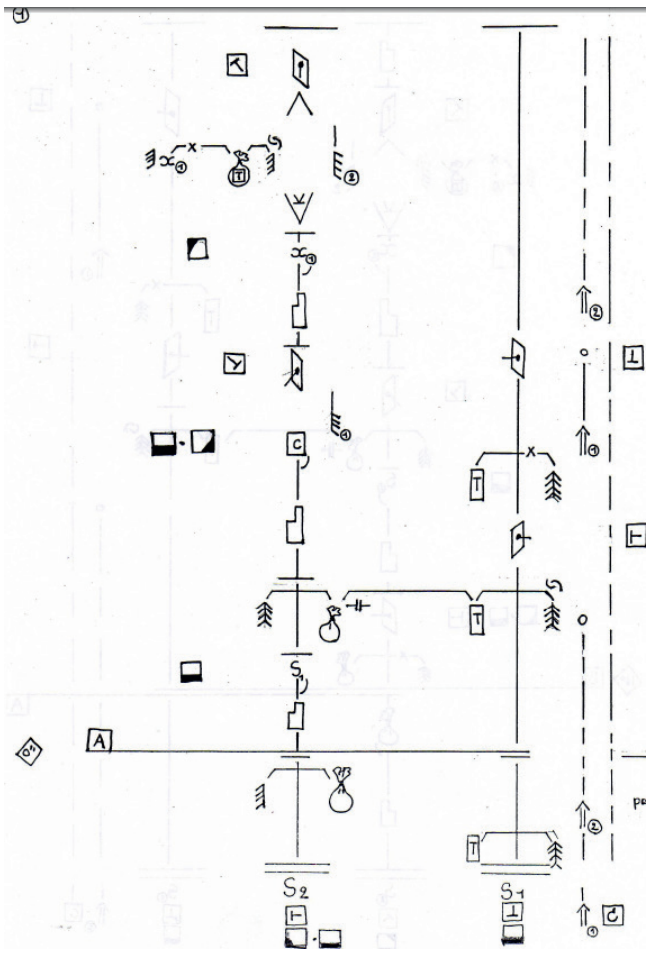
C) Analyse du jeu théâtral – relation entre les acteurs – relation à l'espace – mise en évidence des cycles

Le mémoire d'Olivier Ferraud propose l'analyse de la gestuelle marchande de ce que l'on appelle en Italie du Nord un "battitore", c'est-à-dire un marchand ambulant se déplaçant de foires en marchés et vendant toutes sortes de produits alimentaires ou ménagés. A travers la maîtrise d'une rhétorique surprenante, le vendeur essaye de vendre le maximum de produits dont les clients n'auraient pas, initialement, l'intention d'acheter.

Les cinétogrammes mettent en évidence la relation sonore/linguistique et visuelle/gestuelle de ce type de vente et on remarque un grand investissement du corps fondé sur l'échange. Cet échange a une structure qui se répète et qui s'accélère. Il y a un dialogue entre le vendeur et le client basé sur les moyens du tendre/vendre et du prendre/acheter. La notation révèle l'existence de cycles, elle montre leurs compositions, leurs agencements et leurs variantes.

Le jeu théâtral du vendeur s'appuie sur sa fille qui prolonge ses actions et ses gestes. Elle est la seule à être mobile et son rôle est de mettre en valeur le vendeur, personnage charnière qui reste immobile au centre. Il est l'initiateur du mouvement tandis qu'elle en est la médiatrice et le véhicule envers les clients.

La notation, à travers l'écriture du motif des actions effectuées, montre que les mouvements sont structurés, organisés dans une trame pragmatique et stratégique.



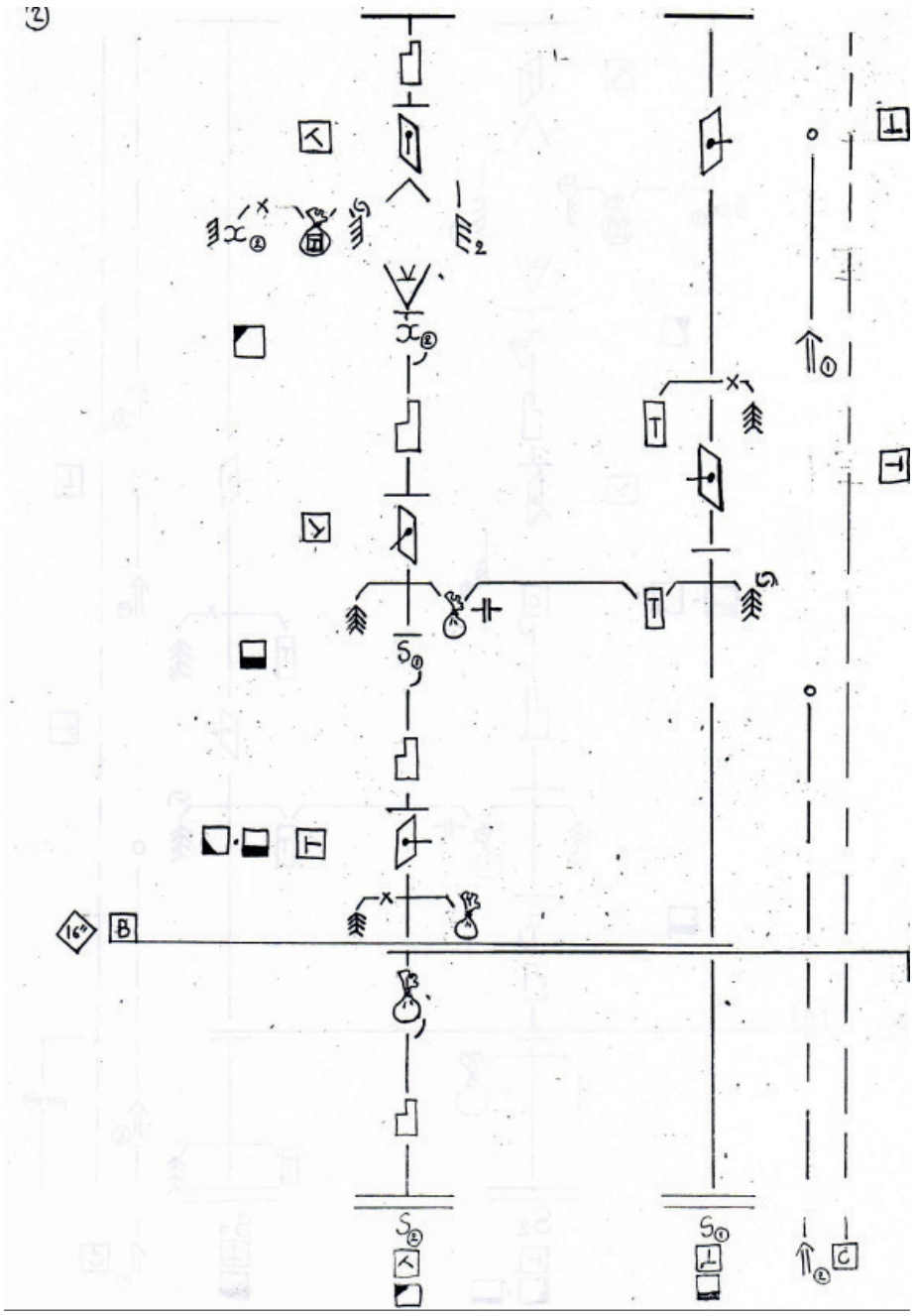


Figure N° 5, Figure N° 5bis "Deux Forains Italiens" (Asti - Italie), notation Olivier Ferraud

Stenio Casetta et sa fille Stefania sont deux vendeurs du marché d'Asti, jolie ville du Piémont. Ils sont spécialisés dans la biscuiterie, le chocolat et un produit gourmand local à base de noisettes et de miel: le Torrone.

A l'aide d'un micro, Stenio commence son discours quand il y a suffisamment de passants rassemblés autour de son camion, transformé en étal richement fourni en gourmandises. Il entame une mise en scène alliant présentations "savantes", calculs, plaisanteries, interpellations, utilisant le dialecte et un fort accent piémontais, avec la complicité de sa fille. La scène se transforme vite en performance théâtrale au caractère comique. Il n'y a aucun appel à l'extérieur, les gens viennent d'eux-mêmes, soit attirés par l'étal, soit par le monde, soit par le discours. Souvent, sa fille sert aussi de bouc émissaire dans ses plaisanteries. Les discours et les actions s'entremêlent et se superposent, dans un jeu d'actions qui s'accélère.

La structure des cycles est fixe: prise de sac/remplissage/échange client-vendeur/échange produit-argent, mais les trajets et le contenu des sacs varient constamment.

Les actions rapides et fluides s'enchaînent parfois de façon simultanée: gestes de démonstration et de comptage en même temps que paroles, communication vers un client, signes s'adressant à un autre. Nous avons à faire ici à un moment de concentration et d'intensité de gestes, de verbe et d'actions qui s'expriment dans un flux continu et dans un temps qui s'accélère jusqu'au moment où tous les clients sont servis. Alors les gens partent et le calme revient. Mais cette tranquillité ne va pas durer longtemps. Quelques minutes à peine sont passées que Stenio reprend son micro et une autre scène commence.

D) Analyse de la qualité gestuelle et différentes problématiques liées à l'interprétation

Le dernier exemple permet de mettre en évidence la richesse d'informations qui découle de l'utilisation d'une méthode de notation comme outil d'investigation. Ces informations sont autant de pistes à suivre et à approfondir sur le terrain.

Magali Deruyter avait mené antérieurement une recherche sur l'"Asapinga" de Madagascar.

L'"Asapinga" est une danse de l'époque coloniale autrefois très répandue dans toute l'île de Madagascar. Aujourd'hui, elle est pratiquée à l'occasion des fêtes officielles et scolaires dans la région des Antalana dans le Sud-Est du pays.

Pour pouvoir noter cette danse, elle s'est basée sur une vidéo réalisée pour des chercheurs. Elle s'est rendue compte de la difficulté d'utiliser cet enregistrement à des fins analytiques détaillées et précises.

Parfois, en observant le mouvement à partir d'une vidéo, on rencontre des difficultés à saisir les détails, les qualités gestuelles mais aussi les relations entre les danseurs, l'agencement des différentes séquences chorégraphiques. La maîtrise d'un système d'analyse du mouvement rend possible l'observation de ces problèmes lors de la captation. Cette connaissance permet, en effet, d'anticiper les difficultés en filmant la danse de telle façon que le matériel vidéo sera plus facilement utilisable par la suite.

Si, à première vue, le groupe de danseurs paraît homogène et à l'unisson, l'analyse en vue de la notation fait apparaître toutes leurs différences concernant: l'amplitude des gestes, les directions, les rotations des bras, la précision rythmique, la maîtrise des appuis, les incertitudes liées à la mémoire, l'engagement musculaire, les qualités dynamiques, la précision directionnelle des frappes. Les prises de vue sont fragmentaires et incomplètes, ce qui ne donne pas la possibilité de voir la version intégrale de chacun.

Pour terminer son mémoire, elle décide donc de noter l'interprétation d'un seul de ces danseurs. Même si elle sait que ce choix peut être arbitraire, elle le justifie avec les raisons suivantes: il est le plus centré, il montre une certaine aisance dans le mouvement, ses gestes sont précis et sans hésitation. Il est le plus jeune du groupe et il ne regarde presque jamais ses camarades. Or cette danse est apprise à l'école, ses souvenirs sont peut-être plus présents. De plus, il engage un investissement corporel et une qualité dynamique supérieurs aux autres et enfin, le cameraman le privilégie.

En conclusion de son exposé, elle s'interroge sur la pertinence de cette représentation. Pourquoi les mouvements sont hésitants, imprécis, exécutés avec si peu d'énergie et d'investissement, alors que les paroles du meneur prêchent plutôt l'ordre, la fermeté, l'engagement, le volontarisme?

Malgré la valeur relative de cette transcription, elle est convaincue qu'elle pourrait se révéler un outil comparatif intéressant. A partir de ses observations, elle envisage différentes pistes d'investigations futures: recherche des origines de cette danse, modalité d'acculturation, d'adaptation et d'appropriation, analyse du système de transmission, comparaison entre différents contextes de représentation.

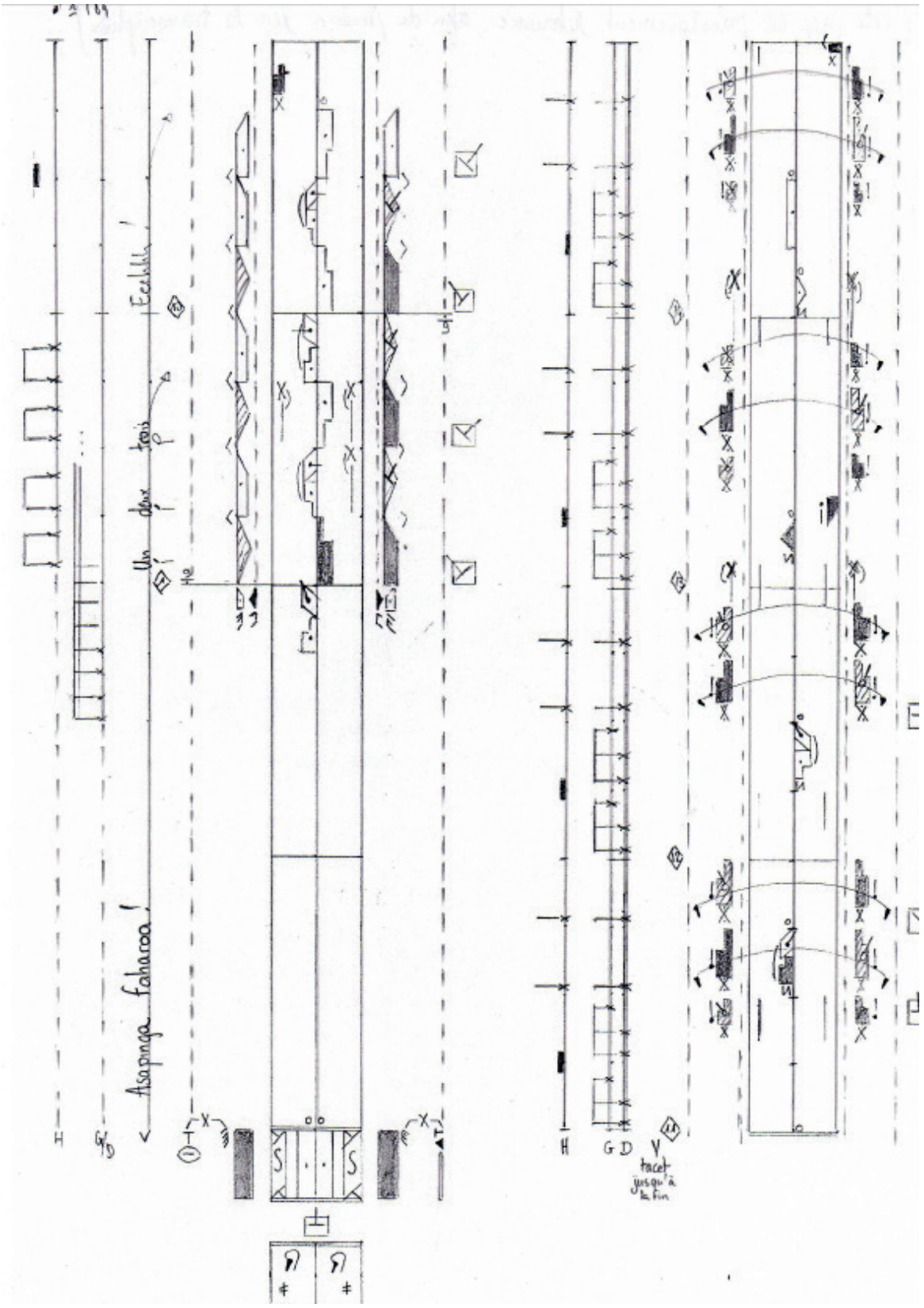


Figure N° 6 "L'Asapinga de Madagascar", notation Magali Deruyter

"Asapinga" signifie: travail du bouclier. Malgré ses nombreux points en communs avec la danse, elle ressemble beaucoup à une marche militaire.

Il s'agit d'une chorégraphie de groupe exécutée par des jeunes garçons disposés en deux colonnes côte à côte. Ils sont tous dirigés vers un meneur situé hors du groupe et qui lance vigoureusement des mots d'ordre comme: "miaraka tsara tsy misy" qui signifie: "bien ensemble sans retard". L'accompagnement rythmique est très strict et sec sans fioriture, ni broderie.

L'espace d'évolution de la danse est très restreint. L'ensemble du groupe ne se déplace pas puisque chaque pas dans une direction est compensé par un autre pas dans la direction opposée.

C'est dans le mouvement des bras que se situe le symbolisme le plus fort. En effet, c'est l'attaque et le combat qui sont représentés d'une part par des coups de bâton donnés dans le vide ou sur le sol et d'autre part par les chocs entre bâtons et boucliers.

Conclusions

Ces quelques exemples montrent bien que la Cinétographie Laban est un excellent outil pour développer les compétences analytiques, spécifiques au mouvement, nécessaires et indispensables dans la recherche en éthnologie de la danse.

Ces étudiants, après seulement 36 heures de cours, démontrent qu'ils peuvent appliquer ce système de façon pertinente et efficace dans leurs recherches.

La difficulté d'apprentissage d'un système de notation est souvent un faux argument qui contribue à empêcher le développement systématique de cette connaissance, alors que les avantages sont bien reconnus par toute la communauté des chercheurs.

Si l'étude en sciences sociales de la danse ne peut faire l'économie de l'étude des sociétés qui la pratiquent, de leurs conditionnements économiques, de leurs habitats, de leur vie relationnelle, de leurs valeurs et de leurs expressions culturelles, les éthnologues en danse ne peuvent pas non plus faire l'économie d'étudier le mouvement avec des méthodes adaptées.

Si la manière dont la danse regroupe et dispose les gens constitue une mise en ordre qui décide déjà des relations qu'ils vont avoir entre eux, si la danse montre de quelle façon un groupe vit les relations entre ses membres, de la même manière, l'analyse détaillée et précise de la façon de se déplacer, de se mouvoir, de se tenir, de se toucher, de se rapprocher, de s'éloigner, témoignent de la qualité de ces relations.

EMBODIED TRANSLATIONS OF MALLORCAN DANCE AND THE INFLUENCE OF ROMANTIC IDEOLOGY AS A PROCESS IN THE PRODUCTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

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Introduction

This paper examines the continuing influence of romantic, nationalist ideology represented in traditional dance on the island of Mallorca, and is explored through literary and embodied translations of dance. Ethnographic fieldwork was undertaken between 2003–2006 in a participatory context at dance classes in Palma and Soller, and at the *ballades* held throughout the island. The *ballada* is a social dance event that was created by leading members of the Mallorcan music and dance community in the 1980s. It is a spatial arena where they can dance for themselves, late at night in the village *plaças* (squares), away from the tourists gaze. There are two distinctive styles of dancing on the island, the revival form, which is an improvised style that originates from the *Escola de Música i Danses de Mallorca*, in the capital city of Palma. The other style is performed by *Aires Sollerics* in Soller, in the southwest of the island. Guillem Bernat, the director of this group, considers that this style originates from the European courts of the eighteenth century.

Mallorca lies in the western Mediterranean Sea situated to the east of the Spanish mainland, and is the largest island that forms part of an archipelago of islands, collectively known as the Balearics. The island's position in the Mediterranean makes it a popular holiday destination with 7,473,584 tourists visiting Mallorca in 2002–2003. In the same year the population of Mallorca was recorded as 730,778 [Institut Balear d' Esadistica 2003].

Literary texts on dance in Mallorca are written by authors from a historical perspective and represent dance in terms of nineteenth century romantic ideology. The literal translation of the texts have been adopted by the Mallorcan dance community, and embodied as representations of the dances 'authentic' characteristics in their transference to a performance context. I examine the ways that romantic nationalist ideology of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are used by the Mallorcan folk dance community, to create different artistic modes of performances for different audiences, oscillating between past and present for locals and tourists.

For this research, translators were used to assist with interviews and undertake some of the translations of articles in a bi-lingual context of Catalan and Castilian, the official languages of Mallorca. The texts' translations have been undertaken in a diachronic context of their reading.

> Literary texts have a double ideological content; they convey ideas and values from their writer/culture whilst validating the latter as capable of producing artefacts of general human worth. Literary translators are crucial mediators of this double content [Arsenijevic; Jones 2004].

I would suggest that as an ethnographer working in a performative context of fieldwork through participant observation, my body also acts in a mediatory manner in relation to the embodied translation of dance. My fieldwork trajectory incorporated somatic modes of experience in a bodily translation of the Mallorcan repertoire, but it also relied on mental stimuli in a linguistic translation of the dance terminology.

Romantic perspectives of Mallorcan dance in the original texts

A review of the local literature written by Mallorcan authors reveals certain characteristics and customs that are personified in current performances contexts of folk dance in Mallorca. In order to define how romantic nationalist ideology developed as a performance strategy in Mallorca, it is necessary to contextualise its development in literary texts in the Spanish peninsula. Philip (1997) argues that Spanish national romanticism did not fully materialise in the Spanish literature in the 1830s–1870s, but instead, in the twentieth century's pre-and interwar periods. There are exceptions, however, as texts such as Estébanez Calderón's *Escenas Andaluza* in 1847, indicates a resistance against French culture and Napoleonic control of Spain.[1] The War of Independence in 1808–1814 resulted in an explosion of nationalism throughout Spain with demonstrations of resistance to the French occupation, instigated by the commoners in the ports of Andalusia, in the south of Spain.[2] Suárez-Pajares and Carreira's investigation into *The origins of the bolero* (1993) suggest that this war brought a halt to the cultural hybridisation of dances by Italian and

French performers throughout Spain, and consequently, the rise and popularity of the *bolero* to become the national dance of Spain. Mallorcan musicologist and ethnologist, Francesc Vallcaneras states that it was at this point in history when Mallorca received all of its dances from Andalusia (the only area that France could not occupy). His main point is that "Mallorca never generated its own popular culture, and that its cultural traditions were imported from outside of the island" [Dankworth 2004: video recording].

The translations discussed in this paper have three differing strands embodied in the text: 1) the translations of the original texts on *Mallorquin* dance from a perspective of romanticism; 2) my ethnographic writing as a source of reference of fieldwork as a participatory embodied kinesthetic form of movement; 3) the continual translatable processes of dance and narration in performances, and in nationalist contexts at the *ballada.*

Artistic origins of the dances

Changes in the social aspect of *Mallorquin* dance that took place in the 1920s within the towns and villages, resulted in the formation of a number of folk dance *agrupaciones* (groups). Antonio Mulet discusses the formation of these groups in *El Baile Popular en Mallorca* (1956). From 1939-1977, the *Mallorquin* folk dances were filtered through the strict control of the *Sección Femenina's* (Women's Division of the Falange) *Choros y Danzas.* Estrella Casero-Garcia [1999:79] argues, "the Feminine Division functioned as a specialized agent in the indoctrination of women during the entire Franco period."[3] A branch of the *Sección Femenina* was based in the town of Manacor in Mallorca, although the archives in Manacor's *Centre de Cultura* do not contain any data of the *Choros y Danzas.* The reason for this lack of documentation is because one of the members of the masculine youth section burned the documents in 1977 when democracy was restored, for fear of eventual retaliation [Del Pilar; Rosselló 2002:76].

Guillem Bernat [1993:12] argues that prior to 1936 and even during the Franco regime, village dances were contained within families, some of who owned a particular dance. Bernat states that he had the exclusive right to dance the *Bolero Mallorqui* and the *Copeo Matancer* in the 1950s, up until he was fourteen years of age. He recalls how one couple were so possessive of their *Jota Pagesa* and *Jota Rabiosa* that others present would not dare to dance them, even when they were not there. I believe that in keeping these dances within Mallorcan families, it became a strategic move in a similar vein to Annette Weiner's theoretical perspective on "keeping while giving" [Weiner 1992:13], which makes them an inalienable possession.[4] Weiner's theory arose from her fieldwork in the Trobriands and Western Samoa, where she discovered that these inalienable possessions cannot be taken away or transferred to a different kin group. Bernat has also reconstructed a few dances from the *Sección Femenina's* repertoire for his group, "*Aires Sollerics,*" which are all choreographed dances.

Antonio Galmes in *Bailes populares Mallorquines* (1952) is the only author that mentions a former period of revival in *Mallorquin* dance in the 1950s, which is relevant to my research. Incidentally, this is a period when the folk dance groups first started dancing for the tourists, and had to apply for licenses from the town halls, asking for permission to dance. Here is a translated part of Galmes' text.

> These last years have seen a revival of *Mallorquin* folklore because of the multiple dancing groups that have been formed... these new groups have created new ways of dancing, potpourris of rhythms and melodies, mixtures of movements and invented figurations... [Galmes 1952:1-2].

Galmes discusses a prior practice of women leading one particular dance, the *boleros nuevo.* What is significant now though, is that this custom appears to have been adopted for teaching all couple dances in Mallorca.

The demise of the Franco Regime in 1975 opened up the way for the transition to democracy with Mallorca granted a decree of a Statute of Autonomy on the 1st March 1983. Mallorcan folklorist, Bartomeu Enseñat Estrany established the *Escola de Música i Danses de Mallorca* in 1975, and was the main protagonist of the present dance revival in Mallorca. He collected dances from the village elders in the 1950s for their eventual 'revival' in the 1980s, which he compiled in *Folklore de Mallorca* (1975). Enseñat's method of collecting dances bears some resemblance to Cecil Sharp in England in the early 1900s, in that their primary motivation was revivalism rather than scholarship.[5] He ignored the choreographed dances of the *Sección Femenina* in his book, and in his reconstruction of the dances, discarded any previous artistic elements inherited from the *Sección Femenina*, making women fundamental to the dance. Biel Hernandez, a teacher from the *Escola de Musica i Danses de Mallorca*, explains that Enseñat used to say that 'dance should be free without choreography'. This proved an extremely important change in the manner of dancing, and because of his influence young people assigned themselves to dance in a very positive new way.

> In the popular dances there is a big revolution, because you can see the dances in the circle now being led by the men. The dances must have an evolution, but I do not like it. I do not dance like they did one hundred years ago. My friends in the group prefer to dance as couples with women leading the dances. The circles are a modern tradition, but it is also the way that people can dance if they do not have a partner. The circle for me is not popular. Because of the *Sección Femenina* the dances have not been lost, but the problem was that they were prudish, and they were not interested in the couple dances and dressed up the dance [Hernandez 2005: interview].

It was the *Sección Femenina* who conceived of the spatial concept of the circles in which people dance, and this is now mainly used at the *ballada.*

With the onset of democracy musicians began to play in the streets, which had not previously been allowed under Franco. New music bands began to form, such as *Musica Nostra* in 1981, which were not affiliated to folk dance groups, unlike the formation of the more traditional groups, such as the schools in Palma and Soller. From this point onwards, the *ballada* was born. Miquela Llaudo a founding member and singer of *Musica Nostra* discusses how she, and two other members of the band who were originally members of the Enseñat school's performance group, left the school to start their own band.

> We realised that we wanted to be musicians, but we didn't want to wear the traditional costumes, and so the three of us decided to separate from the escola and started *Musica Nostra,* Pep Toni, Enrique and I. The *Sección Femenina* performed horrible dances and their music is what we call *Rondellas...* The fact is that these dances weren't authentic, and people felt very sensitive to this fact, so that's when people decided to start groups without costumes [Llaudo 2005: interview].

The consequences of the rigid control implemented by Franco's Falange on all areas of life, as neither books nor newspapers could be published in Catalan, means that very few texts on dance were written during Franco's reign. There have been a few publications since 1977, written from a historical perspective. The texts mentioned here highlight three main areas relevant to my research: 1) a previous period of revivalism in Mallorca in the 1950s when Mallorcans first danced for tourists. 2) The politics of gender and aesthetics employed as a performance strategy with a focus on the role of women leading couple dances. 3) The legacy left by the former *Sección Femenina* (Women's Division of the Falange Party) and their effects on the *Mallorquin* dances.

The continual translatable processes of dance embodied in the revival context

Sue Wright (2000) argues that 'romantic' identity has since been destroyed by post-war tourism in Mallorca. Contrary to Wright's position, I argue that romantic and nationalist identity is used as a vehicle in folkloric displays of dance as a mode of preservation, which connects dance to the cultural heritage of Mallorca. This is done through narration commenting on their dances historical origins, like the eighteenth century custom of the *pagesos* (olive pickers) to always auction the first dance at the fiestas. Vallcaneras acting as a narrator for a theatrical performance of the Enseñat school, describes how "a father would pay a sum of money to the host or event organiser for his daughter to dance the first dance, called *Sa Primera.*" Bernat believes that the role women were given at these auctions continues to influence the role of women to lead the dances today.

At the *ballada* a different type of identity has been created by the Mallorcans with the improvised dances that they perform for themselves, as opposed to the dances that they perform for the tourists. It is in the way that the *ballada* has been appropriated by two opposing groups of people though that the cultural traditions of dance and music are represented. One group within the revival context are more concerned with representing the music and dances in a contemporary way as 'live' art by employing new rhythms, electrical instrumentation, which complement the improvised dancing, leaving the *Sección Femenina's* staged choreography far behind them. Miquela Llaudo, from the band *Musica Nostra* argues:

> Our idea is that popular music must be something alive, or else popular music is like a museum piece, it is dead. So if you want to attract people you have to play music that people can identify with. I think our songs are more direct to people's feelings and are very up-to-date [Llaudo 2005: interview].

Figure 1. *Música Nostra, Ballada* at Sineu, Mallorca
(Photo by Linda Dankworth, 2005 October 8.)

The other approach is by the group, *Al Mayurka* who play contemporary music at the *ballades.* Toni Roig of *Al Mayurka* states, "for the tourists I play the authentic music, it's music that's one hundred years old, and at the *ballade*s it's new music we have composed." He has though, aroused a strong sense of nationalist contention in some quarters, by using the *ballada* as an event to promote local political causes, and also play music for political parties where organised demonstrations take place. *Mallorca's Independència Partit* (Mallorca's Independence Party) is one of the leading proponents of this nationalist fervour alongside of the *Joves d' Esquerra Nacionalista* (youths of the left nationalists). These political parties want independent rule from Spain and solidarity with other Catalan speaking regions, such as Catalonia, Valencia, and the other Balearic islands of Ibiza and Menorca. The aim of these political parties' is for Catalonia to be called a nation within Spain, and ultimately the same paradigm has proved popular with some of the more radical members of the community for Mallorca.

Figure 2. *Al Mayurka. Ballada* at Porreres, Mallorca
(Photo by Linda Dankworth, 2004 February 15.)

This nationalist contention is a constitutional problem that can be traced back to the occupation of the French Bourbon King, Phillip V, who arrived in Spain in the eighteenth century. He instated Castilian as the official language of Mallorca, abolishing Catalan in the same way that Franco succeeded in doing in the twentieth century. The arrival of Jaume I in the thirteenth century was for a brief existence to create a Mallorcan dynasty, making Mallorca a state independent of Spain, federated with Catalunya and Valencia. This paradigm is what the nationalists would like for Mallorca in the near future. While there is acceptance of the modernisation process of globalisation by the majority of people, some like Toni Roig argue,

> Twenty-five percent of the people living here are foreigners, and only fifty percent were born here. It's very dangerous for the language and the customs. It's not only Spain that can absorb us. Globalisation is terrible for me [Roig 2006: interview].

In conclusion, the paucity of Mallorcan literature from 1939–1977 is undoubtedly as a consequence of Franco's legacy and rigid control of all areas of life, especially culture and language. This has resulted in the Mallorcans' artistic mode of performance delivered through a romantic perspective associated with a purer past and idyllic way of life before Franco. In adopting their own past as its object of emulation, the Mallorcans have created a cultural heritage of their dances in a double content for themselves and for tourists. I argue that the development of mass tourism on the island has contributed in part to the present revival of dance as a defensive response by the Mallorcans to retain their cultural and traditional roots. Moreover, since the demise of Franco, the community have gained the freedom to develop a collaborative approach to artistic creativity, which they have brought to fruition at the core of their traditions.

The Mallorcan music groups have played a significant part in the construction of the *ballada*, although, in some cases the event has been exploited to instate a new nationalist politics, and a yearning for a past that is independent from the peninsula. The majority of Mallorcans, however, have accepted the concept of globalisation and through a revivalist framework of dance have aimed to create a new mode of identity that is innovative and embraces the future.

Endnotes

1. *Escenas Andaluzas* is a collection of stories that includes "*Un baile en Triana,*" which is relevant to the study of flamenco and Andaluzan culture.
2. The War of Independence, also known as the Peninsular War is where Spanish guerrilla fighters and their regular army defeated Napoleon, fighting alongside of British troops under the command of the Duke of Wellington (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, retrieved online: 05/01/2006).
3. Franco's Falange party was viewed as a traditionalist, conservative, and militaristic regime with close ties to the Catholic Church.
4. The power bestowed in soft items such as cloth or hard items like shells are intertwined with symbolism and cultural reproduction of the kin group, whether it's family, clan or dynasty. This exchange is accomplished primarily through 'keeping while giving' [Weiner 1992:13].

5. Revivalist contexts of dance can include dances collected in the past by folklorists for revival performances [Buckland 1983:316] and/or, covers "any dance event at which the participants actively perceive the connection with earlier events in that tradition" [Nahachewsky 2000:228].

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FROM FIELD TO PRACTICE: THE EMBODIMENT OF FIELD RESEARCH

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I would like to dedicate my paper to Dina Staro and the memory of her son Ricardo. In my mind Dina represents much of what I want to talk about concerning the embodiment of our research and Ricardo was a very gifted young man, also far on this path. Each of us personally, as well as our field, has suffered a loss too great to comprehend.

From field to text?

Although I have dedicated my life to what we do and am very passionate about it – sometimes I am overcome with existential melancholy when I reflect on the reasons for which we are writing all of these texts and archiving all of this material.

Traditionally the spoils of fieldwork have been deposited into archives for posterity. But what are our goals in creating collections of materials? To document and preserve traditions? If so, for whom? Do those people envisioned as utilizers of the materials have access or sufficient information to gain access? Do we want to make a resource for local peoples about their own traditions or for local or international scholars to study a region in depth or do comparative research? What is that research for and whom shall it benefit? Is it possible to give a general audience in a local or foreign area more insight into traditional culture, its development and hence the universal development of man through utilizing the materials gathered in field research? Are there other ways to facilitate this other than documentation on paper, film or audio media?

In this paper I would like to stress the importance of embodied fieldwork. I would like to present the idea of the fieldworker's body as the medium for "recording" and later dissemination and transmission of knowledge.

> "Like a letter from a poet to her editor, or Leonardo's sketches, the dancer is the document and an invaluable repository of the art" [Martha Ullman West 2006].

Apparently transient, how does the storage of kinesthetic knowledge in the human body compare with the seemingly more stable media forms of video, film, notation and description. Can it be considered scientific? And who should decide that? How do we evaluate knowledge that bypasses intellect?

This paper draws on my 25+ years of trying my best to embody a wide range of dance practices and the subsequent transmission of that knowledge to others via classes, performances and written works. It will compare my experiences with experiences of colleagues in the field of dance and music and their work, which straddles the realms of entertainment, popular science and education, academic publications and teaching as well as lifetimes of embodiment of other cultures.

Our preoccupation as dance scholars with the written word, analysis and text have, on the one hand opened my mind and widened my perspectives – and yet I also often wondered if what we do are the mental contortions of a relatively privileged class of white people with plenty of time on their hands. I wonder just what is the ultimate purpose of our work? WHY are we documenting dance, analyzing it and its contexts and meanings? Who are we helping with this work besides ourselves and the propagation of our species, that is, our students?

It seems to me that if we see more clearly what the ultimate goal of our work is...I mean the goal behind the accumulation of materials and the theorizing about them, then we will see more clearly what methods are needed.

Fügedi János commented to me that: "Research and movement are so interwoven in Hungary. That makes the main difference to many other schools...we always have in mind what we will do with the material." I think that we can agree that the Hungarian school of ethnochoreology is outstanding in the fields of documentation, structural analysis, archiving and transmission...and that this is due not only to an extremely rigorous scientific method, but also a tradition of embodied research practiced by Martin and his colleagues and followers and very apparent in the results of our colleagues, as for example Fügedi János...to name only one!

Documentation and preservation of tradition is one noble goal, much akin to the documentation and preservation efforts being made with our disappearing natural resources. Constructing theories about human behavior and analyzing structure are also noble pursuits, which help us understand the world and exercise our minds.

However, the question of meaning remains. How do we examine and learn from the deeper kinesthetic traditional wisdom that is embodied in the plethora of dance forms that this planet has produced. What is their

intrinsic value? Can we communicate them in text? And if we do manage to communicate it, WHO reads these texts? Perhaps we should be translating not only from field to text but also from field to bodies as well. We can utilize our embodied knowledge from the field to kinesthetically transmit bodily knowledge to our academic students (coaxing an acknowledgement by academia of embodied knowledge) but also to dance enthusiasts in classes and to wider audience through performance.

After spending much of last year (2005) speaking with music and dance colleagues about their views of embodiment I have found some very clear tendencies: Without exception, everyone that I interviewed who was a practicing musician or dancer in addition to being a scholar said that his embodied knowledge of his tradition was absolutely essential in really understanding the material. If I asked the question: do you think your embodied practice helps you to understand dance (or music) in a deeper way...the answer I inevitably got was "Absolutely".

Fügedi János told me for example: "If knowledge of movement is only in the head it is not moving, you can't find the essence of movement from the point of the performer (maybe the structure, and so on), but not the essence." Further he said: "when I see oriental dances I'm blocked. You have to feel the movement to understand it and notate it."

Misi Gábor said, "When you record a film in the field you watch only the surface of the movement. Then you talk with the peasants. Usually they can't verbalize about the movement. But if we learn the dances we discover the deep structure."

Owe Rönstrom said "without my embodied knowledge there are so many dimensions that I would not get."

All of us agreed, that in order to notate music or dance properly, it was not enough to just observe, and perhaps push the replay button many times, but we had to actually get up and dance the section or play the phrase in order to really "know" that we had got it right.

Yvonne Rainer, speaking about a film of one of her choreographies, "Because of the camera's fixed position and its tendency to foreshorten, the video and film of the dance lack the precision that live teaching can impart and reveal only the merest indications of patterns and directions" [West 2006]. The same goes for choreographing and composing. The basic concepts...like a sketch...are possible to create in our mind...but to really create the dance or compose the music we had to embody it.

It seems most obvious to me that the best way of transmitting movement is through embodied teaching practice. As good as any notation or book about dance can be it can never supplant the efficiency and directness of direct transmission.

Dance writer, Martha Ullman West states,

> Dancers are the living archives of dance history. Long after they leave the stage, in their minds and muscles they hold the memory of form, rhythm, mood, and intent, constituting an irreplaceable resource for performers, historians, and frequently the choreographers themselves.
>
> There are other ways of preserving the most ephemeral of the arts: film, video, various forms of notation; the visual record provided by painting, sculpture, and photography; sometimes written accounts. But whether a work's vocabulary is the flexed feet and filigreed hand gestures of South Asian dance, the straight spines and pointed toes of classical ballet, the contracted pelvis and floor bound movement of traditional modern dance, or the arm-swinging walking and running of postmodernism, there is no more viable way to transmit it than dancer to dancer [West 2006].

An embodied approach in the field is also pertinent. As Tvrtko Zebec put it: "When I was conducting research on carnival dance on Istria they accepted me much better or immediately when they saw I could dance." This is an experience that many of us have encountered.

There is a wonderful example in Sztanó Hédi's film on Martin: when Martin was trying to find a dancer named Mundruc in the village...but he had the wrong name and there were several good dancers in the village...in the end he was able to find him, by performing his motives and styles which he had embodied...or archived if you will, in his own body, for immediate retrieval. This embodied knowledge makes comparisons and communication with colleagues fast and thorough...instead of describing what we mean...or pulling out a video, we can quickly dance or play it.

Are we perhaps, after years in the field, our greatest resources/archives? Martin was a perfect example for me of this synthesis of embodied and intellectual knowledge...but there are many of you sitting in this room that are formidable living archives of their researched traditions. ...We should start to recognize and value the knowledge and richness embedded in our own bodies and see how sharing this "knowledge" directly from body to body can enrich our work. We should, in my opinion, be teaching theory and movement together in a synthesized form. From my early studies with Elsie Ivancich Dunin at UCLA I know that the movement classes, which in her case were filled with intellectual information and analysis...created deeper impressions and more integrated understanding for me than the seminars without movement. I still have vivid memories of the movement classes and the cultural information that I learned in them...30 years later...but no real clear memory of the purely theoretical classes.

My problem with academia has been that we can often not see the purpose of our work for all the reflectivity. My problem with the dance world has often been the relative lack of reflectivity. I spent much energy at an early part in my career wondering if I should pursue the path of an artist or of an academician...this dichotomy or separation between

the mind and body is so deep within us that it took me literally years to realize how important both facets of my work are and how they enrich each other: by being a practitioner of dance my understanding is deepened immeasurably, but also by reflecting intellectually on dance, my practice, and my art are deeper and more full of meaning.

Adrienne Kaeppler mentioned that true communication has to come from cognitive knowledge of a culture; however, I believe that cognitive knowledge is just the beginning...understanding language goes beyond grammar and structure...in the end you must embody the practice of actually speaking a language to find its true nature.

Clearly then, dancing and kinesthetic sensibilities are skills that we need to be teaching our students in academia... as equally important as notation, analysis, and other important academic tools. We expect excellence in intellectual pursuits, but I believe we need to encourage excellence in kinesthetic abilities as well...as essential tools for our field.

All of the people I interviewed agreed that although this embodiment of knowledge was intrinsically important, it was nearly impossible to talk about it...to actually verbalize this wisdom. We also seemed to be in agreement, that because it was impossible to talk about this "red cell" or body knowledge, it was easy to dismiss it as less or even unimportant...at least to the outside and to academia. As Owe Rönstrom put it: "It is easy to stumble into mysticism and metaphysics...but actually embodied knowledge is quite simple and down to earth.... it is the same as when we buy a carpet, or a car or hire a handworker...we are looking for an expert with embodied knowledge...someone who KNOWs how to fix our car or our sink. Tacit knowledge is not mystical but it doesn't mean that we can talk about it. If we could talk about it we could print a book about how to play music or build a house."

But unfortunately academia doesn't value this kind of "unknowable" knowledge...and so often we don't train people to become experts in it. At the same time artists and musicians also do their part of brushing off scholars thinking that because they aren't practitioners they can't possibly understand. Once again to use Owe Rönstrom's concept: they consider themselves to be in a privileged place of knowledge --- "I know because I am."

This is a basic reflection in our society of the mind/body or nature/intellect disassociation that is prevalent in our mainstream culture today. But it doesn't have to be this way. What we desperately need is a synthesis of these two realms of knowledge.

We are watching the world as we know it, disappear – perhaps it will choke to death, boil up, freeze or go up in one fast painless puff of atomic smoke – but the signs are all there – we are teetering on the edge of what might not only be the end of humanity but perhaps also life on this planet. The separation of mind and body or of nature and intellect is one of the main reasons we got into this predicament. Therefore the question: why am I doing this – what can the study of traditional dance, or dance in the human experience do to help in the acute predicament in which we are in? We watch the rapid disappearance of not only plant and animal species but also of human knowledge: languages, spiritual traditions, healing methods and the wisdom EMBODIED in traditional dance and music, are disappearing at an alarming rate. There is nothing particularly oohy gooey new agey about this concept. We all know from our experiences with a plethora of diverse dance traditions that I am referring to something very down to earth and concrete. Once again as Owe Rönstrom said: "We might be periphery in the academic world, but these phenomena (that is, music and dance) are not peripheral or unimportant in the world at all."

It seems to me that music and dance are probably even more vital to our lives than even we as dance scholars dare to admit. There is an intrinsic value in what we do. By providing a bridge to traditional embodied knowledge we are enabling some tiny part of important knowledge to continue with people who have been totally cut off from traditional life by modern industrial consumer society. Although I love dance and dancing, in the end I see dance as a vehicle for my real goal of trying to create some kind of understanding (however superficial that might be) of other cultures. By teaching and performing traditional dances from a wide variety of cultures, whose dance traditions would be almost invisible in the mainstream culture that surrounds us today, I seek to give my students and audience some sort of limited access to other cultures. I hope somehow that through confronting and embodying another tradition people will somehow grow to appreciate, understand and tolerate each other more. It's a seemingly impossible and idealistic task. But I DO see that I have been able to open minds and hearts over the years...much as the scholars and dancers from all over the world that have inspired me, have opened my heart, my mind and my physical experience in my body to an incredibly rich and varied understanding of the world we live in.

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MOTIVIC MICROSTRUCTURES AND MOVEMENT CONCEPTS OF EXPRESSION IN TRADITIONAL DANCES

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Introduction

The goal of the presentation is to raise a newer point of view in motivic analysis of dance. The key principle of analysis is the observation of the *motion* itself, the path and rotation of limbs, primarily the foot, since expression of traditional dances in the region of the Carpathian basin concentrates mainly to the legs. Observation now is limited only to spatial aspects, and is not extended to rhythm and dynamics.

In the following short samples of recorded motives performed by traditional Hungarian dancers will be referred to, which can be downloaded from the following website: <http://www.zti.hu/tanc/contrakinesis/>.[1] The films belong to the archive collection at the Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The first example (Example 1[2]) is a verbunk dance from village Kéménd, near the northwest border of Hungary. If the path of the active body part, the gesturing leg is observed, it can be stated that the foot performs a pendulum-like to-and-fro movement. The role of the supporting leg is considered low, and the opposite movement of the foot can be felt the main concept, the main expression of the motive. Let's have a look at a similar motive from another village near the one mentioned above. The dance in Example 2 is supposed belonging to a different dance type, to "ugrós", though the main feature of the movement remains the same. Let's regard this opposition the starting point of our investigation and name it *direction opposition.*

Another type of opposition can be found in the Hungarian folk dances, which appears independently, though rarely. Example 3 is the "Friends' Verbunk" from village Jóka, which represents a clear rotational opposition. The directional change of the foot is purely the result of leg rotation, and direction opposition such as in the previous examples can not be discovered. The rotational opposition as an independent movement phenomenon can also be found in the Eastern part of the Carpathian basin dance dialects, in the "legényes" dances, such as in Example 4. Example 5 compares the dances of Example 3 and Example 4. It can be felt that because of the apparent difference in rhythm the similarity can be discovered only in movement principle, how the limbs use space or how "play" with it.

The following main features can be pointed out in the examples introduced so far: the opposition is performed by the gesturing legs and the floor was contacted by the same part of the foot. Let's have a look at another short dance section from village Jóka, at a motive of the Bertóké verbunk (see Example 6). Almost the same pendulum-like movements ending in floor contact can be seen as in the first examples, but they are completed with opposite rotations. It can be said that the two types of opposition are superposed. The same principle can be discovered in another motive of the "legényes" from village Inaktelke in Example 7.

All oppositions examined so far were immediate, successive ones. Some different types were introduced so far and we will meet even more, therefore it deems advisable to identify the movement oppositions as general notions. Let's introduce the idea of *contrakinesis* as an immediate, successive movement opposition, which means movement pairs where a movement is followed right on the next rhythmical unit by an opposite one. Oppositions can be different. The immediate opposition content of movement pairs is definitely different from sagittal symmetry, which is a characteristic feature folk dances. Sagittal symmetry is a mirrored performance of movement sequences, which turns sides of the body. In the previous examples the direction of movement has changed but the side of the body not. Contrakinesis is primarily a principle of motive creation while sagittal symmetry is a principle of structuring dance.

The differentiation of the concepts is important from the point of structural analysis because it separates the movement theme from its ways of usages. While in the first examples above the contrakinetic directions were repeated several times on the same body side, in the verbunk dance from village Decs in Example 8 the theme is performed immediately to the other side of the body.

During research I came across further contrakinetic gestures. Observing a section of a csárdás from village Tyukod in Example 9 and Example 10 it can be realized that the man doesn't change the direction of his gesturing leg, neither its rotation intentionally, the main movement content of his motive is the consecutive touches of the floor with the opposite end points of his foot, with heel and the tip of the toe. In another section of this dance in Example 11 superposing of different contrakinetic structures can be discovered: the gesturing leg performs opposite directions (such as in the first examples), while it rotates in and out, and the two is completed with the change of the end points of the foot.

It is more and more apparent, the more contrakinetic principle is used, the richer, more exciting, more interesting

the dance becomes, and its immediate understanding gets harder, just as the spectator's ability imitating the performance. In the folk dances of the Carpathian basin many similar usages can be found. The dance named "zsibai" in Lele (Example 12) affirms this observation: the rotational opposition is simultaneous with the usage of the opposite parts of the foot, and it is completed with direction opposition on the left side.

Perhaps the "legényes" dances prove the most spectacular way, how deeply the principle of contrakinesis pervades the creation of ethnic dances – at least in the Carpathian basin. The contrakinetic theme preformed by István Mátyás from Magyarvista in Example 13 has a close relation with that of the verbunk – we just have seen – from the rather distant village Decs, which – for comparison – also appears on the screen. The contrakinetic movement pair, which in itself represented the main theme of the dance, may appear together with another contrakinetic pairs and the joint sequence forms a repetitive movement pattern such as in János Fekete junior's legényes from Bogártelke in Example 14. The dancer first crossed his lower leg backward then with an opposite movement he hit the supporting leg with his foot on the main beat. Then he performed a similar contrakinetic theme which could be seen before from István Mátyás. For comparing the two in Example 15, Mátyás's dance is slightly edited. It's short theme was stopped to synchronize the dancers. The edited section is indicated with different color.

The same contrakinetic movement theme can be discovered in Fekete János's another, technically very difficult motive in Example 16. For comparison, the previous motive is presented on the clip as well. The most apparent difference of the "legényes" contrakinetic themes compared with the verbunk and csárdás ones introduced is, that the "legényes" dancers never repeat a contrakinetic theme identically, while in the other types the dancers do.

Searching for examples I investigated several published scores and motive collections. I found that in each case a gesturing leg performed two successive movements, these pairs resulted a contrakinetic structure. On the bases of what presented above and the investigation of collections the following hypothesis can be stated for the folk dance creation of the region: *successive leg gestures on the same side of the body are contrakinetic.*

Further examples can illustrate the hypothesis. All dances belong to the type of slow man dances, different from dance types presented so far. In the slow "legényes" from Ördöngösfüzes in Example 17 the gesturing leg performs opposite path independently form the change of motive structure. Hardly any end point of the gestures can be stated in the slow "legényes" from Szék in Example 18. The structure is apparently amorphous both in rhythm and space. Though one rule can be discovered: each gesture is contrasting the previous one either in direction, or in rotation, or in part of the contacting foot. Similarly amorphous dance is the slow "legényes" from Feketelak in Example 19. A basic contrakinesis is the to–and–fro rotation though direction and part of the foot opposition can be found as well.

The principle of contrakinesis is not limited to gestures, it can be found in support movements as well. One of the most evident example is the change between a sideward open and closed position, as performer by the Kéménd dancer in Example 20. The foot as an endpoint of the leg performs opposite directions. The same simple support opposition can be discovered in an ugrós from Alap in Example 21, as a part of a compound motive. We can realize that the dancer performed two contrakinetic themes, the first part of the compound motive is a gesture opposition, a variation of the sideward pendulum-like gesture. The second member is about the same which could be seen in the previous clip of the Kéménd dancer where the path of the supporting feet draw contrakinetic lines.

A feature of these oppositions is that while the legs perform contrakinetic path, the center of gravity stays on the same spot. Another type, but from this point similar contrakinetic pattern is the very common and characteristic motive of the Carpathian basin dances as performed in Lele in Example 22. Rotational opposition can be found among the supports just as well as in case of the gestures.

One of the most characteristic examples can be shown in the "legényes" from Inaktelke in Example 23. The motive is built of two, well separable themes, one consists of opposite rotation pairs in support, the other in the air and on the earth.

Another type of rotational opposition is, when both legs are rotated the same direction then both to the other, also represented by a motive from Lele in Example 24. The essence of the motive is the simultaneous rotation of the supporting and contacting feet, without direction opposition. A similar one has already been introduced in the verbunk from Jóka in Example 25. Both motives are built according to similar spatial principles.

A short ugrós dance from village Perkáta in Example 26 closes the line of illustrations, now in real tempo. All the types of contrakinesis introduced so far can be found in it: oppositions of gesture and support directions, that of symmetric and parallel asymmetric rotations, different oppositions of the parts of the foot, and contrakinetic symmetry as well, that rare occasions, when spatial symmetry and contrakinesis meet. Not the whole dance, but the bulk of movement themes is formed by contrakinetic movement pairs.

Perhaps we can risk the statement, that contrakinesis is certainly a generative principle in folk dance creation in the Carpathian Basin.

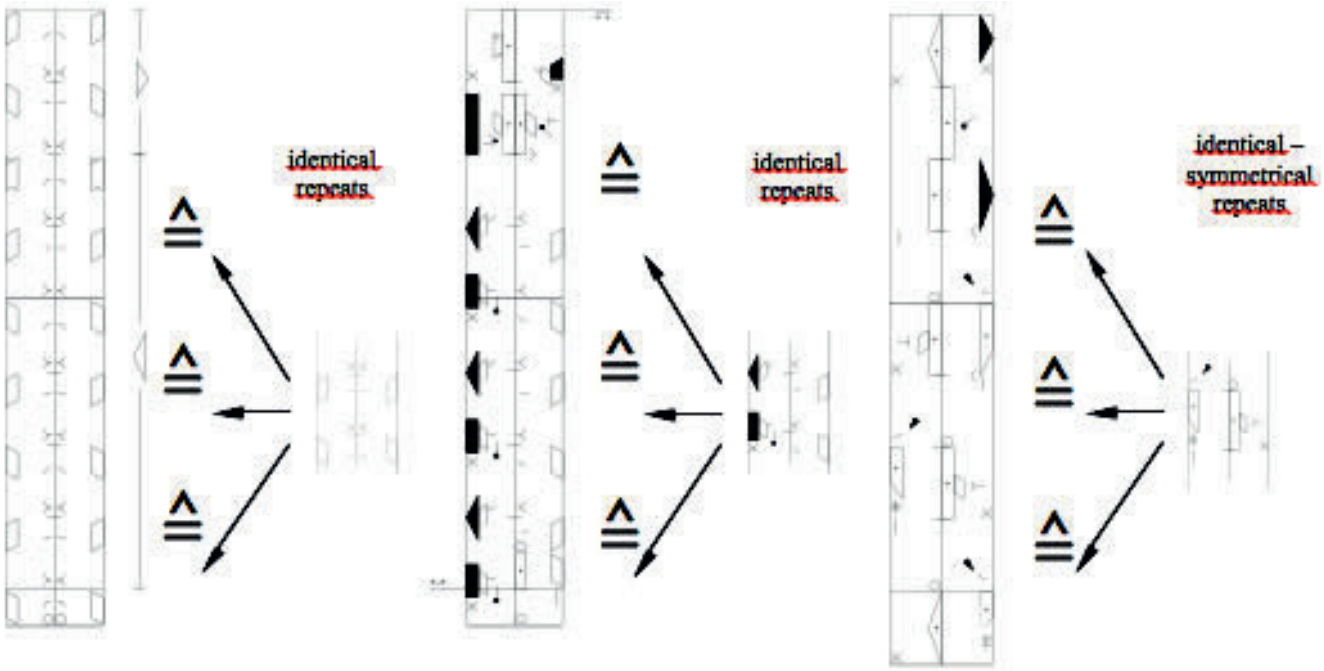
Theoretical considerations

György Martin (1999, 11-16) in his work on motive typology stated six points as basic characteristics of a motive. A motive – he says – is:

1.) the smallest organic unit of dance
2.) a repetitive formal unit of dance
3.) a formal unit which can be called back in memory

4.) a manifestation of the primary creation of dance forms
5.) an expressive formal unit of dance
6.) the smallest unit of dance which can be kept in tradition

All the examples shown in this presentation prove that the six criteria is true for the contrakinetic movement pairs, which either coincide with a motive or not. Let's have a look at the notation below.



legényes (Martin 2004, 318) legényes (Martin 2004, 264x) pontozó (Karsai-Martin 1989, 88)

The long movement sequences are motives as Martin stated, and the short sequences can be found several times in the motives. Martin's first criteria, which declares a motive the smallest organic unit of dance therefore can be concluded, that those structural elements which were regarded motives so far *form a higher structural level* when consist of more successive movements than three. In case of different dances or in the practice of different performers the contrakinetic microstructures as introduced here may be re-organized and the way of their combination can be the characteristics of practice.

Apparently, contrakinesis can be discovered only in certain dances and in certain motives. Though it can be even a question of dance history which types of dances carry contrakinetic features or existence of contrakinesis can be correlated to a certain regional or ethnic group.

The main points of the presentation were:

1.) the notion of contrakinesis was introduced and defined
2.) some types of contrakinesis were presented
3.) a hypothesis for gestures was stated
4.) use of contrakinesis was proved in support as well
5.) the significance of contrakinesis was raised in analyzing structure of dance and motives
6.) binary and tertiary movement units were assumed as basic structures of folk dance in the Carpathian basin.

Endnotes

1. The digitized film clips can be viewed only if downloaded, since they are not streaming video files. The clips' titles in the given website follow the same naming convention. The naming convention is explained on the name of first clip "Ex_1_Kemend_verbunk_0591_11.mpg". "Ex_1" is the serial number of the example, "Kemend" represents the name of the village the dance is from, without the Hungarian accents. The name of the village is followed by the name of the dance, in this case "verbunk". "0591" shows the archive number of the films in the Traditional Dance Archive of the Institute for Musicology (Hungarian Academy of Sciences), and the last digits "11" identify the dance on the film. Clip names consisting two village names represent no new dance, and dances are compared visually in the same clip. The files are converted into MPEG1 format.
2. In the text of this study the clips are identified by the serial numbers of the examples at the indicated website.

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FORMAL METHODS IN FORM ANALYSIS OF TRANSYLVANIAN MALE SOLO DANCES

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This paper is a brief version of the work that won the first prize on the competition held by György Martin Foundation in 2006.

Introduction

In analyzing Transylvanian improvised male solo dances (usually called *legényes*), the Hungarian dance structural analytical school introduced and applied several concepts and methods. György Martin, Ernő Pesovár, Mária Szentpál and Olga Szentpál made dance form analysis a scientific discipline in Hungary since they used Kinetography Laban as a tool.

From a computational point of view, some of their theoretical definitions still contain inaccuracies, resist formalization, and therefore cannot be applied in practice without relying on intuition. Some problems will be discussed below in seven points in connection with specific areas of analysis – some of them are related to *legényes* only and some are more general.

1. Dance segmentation

György Martin and Ernő Pesovár used the concept of motif for segmentation. A motif is a recurring unit and the smallest organic one. Examining this definition, the meaning of organic ("relatively closed" Martin–Pesovár 1961:5) is not clear enough formally. Nevertheless, in practice Martin and Pesovár constituted segments in another way, with music measures; and therefore their method produces too many motif variants. Another method that was introduced by Mária Szentpál (Szentpál, M. 1981) highlights small units based on movement analysis. This generates fewer variants but unfortunately ignores the relationship between music and dance.

This paper proposes a method that takes music into account and produces few variants.

2. Connections between structural units

According to both methods mentioned above (Martin's and M. Szentpál's), structural units connect themselves to each other, that is the connections are part of the units. On the other hand, in Olga Szentpál's view there are separate linking elements between motifs, which may consist of only one movement phase (Szentpál, O. 1958).

It will be worth separating short dance parts as linkers in *legényes* also.

3. Unit classification

György Martin and Ernő Pesovár defined a support index as the primary attribute for the classification of motifs. In the article where it was introduced (Martin–Pesovár 1963), the support index is not well defined in the case of a jump from two legs to one leg (Robert Henry Leibman also noted this, Leibman 1992). Later Martin described it exactly (Martin 1964) but it became too complicated. Additionally, it does not work so well with dances containing many gestures like *legényes*. The classification attribute should rather be some kind of a motif-core similar to what György Martin and Ernő Pesovár introduced with the concept of the nucleus of a motif. But this concept ("the least variable component part displaying a relative steadiness" Martin–Pesovár 1963:305) is formally imprecise. In practice their classification is rather intuitive and difficult to understand in some cases.

In his last works Martin added two new attributes to the classification: fusion and function of motifs. In the end, fusion is also a function, since it describes functional connections of adjacent little units.

According to this paper function should not be dealt with during classification (only at the time of dance representation, see point 6.) Classification must be performed on the basis of the form of dance units only, and dance notation should be capable of extracting the common part of units.

4. Representative unit

For the typical form of a motif, Olga Szentpál or György Martin suggests to choose an instance of the motif class according to quantitative and qualitative features (Szentpál, O. 1958; Martin 1964). (Obviously quantity cannot mean simple motif frequency, since each instance is different; it means the frequency of the qualitative components.) Martin argued against creating a schema from the instances but he also applied templates when he used the support index or the nucleus of motif. This paper uses schemas to represent a dance unit class and these schemas will be formulated with dance notation.

5. Unit naming

In research papers a unit name sometimes refers to an instance of a motif class and sometimes to its representative form. The instances and the representative form should be distinguished by notation and also by name to remain formally correct. Additionally, unit names should be more uniform than before so that several papers can refer to each other.

6. Written dance representation

For dance representation, a) structural formulas (Martin–Pesovár 1961), b) charts (Martin 1977) and c) analytical tables (Karsai–Martin 1989) are in use. The first two description types are too general and in fact, the scaled drawings of the second may be too subjective. The third form, that is, the analytical tables properly show a detailed 'how-to-dance' prescription but it is not too easy to follow the cross-links of the tables.

William C. Reynolds suggested a reader-friendly generative graph where motifs are placed in graph vertices, edges show the connections and numbers can indicate frequencies of motifs and their connections (Reynolds 1994). Reynolds described a dance that was analyzed by someone else. According to the description, in the case of compound motifs the dancer's choice points are always located at the end. This is not necessarily true: they can also be inside these motifs, so there is a problem here, which relates to segmentation.

7. Mistakes of the dancer

A mistake is a special non-repeating part in dance. The dancer did not want to use that movement and will not want to reuse it. Publications in Hungary do not show mistakes in dances, as if they did not exist. Researchers corrected the mistakes during the notating phase or later, but it was not documented when, where or how – probably with intuition.

Evaluating a mistake as a motif can be misleading. Mistakes should be recognized so as not to insert them into the written dance representation. Mistake recognition should not be left to the intuition of the researcher watching film; rather, it should be based on the examination of dance notation in this case as well.

* * *

Csilla Könczei is aware of most of the problems mentioned above. She turns to semiotics to decrease the role of intuition in the case of the *borica* dance (Könczei 1990). This paper takes another approach to ensure a higher level of objectivity: it applies formal concepts and methods.

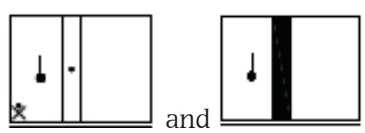
A formal method means a method that works only with notation, that is with written graphical signs without any meaning. Formal methods were used in mathematics first at the beginning of the 20th century but other sciences have also adopted them, including linguistics in the 1950s, 1960s.

Since formal methods will be dependent upon the quality of notation, that is, how detailed and graphically standardized it is, notation conventions have to be complied with before performing an analysis.

The notation of the analyzed dance presented in this paper describes the movement in great detail without modifications (including mistakes), yet it is standardized. Synonyms are avoided, for example, knee bending is always drawn with second-degree measurement sign and never with a low-level direction sign. Additional graphic standards are applied, for example, the column usage is consistent: a rotation sign for turning is drawn in the support column (never beside the staff), or a given part of the trunk is always placed in the same auxiliary column.

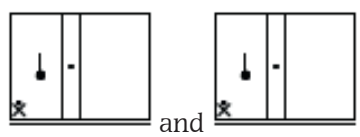
Formal concepts

Definition: Two kinetograms are semantically equal if they describe the same movement.
Example:

 and are equal semantically.

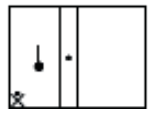
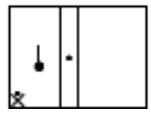
Definition: Two kinetograms are syntactically equal if they describe movements with the same signs, each with the same meaning.

Example:

 and are equal syntactically.

Definition: Two kinetograms are graphically equal if they describe movements with the same signs, each in the same 2D position.

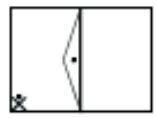
Example:

 and  are equal graphically.

Semantic equality is a consequence of syntactic equality and syntactic equality is a consequence of graphical equality. (These statements are not true conversely.) Although the semantic equality is the most general, further concepts will remain at the graphical level where they are the easiest to define and handle. Notation can be approached at the graphical level by applying the notation standards mentioned before.

Definition: Let a Laban-pattern be a two dimensional figure consisting of signs of Kinetography Laban where the position of each sign is set in a coordinate system determined by the support line and the first measure line.

Example:

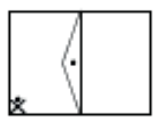
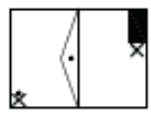


Remark: The staff lines are not part of a Laban-pattern; they are drawn to show the coordinate system.

A Laban-pattern can be defined as a mathematical structure: a set of ordered quadruple. The four elements of an ordered quadruple are: a unique identifier and three real numbers (two coordinates, and a length). Size, intersection and subtraction are defined for it as a set. A special intersection named sign-majority intersection can be defined concerning a certain percent majority of signs in given positions. Transformations on a Laban-pattern are definable: mirroring transformation (for each set element: id and x coordinate exchange) and lengthening transformation (for each set element: y coordinate and length multiplication).

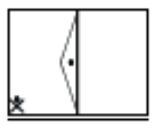
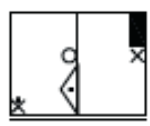
Definition: A Laban-pattern matches an other Laban-pattern sign-length-identically (strong match) if each sign of the Laban-pattern has a corresponding sign in the other Laban-pattern: with the same form on the same 2D position and with the same length.

Example:

 matches  sign-length-identically.

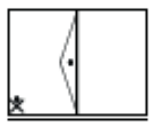
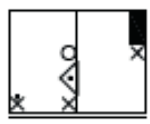
Definition: A Laban-pattern matches an other Laban-pattern in a sign-length-tolerant way (weak match) if each sign of the Laban-pattern has a corresponding sign in the other Laban-pattern: with the same form on the same 2D position.

Example:

 matches  in a sign-length-tolerant way.

Definition: A Laban-pattern matches an other Laban-pattern in a pre-sign-tolerant way (very weak match) if each sign of the Laban-pattern has a corresponding sign in the other Laban-pattern: with the same form inside a pre-sign-length 2D environment.

Example:

 matches  in a pre-sign-tolerant way.

Remark: The second and third equalities are defined for semantic reasons of course.

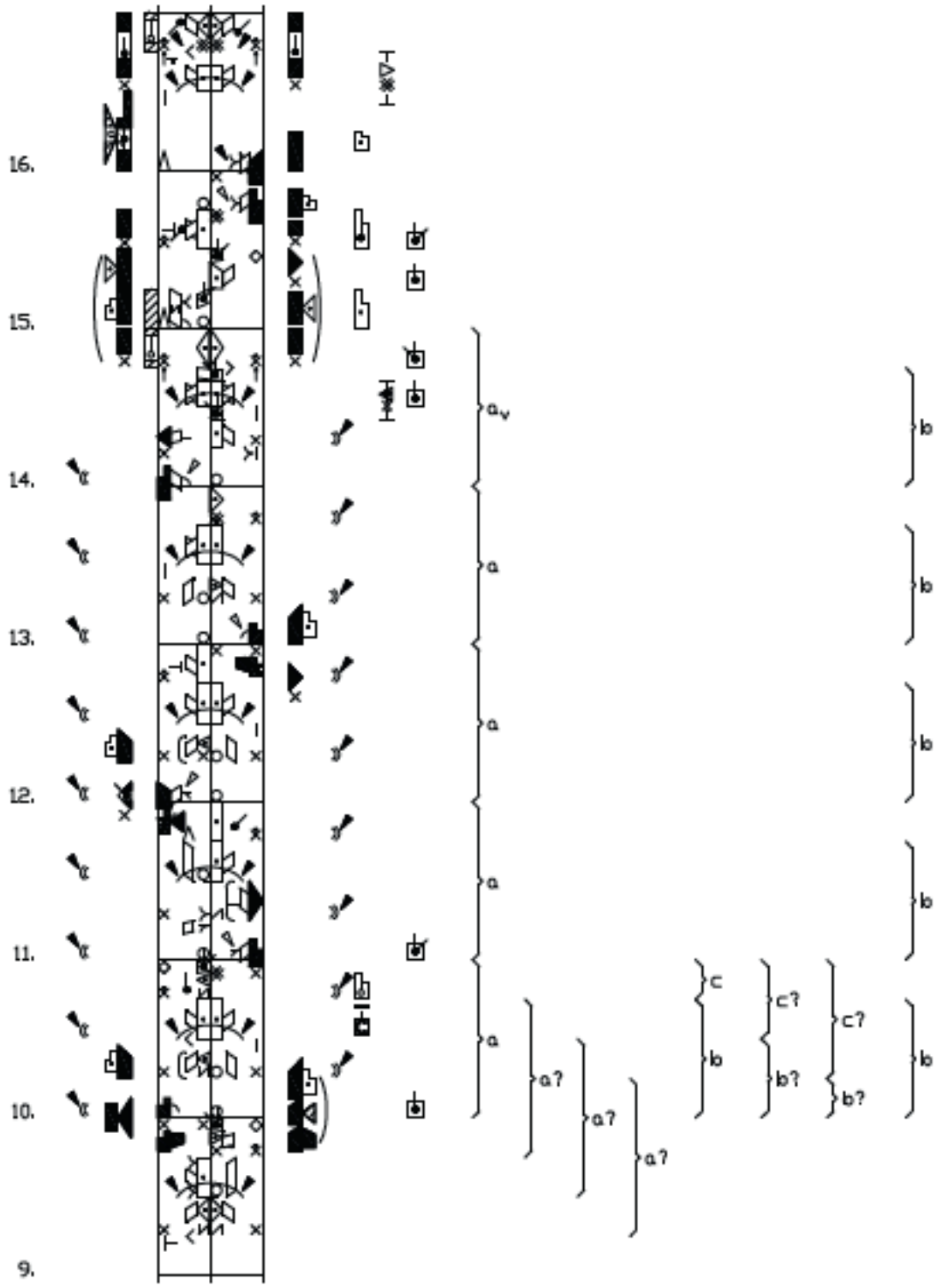
Additional matches can be defined: symmetric, augmented matching (with the aid of the mathematical transformations of Laban-patterns), logical expressions for matching (with logical OR, NOT operators) and wildcard matches (introducing wildcard signs).
A Laban-pattern occurs in another Laban-pattern if it matches the other one with a shift in placement. A Laban-pattern repeats in another Laban-pattern if it occurs in at least two places in the other. At a certain place of an occurrence, the identified part of the Laban-pattern produces an isolated, new Laban-pattern.
The distance and similarity of Laban-patterns can be calculated from several occurrences (using size, intersection and subtraction of Laban-patterns).

It is important to note that the above definitions are based on notation, and not explained in terms of movements.

These concepts can be applied to formal dance analysis: matching and repeating for segmentation, distance and similarity for classification, intersection and sign-majority intersection for creating representative forms.
The occurrences produced as a result of the same query are similar; this is trivial if the mathematical concepts are properly defined. It is provable that the sign-majority intersection has some unfavorable properties compared to the simple intersection: it does not match each pattern that it was created from.
Although all of these concepts were defined in a rudimentary (not sign or column weighted) manner, they were used in the analysis of three Transylvanian male solo dances.

Applying formal methods
The analyzed three dances: "magyar", "sűrű", "verbunk".
Dancer: János Lőrincz, born 13/08/1916, Szépkenyerűszentmárton, Sânmărtin, Romania.
Field work: László Füleki and Gábor Misi, 14/08/1994.

The figure below shows a dance period of "sűrű". Measures No. 9–14 contain repeating four-phase subsequences: 1. touching gesture + 2. side movement + 3. closing legs + 4. one leg support + and so on.



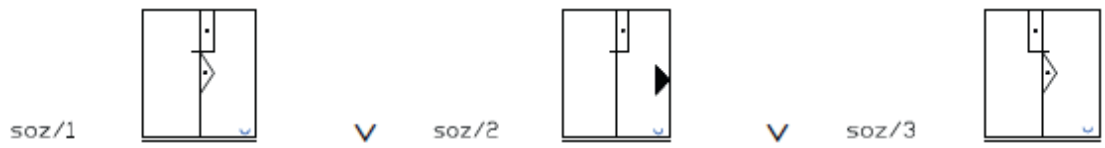
Because of the repeating subsequences, theoretically segments can be constituted in four possible ways with unit start shifting. (See ‘a’ and ‘a?’-s. ‘a’ belongs to Martin’s segmentation, the left-most ‘a?’ shows a Szentpál’s unit).

To avoid variants (‘a_v’), connections (‘c’) can be made between dance units (‘b’, no ‘b_v’). Such a unit (‘b’) is called "dance element" instead of "motif", and only the recurring criterion was used for it. What is the length of this dance element (‘b?’=’a’–‘c?’)? It is determined with an optimum calculation: ‘b’ is 3 phases long here (covering 5 measures), because a 4-phase unit would produce fewer occurrences (only 4 measures would be covered, the 14th measure has no "+4. one leg support"), but it makes no sense to build a model with 2-phase dance elements (no more than 5 measures would be covered).

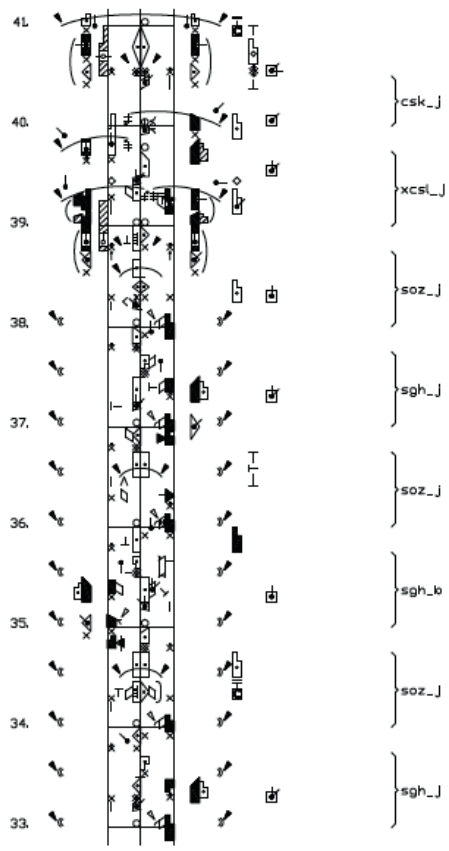
This analytical method determines the longest sequences – or more precisely, the longest sequences starting on main beats – in an iterative way, with several tries to cover parts in Laban kinetograms. (Gaps between dance elements are allowed as linkers).

Measures are covered by constructing queries and performing the related searches to examine pattern match.

The next figure shows such a query, which is constructed as a three-component OR expression (to cover sub-patterns where in the second phase a support or a gesture can occur, and in the third phase either leg can close). It contains a grey wildcard sign that means any hook (in the first movement phase the foot can touch the floor with various parts of the heel or sole). 'soz' is a made-up name that come from the first letters of Hungarian words.



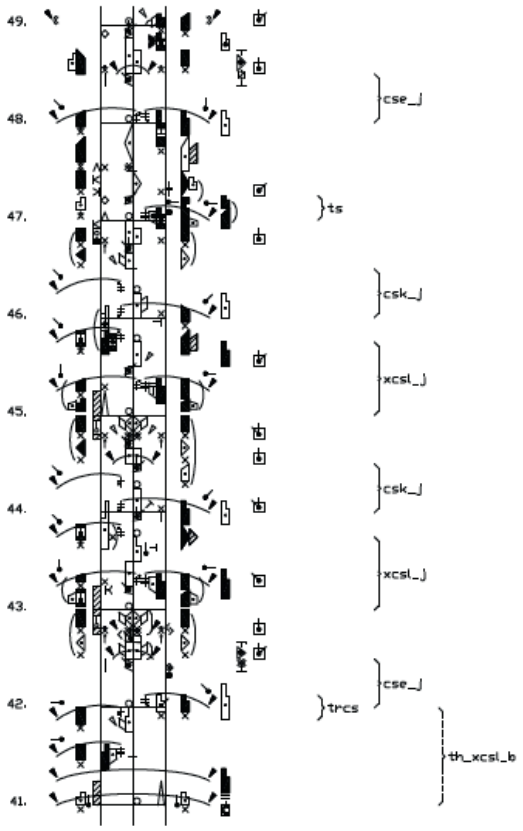
In searches for Laban-patterns very weak match is used. With the aid of search parameters, the found patterns can be distinguished: the '_j' postfix indicates the identical (right-leg), the '_b' postfix the symmetric (left-leg) instances. An '_aug' postfix means augmented patterns that can be found in the other two dances ("magyar" and "verbunk").



This period contains 3 instances of the 'soz' dance element. Measures between these elements were covered with a new query named 'sgh'. Constructing new queries and performing the related searches will gradually cover more and more measures.

As a result of 17 consecutive searches, all the measures of the three sample dances were successfully covered in following ratio: 29 out of 40 in "Magyar", 47 out of 62 in sűrű", and 23 out of 33 in "verbunk". Of the 17 patterns 5 were found in all three dances, 4 in "magyar" and "sűrű", 2 in "sűrű" and "verbunk", 2 only in "magyar", and 4 only in "verbunk". Of the 17 patterns 7 occurred as symmetrical instances, and 5 as augmented patterns.

Not all measures have to be covered: a dance part is not regarded as a dance element if it is non-recurring (for example, the 41st or the 47th measure in the next figure). For the time being, such a part is understood as a long connecting part.

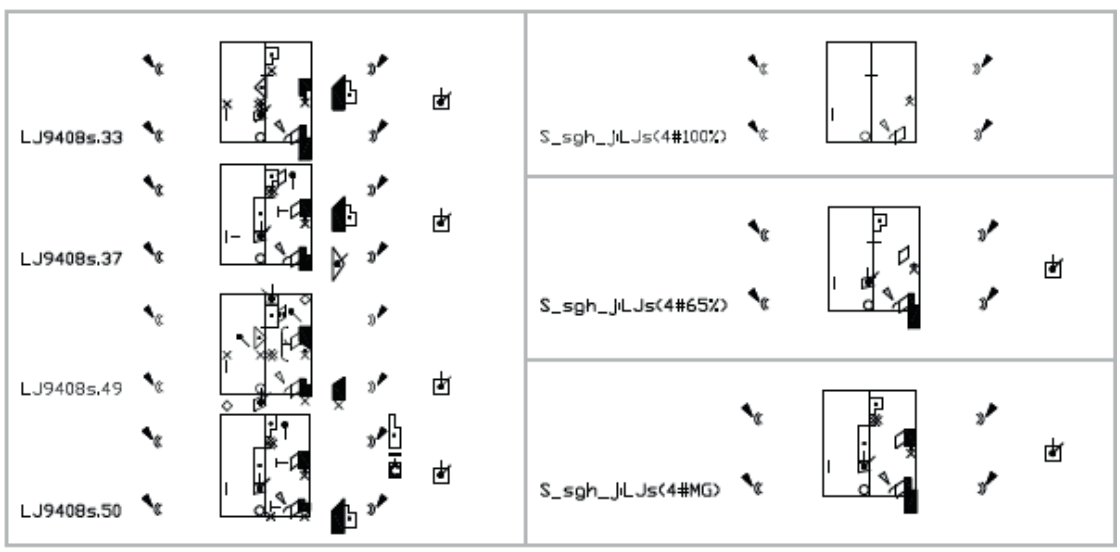


Obviously, a non-covered part can be repeated in a larger sample of notated dances. However, it can also be a mistake of the dancer. In the sample analysis mistakes were recognized. To diagnose them, pre-queries were performed for mistake-suspicious patterns: loss of balance ('ts' in the figure above) and unusual rhythm (an sixteenth among the general eighths) ('trcs'), which are actually indicated in the notation.

In the 41st measure there is an example for a mistake (namely 'th_xcsl_b' part is a faulty version of 'xcsl_j', see the 45th measure): the dancer clapped twice rather than once, and therefore his usual movement fell behind the music until he corrected it at the end of the measure with 'trcs'.

During the analysis three mistake types were identified: 1. "vestigial", 2. "shifted in music" 3. "length-changed" (extended or compressed) forms or a combination of the three. It was found that the mistakes appeared close to each other in clusters and at a late phase of the analysis it was realized that a dance element instance was imported from another dance type (from "verbunk" to "sűrű") – this is identified as mistake type 4. "local non-repeating" element (probably it is part of a dancer's attempt to make a correction).

The dance element instances were gathered in a number of classes based on the queries. One such class is shown on the left side of the next figure, where 4 isolated occurrences are displayed as a result of the 'sgh' query (with IDENTICAL search-parameter). About the naming conventions: for example, LJ9408s.33 means the segment that started at the 33rd main beat of the "sűrű" danced Lőrincz, J. in 08/1994.



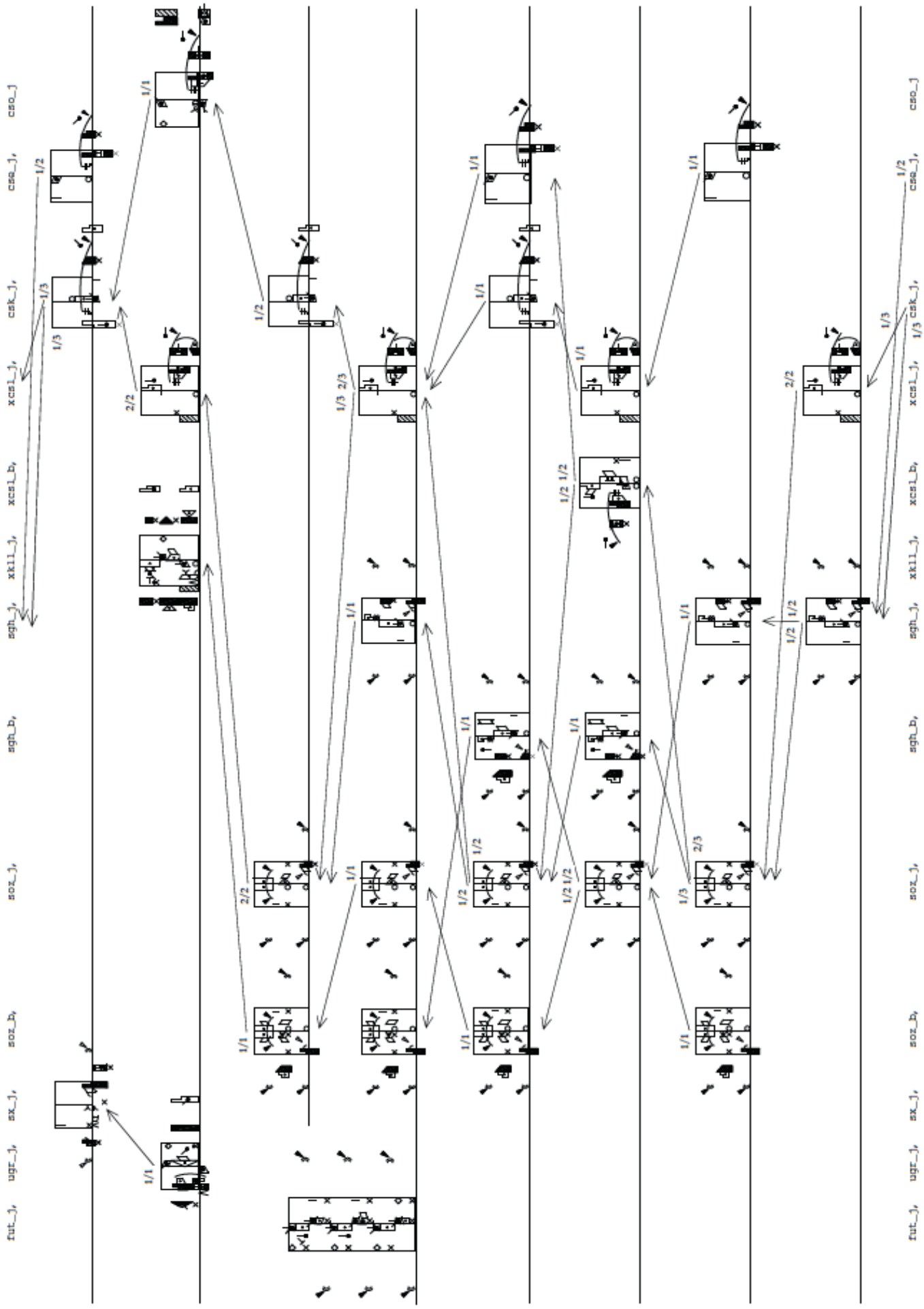
On the right, there are some attempts for composing the typical form of this dance element from 4 instances. Their names start with the letter 'S' (for 'schema'), in parentheses the number 4 means the number of instances, and the percentage figures of 100% or 65% means the percent used in creating the sign-majority pattern. The third kinetogram was created from the second by manually adding signs of Kinetography Laban that make it error-free and danceable. This completed form will be inserted into the written dance representation.

The first two kinetogram-schemas were not only drawn but generated with computer program named Labanatory. The third completed kinetogram will appear in the 7th column of the representation as 'sgh_j' (right-leg) dance element.

The next page shows the dance representation of "sűrű". (Similar graphs can be constructed for "magyar" and "verbunk" dances.) The kinetograms of the dance elements are placed in columns according to dance element types, and in rows according to placement in a music period. The succession of dance elements is indicated with arrows. At the beginning of each arrow a fraction appears, where the numerator is the frequency of the connection in question, and the denominator is the frequency of dance element at that place, so the fraction is the likelihood of how the dance will continue. In order to make the figure easily readable, horizontal lines represent measure lines. At the top of the page, the arrows do not loop back to the start of the periods but point to column labels, which are repeated at the bottom.

This 'measure-start graph' represents a model for improvisation of each analyzed dance. The dancer can compose a dance while 'reading' it. When he hears the music – cf. (Giurchescu 1983) –, he chooses the appropriate dance graph and then follows a path in the graph. He has to recall a movement schema from his memory at each main beat and decide on the next direction in the path while he has to connect the dance elements – the connecting movements are not drawn in the graph. (Evidently, the dancer's mistakes and all the non-recurring dance parts are not inserted into the graph.)

A measure-start graph contains the dance elements, their connections, frequencies of the dance elements and their connections. Researchers can study the construction of the dance in a graph and examine permanent connections that create the dance parts that György Martin called compound motifs.


cso_j
csa_j
csk_j
xcs1_j
xcs1_b
xk11_j
sgh_j
sgh_b
soz_j
soz_b
sx_j
ugr_j
fut_j

Summary

This paper offered some solutions for seven problem groups of folk dance form analysis.

1. For segmentation the longest sequences were considered.
2. The connections of segments were handled separately.
3. Classification was determined by similarity of notation.
4. Representative forms were composed with (sign-majority) intersection in notation.
5. The representative form and the instances were also distinguished by name.
6. The written dance representation was a measure-start graph excluding mistakes.
7. Dancer's mistakes were recognized during analyses at several process phases.

The essence of the methods was pattern search, based on notation. To put it simply, vertical search in Laban kinetograms was used to segment units and horizontal search to classify these units.

The method of the longest sequences decreases the number of variants, and thus enables simple dance representation. This method is capable of determining sequences regardless of their length, from the shortest to quite long units. Search queries can assist other methods like György Martin's or Mária Szentpál's, since pattern matching can also be used with them.

Searches are useful for checking the uniformity of a notation in a series of steps, where the user arrives at a standardized notation. Searches and all formal methods can easily be supported by computer applications in dance analysis (Fügedi 1995; Misi 2002). Having formal concepts and methods a) is desirable to facilitate dialogue between researchers on a higher level of objectivity, and b) is necessary to describe algorithms for computer-aided dance analysis.

Dance notation was not simply a tool in this analysis but a fundamental device without which the operations would not have worked at certain parts of the analysis. The analysis has not been able to eliminate intuition entirely, but all the steps where intuition was used have been noted. 1. The automatically generated notation schemas were not perfect as typical forms of dance elements (apparently, Kinetography Laban has limitations in this respect), and therefore they had to be complemented through human intervention. 2. Search queries were also constructed by human intellect. Even in the latter situation where intuition has to be relied on, mathematical statistics or data mining methods can serve as a useful aid for researchers.

In the words of the "father of the modern computers":

> It is perfectly clear that we can assemble information which is more elaborate than ever before, and in larger quantities. In decision-making, the situation is somewhat different. There have been developed, especially in the last decade, theories of decision-making – the first step in its mechanization. However, the indications are that in this area, the best that mechanization will do for a long time is to supply mechanical aids for decision-making while the process itself must remain human. The human intellect has many qualities for which no automatic approximation exists. The kind of logic involved, usually described by the word "intuitive", is such that we do not even have a decent description of it. The best we can do is to divide all processes into those things which can be better done by machines and those which can be better done by humans and then invent methods by which to pursue the two. We are still at the very beginning of this process. John von Neumann, 1955 [Neumann 1963].

We have to give formal description to more and more methods used in dance analysis. In this way we are able to move towards a partially automated dance analysis.

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THE FOLK DANCE GROUP AS A CULTURAL PHENOMENON IN BULGARIA: THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION AFTER 1989

DANIELA IVANOVA
Bulgaria

My presentation is about the Bulgarian folk dance group (ensemble), examined only very broadly here, juxtaposing its role and place as a cultural phenomenon in two formative periods of Bulgarian history, with the basic stress on the present. The first is the period following the communist government, starting in 1944, and the second is the period since 1989, when the present economic nomenclature replaced the party one. What is common here is that in both historical periods we are talking about transition and change but the direction and the source of their changes deeply differentiate them. Figuring out the model for the folk dance ensemble during first period as seen from today can be clearly framed: 1944–1989. The second one, the "day-to-day period," is open and dynamic but this dynamism in the present could be seen correctly only from its historical perspective. My own dancing for many years, involvement in folk dance activities in general, and additional years of choreographic practice provide me with a singular opportunity to discuss this phenomenon from the position of personal and professional experience; every other source will be second-hand information [Sheets 1966:4].

In the current context, the dance itself is a hybrid, presented most often as arranged folklore. Such arranged traditional dances, promoted and performed on a massive scale since the 1950s, represent (paradoxically) the mythological idea about the end as also a beginning, and death as a life – a process of transformation that begins with "the eating of the old by the new." The "new" is the staged image and life of the traditional dance, which became an obsolete village expression that was unsuitable to the culture of the new era and model. This unconsciously apparent association with cannibalism must not be taken in so frivolous or casual a way here if we remember the deep apprehension of the cannibal's gesture in anthropological literature – an eagerness to adopt and devour the "foreign body", directed not necessarily toward the foreign people and societies [Todorov 2001:7]. Here with special powers of attraction as a "foreign body", we witness the model of the Soviet Union folk dance ensemble with its perfectly trained and uniformly excellent dancers with "iron" discipline. From this perspective this new form feeds itself primarily from the juices of earlier tradition and forces itself into the paradigm, although created outside of it.

The process of establishment and legitimization of the "new" (the folk dance group in a socialist town) as a successor of that traditional dance from the village square (with still vital rituals and festivities) is very active in the 1950s and 1960s. In this period the ancient customs of the Bulgarian people gradually disappear or die, bit by bit, which happens not only in Bulgaria [see Maners 2002 and Giurchescu 1999, for example]. Together with this disappearance, everything dies which the customs represent: the town absorbs the village, transforming its workdays and feasts, modeling itself on the type inspired by "the big brother's" (Soviet Union's) experience. Remarkably, this actually gave culture new life, only possible in the new circumstances under the new worker-village's power. So, the folk dance group in the urban environment began to provide and support the almost solitary opportunity for folklore-related dancing as a *product* which is not already folklore as a *process* [see Giurchescu 1999].

There are many documents related to the period we are talking about but I will base my arguments on the document issued by the Ministry of Information and Arts in 1947. It is entitled: "Lectures on the cultural-art works among the workers and officers." In its introduction one reads: "The non-professional art is one of the most important tools for education and cultural rising of the workers and officers and to satisfy their political and social requirements. It is an instrument of propaganda important in implementation of the purpose of carrying out economical, cultural and political tasks directed toward workers and officers" [Ministry 1947].

The direction of development of the non-professional folk dance art pointed out above with its role as an important means of communist's propaganda was followed absolutely until 1989. During that period all of the large number of newly established professional and many hundreds of non-professional folk dance ensembles are the basic participants in all the Communist Party's party congresses, festivals, manifestations.

From the short historical review in the same document it may be seen that non-professional art already existed before September 9th 1944, but the fascist's government had a mistaken perception about this art of the working class. The question about the cultural-art life of the working people had been mistakenly interpreted as one of the opportunities to cover their leisure time only; it "had not been perceived as a source for the cultural enlightenment of the workers from which the enemy of the Bulgarian people has been afraid" [Ministry 1947:4]. It is therefore clear

that the importance is not dancing because of the dance per se, for its inherent cultural value, but dancing for cultural enlightenment of the workers. The party "genosse" (the secretary) is its key figure, the enlightener who stands before the "tabula rasa" on which he is responsible for writing the first letters.

The 1947 historical review continues with the ascertainment about the non-professional art at the moment: "After September 9th, amateur art, together with the other activities of our working people, develops with unusual tempo and became very well spread. It has been mobilized at the front (during the Second World War) as a propaganda source and has been used at the back areas for increasing the production and for reform the society" [Ministry 1947:4]. Stemming from the last statement is the assumption that the "tabula rasa" is not really "tabula rasa" because there is something written on it. But what was written was incorrect. The amateur's art could be modified and distributed to suit reformation of society. That's why "... the amateur's art must be strictly rendered and accounted to assure that is easily lead in the right direction" [Ministry 1947:5].

Here we cannot present all the paragraphs of this document. We will only point out that the more important among them are: organization of the non-professional arts group and responsibility for cultural art centers across the country, the question about the privileges of the members of the groups, the organizing of training courses for their leaders, the question about the local accounts and reports about the activities prepared with assistance of local communist bosses**.** In the conclusion of all instructions we see again how important the non-professional arts were for the society and for its new politics – "that's why it is absolutely necessary to found a Center for amateur's art at the Department of Folk Culture which will lead, advise, unite and provide any kind of support (including financial) for the art's people involved in the non-professional art activities all over the country" [Ministry 1947:18].

Summarizing the key words and phrases from the document we will complete the picture as follows:

- Dancing not for the dancing itself; dance is an instrument for the cultural improvement of the workers
- Important propaganda instrument
- Tool for reeducation of society
- Casting a strong net of strict accountability regarding folk dance activities all over the country
- Reviews-competitions; every year's exams
- Ideological straightforwardness
- Correctly chosen repertoire
- Artistic criteria and artistic value
- Control
- Censorship
- Training of specialists
- Financial support
- The differentiation of the functions - the team (with one of the members – communist's party secretary) covers all the organizing work and management in general, and artistic director who deals with the artistic work only
- Providing the sources for the privileges for the members and leaders – occupying fictitiously the positions in factories while being choreographers or composers actually
- Rehearsing during the working time; absence from school, absence from job caused by participation in party congresses, festivals, tours, arts camps etc.

Let's now return to the present day.
Recently a text was published that is devoted to the 60th anniversary of Professor P. Angelov, one of the leading Bulgarian choreographers of today and director of the folk dance choreography department at Varna Free University. In this text academician N. Kaufman writes:

> When our composers did specializations in the musical centers in Europe the choreographers create their school on their own, alone and basically on home ground. It refers especially to those who re-create for the stage the folklore patterns of their ancestors. In the not so far away past there were no more than about ten approbate creators. Their number rose after the 70s of the last century when we have the first alumnus of our specialized institutes. They were distinguished by a wide vista and clarity of style, while searching for a variety of new styles and genres [Kaufman 2006: 35].

Talking about the artistic course of life of one choreographer only, Kaufman traced the course of life of all generations of choreographers and of the genre in general. If we follow the activity of Professor Angelov in close up: "before" – "after," then "before," he is artistic director of "Varna" State Ensemble for Folk Songs and Dances, which, after the political changes, is transformed into an association with non-economical goals. A fruit of the new time is also the private Varna Free University with its bachelor's program in choreography based on the folklore, directed by Professor Angelov. Among the artistic works choreographed by him from the last decade is the musical-dance production named "De Gidi Vino Cherveno" (You, Red Wine...). The comments of the specialists are descriptive terms: "Folk Opera," "Music-Dance Drama" [Kaufman 2006:36].

In the discussion regarding 2004 national folk festivities Ivan Valev, the chair of the Folk Music Art Association states: "*The outstanding Philip Kutev laid the foundations of one undying genre, gave it to Bulgaria and to the world and, together with his followers, transformed it into a national movement of thousands and many professional folk groups*" [Valev 2005:4]. The author indicates that his speech (touching many questions of day-to-day folk dance productions) must be taken as a well-meaning wish with some problems and phenomena to be outlined. He doesn't forget to notice than the new circumstances in Bulgaria are not very propitious for the national culture and its development. The innovations are part of this development but the author considers that some of them are unacceptable: "*I am the last person* - he says*, who will vote against the search for the new roads. But I can't accept approaches which lead to the 'Moulin Rouge' where the can-can is danced...*" [Valev 2005:4].

If we now recall the kaleidoscope when we assemble the pieces and again read the document from 1947, then construct a parallel, relying on the last publications we have quoted, also keep in mind surveys, interviews, personal observations and other publications we may construct the picture as following:

The folk dance group today:

- Is the most prominent successor of the traditional dance in the urban environment; it is not an instrument for propaganda - its model provides, at the most, only the opportunity for "propaganda," offering teenagers from the towns opportunity to become interested in folklore and love it, for example
- Is not a method for the cultural improvement of the workers but opportunity to dance in folk dance group in the city or town through payment of a monthly fee; new phenomena are the folk dance clubs in our larger towns, loosely parallel to the recreational folk dance groups in West Europe and USA
- Is not an instrument for re-education of society
- Is not activity strictly accounted in the national scale; no person or institution has the ambition "to more easily evaluate and correctly lead."
- There is no differentiation of the functions within these ensembles; the choreographer, the creator and pedagogue may also be the manager, the treasurer, costume designer, tailor, musician, or chauffeur
- There are no requirements for ideological correctness – every choreographer chooses his or her repertoire's politic without outside influence
- There are not clear criteria for artistry
  - dances may be seen on the stage that were choreographed 30 years ago, now viewed as entirely new or experimental forms - Lord of the Dance style.
  - there are very new and very Bulgarian experimental forms that combine folklore elements and gymnastic arts;
  - choreographed dances of different ethnic groups that were not approved for the stage in the period 1944-1989 are already part of the repertoire, even in the "Philip Kutev" State Folk Dance Ensemble;
  - very pretentious three-hour spectacles might be observed with the goal to raise the spirit of nationalism, and, many show-programs based on our folklore
- Today's cadres: four high institutes for folk choreography education. Others: Bulgaria's National School for Dance Art; two professional folk music schools, many schools all over the country with choreography classes
- Earlier special privileges for arts directors: choreographers, conductors, musicians (the fictional job occupation at state enterprises for doing such artistic work actually) and for the members to be absent of work because of rehearsals) are terminated completely in the dawn of economical reform
- The strong net built by the communist regime through its Center For Amateur Art Activities with its branches spread all over the country remains without financial support and stopped all activity immediately after 1989
- Reviews for professional folk dance ensembles are still conducted and their organizer is the Union of Bulgarian Music and Dance Creators where these ensembles are members.

What about the place of personal experience from this, my chosen historical perspective? Looking objectively (and with some dose of cynicism) this perspective springs from tracing the way for creation and growth of myself, a solitary yet representative product of the system: born as a city child, passing through all levels of training a performer of arranged folklore, reaching at age 18 the Institute of Music and Dance Cadres. In the last-mentioned institute, what attracts the attention is the word "cadres" in which is organically inscribed all of this political system that requires and feeds on its cadres, which are cultivated and then served to the system. None are "stricken" by this – quite the contrary. We are talking about the dance and the dancing, and about the opportunity for creativity – in view of the fact that the dance itself is party-less (as is the rain). One more point here is the newly born feeling that one is part of art and vital artistic life, a feeling that is very much reinforced after introduction of classical exercise with folklore elements into the rehearsal hall. Adopting the classical exercise as a way to train the performer of arranged folklore, in fact, set the folklore art on classical foundation – with its principles of choreographed and staged dance they remain no more and no less than the principles of the staged dance art in general.

Our society, which created, grew and cultivated this art that is based on its folklore in the new and already multi-party model, has neither the power, necessity, nor the opportunity to continue to take care of its child. That which was created by it, however, exists as vigorous artistic expression, with well-established and articulated esthetic criteria, grown from performers as well as its audience. In a cursory juxtaposition: "before" – "after" we could say that with the fall of the socialist system, came the end of everything that it personified. After the collapse of the old state, a new period of building supervenes over a long and still unfinished period when, *a priori*, the new organizers make no provision for National Amateur's Folk Dance Center. Many other new foundations, associations, companies, centers etc. appear, but without centralization or authority. Developing the building metaphor we can add that the new state building is structured by rulers who do not share the same socio-political views; they are not the members of one and the same party. The leading and the unifying idea today is the European model, visible from outside just the same as it is viewed from inside. Operating under this concept, the colorful folk window display created and used by the communist party for decades became simply outmoded and out-distanced. If we recall here Malinovski's hypothesis about culture as an integral composed by institutions that are partly autonomous and partly conjoined, we could define the period of transition as one of ideological transformation of the "integral", leading to the new, with its still inconstant institutional behavior. But as Malinovski mentions again, "no single revolution, social idea or intellectual change happens if the new necessity has not been created" [Malinovski 1990:396].

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MY PLACE IN THE DANCE (film)

IRENE LOUTZAKI
Greece

Direction: Marianna Economou
Screenplay: Marianna Economou-Irene Loutzaki
Cinematography: Marianna Economou, Yannis Misouridis, Christos Georgoutsos
Editing: Ilias Dimitriou
Sound: M. Athanasopoulos
Music: N. Papadogoulas
Producer: N. Tamiolakis
Production: Cinergon Productions, EKK/GFC, EPT/ERT S.A., Mega Channel,
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DVD, Colour, 52 minutes
Greece 2006

After thirty years of hard work in Germany, the women of Patagi return to their deserted village in Thrace, in the hope of a more leisurely life. However, the fact that their children are far away fills them with bitterness and sadness. To overcome their loneliness and boredom, they take up coffee klatches, dancing, and singing. Encouraged by a young dance instructor, they decide to become active and to organize a traditional feast in order to entertain themselves and to put their village back on the map. But rehearsals and preparations produce unexpected situations and turn both the women and the village upside down.

Despite the number of Greek village women who do not dare to speak on the open-air space, where formal welcomes and speeches are made, there are few who play leading roles in the contemporary village society. Among them are Areti, Syrmo, and Vaghia who are familiar, people-next-door types with their obsessions, weaknesses, or hang-ups. People make the daily rounds in search of communication. Areti, fragile and with no defences, searches for the scent of life. Syrmo tries to combine her love for singing and friendship, Vaghia strives to be loved. Each woman's personal story explains contemporary attitudes, how it is gendered, and how it impacts Patagi. All these characters are trying to survive through their mistakes and choices, depending on a hope for a better future. The film gives a voice to these women by honouring and incorporating their voices into the identification of key themes to best describe and then interpret those narratives and stories about their lives. In addition, it examines in what ways dance pursuits help them adapt to a new environment.

The theme of the film focuses on women. Filmed in Patagi, a small village of nearly 100 households, located in a prosperous agricultural area in the prefecture of Evros, is in the region of Thrace (northwest part of Greece). The film is based mainly on excerpts from women's daily life, as far as the narration is concerned, and uses scenes that demonstrate their devastating effects on the village. Thus, it explores the role of dancing among Thracian women and examines in what ways dance pursuits help them adapt to the new environment.

The film claims that dance activities are major vehicles for promoting nostalgia, expressing and propagating cultures whose practitioners are gradually decreasing in numbers. It underlies the meanings, which middle-class senior citizens in Patagi assign to sing and dance long nights. These evenings indicate the extent to which structured leisure activities have turned into social worlds, which allow longing for those old experiences replaced by new ones. Through singing, these senior peasant women intertwine personal and collective narratives and disseminate their vision of Thracian culture both inside and outside of their community. Singing and dancing is one among various leisure activities, which enhances the call to all factions of society to refresh their cultures and speak out their unique voices. Therefore, the local cultural association to which all women of the village belong can be conceptualized as a site where femininities are made in relation to shifting social relations and cultural forms. Women as subjects are able to act and resist within the constraints of changing historical contexts. Power relations are not static or all embracing; they are subject to resistance and transformation.

HALLING FROM SULDAL: EMBODYING THE SOURCE MATERIAL

RUTH ANNE MOEN
Norway

This paper is questioning the role of the researcher in the revitalisation process. I want to show how researchers, musicians and dancers can work together in the process of analyzing and reconstructing a dance, and how this can offer fresh insight of the dancing. An important part of the project is to document this process.

My example is an old couple dance from Suldal in Rogaland county, named "halling". The *halling* came to an end as a social dance in Suldal a long time ago. We are talking about maybe 100 years. The documented source material consists of some very short film recordings of old people who show parts of the dance, single motifs or steps, some interviews and some recorded fiddle tunes. None of the fiddlers had played these tunes for dancing, but they had learned from fiddlers who had.

How is it possible to embody knowledge from research? The source material is meagre. How do the old dancers verbalize about the dance? How do they try to make us understand? What other kind of information is there to use?

In addition to the recordings and interviews from Suldal, we have some information from other parts of Rogaland and from areas near by, for example, Kvam in Hardanger, Edland in Telemark, and not to forget Setesdal in Vest-Agder where a similar dance is still in a living tradition.

But there is more. We have the knowledge of the near relationship of *halling* and another old couple dance, "springar". And the *springar* in Suldal is much better documented, both the music and the dance. That is because the *springar* was kept alive for quite a longer time than the *halling*. In fact, some of today's dancers have learned directly from the last generation of earlier *springar* dancers. The *springar* dance consists of three parts, a so-called winding part, an unfastened part and a couple turning part. These three parts is together one repetition of the dance and is repeated in the same order, with more or less variations, for as long as the fiddler is playing. It is typical for the dance that the motifs are short and rapidly changing. In this way the dance gets the character of vividness and variation.

In some of the interviews the informant describes the *halling* as "mostly the same as *springar*", only the music was in a different meter, and so the steps would differ. If that's so, obviously the motifs will be mostly the same in *springar* and *halling*. "If you could dance *springar*, you could dance *halling* as well. You just have to limp as an old woman told the interviewer. Limp?

In the early 1970s, when the Norwegian folkdance researcher Egil Bakka did the main documentation of the *springar* in Suldal, his informants talked about the *halling* as well. The information is from recorded and written interviews. Many of the informants had seen the dance, some of them had probably danced a little in their youth, especially the women who might have danced with older men. But none of them felt they were able to demonstrate the dance.

They talked about high skilled male dancers, remembering they were doing acrobatics, especially during the unfastened part of the dance, and sometimes in the winding part as well. They tried to describe this, like: "He threw himself up in the air" /turned around in the air, "he danced on his knees" or "he turned around in the air, kicking the ceiling beams". Here we recognize common elements in this type of dances, when they wanted to show off.

The girls danced more quietly, turning around their own axes now and then. One of the informants tried to show a walking step with a lot of vertical movement. And again they referred to the similarity between the *halling* and the *springar*: "It was almost the same, only you had to limp".

On a fieldwork in the 1992 I met a very old woman, nearly 105 years old. She was born in 1887. She remembered very well her brother dancing the *halling*, and she seemed to have good memory of some elements from the dance, both motifs and steps. I considered the "limping" as being a quite dominating feature in the dance, since so many of the informants mentioned this. So I asked her about the limping. "Yes, you have to limp!" she answered. She had bad legs and couldn't show me. I asked her to show with her hands on the table, but she only looked at me and laughed. So I tried different steps, and she kept saying: "no, you have to limp!" I consulted Egil Bakka, who suggested a step like what we in Norwegian call a "byttomfot" step – in English change step.

The change step consists of three paces. Egil Bakka suggested the one including two up and down movements - "svikt" in Norwegian folkdance terminology (STS). "Svikt" is explained as a vertical movement of the body, produced by knee and ankle movements, combined with hinging on the ball of the foot.

This step is a dominating feature in a related dance in a neighbour-area of Suldal, Setesdal. I knew this kind of step, which, in different variations is very common in Norwegian traditional dance, but I had never thought about it as "limping". So I went back to the old lady and danced for her again, trying out different variations of the step.

"You must not limp that much!" was her first reply. Apparently the right step, but too much vertical movement ("svikt"). I tried again, and I had to "limp" a little more, a little less, till she at last seemed satisfied. According to her, as far as I could understand, they mixed the walking steps and the limping randomly as it fitted into the motifs. This would be the main steps used in the dance.

So, did we now have enough information to make a reconstruction of the dance? While the researchers were discussing, something new happened. At "Landskappleiken", that is a Norwegian annual competition in traditional music and dance in 2004, a young couple presented a dance they called "Halling from Suldal". Their teacher claimed to have the dance from old people.

This inspired us to study the source material more thoroughly. A seminar was arranged. We invited a group of highly skilled dancers, including the teacher of the young couple, and two fiddlers. Both the dancers and the fiddlers were well acquainted with the Suldalsspringar. This was important.

At the seminar the participants

- got information from the interviews with old dancers who discribes motifs, steps and acrobatics
- studied archive recordings from Suldal and areas nearby
- discussed the possible connection between the *springar* and the *halling*
- listened to archive recording of *halling* tunes recorded in Suldal

Then we arranged a workshop. The dancers were to improvise their own *halling* from the information they had got.

So, what's the point? We have got a dance, why do we want to make another one?

After the workshop, we had a short course in the *halling* as shown at Landskappleiken, by the teacher of the young couple. Unfortunately she did not attend the first part of the seminar, but joined the discussion after her course. That was a pity she did not attend the first part, because it was more difficult then to discuss her form of the dance compared to the source material.

Let's look a little further on her background. She learned most of the dance from an old man, now dead, and in addition she has some motifs and steps from her grandparents. Unfortunately she has not documented her sources. That means we have to relate on her memory and interpretation. Today she considers herself as the only "owner" of this dance. That will be her personal form of the dance, and we can choose to learn from her.

However, the seminar-dancers felt the dance too much controlled, with strictly constructed motif and step combinations. The dance is probably "perfect" for stage performance, but as a social dance it gives little room for variation and creativity. According to their knowledge of the *springar*, a dance that gives a lot of freedom to the dancer, the seminar participants couldn't get this dance to fit in.

So we decided to continue the workshop process after the seminar. Dancers, musicians and researchers would continue to work together, analyzing and embodying the source material, with focus on how to develop personality in the dance. An important part of the project will be the documentation the process from time to time. The process has now been running for a while. The dancers and the musicians are discussing the speed. According to the teacher of the young couple, the dance was performed in a high speed. But what is "high speed"? Can certain kinds of movements give the impression of a higher speed than what is the reality? Can her informant's interpretation of high speed be related to these kinds of movements?

In the folk music archive in Rogaland there are sound recordings of four different fiddlers from Suldal, playing *halling*. The two older are born in 1890 and 1896. The fiddler born in 1890 is from the same side-valley in Suldal, called Kvildal, as the dance-teachers main source. None of the fiddlers play what she understands as high speed. Here is of course a possibility of source error. It could be due to lack of motor ability, or the fact that none of the fiddlers probably had played *halling* tunes for dancing, though they had learned from older fiddlers who had. But what is interesting is that all the four are playing in much the same speed.

So what can we say about the process so far? The involved dancers are excited and engaged. According to interviews, they have a good feeling of making the dance "their own". The dancers now ask for more contact and feedback on their dancing and particularly to what extent their dance seems credible according to the tradition. That is important for them. The challenge is how the researchers can lead the dancers in the process without pushing them in any particular direction. The aim of the process so far, is to let the dancers themselves develop the dance.

So, we have these two processes going on, like branches of the revival:

1. The process involving a group of dancers, musicians and researchers, based on documentation and general dance knowledge.
2. The process of courses with one single teacher, where the teaching is based on earlier personal interaction between one old and one young dancer, and with no documentation involved.

Detailed knowledge of both processes will be important for how we interpret the dance in the future. Documentation is important. The next generation will then be able to go back and maybe make other choices. We are discussing the possibility of a meeting between these two branches. Will we end up with two different dances? Will the one be more personal and freer than the other? Can the one exist beside the other? Will there be a conflict?

Or will we end up with one dance including a lot of variations, creativity, and personality?

Figure 1. *Springar* from Suldal – from the winding part.

THE INTERSECTION OF DANCE STRUCTURE AND VIDEOTAPE: MAKING A RECORD OF HUNGARIAN *TÁNCHÁZ*

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United States

The benefits of using videotape to record dance are many and obvious. Only with videotape can every nuance of expression in a dancer's face and body be captured. Videotape records the flavor of every step, one can see and evaluate the dancer's passion, one can detect irony, and the possibility in a moment of different outcomes, even if they are not indicated in motion. One can measure differences in the way a pattern is performed from one time to the next, and one can see the effect of exertion on execution. Videotape gives the momentary surroundings of the dance with flashes of emotion and other dancers crowding around, in much greater detail than a person could ever record by transcription.

Videotape is so useful and so ubiquitous that, I think, for many people it is the first tool they think of when they wish to record a dance event.

Yet videotape has many shortcomings. It flattens three dimensions into two, so it can never peer around people who are standing in front of you or through layers of dancers. Eyes can focus in and out on individual events in the dance, and relate these impressions to the whole, but videotape remains always the same. Your field of vision is artificially set by the lens. Videographers have suggested to me that even the sense of time in a dance is experienced differently whether the dance, or a tape of the dance, is watched. When it comes to interpreting a dance from a tape, videotape simultaneously gives too much and too little information.

The task in using videotape is to secure its benefits, while mitigating its shortcomings. This discussion will suggest a number of techniques and alternatives in working with videotape to capture dance in Hungarian *táncház*, the contemporary, urban form of social dance modeled on dances done by Hungarian villagers.

I will concentrate on one element of videotaping, camera angle, and discuss how a concept of the dance, as it is approached and described by participants, can be used to choose angles that best reveal how their decisions structure the dance. Camera angle reveals the intuitive web of connections between musicians and dancers, one part of the communication that underlies the flow of the dance, as well as social relationships surrounding the act of dancing that inform the choices made by the dancers.

Three basic steps in using videotape to record dance experiences are planning, taping, and interpreting the results in a useful way. These steps commingle even as the process begins. The first step in planning a shoot is to decide what aspect of the dance is the most important to record, depending on the focus of one's research and the role videotape will play in it. For me, the most important element in recording *táncház* is the interaction of the musicians and dancers, as well as interactions within these groups. Both parts are improvised in relation to each other, and this determines the length and content of the dance. When I am finished taping, I want to have material portraying this interaction that I can study, describe, and compare. Other concerns are to record intricate dance figures and social interactions surrounding the event.

To choose the proper camera angles to record this dance/music relationship, I must first consider the dance structure, that is, both the way the dance is laid out on the floor and the rules the dancers and musicians use to put their dance together.

Example 1. Joseph Kroupa, MetroFolk Band, Hungarian House, New York City, April 26, 2008, photo courtesy of Béla Halácsy.

(Full citations for viewing examples are given at the end of this paper. Examples noted in this text are discussed in the paragraphs immediately following them.)

Táncház dances are generally done in a hall with the band at one end. When the dance is a solo men's dance, men take turns in front of the band, negotiating who will go next. Spectators are in many places on the floor and women do a circle dance to the side or stand in a semicircle calling out to the men. The band's role is to support dancers, playing whatever music each dancer wants in a way that compliments his gestures and manner. This involves direct communication between the dancers and musicians, led by the *prímás* or first violin player, including eye contact, gesture, and physical modeling. This structure would seem simple to tape, but the interaction is between the band and dancer facing each other, and there is no camera angle that can record this without disrupting it.

Example 2: János Fekete "Poncsa", *legényes*, Bogártelke/Băgara
(România, Kolozs megye/Romania, Cluj County), 1983

A common solution to this problem has been to film the dancer head on, as you can see in this ethnographic shot, where the man is dancing on a small stage facing the camera. This archival footage, and other clips that I refer to, are part of the record of Hungarian dance. The methods used in filming the clips allow us to view motives and sequences clearly and understand the work of individual dancers, as well as changes in personal style and the dance itself as time goes by. These valuable films, however, illustrate well the inherent problem in dance videography – that it is very difficult to find a solution that will serve many research needs. What is not seen when using this method is the dynamic aspect of dancer/musician interaction, and the effect of dancers on each other as they take turns dancing with the band and in a room crowded with other dancers and onlookers.

In this example, the direct connection with the band is broken. The dancer must experience himself in a new context with potential to remove focus, affect spontaneity, and interrupt his usual creative process.

Example 3: István Mátyás "Mundruc", *kalotaszegi legényes*,
Türe/Turea (România, Kolozs megye/Romania, Cluj County), 1969

Another solution is found in this clip from Györgyi Martin's Méra/Mera shoot, one that many *táncház* dancers use to learn their steps. Martin has set up the dance area with the band and the dancers together, but he has asked the dancer to turn and face the camera. The problem here is that you can see the steps, but the solution is unnatural for the dancers; it deprives them of their direct visual and physical interaction with the band. As you can see, Mundruc continually finds himself turning toward the band and then catching himself and turning back.

Example 4: Ferenc Vincze, *vénes*, Magyarszentbenedek/Sânbenedic
(România, Fehér megye/Romania, Alba County), 1990

In this affecting shot, many problems are resolved by the dancer. He both turns so that the camera can see him and interacts with the band in a way that maintains a connection with them and honors their work. This is especially apparent in the beginning and toward the end of the clip.

Example 5: Jakab József, *pontozó*, Magyarózd/Ozd
(România, Maros megye/Romania, Mureş County), 1990

There are a number of partial solutions to the problem of camera angle in videotaping solo dancers with the band, and I have discussed this issue with a number of researchers. For example, István Pávai told me that his solution is to set up his camera right next to the band facing the dancer. This gives a clear view of the dancer's work, and a researcher sitting in this position has the feeling of being inside the action. But the camera's information of the band's activity is limited to what it hears and what the dancer reflects of them. Some of the information about what the dancer is doing is missing.

Example 6: Áron Székely, *kalotaszegi legényes*, with Kálmán Magyar "Öcsi"
and Életfa Band, Passaic, New Jersey, September 16, 2005

Multiple cameras are another approach; this is an experiment with this method, shooting from the side and from behind the band. As one can see in the first part of the example, one problem is that if you are filming with one camera the other may have to be fixed. A dancer may leave the shot, and people may stand in front of your camera. Nonetheless, this is the best solution, either using clips consecutively as here, or in a split frame if possible.

When shooting with one camera, one of my favorite angles is the second one used in this clip, shooting over the left shoulder of the *prímás*. This gives the face of the dancer and shows his figures. It also highlights a physical connection between the dancer and the musician, with the musician often mirroring the dancer's movements and providing a sort of translation of them in his body. I believe that a shot from directly behind the dancer, where we see what he sees of the band, or this angle, where we see the dancer and musician responding to each other, is the most useful in exploring ways of conveying the kinetic experience of dancing in the field.

Using the input of other participants enriches a video record of *táncház*. A method suggested by this study group

at my paper presentation in Cluj/Kolozsvár is to give participants the opportunity to videotape their own events. Thus, a number of examples referred to at that talk or here are from *táncház* participants including Lily Érdy, Joseph Kroupa, Márta Fodor, and Béla Halácsy.

Interviewing people from the shot is another way to enrich videotape. In the 2006 presentation of this paper I included a videotape of the *kalotaszegi legényes* danced by István Kosbor, which I had shown to him. He told me where he had found each point, or unit, of the dance or from whom he had learned them. In addition, Kosbor noted how he chose and changed figures to suit himself and this particular dance event, a figure he had created himself, and a figure he invented spontaneously because of the need to return his body to another position. Such discussion gives insight into the way in which dancers experience dance and is a powerful tool for exploring the spontaneous creative process in improvised dance.

Example 7: North American Hungarian Folk Festival, Montreal,
February 2007, photo courtesy of Márta Fodor.

Filming couple dances magnifies many of the issues we have discussed with many types of interactions on many levels. One of the first problems to solve is perspective. Filming from the back of the hall means that dancers close to the camera are large, and the band seems very distant. Moving the camera in increases the problem of people standing in front of or dancing too close to the camera or moving out of range of the camera. In addition, the problem of layers of people is intensified.

Example 8: *kalotaszegi* dances, with Kálmán Magyar "Öcsi"
and Ildikó Hajdu-Németh "Ildi" and Életfa Band

A solution to this is to film from above. Here one can see clearly how structure and content interact. The band stands or sits at one end of the hall or on a stage. As in the solo dance, the focus of activity is in the space in front of the band. In addition, couples disperse themselves throughout the room, mainly in the vicinity of the band. There are many observers around the edges. Traditionally, for many couple dances, couples would circle the hall, each taking a turn dancing in front of the band. Now, in *táncház*, the more common pattern is for dancers to stay in their own space and approach the band when they want to interact with it.

Even if they are not dancing directly with the band, couples on the floor are often responding to the band with their physical expression, noting the choice of songs and noting tempos and typical melodies to see where they are in the dance. At any point, the interaction can become more active, with dancers singing along with the band, looking at them, and approaching. Dancers are often watching each other and responding to other couples in addition to the tight interaction of their improvisation with their partners.

Example 9: *mezőségi korcsos*, Magyarpalatka/Pălatca Band,
Válaszút/Răscruci, Romania, August 13, 2005

Although a shot from above offers the best opportunity to see these interactions, it lacks the intensity of a close in shot, and sometimes closer is better, as in this example, even if the shot is not complete.

Example 10: *széki csárdás*, Válaszút/Răscruci, August 12, 2005

In practicing various ways of filming *táncház*, I have found that sometimes a shot will result serendipitously that conveys in some way an important aspect of the dance. For example, in this shot the internal nature of the couples' interaction is mirrored by the face and body alignment of the *prímás*, seen between the dancing couples.

In conclusion, videotaping complex dance events such as *táncház* requires careful planning to obtain the video material needed for documentation. A major element of this planning involves using an understanding of the structure of the dances to choose the proper camera angle. This process could be understood almost as pre-editing. Multiple camera angles may be necessary. Because of its limitations, a videotape may not provide a complete record of an event or practice. However, augmenting the videotape with analysis and discussion of your videotaping approach, as well as self reports of dancers, can greatly improve its usefulness. Properly used, videotape enriches the understanding of dance meaning and process, and even dance creation, in a way other mediums cannot.

My paper presentation in Cluj/Kolozsvár included the discussion of many videotaped examples. These are listed below, and those used in this published version of the paper are referenced by example number to match the text. All video shots are mine except for archival material and those otherwise noted.

Finding accessible examples for readers involved reworking the paper with examples from the Internet. Some of these are from a new *Database of Hungarian Traditional Dances Film Collection* displayed on the ZTI (Zenetudományi Intézet) website and curated by János Fügedi at <http://db.zti.hu/neptanc/tanc.asp>. In other cases, I have given examples at Youtube.com, including some that I have posted. Since such examples may be removed at some point, I suggest the strategy of conducting a Google search under topics such as *táncház*, *tánc*, and Hungarian dance and other terms used in this paper. There is a large and ever-changing body of video clips on the Internet, most of them contributed by participants themselves, and examples matching the ideas I present will not be hard to find.

Example 1:
nycLily
2008 NYC Táncház - 4.26.08 - Film 1 (YouTube video; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AHwWLPA3tt4>), posted by Lily Erdy.
The example used in the paper presentation in Cluj/Kolozsvár was Áron Székely, *kalotaszegi legényes*, with Kálmán Magyar "Öcsi" and Életfa Band, Hungarian House, New York City, February 26, 2005, video shot by Julia Henriques.

Example 2:
Berkes, Eszter; Borbély, Jolán [...] (field researchers).
1983 János Fekete "Poncsa", *legényes*, Bogártelke/Băgara (România, Kolozs megye/Romania, Cluj County),
In: "*Database of Hungarian Traditional Dances Film Collection, website of the Institute for Musicology, Hungarian Academy of Arts and Sciences*" - János Fügedi (database specification and project management), MTA Ft. 0637.02.
(All examples from this database may also be found by going to <http://db.zti.hu/neptanc/tanc_en.asp>
Use search function (button at top right), and list the MTA Ft. numbers, in this case 0637.01, as "Arch.ref".)
Also found in:
Lévai, Péter; Fügedi, János (editors)
2003 *Legényesek: Válogatás a Zenetudományi Intézet Néptánc Archívumából* (videocasette): Number 17. [Budapest]: MTA Zenetudományi Intézete.

Example 3:
Kallós, Zoltán; Martin, György [...] (field researchers).
1969 István Mátyás "Mundruc", *legényes*, Magyarvista (România, Kolozs megye/Romania, Cluj County),
In: *Database of Hungarian Traditional Dances Film Collection,* MTA Ft. 0690.49b. Also *Legényesek*: Number 18.
See also:
Giurchescu, Anca; Martin, György [...] (field researchers).
1969 István Turzai, *pontozó,* Magyarlapád/Lopadea Nouă (România, Fehér megye/Romania, Alba County)
In: *Database of Hungarian Traditional Dances Film Collection,* MTA Ft. 0681.24. Also *Legényesek*, Number 14.
See also:
Kallós, Zoltán; Martin, György [...] (field researchers).
1983 János Vajas "Dina", *legényes*, Györgyfalva/Gheorgheni (România, Kolozs megye/Romania, Cluj County),
In: *Database of Hungarian Traditional Dances Film Collection,* MTA Ft. 1153.01. Also *Legényesek*: Number 12.

Example 4:
Balla, Zoltán; Felföldi, László [...] (field researchers).
1990 Ferenc Vincze, *vénes, öreges*, Magyarszentbenedek/Sânbenedic (România, Fehér megye/Romania, Alba County), In: *Database of Hungarian Traditional Dances Film Collection,* MTA Ft. 1357.03.
Also *Legényesek*: Number 16.

Example 5:
Fügedi, János; Tálas, Ágnes [...] (field researchers)
1990 Jakab József, *pontozó*, Magyarózd/Ozd (România, Maros megye/Romania, Mureş County), In: *Database of Hungarian Traditional Dances Film Collection,* MTA Ft 1366.01. Also *Legényesek*: Number 13.

Example 6:
judyolson1
2005 Áron Székely, *kalotaszegi legényes*, with Kálmán Magyar "Öcsi" and Életfa, Passaic, New Jersey, September. 16, 2005 (YouTube video; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=saOvAQdXVUQ>), video shot and posted by Judith E. Olson.
The example used in the paper presentation in Cluj/Kolozsvár was István Kosbor, *kalotaszegi legényes*, with Kálmán Magyar "Öcsi" and Életfa Band, Hungarian House, New York City, February. 26, 2005, video shot by Julia Henriques.

Example 7:
nycLily
2008 NYC Táncház - 4.26.08 - Film 2 (YouTube video; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YB0phppFY0E>), posted by Lily Erdy.
The example used in the paper presentation in Cluj/Kolozsvár was Budapest, *mezőségi* dances, Stephen Spinder and Judith Olson, April 30, 2005.

Example 8:
judyolson1
2005 *kalotaszegi* dances, with Kálmán Magyar "Öcsi" and Ildikó Hajdu-Németh "Ildi" and Életfa Band, Hungarian House, New York City, February. 26, 2005 (YouTube video; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o7QgoYD2Et0>), video shot by Joseph Kroupa.

Example 9:
judyolson1
2005 *mezőségi korcsos*, Magyarpalatka/Pălatca Band, Mezőségi Népzene és Néptánc Tábor (Folk Music and Dance Camp from Mezőség/Câmpia Transilvaniei), Válaszút/Răscruci, Romania, August 13, 2005 (YouTube video; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RSh003NwF3Y>), video shot and posted by Judith E. Olson.

Example 10:
judyolson1
2005 *széki csárdás*, Mezőségi Népzene és Néptánc Tábor (Folk Music and Dance Camp from Mezőség/Câmpia Transilvaniei), Válaszút/Răscruci, Romania, August 12, 2005 (YouTube video; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lgh3YMOJ7Sk>), video shot and posted by Judith E. Olson.

FROM FIELD TO STAGE

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Turkey

Traditional dances are artistic expressions, created with great mastery and expressing emotions, intentions or grace. The easily recognizable rapid changes in all areas of life have caused the traditional structure and performance of folk dances to change when they have been transferred to city life. Thanks to academic studies folk dance has obtained its own scientific status and has developed into a strong performance art.

This article reviews the research, which has been conducted on folk dance with scientific methods and has subsequently led to their performance on stage using the theatrical elements of light, decoration, make-up, and so on. I also intend to cover the important place of traditional dance in cultural events today.

We see that from the beginning of the 20th century, initial scientific and artistic studies about folk dances have improved and accelerated considerably. The first organized performance of folk dances was inspired when Selim Sırrı Tarcan was impressed by organized folk dance groups he saw abroad. Tarcan, gathered Zeybek dancers from the Ege region who were serving in the military and let them perform together harmoniously. He also performed a dance arrangement personally together with his young female student in front of Ataturk in October 14, 1925, which he named Tarcan Zeybegi (see Ekici 2003). Very well received, this performance could be considered as the first stage performance in an urban context presented with a contemporary approach.

As in many places in the world, the study of regional dances began to be considered important during the time of the nationalization movements. Three important institutions during this period were the Türk Ocakları (Turkish Association) (1912), the Halkevleri (Public Houses) (1932) and the Köy Enstitüleri (Village Institutes) (1944). The dance traditions that were originally performed as private traditional events were now converted to team work folk dance events.

From the 1950s, young people that migrated from the countryside started to dance their regional folk dances in the context of urban culture, meeting their native neighbours, when initiated by the Turkish National Student Federation (founded in Istanbul) and later by the Turkish National Student Association. In the following years these lovers of folk dance paid special attention to other folk dances and started to learn and perform the dances that did not exist in their own region and culture. Because of this, regional dances started to be performed in big cities as "folk dances."

In 1955 folk dances were organized and seriously performed for the first time in front of an audience, intiated by the "Institute for the Maintenance and Dissemination of Turkish Folk Dances" by the Yapı ve Kredi Bank. This institution organized folk dance festivals between 1955–1968. Many written and visual materials were obtained during these activities and the first seminar on folk dances was held in the year 1961. Once again this institution, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and the TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) filmed our national folk dances for the first time.

In the 1970s folk dance associations rapidly became widespread all over the country, first in big cities and then elsewhere. Thus folk dances changed and became one of the most attractive activities not only for private institutions, but also for all educational institutions from primary school to the university level. As Öztürkmen has stated:

> The fact that folk dances were mainly held in big cities caused them to change basically in their performance and structure to some extent. The first modification was due to stage formation: the traditional formations of almost all dances when performed on stage, whether the classical circle, wheel, diagonal or straight lines, began to change and disappear. The primary reason for this, was that performers first tried stage arrangements instead of concentrating on regional figures [Öztürkmen 2002:153].

The first professional folk dances group that tried to introduce our traditional dances with contemporary staging techniques, both in the country and abroad, formed in 1974. Two new kinds of stage arrangements, which had never been tried out for performances on an international platform with a contemporary ideas. First, local steps of folk dances were arranged in a symmetrical way. For example, steps began to be performed with the same step to both the right and the left, regardless of which was traditional, as for example in the Zeybek dance which starts generally with the left foot. Thus by having some performers turning unconventionally, opposite to tradition, to the left while others turned to the right, choreographers tried to create an aesthetic symmetry on stage. The second modification was to perform folk dances in a different order than the traditional regional arrangement. Dances that are performed holding hands generally move counterclockwise as for example, choreographers attempted to have Bar dances performed without holding hands or by moving ahead clockwise. In this way they tried to create some rich stage patterns.

The State Folk Dance Ensemble with its stage arrangements had very strong influence on amateur associations in

performing folk dances and many institutions chose to imitate their performances. But only a few of these associations continued to perform folk dances traditionally. Although many studies about performance of folk dances were undertaken during this period by research and examination, some unintentional works also damaged folk dances permanently.

While the stage performance system of the Association of State Folk Dances prevailed until the 1990s, today this unbalance has shifted to other competitions, held among other institutions of the state. Standardised "communal" group dancing as was typical in the former Soviet Union, constituted the base for today's standards of competition. This kind of monotonous performance style, in which standards of unity are reduced to only some kind of details such as height and weight, overwhelmed some main regional characteristics and performance styles of folk dances.

> Standard stage arrangement influenced folk dances (all named as "Turkish folk dances") in such a manner that all styles become uniform. Similar uniformity also could be seen in instruments and costume designs as well. Other instruments were used more and more interchangeably instead of regional instruments, and use of *davul* and *zurna* decreased especially at performances taking place inside. As regard to costumes, almost all costumes that belonged to another distinct region became made of similar colours and fabrics. Because of the similar appearance of performances, the same stage arrangements, and use of similar instruments as well as similar fabrics it became difficult to separate folk dance regions [Öztürkmen 2002:153].

Despite all these negative aspects, folk dances have gradually gained an established place within the performance arts. Folk dance is now incorporated into various dramatic scenarios including elements such as the night of henna, eloping, wedding crowds, and so on. Folk dance has now been transformed into a completely artistic performance art with this variety and technological support. In the State Conservatory of Turkish Music at the Technical University of Istanbul, the first Department of Turkish Folk Dances was founded in 1984 to answer to the scientific needs of this art, which is continuously increasing in popularity.

The goal of the departments of Turkish folk dances are to provide the knowledge necessary for evaluating traditional dance components according to the current rules of dance science, as well as to demonstrate the best traditional dances and music. The second goal is to train artists, researchers and dance trainers. In order to do this the candidates for the department of Turkish folk dances are examined carefully and are expected to have a high aptitude for perceiving and learning music and dance movements. Students get theoretical as well as applied lessons for five years. In addition some post educational studies are held to help them apply their education to the field.

For example, in the State Conservatory of Turkish Music at the Ege University students are provided with the following complementary training in addition to the main educational program.

A) Study and Archives
Some field studies are carried out to compile native dances, dance music, and traditional costumes in particular regions, which were determined to ongoing projects. Study groups of students under the leadership of an academic staff, first do archive research, then conduct field research and records of the collected dances, categorize and analyse them using notation. Finally these visual and written records are analyzed and archived.

B) Department of Traditional Dress
In this department, which was established in 1994 original traditional costumes, which are about to disappear are reconstructed, so to pass these on to future generations. Students from the Department of Folk Dances practically apply their theoretical knowledge studied in the lessons on traditional clothing by working together with specialists such as tailors and embroidery specialists. The museum in which original costumes of Anatolian, Asian, and European Turks are exhibited, allow us to compare the differences within a costume type and to apply this concept of variety in the construction of stage costumes for folk dance groups.

C) Ekin Traditional Folk Dance and Theater Group, Department of Turkish Folk Dances, State Conservatory of Turkish Music at the Ege University
This performing group consists of academic staff and students, and work three hours, four days a week. The lessons include traditional dances, stylized folk dance steps and theatrical staging. Some modern works are also performed such as 'Çeşme Başı Fantazisi' that was created in a folk-ballet style by the choreographer Dame Nenette de Valaise. Other examples incorporating dance are "Koy-U Kırmızı" (about the battle of the Dardanelles), "Atatürk'le Yeniden Doğuş" (about the years of the war of national liberation) that was staged by the department's academicians. Thus new compositions in the field of theatre arts are performed, which utilize regional dance motives as well as traditional regional dances.

The transmission process of folk dance from field to stage occurs at three levels:
A-) Adaptation of folk dances from the traditional environment and source people

The master-apprentice relationship, which is one of the fundamental educational styles of theatrical arts, also

emerges in the study of folk dances as the "method of koltuk." This information is gathered by following a master and singing and dancing simultaneously and is our main educational method for transmitting our folk dances to the next generation. A young dancer in traditional society learns the rules of games and regional dancing styles solely through his experience of life and by support, advice and warnings of wise elders. *Koltuk Metodu* is still the main method of acculturation into the dance today in Anatolia, with some slight modifications.

We can categorize the people we use for our source material from the field into three groups:

1- Local skilled people who attended regional ceremonies such as festivals or traditional countryside weddings, and have learned their dances as part of their heritage in a natural environment.

2- Dancers from self organized local dance groups that perform their own regional dances, for example, the village group of Burdur-Aziziye, the Zeybek Group of Kütahya Yarenleri, and so on.

3- Local professional dancers from a tradtional performance context, for example, Dance Groups of Konya Bozkır, Kastamonu Köçekleri, and so on.

B-) Transmission of traditional dances by other means than the traditional ways

Valid information can be attained when traditional folk dances are evaluated in their natural environment. The research of folk dances over a long period through active participatory observation is the most ideal compilation method. But some of the basic problems of today such as insufficient time and funds lead some folk dance researchers to search for other solutions.

> Folk dance performers in the city were not accustomed to the original regional culture that created the dance of various districts at their schools and associations. And in most cases there was neither special interest nor ability to decipher the cultural codes of these dances. Almost all they did was to learn steps and other movements of the dances by adding one movement to another just like learning aerobic figures. They interpreted these figures not as a movement system meaningful inside in a culture but more as relating to the dance and themselves [Öztürkmen 2002:153].

We can observe that even skilled folk dance specialists are able to collect more in depth information when doing research in their own native region, in which they can more easily decode the dance.

Today dance is transmitted to performer in three ways:

1- By examination and analysis of regional visual records,

2- By learning from native people in their district,

3- By transmission from a specialist, who has already compiled the dance from the source people.

C-) Adaptation of traditional dances to the stage

The transfer of folk dances, from traditional to national starting with Selim Sırrı Tarcan, then from national to international is an attempt to create an active national Turkish folk dance. Special studies towards this end have made great contributions towards putting Turkish folk dances into modern theatrical arts.

Three methods are used today to stage folk dance.

1. By identically copying the original pattern
2. Creating a show of the dance, utilizing regional dance forms and strictly keeping original steps
3. Creating a new performance drawing from the original steps.

Conclusion:

In spite of the fast globalization of today's world our traditions are still continuing, thanks to the spirit of the Turkish nation, faithful to its traditions, which continues to teach folk dance their traditional structure thus transmitting its traditions to future. These folk dances that belong to Anatolian communities are still transmitted traditionally to the next generation in a variety of ways. Also local institutions from countryside (associations, foundations, schools, clubs, and so on) are very concerned about performing their regional folk dances, based on research in their region without changing the original form.

Folk dances are one of the basic historical resources that can provide us with much hidden information about our cultural history as well as its important role in today's community. In order to uncover this hidden knowledge we must approach the study of folk dance with established scientific method. Folk dance specialists, aware of the issue, are working successfully as trainers in public and private institutions, and as researchers in cultural research institutions. Much information has been categorized and analyzed and then stored in folk dance archives. In recent years folk dance groups, directed by specialists, have made good stage performances without loosing the originality even if from time to time we can observe some incorrect interpretations. In addition successful artistic stage performances of professional dance groups are watched with great pleasure.

One of the main purposes of folk dances in urban communities has been to regain a national personality and restore social relations in a world, gradually being more uniform and alienated. The artistic staging of folk dances, remind people of disappearing values such as unity, cooperation, co-ordination and increase the interest in our

cultural heritage. Thanks to scientific studies, our historical mission would be completed if we can transmit our rich folk dance heritage properly to future generations.

Endnote

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HORA DE POMANĂ – METONYMIC SYMBOL OF THE DEAD ONE'S WEDDING

SILVESTRU PETAC
Romania

Introduction

The reference to the traditional dance within funerary and post-funerary contexts,[1] present in certain, more or less recent, studies and publications, encouraged my personal field research conducted in a few villages from southern Romania.[2] The reasearch in the area revealed the presence of a post-funerary choreographic ritual rooted in very old, pre-Christian cultural strata. The name by which this ritual is known is that of *horă de pomană*,[3] a title reflecting the oxymoronic nature and the metonymic symbolic value of the posthumous wedding.

My personal research in the villages considered emphasized the existence of three forms under which this ritual is performed. The first one, slightly reduced, present in Băbiciu, Stoeneşti (Olt county) renders more visible the nuptial symbolic features specific for the dance. The second form, present in Poiana Mare and Desa, is different because of the presence of the *fir tree* (a pine branch with a handle and adorned with alms), performed inside the *hora* by the one replacing the deceased and because of a slightly more developed structure. Another form, seen in Ursa, makes it easier to notice the connection of this ritual with the *dead one's wedding*. In all these villages, the *hore de pomană* took place on Easter Sunday or Monday, the moment of the performance influencing strongly the synthesis between the archaic significance of the ritual and the Christian one. For the communities studied, *hora de pomană* has a special significance among practices commemorating/remembering the dead. It reflects the belief Romanians have in the posthumous existence of the soul, their vision on the connection between life and death.

In all the villages studied, at the funeral of an unmarried young person (boy or girl), people make a fir or a tree for the deceased. The fir is decorated by a group of unmarried youngsters that includes, necessarily, two persons: *the bridegroom/the bride* (young boy/girl acting as the symbolic partner of the deceased) and the *frate* or *cumnat de mână* (an unmarried youngster acting as a groomsman).[4] As long as the deceased is inside the family house, the fir is kept upside down, and after the funeral it is left next to the cross on the grave. During this kind of funeral, people sing *Nuneasca* and some other aligned dance songs in the cemetery.

The remembrance of the deceased one is done first right after the funeral, then after three, after six weeks (one of the most important), after one year, on occasion of greater religious feasts, during a period of seven years. During the first six weeks, the funerary practices are constant and numerous. There is a greater concern for respecting the commemoration calendar in the case of the unmarried dead people, due to the belief that they could easier become *strigoi*.[5]

The commemorations during Easter time are very important. Now the family conducts gestures with a major significance for the soul of the deceased, visible inside the community. During this week, they clean the graves and burn incense around them, weep for the dead ones. The preparations for the *hora de pomană* are included in the whole ceremonial for the Resurrection of Christ, being especially condensed the last week before Easter (The Great Week). This week, for those who had died without a candle (*negrijiți*) the priest makes a *grijanie*, a remembrance in the Church, where 44 small knot-shaped breads are offered, together with other aliments and candles. During the same Easter week, all those that shall have a greater role in *hora de pomană* go through confession and receive the Eucharist. The deceased receives the Eucharist, too, symbolically, through a person substituting him/her (a person of the same sex with the deceased, usually the one carrying the photograph in the *hora de pomană*). These days, the alms consisting of aliments and not only, are being blessed, later to be given as charity for the deceased.

The *hore de pomană* take place after the Christian church service and after the lunch meal. Each family that is supposed to give a *horă de pomană* goes together to the place where the ritual takes place, forming a small compact cortege. The place where the ritual is done is in the village center, close to the church.[6] Besides the gestures connected to the commemoration of the deceased, today organizing a *horă de pomană* implies announcing it, too. In some places (Ursa), the call for the commemoration is like the one for a wedding; in most places, close relatives, friends of the deceased and of the family, acquaintances are invited. In addition, the family announces a local music group (*taraf*, *fanfară*) that is going to sing for the *hora de pomană.*

Brief descriptions

The simplest form of *horă de pomană* was present in Băbiciu and Stoeneşti. Here the ritual takes place in a site destined to ceremonies, close to the church,[7] immediately after lunch. In the past, during feast day afternoons, people used to spend the Sundays when dance was not forbidden at the village *hora*, the main choreographic event in the traditional village. The *hore de pomană* were included in the village *hora* and, although today this ceased to exist, it is

still alive in the village memory. Proving this, the commemoration dances in Băbiciu were preceded and followed by local dances, performed by a relatively small number of people when compared to that of the spectators.[8]

The *hore de pomană* are performed according to the order in which musicians had been paid. The present ones get into the dance only after the family members of the deceased place themselves in the center of the round dance. The dance is initiated by the couple formed by the bridegroom/bride of the deceased and *cumnatul de mână*, followed by the boy/girl carrying the photograph of the deceased.[9] Immediately afterward, parents, brothers, close relatives, acquaintances of the deceased or of the family join them. During the performance, some members of the family share the alimentary alms arranged in small packs: knot-shaped breads, pastry, red eggs, alcoholic and fresh drinks. Candles and flowers are also offered. The ritualistic marks for the bride of the one posthumously wedded are: the bride's mug (with three apples and wine inside), the towel over her shoulder and the money on her chest. The act of placing this couple in front of the dancers' chain has a ritualistic significance, too. Only one *horă* is being performed, on more melodies, including Nuneasca, and the number of the ones getting into the dance is an element measuring, in the eyes of the spectators, the social prestige of the deceased or of his/her family.

In Poiana Mare and in Desa, the structure of the whole event is amplified with moments taking the ritual even closer to the form of a posthumous wedding. Here, on the occasion of the *hora de pomană*, a *fir tree* is made, later carried and performed by someone of the same sex of the deceased. The ritual is performed three or, exceptionally, seven consecutive years, with the possibility of performing more *fir trees* simultaneously in a certain year (condensing the three/seven years period). Symbolizing the identity of the deceased, the *fir tree* consists today of a large crown, with a long handle (to make it easier to carry) having various items attached: towel, handkerchiefs, underwear, stockings, mirror, doilies, all of which shall be offered to the one carrying the *fir tree* in the dance. The *fir* is decorated while the young ones from the circle of relatives and friends of the deceased eat the meal offered by the family of the deceased before *hora de pomană.* After this meal, all the present ones, together with the musicians, head in a compact line towards the place where *hora de pomană* takes place. In both places, this happens close to the church. For each unmarried youngster three dances, locally known as *marches*, are performed. Along with the one carying the *fir tree* and with the posthumous couple (bridegroom/bride), the *cumnatul de mână* (necessarily unmarried), relatives, friends, invited acquaintances of the family get into the *horă.* The members of the family of the deceased offer to the others handkerchiefs, towels, bags containing aliments specific to the feasts: *cozonac*, knot-shaped breads, pastry, red eggs. One by one, people are served one glass of alcoholic or fresh drink.

In Ursa, I have met the most developed form of *hora de pomană.* Here, the denomination of the ritual ranges between that of *wedding* [of the deceased] and that of *hora de pomană* "...so it's a wedding, it's *hora de pomană*, so they say, yet it's wedding, this is his wedding, there's music and people..." [Ioana Solbă, 58 years old, Ursa]; "This is like a wedding for him, as he hadn't been married... Now I offer so that my boy can party, too. We've prepared as for a wedding" [Dima Marioara, 65 years old, Ursa].

The ritual structure is much more developed when compared to the other two forms discussed before. The *hora de pomană* is done only for the ones deceased in their young age and unmarried, takes place on the second day of Easter and it is only done once during the entire period of remembrance of the deceased, a situation underlining the idea of posthumous wedding. The call for the event was done just like the local call for a wedding. The main ritual participants were: the couple of godparents, the bride and the *fratele de mână*, the boy who carried the photograph of the deceased. They distinguish themselves among the other participants not only by means of their ritualistic marks: the flowers on their chests, the wedding candles (for the godparents), the mug of the bride, her veil, the white flower bouquet, the flower on her chest (for the bride), the flowered flask and the flower on the chest (for *fratele de mână*), but also by means of the wealth and the amount of gifts they carry starting with the moment when the nuptial-funeral cortege is being formed and until the end of the whole ritual. The role of the posthumous bride had been assumed by the girlfriend of the deceased. The other participants are friends, acquaintances, neighbours of his or of his family.

Figure 1. The group formed by the child carrying the photograph, the bride, the *frate de mână*, and the godparents (photo by Petac Silvestru, April 24, 2006)

The first sequence of the posthumous wedding is the meal offered by the family to the guests. During the meal, the fanfare invited there plays a wedding repertoire. The family prepares the baskets with alimentary alms (red eggs, pastry, fruits, beer, and other drinks), with various textile items or other objects later to be given to each participant in *hora de pomană*.[10] Among other gestures specific for weddings (the flowers worn on the chest), the gesture marking this sequence is that by which the mother of the deceased wraps the *bride*'s neck with a white scarf, symbolizing the bridal veil. After consuming the food and drink, a cortege with the next structure is formed, in this specific order: a child carrying the photograph of the deceased, the bride and the *frate de mână*, the godparents, the fanfare, the young relatives and the youngsters participating in the event, the adult relatives, the other participants (Figure 1). The entire cortege heads to the cemetery. Although the trajectory could have been shortened a lot, the whole cortege passed by the village center, meeting many locals at the crossroads.

In the cemetery, the cortege stands around the grave of the one for whom *hora de pomană* is performed and they dance the Năşeasca (the local name of the Nuneasca) and a *sârbă* (Figure 2). Both dances are performed slowly moving around the grave, in both directions, and loudly calling out witty couplets. After the dance, all the ones present pass by the cross of the deceased and kiss it, leaving a certain amount of money in one of the baskets placed on the grave (all except the bride and the parents). The first ones to kiss the cross are the bride, the godparents, the *frate de mână*, the parents.

The road to the church partially goes through streets different from the ones before. Arriving once more in front of the house from where they left, the participants dance again a *horă de mână*. The moment is much more concise. After this stop, the present ones form again the cortege and head towards the church where the service conducted by the priest respects the liturgical pattern specific to the remembrance of the dead. Afterwards, inside the churchyard *hora de pomană* is performed. It is performed on Năşeasca and other *hore* and *sârbe*. The fanfare and the boy carrying the portrait of the deceased are placed inside the circle. The ones caught in the dance are offered wine, fresh drinks, sweets, flowers, knot-shaped breads and pastry by the relatives of the deceased. After the commemorating dances are over, the event continues with some local dances, especially performed by men. In Ursa, too, up until a few years ago, the *hore de pomană* had the same form as in Băbiciu, Stoeneşti. This was held only in one place (in the churchyard or the courtyard of the village cultural house situated nearby), lacking the grandeur I witnessed directly: "It was easier to do. Some people and fiddlers used to gather, they would go to the church, they wouldn't go to the cemetery. There it was, next to the church or in front of the cultural house" [Dima Oprişan, 67 years old, Ursa].

Figure 2. Participants in *hora de pomană* dancing round the grave of the unmarried one (photo by Petac Silvestru, April 24, 2006)

***Hora de pomană* - metonymic symbol for the wedding of the deceased**

From the facts described above, one can easily conclude that the specificity of this ritual consists of using dance as the main expression of meaning and of its significance. A *horă* is symbolically offered to a young person who died unmarried. The dance also becomes the frame for other offering gestures that add to the significance of the choreographic expression. One could ask about the reason for the presence of the dance in this ritual of commemorating the dead. The answer is to be found both in the Romanians' vision on the purpose of man on earth, on life and death, and in the manner in which dance, as an artistic fact, had been perceived in the Romanian traditional culture.

> The Romanian believes that his passage in this world is achieved in a state of semi-blindness, while the revelation of life's secrets is done, as in any traditional society, with the coming of age, that is to say with the biological and social maturation. (...) The existence of an individual is not

> considered accomplished until he goes through the whole succession of rituals belonging to the life cycle. This explains the special formula of the funeral as symbolic wedding of the young ones dying unmarried. This belief is very strong if we consider the implications of disobeying the ritual procedure. In this case, the soul of such an unhappy one turns into a *strigoi*, affecting both the family and the community that had not accomplished the responsibility regarding the deceased one [Panea, 2003:23–24].

Among these secrets, those linked to sexuality and death were highly ritualised, as the ritual was the cultural solution through which the community could control these fundamental aspects of life. Understanding the purpose of matrimony inside the Romanian traditional community is one of the elements leading to the meaning and the significances of the *hora de pomana*. According to Kligman,

> ...marriage, as well as death, supposes radical changes in the individual and the collective self, both in biologic and social terms, the most elaborated schemes of the wedding refer to the multilayered dimension of the estrangement, separation, death, as well as of the honour and shame. (...) The implicit preoccupation during the wedding is sexuality or, to be more precise, the virginity of the bride, as she represents the potential of giving birth to a sacred life - a guarantee for the continuation of the family and of its honour. Entering the realm of the culturally approved sexuality through marriage signifies entering the adult world [Kligman, 2005:59].

For the Romanian peasant, the death of an unmarried young person has always been a shock whose overcoming was culturally metamorphosed. Without having lived marriage, unintiated into its sacrament, therefore unaccomplished in the realm of the living, the deceased is considered to be a possible danger for those alive, for the family and the community. From the perspective of the relation with posthumous marriage and, implicitly, with proper wedding, the ritual of *hora de pomană* reveals its purpose and opens the way towards understanding its choreographic profile. A series of elements specific to the wedding are transferred into the post-funerary ritual: the presence of the main ritual participants (bridegroom/bride, godparents, *cumnatul/fratele de mână*), specific objects (the bride's mug, the bridal veil, the flask carried by the *cumnat de mână*, the flowers and the money worn on the chest, the towels over the shoulders, the *fir tree*); the ritual meal where the relatives and especially the young ones participate; miming the wedding atmosphere, including the interdiction of weeping, and the obligation of the parents to participate in the dance: "We don't cry. It's a wedding, isn't it?! Otherwise, it won't be received, so they say" [Solbă Ioana, 58 years old, Ursa]; the gifts for the bride and bridegroom (given, this time, over the grave); the call for the dead one's *wedding*; the gestures with nuptial significance (wearing flowers on the chest, the bride wearing the veil and carrying the mug, and so on) only to mention a few. The presence of these elements leads to the conclusion that *hora de pomană* is, actually, a form of marriage of the deceased.

In the case of the wedding in southern Romania, one of the dances performed, *Nuneasca,*[11] condenses a whole series of meanings, having a major importance in the symbolic economy of the wedding. The dance takes place in front of the house of the bridegroom, after the marrying couple had been through the sacrament of religious matrimony. The newly-weds, the godparents, the *cumnat de mână* dancing the *fir tree*, the parents of the newly-weds and the majority of the close relatives of the two get into the dance. The choreographic rite is preceded by/completed with many offering gestures, the bride, the mother-in-law and the godmother having the main function [Ghinoiu 2001:121–124]. The moment of the performance, the participants, the attitude during the dance, the elements of dance proxemics (including the position of the newly-weds edged by the godparents – an especially important detail) are only some of the signifying elements by means of which the border between the old status of the newly-weds and the new one is artistically transfigured. Thus, Nuneasca is a nonverbal, polysemantic and polidimensional symbol [Giurchescu 2005] for the social consecration of the fresh couple, a symbol of wedding and matrimony.

The consecratory sense of this dance and its nuptial significance make it the symbol around which the whole ritual of *hora de pomană* is built. Therefore, the fact that this dance, and no other among those sealing the wedding sequences, is recontextualised is not at all random: "We go to the cemetery, there in the cemetery, at the grave, no candles are lighted, nothing is put down, just like in the wedding, there we dance Nuneasca, we sing Nuneasca. From the grave there we come back, we pass by this gate. At the gate we do a large *horă*, a *horă* where both my mom and dad have to dance, so his dad and mom, too (the father and mother of the deceased), to step at least once into the dance, just like in the wedding. From here we go to the church. At the church we do another large *horă*, in the churchyard, on the green grass (...) [Dima Dorin, 43 years old, Ursa] "These *hore*, we do them because they're obligatory. This means they have to be done. Naseasca, a *horă*, a *sârbă*, they are obligatory" [Dima Oprişan, 67 years old, Ursa].

Performed in a post-funerary context, the dance *Nuneasca becomes a metonymic symbol for the wedding of the deceased.* From a symbol of the living wedding, Nuneasca becomes a symbol of the post-mortem wedding. Integrated into the ritualistic mechanism of *hora de pomană*, this symbol enriches semantically and functionally, receiving the value of a potential instrument that helps in managing an existential and identity situation, and also that of a useful means of communicating with the dead. Within funerary recontextualisation, Nuneasca loses its nuptial

denomination, becoming a simple *horă*, that is to say a simple element of an artistic category. Nevertheless, the dance concentrates the whole series of nuptial meanings, projecting them on a new individual identity, on a presence *in absentia.* The generic denomination of *horă* resembles better the meaning of the new context and leaves space for the possibility of agglutination of funerary significance contained in the syntagm *de pomană.*

The syntagm *hora de pomană* is an oxymoronic symbol for the wedding onto death, a symbol that makes the ideas of life and death complementary. Within the traditional Romanian village, the word *horă* designates both the choreographic event and the proper dance. Generalising, I could say that, for the Romanians, *hora* designates the dance par excellence, an expression of the plenitude of life and of the joy to live. It is based on gestural language as a defining element of humanity. The choreographic act is realized by a dynamic corporalization of energy having time and space as main directions of choreographic creativity. The dance establishes order and harmony, produces pleasure, relaxation, relief, reveals latent regenerating powers. It is a specific form of knowledge, having, from this perspective, a strong bond to metaphysics. *Hora* is an Apolline dance and, because of its specific shape (the closed circle), it can be regarded as a symbol for solidarity and cohesion within the community, representing the individuals' sense of belonging to it.

An artistic act that whose performance needs not only a spiritual presence, but a material, physical one, too, *hora* can only exist *em-bodied* in the most concrete sense, the physical presence of the individual in the act being a *sine qua non* condition. In *hora de pomană*, this implication of the corporeality of the one to whom the dance is dedicated is a symbolic one, realized, as I have already underlined, by means of symbolic substitutes. One believes that *the unmarried one takes part at the wedding hora only through his soul*: "This is the tradition. From the grave, as spirits say, they must take him [the dead] and go to the church. (...) It is not only that he died without a candle. This is his wedding and they must take him to the church and wed him. This is his wedding. They say his soul was taken from there (from the cemetery), taken to the church as a bridegroom, with the bride, and the godparents and, automatically, they did the true religious matrimony for him. There at the church. And then he comes back (the soul of the deceased)" [Chițoranu Mița, 76 years old, Ursa].

It is believed that, offered as alms (*pomană*), *hora* transmits to the one gone away, the joy and the cheerfulness expressed during the performance, all that the dance alludes to. The cheoreographic offering expresses the liveliness unfolding itself; therefore, calling it out loud, for expressing joy, becomes an obligation for the ones performing it. The same behaviour norms include the interdiction of weeping all along the event, as well as the necessity to mime joy, even if the state is not trully experienced. The wishes pronounced during the event are specific to the wedding. ("Good luck and Health") and not to the funeral ("May God receive it"): "Sir, how should I put it, his youth, his love of life. He couldn't rejoice in them. Still, I think that there might be something on the other realm. And it will be. (...) His love of life, of having fun. He can no longer have fun" [Leonard Ion, 50 years old, Băbiciu]; "This is a kind of wedding for him, since he was unmarried. Now I offer so that my boy can have fun, too. We've prepared for a wedding" [Dima Marioara, 65 years old, Ursa, mother of one of the deceased].

The Romanian funeral song is extremely relevant for the pre-Christian eschatologic imaginary according to which the soul of the dead one is perceived as a pilgrim one. "*Din țara cu dor/ În cea fără dor/ Din țara cu milă/ În cea fără milă*" [Brăiloiu 1936].[12] The voyage of the soul in the afterlife follows a clear spatial and temporal trajectory, and this passage demands initiation and support from the living ones. The deceased is permanently encouraged to surpass obstacles, lured by the image of a heaven "*În dealul cu jocul,/ C-acolo ți-e locul;/'n câmpul cu bujorul,/ C-acolo ți-e dorul*" [Brăiloiu 1936].[13] The end of the journey supposes that the soul of the deceased has already been integrated in the realm of the ancestors, and that the living ones have abandoned the concern for its possible *strigoire.*[14] The illusion of communication between the dead and the living is mediated, expressed by the funeral song, the *bocet*[15] and the *pomană.* From this perspective, the offering choreographic act becomes an important reference in the process of de-funeralisation that the extended or restrained community (the family) goes through. *Hora de pomană* is thus a ritual that rather consolidates the process of integrating the deceased in the order of the ancestors, the symbolic ending of this initiating journey into afterlife (the aggregation of the deceased into the new state), marked by the ritual of *slobozârea jocului*[16] performed at the end of the mourning period (usually, one year after the death).

One must underline the connection between this ritual and the Orthodox Easter feast. The meaning and significance of the greatest Christian feast enlarges the semantic frame of *hora de pomană*, completing the original meaning of this ritual, emphasizing it with the substance of the Christian feast.

The spatiality of *hora de pomană*, seen now as event and as dance, has symbolic implications, too. The proxemics of the dance proves not only the cohesion and the reconfiguration of the community, but also a manner of expressing the relation of the living ones with the deceased. In the organization of the Romanian group dances, the first position is the most honourable one. In *hora de pomană*, this is occupied by the one replacing the deceased, followed by the symbolic *bridegroom/bride* and the *frate de mână.* The distance between partners, characteristic to *hora* and to the round dances[17] that are performed is significant in this respect, as well as the symbolic communication between these ones and the deceased, on the other hand.[18] The group formed by the family, from home to the place where the ritual occurs, hints at the same idea of cohesion. In all the villages studied, these groups were led, symbolically, by the deceased one, through the young boy/girl carrying his/her portrait.

The main space involved in *hora de pomană* is the one of the actual dance.[19] Close to the church, it bears

the attributes of axiality and sacredness, attributes transferred to the choreographic act performed. Sacrality is synonymous to power, perenniality, efficiency and especially to living in the *real* [Eliade 2000]. In the consecrated space of the church, the communication with the divinity and the other realm becomes possible, the dance and the other gestures becoming the magical consecrating means proving the intention of communicating with God and the deceased one. Space becomes thus a symbol of the encounter between the living and the dead, while the dance mediates this encounter.

Brief final observations

The analysis of *hora de pomană* can be an eloquent example regarding the manner in which traditional dance functions as a symbol. The dance itself does not shelter any other meaning apart from the strictly choreographic one, due to which gestures are being arranged in a coherent system (in the syntactic sense of choreographic essence). The other meanings, as well as the value of the choreographic act come from its placement into a certain ritualistic, ceremonial or non-ceremonial context [Giurchescu 1993], the consecratory sense being considered by some specialists as "originary, primordial and universal" [Marian 1986:139]. Within the nuptial context, *hora* is a wedding symbol, an obligatory stage for the accomplishment of the life journey, a symbol of both the bride's integration into the new family, and of the couple within the community, an instrument helping the newly-weds express their identity. This symbolic value is present in the post-funerary recontextualisation; besides the value of metonymic symbol of posthumous wedding, consecrating a new ontological status, *hora* also has the features of a useful means for the community to control the passage of the dead one's integration into the world of the ancestors.[20] Equally, because of the offering dimension involved, *hora* offered as *pomană* supports the illusion of communication between the living and the dead, confering upon the deceased the status of an intercessor between the two worlds.

Endnotes

1. See, for instance, Giurchescu 1972; Ghinoiu 2001.
2. I have done these investigations in other villages: Băbiciu, Stoeneşti, Ursa (Olt county) in April 2006; Poiana Mare and Desa (Dolj county) in April 2007, in each case having both video and audio recordings of the *hore de pomană*.
3. *Hora de pomană* is the most widespread dance of the Romanian choreographic culture. It is danced in a circle, partners hand in hand at a bent arm's distance. It has a simple kinetic structure, based on simple repetition or on repetition varying from a base pattern, with lateral steps, as well as steps ahead and behind oneself. This dance is offered as alms for the dead. The term "*hora de pomană*" is the singular form, while the plural form is "*hore de pomană*".
4. *Cumnat/frate de mână* – a sort of groomsman who, during the wedding, represents the bridegroom through symbolic actions, mediating his relationship with the bride and the community.
5. *Strigoi* – in Romanian belief, this personification of evil can take different shapes. There are live ones, stealing the harvest ("*moroii*") and dead ones, unsatisfied dead souls that cause damage.
6. In Stoeneşti the *hora* observed took place at the edge of the village but, from what the locals confessed, I found out that this event used to take place even in the churchyard. As one can see below, in Ursa, *hora* happened in the churchyard. In Desa and Poiana Mare the *hore* took place in the village center, close to the church.
7. In Stoeneşti, *hora de pomană* took place at the edge of the village, but, not long ago, it used to happen next to the church.
8. Among the ones present, only those between 30 and 50 years old got into the dance. This is perhaps due to the fact that this category had already lived, in the past, the village *hora* as a living phenomenon of the community where they grew up. The younger ones, not knowing the local dances repertoire, did not dance. The same thing happened in Poiana Mare where, after the *hore de pomană* were over, they went on dancing for a while.
9. Sometimes, the one carrying the photograph of the deceased stands in the middle of the *hora.* The framed photograph of the deceased has a corner covered by a black ribbon – a sign of mourning.
10. For each participant, depending on his/her relation to the deceased, towels, blankets, doilies, shirts, tablecloths, buckets, mugs and other household items, all of them quite expensive, are offered as alms.
11. *Nuneasca* is present under other denominations, too: *Năşeasca*, *Hora miresei*. It is a *horă* with a very simple rhythmic-kinetic structure, making the ritualistic functionality easier. From a choreologic standpoint, the dance has an open structure, based on the development of a single choreographic motive.
12. *Din ţara cu dor/ În cea fără dor/ Din ţara cu milă/ În cea fără milă.* (From the land of longing/ To the one without longing/ From the land of mercy/ To the one without mercy.)
13. *În dealul cu jocul,/ C-acolo ţi-e locul;/'n câmpul cu bujorul,/ C-acolo ţi-e dorul.* (On the hill with dance,/ For there you belong/ In the peony field,/ For there your longing is.)
14. *Strigoire* – the transformation into "strigoi".
15. *Bocet* – ritual funerary weeping song.
16. *Slobozârea jocului* – "freeing/opening the dance"

17. I do not wish now to discuss the symbolism of the circle, considering it to be well-known.
18. The other aspects connected to gender, social status, and so on, are secondary in favor of the roles underlined in the text.
19. Although in Ursa it is danced in the cemetery, at the new house of the dead, as well as in front of his parents' house, the typical spatiality considered here is present in other villages, too, attested in Ursa as well: the dance is only in the area next to the church.
20. The value of metonymic symbol of the posthumous wedding that *hora de pomană* has, makes the difference between this one and the *jocul de pomană* taking place on various choreographic events across the year. In Cărbunari, Caraş-Severin county, this last ritual includes, during the dance, the act of stepping over a towel with food alms and a candle. The one conducting the performance of the musicians (a relative of the deceased) is obliged to lead the line of those caught in the dance (*să joace înainte*) and to step over this towel. The dance is done when the mourning period is over, one year after the death, dedicated by the musicians to the deceased with the expression: "This dance is charity for him...." The roles and objects alluding to the posthumous wedding, present, as one could see, in the *hora de pomană*, are missing from this ritual of *jocul de pomană* [it has the same ritualistic use, being a dance offered as "*pomană*" alms for the dead. Usually, large group dances are offered as such (*hora*, *sârba*)].

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BEREZNIANKA: A UKRAINIAN DANCE REVIVAL?

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Canada

Bereznianka is the name of a dance adapted to stage by well-known choreographer Klara Balog, Artistic Director of the Transcarpathian State Folk Dance Ensemble of Ukraine.[1] This stage dance is now well known and danced around the world in Ukrainian Diaspora communities. I will focus on how this dance has evolved from within its original space, the village of Velykyi Berezne, to the space I will call, the Ukrainian Canadian stage dance community. As the dance *bereznianka* traveled from its original space to its new one, it passed through a series of filters that have significantly altered the dance. The dance was originally part of a village wedding ritual, then it became a stage dance and now it is a popular component of the Ukrainian stage dance community in Alberta, Canada.

I am interested in this dance for several reasons, but first allow me to say a few words about the Ukrainian Canadian stage dance community. In Canada, specifically in the province of Alberta, which is where I completed my research, there are thousands of individuals who participate in revival Ukrainian staged folk dance every year. This Ukrainian Canadian community is the result of several waves of immigration to Canada, which began in the late 19th century and continues to this day.[2] The resulting population of this immigration provided the momentum for the creation of hundreds of dance clubs. In Alberta alone there are over 80 Ukrainian dance organizations and throughout Canada there are approximately 260 with annual participation numbering around ten-thousand participants. Many of these Ukrainian dance organizations exist with the purpose of maintaining and preserving Ukraine culture through dance. [3]

This dance *bereznianka* is very popular within the Ukrainian Canadian stage dance community. It is danced in some form or another by almost everyone at least once, if not several times, in a dance career. It is performed as a solo, duet, as a large group couples dance, or perhaps even as an all female dance. *Bereznianka* may be danced by any age group between the ages of approximately 10 and 70 years old. It may be learned as part of training, as a complete dance or as part of a suite or simply during a workshop or seminar.

Understanding how this dance continues to adapt and the processes by which it changed in the past can be seen as one trajectory by which Ukrainian stage folk dances came to Canada. By examining how this one dance negotiated the space change, other dances can also be evaluated by either the same trajectory, or alternate paths can be evaluated. Nevertheless, *bereznianka* now exists in a community where it grows, evolves and changes while the original dance only as a distant relative. Let me take you back to the beginning.

The story of *Bereznianka*

It is a beautiful summer day and there is a wedding somewhere in the district of Velykyi Berezne. Located slightly east of the river Uzh, about 40 kilometers north of the provincial capital, in the province of Transcarpathia. This is the southwestern province of Ukraine that borders Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania. Imagine the people are walking along and singing an old song. It is a happy day and the whole town is in celebration. They are making a procession through the village from the church to the home of the groom. One man carries a decorated pole representing a wedding tree.[4] This pole is decorated with ribbons and flowers; the villagers follow, all the while singing. The musicians are playing and they are generally having a good time and dancing naturally to the rhythm of the music. Over the next two days, there would be much dancing and celebration. The social dance form of the region was primarily the *czardash*.[5]

Figure 1. Female dress from village of Perechin, Bereznianskyi Region. Uzhorod Musem (Photo by Vincent Rees, 2005)

Many years later, sometime in the early 1970s a woman catches a bus to the town of Velykyi Berezne. She came to speak with some of the old people in the villages around the town. What do they remember from their youth? How did they dance? How did they celebrate? The woman's name was Klara Balog. She was a dancer, choreographer and recently appointed Artistic Director of the Transcarpathian State Choir & Folk Dance Ensemble in Uzhorod. Some of the old villagers try to recall how they used to dance. They tried to explain or show.

Klara Balog took the notes from her expedition and working with a costume designer, dancers and a composer, created the dance named in honour of the town that inspired it. From the town of Velyki Berezne came the district Bereznianskyi Region. From the name of this district came the name of the dance *bereznianka*.[6]

This dance, as did many in the ensembles repertoire began with the choir singing a variation of the old *czardash*. The dancers eventually joined the scene,

and as the choir stepped into the background, the dancers moved to the foreground, took over the stage and the dance began.

The main step of the dance, sometimes called *triasuchka*, did resemble the original movement that Klara Balog witnessed in the village.[7] She changed the step however, to make it more "academic" [Balog 2006: interview]. There was also an effort to maintain the feeling of "procession" by having two long lines, one of males and the other of females enter from either side of the stage and after circumnavigating the stage, they met and danced together. Instead of having one large wedding stick, every male dancer had a smaller version of this stick and much of the dance was built around creating beautiful visual images with the sticks. Additionally the females each carried a handkerchief for their visual accessory. Couples took turns coming forward and showing off before a grand finale. The imputed setting was a happy Transcarpathian village but the actual setting was often a proscenium theatre stage or an outdoor festival stage.

Figure 2. Transcarpathian Ensemble. (Photo from Khlata 1994)

In the late 1970s, in Kyiv, the capital city of Ukraine, Pavlo Virsky, then Artistic Director of the Ukrainian National State Dance Ensemble, wanted to expand his repertoire to include dances from elsewhere in Ukraine. Virsky enjoyed the unique style of *bereznianka.* Its musical composition, steps and use of props served to be the contrast that Virsky was looking for in his repertoire. This dance has since become a staple in the repertoire of Virsky and the Transcarpathian ensembles, even to this day. However, when Virsky staged the dance several changes were made. In the original version, the head looked horizontally from side to side and now it tilts from side to side. The original movement was, in his personal opinion, awkward and not aesthetically appealing. Virsky also fused the dance with much more of a ballet aesthetic including stretched feet, elongated spine and military precision. Of course, there is also no choir. The changes that Virsky made were popular enough that Balog herself eventually imposed the same changes on her own ensemble.

So this dance was re-contextualized from the village to the stage. It may be considered a revival dance in that, because of its imputed setting, which includes costumes, steps and music, it is meant to re-live a village moment. This dance is consciously attempting to re-create the past, however, it is clearly part of a theatrical tradition with very romantic and national tendencies.

Figure 3. Virsky Ensemble. (Photo from Virsky Dance Company1988)

Journeys to the Ukrainian Canadian dance community

This dance has made several journeys from the old country to Canada. Beginning in the 1970s, the Virsky Company began to tour Canada and the United States and continues to do so today. At first they would sell videos and cassette tapes, now its DVDs and CDs. The Ukrainian community was highly influenced by the impact of these powerful performances.[8] Also in the late 1970s and 1980s, Klara Balog herself was invited to Canada, to give several dance seminars at a summer camp in Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan. Many students attended and then went on to teach throughout the towns and communities of Alberta. Among the dances learned at these seminars was *bereznianka.* In addition, Ukrainian Canadians in the 1980s, 1990s and to this day travel to Ukraine, to study at Studio Virsky, the Institute of Culture, both in Kyiv, and also at the Avramenko Institute of Ukrainian Folk Dance in Lviv. In many cases, they are taught the dance *bereznianka.*

While elevated by the Ukrainian Soviet government, via the State dance ensembles as a national symbol, it was accepted by the Ukrainian Canadian dance community as both a national symbol and simultaneously a piece of traditional folklore. This duel meaning, both authentic and innovative, allowed for the following to occur.

Figure 4. Alberta Zirka Ukrainian Performers 2006. Calmar, Alberta.
(Photo courtesy of Annette Ricard)

Manifestations in Canada

In Canada, when replicating the dance *bereznianka*, there is a desire to be as close to the original as possible. Of course, for most in the Ukrainian community in Canada, the original is already a staged version. I have collected many examples from both rural and urban Ukrainian dance clubs in Alberta from the past ten years, where dancers attempt to mimic the Virsky version. In some cases, if it looks similar to the Virsky version, then it is considered good or traditional.

Variations occur when dancers do not have the time or the training to achieve an exact replica of the Virsky version. Virsky is a professional ensemble while in Alberta, the most accomplished Ensembles practice anywhere from 6 to 12 hours per week. The schools and clubs in both the urban and rural settings may only practice for 1 or 2 hours per week. In that time they may develop up to three dances over the course of approximately 30 weeks. The instructors also have a variety of backgrounds. Everything depends on the available funds, the size of the club and the aspirations of its membership.

When *bereznianka* is performed, it may be in a local theatre or it may be in a home for the elderly, a school gym or at a Ukrainian dance festival. While Virsky has been performing this dance regularly for over 30 years, local Alberta groups will learn this dance in one year and after performing it several times discard it in favor of a new dance.[9]

A second manifestation I have observed can be considered an "adaptation." In this scenario, the most common scenario, the main step is the dominant link. The name of the dance is kept, the music and sometimes a version of the props. Everything else including the number of dancers, the costumes, the formations and combinations are all, open for creative interpretation. Sometimes the pole is left out and often the hankie has been discarded. The decision regarding props may also be the result of the availability of volunteers to make the props or the skill of the dancers to manage a prop. The instructor may have chosen to focus on ensuring the dancers master the difficult main step, depending on the age and experience of the dancers. Most often the costume no longer resembles the Virsky costume but rather, the club will purchase or create some type of symbolic/generic Transcarpathian costume that can be used for other Transcarpathian dances over several years.

In the third manifestation, which I call "remnant," there is less and less that remains of the standard and accepted version of *bereznianka*, if anything at all. I have observed dances called *bereznianka* performed as solos, duets, trios, large group couples dances or all female dances. The age of the performers ranges from very young to the recreational adult groups with dancers in their 70s. In the remnant variants of this dance, the stick and the handkerchief rarely make an appearance. Occasionally the music is not even *bereznianka* but rather some other Transcarpathian melody. The one thing that remains consistent in every variant is the existence of the main step.

The main step has become the symbol, brand or logo that allows the dance to be considered Transcarpathian. Without the main step, the dance or its creator, may loose credibility within the community. Present here, is the desire to keep something traditional so that the dance remains accepted within the Ukrainian stage dance community but at the same time, it is highly creative.

In exploring these dances, I had expected to discover that as the dances became further removed from the standard accepted version performed by both the Transcarpathian Ensemble and the Virsky State Ensemble, that they would be considered less traditional. However, that was not the case. Dancers, choreographers, parents and observers seem to accept all versions as *bereznianka*. What is clearly important to all parties within the Ukrainian Canadian stage dance community is that the dance symbolically represents Transcarpathia. This community is eager

to stay connected to its cultural and historical heritage, but if only symbolically so, then that seems to be enough.

What I hope I have outlined is one trajectory by which dances have come to the Ukrainian Canadian stage dance community and what may happen to them upon arrival. As *berezhianka* dance traveled from its original space to its new space, the changes were significant. This dance now shares only a distant relationship with a living or vival village dance or dance like activity. It is like a seed that has survived the journey from the old country to the new one. This seed has been transplanted and now grows in a new space. The dance looks different, it sounds different and it has a different meaning. One might say the dance has been genetically modified!

Endnotes

1. The Transcarpathian Choir and Folk Dance Ensemble is located in Uzhorod. This is the capital city of the southwestern Ukrainian province of Transcarpathian. This Ensemble has been in existence since WWII.
2. For history of Ukrainians in Canada, see Martynowych 1991.
3. For an explanation of Ukrainian dance organizations in the province of Alberta, see Kim Nahachewsky 1983.
4. This tradition *derevtse* can be found in many parts of Ukraine.
5. According to Jerry J. Jumba (1997) the Rusyn *czardash* style uses its own music and is characterized by more swaying along with lighter and more buoyant movement.
6. The actual location where Klara Balog observed the wedding was the village of Luto, in the Berezhianksyi district.
7. Triasuchka comes from the word *triasyty*, a verb, which means to shake. It is a very bouncy step, which consists of hopping on the left leg, while almost at the same time (perhaps a 1/4 note before) touching the right toe or foot to the ground in front of the body and slightly across, on the first beat. On the second beat, the left leg executes another hop while simultaneously lifting right leg off the ground. On the third beat, the dancer jumps from the left leg to right leg, and then, after a slight pause, the entire movement combination is then repeated on the other leg.
8. For information about the history of Ukrainian dance in Canada, see Pritz 1983.
9. Sometimes clubs will keep a popular dance for up to two or three years. Usually the large groups in Alberta; Cheremosh, Shumka and Volya, do not perform well-known dances and are more inclined to performing original creations. Although each group has restaged other well known choreographies in the past.

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WORD AND IMAGE: REPRESENTING DANCE IN A SYMBOLIC AND CULTURAL-HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

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The contribution shall outline the main questions which appear in dance research when different media are combined in order to show dance as a text in the context. It is based on my research of the traditional carnival festivity called *koleda* in southern Bohemia where dance plays an important role during the whole event. The field research based on participating observation and interview was held from 1999 to 2005 every year in three localities close to each other (Stavělová 2005, 2008). Every year I made video records, collected photographs and sound records as well as the archive material of the late 19th century descriptions of *koleda.* First and foremost, the data gathered in the repeated field research over the six years helped solve the question of how to organize the material and findings in order to use them for documentation, analysis and interpretation at the same time, and how to use visual material in combination with academic papers. The goal was to produce a final paper that would include recordings and text at the same time and will combine the technique of visual study and verbal text. The strategy of visual research consists of bringing closer the visual and verbal data, its aim is to introduce the visual data in the scientific research system (Križnar 1996:126–131). The inseparable co-operation of verbal and visual languages is a good way to cover the complexity of the carnival carol with all important interactions and to render the dance as a cultural text (whose meaning is to be explored in its cognitive and symbolic levels by means of semiotic analysis) which will help discover and define the role of this traditional feature in today's local community.

From field to the cultural text

First of all, we had to separate the goals of documentation and analysis on one side, and interpretation of the feature on the other. The field research showed that the documentation of the feature and making new film recordings involves a number of difficulties: in particular, the recording sessions were rather long and the different parts of the performance took place at different places simultaneously. In order to cover the carol[1] in its entirety and complexity, as a functional system, the first goal was to define the structure and constitutive elements of the *koleda.* Therefore, the recordings made with a video camera and the photographs as well as the findings of the research were only used as the basis for analysing the *koleda* and defining its structure.[2]

I did the documentation with a video camera and photographs during my repeated field research and all the time the camera in my hands was only the tool of documentation for the purpose of analysis of *koleda.*[3] During the research I also find out all the difficulties with getting the film material due to the long duration of the *koleda* (from the early morning to the midnight), to the space which is the tour around the village and to the simultaneous actions. I realised that finding the structure of the event is one of the most important steps for its presentation. In order to understand the structure of *koleda* the course of the event has to be described and interpreted. How to solve all the problems with time and space when describing the course of the event with all its constitutive elements from the beginning to the end? And how to deal with the material in order to get unquestionable evidence?

Prior to the structural analysis, a thorough description had to be made of the entire process of the carol with all the features related to it. Only then was it possible to provide the interpretation of the feature, by producing a text that would give a historical and anthropological account of the role that the carnival carol plays in today's local community.

Film documentary as a visual study

I decided to do the presentation of the material by means of documentary film which should be considered as a culture study. In that case, the documentary film was used as a visual study, and therefore it could be considered as a text, too. The principal question was how film can be used to communicate knowledge. Then the strategy of the research was changed. An important issue became the consideration that it is important to accept the inherently reflexive relationship between the producer, process, and product, and the idea that facts do not organise themselves into concepts and theories just by being looked at (Ruby 1975, 1982, 1996).

The fact that this way of presentation cannot provide the film by more detailed analysis, raised the question of organising the material for more detailed analysis. This made me create a multi-media DVD recording with an interactive menu where the documentary film is only one part. As well as the documentary film the menu offers

each constitutive element of *koleda* which appears in detail in the text with photographs[4] and with more examples of film recordings. Separately, the following elements are analysed: performers and their properties – symbols, dance, motives of accusation and punishment, competition of performers, remuneration, jokes – satire, killing of the bad element, interactions.

In the preparation of documentary film I faced several problems. First, I had to realize what purpose the film would serve, how large audience it would be for and what time horizon I should choose. The role of the audience in the construction of meaning in ethnographic film was emphasised by Ruby's statement that while the producer´s intentions and the way in which they construct the text are important, it is the conditions of exhibition and the viewers that ultimately determine the meaning of the film [Ruby 1995:204].

First and foremost, the form of the film I chose was expected to help me record the carnival *koleda* as a system that works. *Koleda* as a system has different parts occurring in different times of the day so I had to do it shortly and efficiently, in other words, one whole day in a nutshell without losing anything important that is part of the structure of the event. I decided to cooperate with the team of professional film makers and to use two cameras at the same time. In this case it was necessary to prepare the team in advance. The previous four-year field research served to prepare a detailed scenario of the film, and to organise the work of both cameras in the field. The advantage of the work in team was the possibility to get a relevant film material and to record all details which are sometimes impossible to catch if only one person does the job.

The most difficult stage of the preparation of the film began when I started to deal with all the film material and think about its postproduction. The questions like: what elements make up the structure of *koleda* were followed by others: how to cut the film material to present what is principal and comprehensive, how to differ the emic and etic interpretation of symbols when combining the commentary with interviews held with local people.

The time of about 30 minutes for a documentary film is usually considered as convenient when the film is shown in the media. But is it enough for the purpose of culture study? My choice was finally the time of between 30 and 40 minutes which seems to me good for a presentation of the unity of the system of *koleda,* while it was still possible to highlight all its units. The production of the film brings a variety of problems, the principal were: how to make a difference between several kinds of speech and how to cut the visual text.

Whose speech?

The film uses different sorts of verbal and visual texts. The preparation of the scenario with the commentary text was the starting point of the production. Three kinds of speech or verbal texts were used. First, my written text performed by a professional speaker has to interpret the course of *koleda* and its different parts and show the meaning of the event. This text shows both the emic and etic point of view. The main trouble was that it had to be short but comprehensive at the same time. So, condensed phrases were used, which may be clumsy and less understandable when spoken, and may go against the fluency of the pictures. This made the whole process of finding the right expressions very difficult.

Then there was the text of guided interviews with local people. Their speech was usually long, without dynamics, not fluent and we had to cut it and select only some parts. But it was important to show the emic explanation of symbols and their meaning.

The last one is the live speech which is included in different parts of *koleda* as well as jokes of masked performers. This text illustrates the authentic situation and sometimes includes improvisation. These parts with improvised text are usually topical jokes concerning performers or local people and promotes interactions. The speech of masked performers is usually gross and represent also a problem. To keep the authenticity I wanted to leave the speech as it was, but in the film it sounded much more important and could have made the audience think this was not spontaneous. Therefore, whenever the words carried no meaning I covered some of these places with music.

Production of the documentary film was a compromise, as it had been clear from the very beginning that this form had its own rules and could not provide all the potential of a thorough interpretation analysis due to the limited time. As a result, the film is a brief description using the methods of film composition and production, the main goal being to document the meaning of the feature in question. It is a combination of word and picture: the descriptive and conventionalised commentary to the film supplies the knowledge backround whereas the account given by the local people, the lively, spontaneous speech of the performers in combination with the film clips depict the entire carol with all the context. But we need to differentiate clearly the two sorts of verbal material. The commentary made by the author/researcher based on her observation, interviews and research is a combination of emic and etic approaches; by contrast, the accounts of the local people seem to reflect their own interpretation of what the carol means. The utterances which are part of the carol itself are either fixed verbal features as a type of cultural form, or improvised responses to particular events as a type of emic description. The two types of utterances have different values, showing the different ways how people manipulate symbols and think about meaning of them.

The editing process

The biggest challenge of the production process was the editing of the film material, and the question of how to cut the visual text was solved at the same time. It was extremely important for me to strike a balance between all

the elements of the structure so that all of them could be considered as meaningful and have the same proportion. Sometimes, the problem was with selecting the film shots: quite often the quality of the text did not correspond with the visual quality. Some shots illustrated the commentary in a good way but did not fit with the direction of the film and vice versa.

In total, the film had more than twenty hours as two cameramen tried to cover the entire carol for the whole day till late at night in two villages at the same time (in Dobrkovská Lhotka and Soběnov), moving to the third village the following day (to Slavče). But the analysis having been conducted in advance and the structure of the carol having been defined, we could in the film-making process focus on the important features of the carol and omit some parts of the film without breaking the integrity of the system. This also made it possible to choose shots based on their quality, although this was equally challenging. Some of the shots that provided perfect academic account were too lengthy and lacked dynamics, whereas those that were more "attractive" for viewers often gave little description of the event. Sometimes I had to choose from several shots, those which promoted the dynamics of the film, and cut out those which were only instructive.

Last but not least, we had to choose something that would intensify the effect of the story. Music was one of the possible solutions, and it sometimes played the role of a marker between different parts of *koleda* that had different meanings. Whenever it was necessary to make the impression that the event was long, we used the effects of slowing the film down or speeding it up.

Therefore we had to make sure that no part of the carol was given more importance due to its "attractivity" and, similarly, no part was allowed to step into the background even though it seemed rather modest. Every effort was made in order to ensure that every single part of the carol was given an equal position and equal share in the presentation. In other words, the editing process was always full of compromises in order to produce a film documentary matching the conventions of films of this type, and at the same time being an eloquent cultural study produced as a result of responsible academic research. As all these expectations are hardly easy to meet, there will always be a compromise between them.

Concluding remarks

When making documentaries of this type, you have to compromise between the research value of the study and the effect that you want the result to make. But first and foremost, the two methods should always result in an efficient depiction of a cultural-social feature and its importance. The effectiveness of the whole thing is crucial because it will suppress some of the details which can later be highlighted in a different type of presentation. I knew I had to compromise, so I employed some more strategies when analysing all the material and knowledge I had gained in the field. No less importantly, the rest of the film and photographic material was worth working with; if organised economically it could just as well be used in further research to provide deeper analysis of the individual part of the carol. This served as a basis for multimedia presentation, combining the potential of an academic paper, film documentary, and heuristic work with film and photographic material, becoming a single presentation. The documentary has become a presentation of the results, whereas the interactive menu of the DVD offers a detailed analysis of the various parts of the structure of *koleda* by means of a specialized text, photographs of the important parts and some more film material cut into smaller subtopics.

Endnotes

1. The word carol (*koleda*) is used to describe the tour around the village, the performers as a whole, the reward they get, and the whole event, depending of how the people involved use the word.
2. Structure in this sense means the logical categories and forms of relationships among them.
3. The meaning of the photographic material in visual research is emphasised by Križnar (1996: 140–144; 1997).
4. Ethnographic photography should be considered after Ruby (1996:1346) as a an aide-de memoire, similar to written field notes, to help reconstitute events in the mind of the ethnographer but also as a new kind of text producing a different type of learning experiences.

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"DANCING WITH DEATH" (ROMANIAN INITIATION RITES IN POST-FUNERAL CONTEXT)

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In April 2006 we conducted fieldwork in the Romanați ethnographic area (Olt County, in south-east Romania) and we recorded the custom and practice *hora de pomană* (the round dance offered as oblation to the dead). The circulation of this custom and practice is testified as ritual post-funeral practice in similar variants in two other Romanian areas as Banat and Oltenia [Giurchescu 1969–1970; see also Ghinoiu 2001], as well as in the *vlahi* communities in Valea Timocului and also in the Romanian settlements from Vojvodina (Serbia). In order to approach and analyze this phenomenon properly, we should mark out, even sketchily, the mythical coordinates and roots of the Romanian funeral and post-funeral traditions.

We will bring arguments to prove that the last existential "doorstep", the death is conceived as a great, last travel towards the unworldliness, towards the Other World or the "beyond world" which is a wistfulless and pitiless world (*lumea fără dor, lumea fără milă*) conceived as ancestors' realm [Pop 1967; Ciubotaru 1999:102]. The configuration of the latest is a perfect reflection of our own world (*lumea cu dor şi cu milă*, the lively world). In the Other World, the family *largo sensu* (*neam*) recomposes itself and functions in all its social features kinship-based [Pop 1999:22–23; 178–191]. Each of its members joins it after having traveled along the initiation path into the Other World guided by the community's incantations, invocations, hymns and lamentations, as well as by magical and ritual objects and gestures [Ciubotaru 1999:95–136; see also Panea 2003:76-82 and Ghinoiu 1999:218–221].

The main concern of the family and of the community is to ensure the complete separation from our world and the harmonious integration in the other world. Any ritual watchfulness or ritual lack of precision engenders, in the common belief, not only the individual disequilibrium, but also the macro social one [Panea 2003:93–122; see also Hedeşan 1998]. By accomplishing the equilibrium and keeping desideratum implies the ontological fulfillment (getting over all the existential phases and all the passage moments), in case of unnatural death, the traditional community resorts to mending rites and ritual simulacra in order to overcome the crisis.

To give you some examples, I will mention: the "black baptism" performed by a god-mother/a midwife for 7 years nearby the grave of the baby who died before being baptized [Marian 1995b:51–53]; the *in effigiem* burial of those who disappeared in accidents or conflagrations, far away from home [Marian 1995a:24–26 and 223–225]; the exorcizes of those who committed suicide or who had been murdered; the wedding of the dead performed for the unmarried deads (or even for the adolescents or pubescent children) [Ciubotaru 1999:121–125; see also Kligman 1988].

The main competence of the mentality which stirs the activity of these practices is the belief that the discontented dead (*moroii, pricolicii* and *strigoii* – hypostasis of ghosts) [Panea 2003:76–112]. They imperatively ask the family to *post factum* accomplish the separation/integration rites and they punish them in an exemplary manner in case of not having performed these rites.

Older and newer ethnological and anthropological studies circumstantially analyze these ritual practices, especially the wedding of the dead. The symmetry of these rites with the scenario of the traditional wedding becomes obvious. Approaching the sequences, the actors, the pragmatics and functional-semantics of these rites, it becomes obvious that they are similar to the traditional wedding scenario [see Ciubotaru 1999:121–136; see also Panea 2003: 107–112].

From now on, are going to approach only one constituent of the whole ceremonial and ritual acts, which make this ritual simulacrum - the playful and choreographic one. The first sequence where the ritual dance and mimics are known as "death wake games" which are played by masked protagonists is the liminal one. "The death wake games" are performed on the basis of the well spread belief that, if the dead is not being watched, he can revenge himself by turning into a ghost. Meanwhile, they find their explanation in an ancestral ritual behavior, *petrecerea mortului* (the deceased's party) [Pop 1958; see also Ciubotaru 1999:76–88]. In Romanian, the word *petrecere* has double meaning: on the one side, it means, "to show somebody the way to; to guide" (in this case, to the Other World) and on the other side, it means, "to have fun, to feast." Thereafter, to dance and to play games for and nearby a dead is a decency act embodied with magical ritual significances.

The mythical-philosophical key note that we are going to find out in the tradition called *hora de pomană* (the round dance offered as tribute or alms gift for the dead) is that in his doubtful, "numinous" estate, on the doorstep between this world and the other world, the defunct has to be given everything he misses when he completely comes off the existence. However, as the other world is conceived following the pattern and the rules of our world, it

becomes natural that those who come to "catch" (take) and to "drive" a dead into their dance should be the ancestors themselves played by the mask bearers.

The word *joc* (from Latin *Jocum* = joke, farce) bears two meanings, which can be significant in this context. It designates, on the one hand, the "traditional dance" and on the other hand, the "playful and dramatic manifestations; masquerade or carnival cortege," and finally, the games. Both meanings are parts of the syncretic language one can find in "the dead watch games" custom. We should mention as well that the "wake games" used to be played especially in Moldova (*Chipăruşul* is known for its main ritual significance) and that they used to be mandatory component of the funeral ceremonial, disregarding the age, the gender and the marital status of the decesed [Bîrlea 1982:33–34].

There is another ritual ceremonial occurrence of the dance in the Romanian funeral context whose oversight cannot be sought about in the wedding of the dead scenario [Kligman 1998; see also Ciubotaru 1999:131–133]. It is the dancing party as a distinctive sequence of the death wake for young unmarried people, the dance in front of the church during the religious service (functionally similar to the "round dance" – *hora*, performed at the wedding) and the same dance performed around the grave. Researchers discovered resemblances of these ritual dances in the wedding simulacra at both Balkan and northern Slavic populations [Muşlea 1925].

Lastly, the dance, especially the collective one, is offered as oblation to the dead in the post-funeral practices. Data collected during last century (in the 1960s in the south-western country and especially during the 1970s–1980s in Oltenia County) testify for this ritual practice addressed not only to unmarried dead people, but also to all the dead people [Ghinoiu 2001:206]. It is put in act in temporal contexts differentially determined according to the deceased's marital status, to the period between its performance and the moment of the death, and to the circumstances of the death (cause and place).

Hence, the round dance offered as tribute, alms, and gift is mandatory in Oltenia County when the mourning period gets to its end. In this region the bereaved family organizes an ample series of ritual-ceremonial acts that underline de peremptory separation [Bloland, Giurchescu 1992:35–36]. They hark back to the normal life by throwing the black clothes and by a group dance performance; this ritual moment is known as *slobozirea jocului* (the dance release) or *desjelirea* (the wail relinquishing). It is performed exclusively in communitarian places: either on the place where the village party dance is usually performed or in the cemetery. The classic scenario involves both the close kins, especially the kinswomen as emissary's actors, and the rest of the community (as ground rule disregarding the age, but obviously preferring the youth) as beneficiaries.

Another context of this ritual-ceremonial practice is to be found at the main orthodox Christian holidays: at Christmas, at Easter, at Pentecost, as well as at the most important saints' days in the calendar year, saints who patronize the household and the family [Ghinoiu 2001:224–225]. It is impetuous that we should mention few features useful in analyzing the tradition *hora de pomană.*

First of all, this gift brought as oblation overtakes the post-liminal framework (it can be put in practice after having accomplished either the seven-year duties or the one year duties after the death), it is addressed both to the unmarried and married dead people, disregarding the age and it doesn't have a special ceremonial richness (it doesn't have to come along with other tribute gifts). In the particular case of *sărindare de obşte* (collective memorial prayers and religious ceremonies), the dance is brought as a tribute gift and is a mandatory message in this ceremonial simulacrum. Originally, the collective memorial prayers were celebrations of people *in effigiem* buried (because they have died in conflagrations). Later on, they became pluralism on kinship and neighborhood criteria of the alms gifts while alive.

In addition, the dance brought as tribute to the dead can be performed in other contexts of family customs, such as weddings and old parties on occasion of baptism. In this case, the initiators (the emissaries of the message towards the other world) are common participants (for example, whoever wants to offer a ritual gift to his/her dead relatives). This ritual gesture emphasizes the will to communicate with the dead who always "attend" the events of the family life. In the meantime, it reinforces the communion with the enlarged family (*neam*) conceived as an inseparable structure.

In order to properly explain the Romanian funeral and post funeral rites, we define the dead round dance falling back upon the analytical coordinates of the contemporary theories [Riviere 1997:89; see also Lardellier 2003]. These approaches define it as a ritual well anchored in the festive time dedicated to the communication between this world and the other one. It is conceived as a set of roles (concordant with those in the nuptial scenario, but with compensatory meanings). Its content brought about by the immediate reality (the unnatural death) is amplified by the emotional resonance given by the actors' and audience's participation. Objects and means of communication, as well as the spatial temporal context are determined by the situation, which should be re-mediated. It supposes in fact a synthesis funeral–nuptial based on a mythical and still alive ground.

Seemingly, *hora de pomană* we encountered in the villages where we conducted fieldwork in 2006 (Băbiciu, Gostavăţu, Studina, Ursa – Olt District) is completely similar to post funeral practices. It is dedicated to the young dead people (either married or unmarried) whose death happened earlier than 3 years ago. It is performed in a communitarian place (in the cemetery and on the grazing ground) and in a moment with religious significance (Easter holidays). Its main actors are the closest family members, and its significance as tribute is emphasized by a lot of ritual formulas and by ritual food contextualized by the holy day.

Going deep inside the analysis, we note first of all the symmetry with the nuptial ritual: the presence of the musicians or of the fanfare, of the bride/bridegroom, of the godparents (*nunii*) and of other persons with ceremonial

roles - *socrii mari* (the bridegroom's parents) and *socrii mici* (the bride's parents), *cumnatul de mana* (the best man), *druşca* (the bridesmaid) and her cortege, as well as of some ritual objects (the wedding candles, the towels and the handkerchiefs, the fir tree, the hip flask, and the cockade flowers).

We noted as well, behavior requirements: the deceased's parents should not cry at all that day, on the contrary, they should be as cheerful as on a weeding. The presence of godparents, close friends and relatives is mandatory. The actors' distribution is of great interest. Most part of the ritual acts are performed by children and young people: the best man invites the villagers to take part in the round dance by giving them a drink out of a hip flask as they do on a wedding; the boys and the girls ornate the small fir tree, they hang on the cockade flowers only on the young participants` chest; the adolescents and pubescent young people wear the deceased's portrait and other badges.

In the way the roles and functions are distributed we can read the desire to reach gender equilibrium, to involve the next generation in order to insure the perpetuation of the tradition and to faithfully follow the reversal counterpart of a nuptial scenario. It differs from the nuptial scenario in at least one respect: the dance is a semi-independent element anterior to other tributes brought to the defunct and it can involve all the participants. Its location on the communitarian place, on the one hand relates it to the festive general background (where the Sunday party dance commonly takes place) and on the other hand, invests it with the valences of a double communication act: mythical – communication with the dead – and social, communication among the family members and the community. The burial feast in the deceased's household and the gift objects (consecrated in all Romanian passage rites) point to the intention of communication.

Referring back to the presence of young people in these rituals, we should first of all mention that it is not imperatively motivated by this particular unnatural death, but by their purity condition itself and by their being embodied with the perpetuation of the enlarged family and of life generally speaking.

For example, little girls and boys unbound the deceased's spring water (they carry buckets of water to a needful person for 40 days on the name of the deceased) [Ghinoiu 2001:207–208]. They are the first beneficiaries of the alms and ritual food gifts offered by the family in the deceased's name [Cuisenier 2000:368–378], while the unmarried young people, as we have pointed out before, are the protagonists of the dramatics performances during the dead's wake [Marian 1995a:131–132].

In the context of ritual moment known as *hora de pomană*, the children and the young people play an active role of communication. They mediate the contact with the other world through the gesture of offering ritual food gifts and through direct participation at the dance. In this respect, the practice we analyze essentially differs from other communitarian parties if we consider that the children never take part at the adults' dance. For these respects, I consider that the tradition subject of our study has a pronounced initiation character in what we could call the "cultural complex code of the passage."

Engaged in this ritual-ceremonial complex, the young people and the children understand the symbolical and normative value of the ritual connection whose role is to maintain the social order, to insure the communication between the sacred and the social worlds [Lardellier 2003:45].

The ritual proves itself to be a communication channel and a channel to insure the social mediation [Panea 2002:22], an apparatus for establishing rules and for symbolically treasuring the present and the future which enables the reproduction of the social order through the participation of the youngest representatives of the society.

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Photographs

Photo 1. Round dance (hora) in the courtyard of a bereaved family
(Ursa, Olt District, April 24, 2006, photo by F. Teodorescu)

Photo 2. Funeral wedding cortege by road to the cemetery
(Ursa, Olt District, April 24, 2006, photo by F. Teodorescu)

Photo 3. Round dance (*hora*) in front of the church
(Ursa, Olt District, April 24, 2006,
photo by F. Teodorescu)

Photo 4. Children receiving alms and dancing for a young man dead (Stoenesti, Olt District, April 25, 2006, photo by F. Teodorescu)

Photo 5. Solemn ceremony at the grave with the officials of the funeral wedding
(Ursa, Olt District, April 24, 2006, photo by F. Teodorescu)

DU TERRAIN AU TEXTE: LA RELATION CHERCHEUR-DANSEUR COMME FACTEUR DE DEVELOPPEMENT DE LA MAITRISE DE LA DANSE ET DE SON ENSEIGNEMENT

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1. Introduction/champ problématique

Les recherches que je mène sont centrées sur des questions relatives à la transmission de la danse. Et si ma thèse de doctorat et une partie de mes travaux actuels portent sur la danse contemporaine (mon domaine de pratique privilégié) j'étudie également la transmission d'une danse traditionnelle d'Auvergne, forme emblématique de la région: la bourrée à 3 temps dansée en couple, encore très présente dans l'imaginaire et les pratiques auvergnates.

Au cours de cette étude, suite aux observations, entretiens et analyses réalisés, j'ai remarqué que les différentes facettes de la méthodologie mise en place agissent sur le développement artistique et pédagogique des danseurs transmetteurs, contribuant d'une part à l'affinement de la connaissance de la danse, et d'autre part à une forme d'amélioration des conditions d'enseignement de celle-ci. L'impact de la méthodologie mise en œuvre porte sur la relation praticien-chercheur et en conséquence sur l'activité réflexive et pratique du danseur transmetteur.

L'étude évoquée est issue d'une recherche en cours, qui interroge la *spécificité* de la "bourrée", telle que pratiquée et transmise aujourd'hui par des *danseurs passeurs*. C'est la question de la tradition confrontée à l'instant contemporain qui émerge dans ce questionnement. Qu'est-ce qui doit demeurer pour que perdure la danse au plus près de la tradition, tout en s'inscrivant dans un contexte social et culturel actuel?

Pour mener à bien cette recherche en cours, je croise trois recueils de données issues:

** Premièrement:* des entretiens réalisés avec des danseurs de tradition. Interroger et recueillir ce que les vieux danseurs traditionnels auvergnats disent de la façon dont ils ont appris à danser et de ce à quoi ils reconnaissent un bon danseur. Premier volet de la recherche intitulé *"paroles de danseurs"*.

** Deuxièmement:* la mise en place d'un dispositif spécifique, intitulé *"Echo"*, au cours duquel nous confrontons des danseurs traditionnels de bourrée et des danseurs de danse contemporaine, demandant aux seconds de se saisir de ce qu'ils jugent essentiel dans la bourrée dansée sous leurs yeux, afin de créer une danse contemporaine au plus près de ce qui leur apparait de cette danse traditionnelle. Ce dispositif est complété par des entretiens avec tous les danseurs.

Ces deux premiers volets de la recherche sont réalisés en collaboration avec l'Agence des Musiques Traditionnelles en Auvergne (AMTA).

** Troisièmement:* des données issues de l'observation et de l'analyse de situations actuelles de transmission, lors de stages et d'ateliers d'apprentissage de cette bourrée d'Auvergne. Il s'agit de comprendre ce qui se passe dans les moments actuels de transmission de la danse, tenter ainsi de révéler à partir des pratiques de transmission ce qui est transmis (caractéristiques fondamentales de la danse) d'une part, et quelles en sont les raisons profondes pour les acteurs de la transmission (significations pour le sujet dansant) d'autre part. Ainsi révéler ce qui a traversé les temps et reste en mouvement dans cette bourrée, pour ceux qui ont ici choisi de la transmettre.

La problématique qui est la mienne portant sur l'expérience et la signification de danser la bourrée aujourd'hui "en acte" comme "en pensée", j'interroge donc la question de la tradition dans l'instant contemporain: reproduction et invention? Maintien et variabilité?

Et comment les danseurs passeurs peuvent-ils transmettre la danse de façon à faire émerger chez les apprentis danseurs les qualités qui caractérisent le danseur traditionnel? A quoi se réfèrent ces danseurs de bourrée qui sont transmetteurs "passeurs" de ces danses, danseurs reconnus et recherchés? Comment et pourquoi proposent-ils cette pensée de la danse et les formes qui en découlent?

Ce n'est pas la question de l'authenticité qui m'intéresse, dans le sens où il ne s'agit pas de questionner une reprise de la danse qui tenterait d'être conforme à ce qu'elle aurait été au moment de sa création. La question est celle de savoir ce qui reste, ce qui demeure et traverse le temps. En d'autres termes qu'est-ce qui permet de dire: c'est une bourrée, mais dansée aujourd'hui dans un contexte social et culturel contemporain?

La communication présentée aujourd'hui porte sur ce troisième volet de la recherche: les ateliers observés ont été organisés par Les Brayauds, Centre Départemental des Musiques et Danses Traditionnelles du Puy de Dôme (Cdmdt 63), au cours d'un festival nommé Les Volcaniques, Festival des Musiques et Danses de pays, 10ème (2005) et

11ème (2006) éditions (stages de musique instrumentale, danse, chant; rencontres et conférences; concerts et bal). La transmission de la bourrée dans ce contexte est confiée à deux frères, Eric et Didier Champion, experts reconnus nationalement pour l'enseignement et la pratique de la bourrée d'Auvergne.

2. La danse étudiée

L'Auvergne est une région du centre de la France, appartenant au grand Massif Central, où la bourrée est une forme pratiquée de longue date (en Limousin, Morvan, Haute Auvergne, Basse Auvergne, etc). Le Puy de Dôme est un des 4 départements de l'Auvergne. Tout au long de nos échanges je dirai "la" bourrée mais en fait il y a de nombreuses bourrées et des variantes importantes dans les bourrées. Les origines de cette danse sont d'ailleurs très controversées "problème insoluble de l'origine de la bourrée" selon Jean-Michel Guilcher (1975). Sur le territoire du Massif Central, les bourrées à deux temps et bourrées à trois temps existent, ces dernières sont peu répandues et localisées à la haute auvergne. Le pas de base semble commun, mais la bourrée est une danse difficile et complexe, sujette à de nombreuses et subtiles variations.

Qui pratique la bourrée aujourd'hui? Selon l'Agence des Musiques Traditionnelles en Auvergne, trois mondes distincts sont repérables: "(1) les groupes folkloriques dans une version spectacularisée, (2) les danseurs traditionnels qui les ont toujours connues et aimées, et (3) les revivalistes qui se sont, depuis les années 70, réappropriés ce patrimoine commun" (AMTA, site internet de l'agence, 2005).

Les frères Champion appartiennent à la troisième catégorie, celle des "revivalistes". Ils ont appartenu à un groupe folklorique pendant 15 ans. Puis au cours de soirées de bal et de rencontres avec les vieux danseurs de bourrée, s'étonnant de ce qu'ils percevaient de la pratique de cette danse, ils ont commencé le collectage des danseurs de tradition. Se mettant alors en rupture avec les folkloristes, ils enseignent différemment depuis une douzaine d'année.

La pratique que j'étudie est celle d'une forme de revivalisme, mais non folklorique, distinction nécessaire entre revivalisme et folklore dans le contexte français (Guilcher Y. 2003). Des dires mêmes d'Eric et Didier Champion, cette danse est vivante "la danse traditionnelle est en perpétuel mouvement", et c'est la danse de bal qui les intéresse, non la danse pensée pour le spectacle et mise sur scène "notre approche n'est pas identitaire, elle est patrimoniale et culturelle, nous voulons être des continuateurs de cette danse et nous la prenons telle que nous la trouvons". Nous percevons ici l'importance qu'ils accordent au collectage comme référent de leur propre danse et des pratiques qu'elle suscite.

3. Méthodologie et cadre d'analyse.
Précisions méthodologiques.

D'une part ce sont aux outils de l'ethnographie classique que je fais appel: construction du terrain, observation avec prise de notes et enregistrement vidéo et micro HF. Une forme d'immersion participante (participation à différents moments du stage: repas, moments informels de rencontres et discussion, spectacles, concerts et bals organisés chaque soir et le dernier jour du stage ainsi que concours de bourrée...). Une étude de textes. Des entretiens semi directifs.

Mais d'autre part, il est important pour moi de mettre en relation ce que j'ai pu observer avec ce que les danseurs traditionnels disent de ce qu'ils cherchent à faire. J'utilise un entretien d'autoscopie, entretien d'auto confrontation simple (Clot 2001), où le danseur commente à mon intention l'image de sa propre activité de transmission. C'est une forme de transdisciplinarité méthodologique à laquelle je fais appel. Cette méthodologie provient notamment des travaux de l'ergonomie et d'une clinique de l'activité (Clot, Faïta 2000). J'accède ainsi aux commentaires et aux intentions des frères Champion. C'est la confrontation avec leur propre image, et ce que cette dernière révèle de leurs actions et de leurs discours, qui va me permettre de comprendre les significations de leurs actions en contexte, puisque je travaille sur des pratiques discursives situées qui apparaissent en cours d'action et s'actualisent dans des interactions. L'analyse est double: elle porte sur les discours dans l'action, et sur les discours tenus par les acteurs transmetteurs sur l'action.

Le cadre d'analyse auquel je fais appel est celui développé dans ma thèse, notamment sur deux aspects:

(1) une catégorisation des fonctions des discours élaborée dans ce cadre (Vellet 2003). J'ai développé une recherche pour comprendre en quoi et comment les discours en situation, tenus pendant le temps de transmission de la danse (création ou enseignement) contribuent à l'émergence du geste dansé et de ses nuances qualitatives. Je me suis donc centrée sur une analyse qui rende compte de la manière dont les discours agissent sur la production et l'élaboration du mouvement, sur la façon dont ils travaillent le sensible, l'imaginaire, la perception... de façon à faire émerger les qualités singulières d'une danse. Et l'étude des discours dans leurs relations aux gestes m'apparaît être un outil précieux pour nous permettre de comprendre l'activité de transmission de ces danseurs traditionnels.

(2) La notion de "transmission matricielle" que j'ai proposée et nommée ainsi car elle donne accès à la genèse de la danse. La danse n'est pas objet mimétique mais appartient profondément à celui qui l'interprète et se l'approprie: ce sont donc l'origine du mouvement et la genèse de la danse qui sont en jeu et qu'il faut transmettre, bien davantage que le geste final lui-même.

4. Premières observations, premières analyses.

Elles m'ont conduite à identifier que ces "passeurs" de danse recherchent tout à la fois le respect de la tradition et une forme d'inventivité (Vellet 2005).

La pratique sociale ancienne du bal, caractérisée par un apprentissage informel, par imprégnation et mimétisme, continue d'exister. Mais d'autres moments plus formalisés et visant explicitement l'apprentissage doivent être organisés, même s'ils peuvent apparaître à ce titre en rupture avec la tradition orale: ils prennent en France aujourd'hui la forme d'ateliers et de stages. Ces dispositifs d'enseignement de la bourrée visent la transmission d'éléments de vocabulaire et de syntaxe chorégraphique identifiés et maîtrisés, formes convenues et reconnaissables. Cependant la bourrée revendiquée par les frères Champion est une danse inventive et dotée d'une grande variabilité dans le déroulement *in situ* de la danse.

L'observation et l'analyse des situations de transmission me permettent d'identifier une façon de faire qui prend en compte cette double contrainte: figures de répertoire et variabilité inventive. Elle est d'ailleurs évoquée par les Frères Champion eux-mêmes lors des entretiens d'auto confrontation: *"à la fois on voudrait / des gens qui soient / relativement fort techniquement pour reproduire des gestes comme on souhaiterait qu'ils les reproduisent c'est-à-dire à l'identique // et à la fois // on ne voudrait pas qu'ils s'installent dans quelque chose de / donc on change souvent pour qu'ils soient toujours dans cette logique // toujours qu'ils soient dans cette logique là de construction de la danse"* (EAC / 20 juillet 2005)

La bourrée à trois temps dansée à deux appelle donc une part d'inventivité: la variabilité est le signe d'un "bien danser" comme en témoignent ces danseurs de tradition auprès desquels Eric et Didier Champion ont réalisé les collectages (dans les Combrailles et l'Artense essentiellement, deux zones géographiques du Puy de Dôme). L'inventivité et la singularité s'inscrivent dans la variabilité compositionnelle de la danse et dans la variabilité interprétative du geste, et ce toujours et uniquement dans la relation à l'autre.

Je ne reprendrai dans ce bref article qu'un exemple pour illustrer cette réflexion sur l'impact de la méthodologie: celui de l'approche de la rotation dans la bourrée (croisement des danseurs avec rotation, dans la seconde phase de la bourrée).

Qu'observons-nous dans le premier stage? Les frères Champion dansent, donnant à voir la globalité de la danse, insistant pour que les stagiaires regardent et tentent de comprendre ce qu'ils voient. Ils souhaitent ici que les stagiaires ne se laissent pas seulement imprégner mais comprennent. Ce qui est une activité relativement difficile, les travaux scientifiques actuels nous éclairent sur cette difficulté à comprendre l'origine d'un geste par un simple regard, sans que des éléments explicatifs ou perceptifs complémentaires soient apportés, ou sans une culture déjà installée qui aurait permis de construire ce regard.

Puis les stagiaires essayent à leur tour, sans autre consigne que: "bourrée simple la première partie, deuxième partie on tourne autour de l'autre". La réalisation ne correspond pas tout à fait à ce qui est attendu. L'empathie kinesthésique (Martin 1991; Foster 1998), la contagion gravitaire (Godard 1995) ne peuvent donner à tout comprendre même s'ils participent à la saisie de l'image et du geste qui sont à reproduire. Montrer ne suffit donc pas, il faut expliquer, avoir recours aux discours.

Ils vont donc redécrire ce qu'ils font, leur propre activité, premier pas vers l'abstraction des propriétés pertinentes.

5. Relation praticien-chercheur générée par la méthodologie choisie et mise en œuvre.

Au-delà de l'observation descriptive et compréhensive des situations de transmission et de la danse elle-même, la méthodologie développée avec l'entretien d'auto confrontation permet de reconsidérer les relations chercheur-praticien. La confrontation avec un nouvel interlocuteur et la confrontation aux traces de leur propre activité leur donne la possibilité de produire une nouvelle conceptualisation de leur activité. La méthodologie se trouve être au service du développement artistique et pédagogique des "danseurs passeurs".

Dans cet exemple précis donc, l'un souhaite leur donner des pistes (je cite) "pour mieux coordonner les rotations" (Didier), l'autre souhaite "aborder différentes manières de faire cette bourrée" (Eric), et notamment d'aborder la variabilité dans les tours-rotations de la deuxième phase. Une pratique singulière à leur travail est observable: le jeu du binôme. Ils se rapprochent et commentent ensemble. Ces discours échangés témoignent à nouveau de la prise en compte de cette double contrainte, comme si chacun d'eux portait une priorité différente.

Le premier temps mis en place est alors celui de *l'amélioration de la coordination des rotations.* Ils montrent en segmentant, en donnant de nombreuses précisions notamment sur les plans des corps dans l'espace, la symétrie et les stagiaires expérimentent. Le travail porte sur les gestes et les figures de répertoire. Premier aspect de la contrainte.

Ils abordent immédiatement après *différentes façons de faire cette bourrée.* Recherche de la variabilité inventive. A nouveau, ils dansent pour montrer, puis ils expliquent ce qu'ils ont fait, dégageant ainsi différents possibles, mais également donnant le sens de ce qui est à faire, le droit et surtout la nécessité de surprendre l'autre, tout en créant la relation à deux.

Il s'agit d'inscrire un espace à deux, de le rendre d'une telle densité que les autres danseurs ne puissent rompre cet espace, donner une idée d'unicité du couple. Etre dans l'écoute, la complicité, la proposition, la négociation: un rapport à l'autre originaire du sens de la danse.

Cette construction du couple apparaît effectivement comme un élément fondamental pour que quelque chose se passe dans la danse qui aille au-delà d'une exécution de pas et de figures. Ce qui est recherché n'est pas seulement de réaliser des tours, comme figure gestuelle ou chorégraphique. Ces tours se font pour être dans la complicité et le jeu avec l'autre.

Les frères Champion sont dans leurs pratiques comme dans leurs discours dans une recherche de ce qui est à l'origine de la danse et de son interprétation. C'est pourquoi je peux dire qu'ils sont dans une transmission matricielle (Vellet 2003).

Ainsi, l'approche "technique" proposée pour le travail des plans n'a pas pour objectif final de reproduire à l'identique un pas et un déplacement. Il a pour objectif de construire le couple. Ce qui est conforté par l'entretien d'auto confrontation: "travailler les plans pour cette rotation c'est ce qui donne de la cohésion au couple et c'est ce qui fait que les deux danseurs dansent ensemble quoi / pour nous / les plans cela n'a pas que / qu'une utilité esthétique / c'est ce qui fait que le couple est un" (EAC juillet 2005).

Le sens de leur complémentarité prend encore plus de force, car elle apparaît comme la réponse au paradoxe suivant: chercher à maîtriser ce qui est appris - Didier Champion pense qu'"*il faut que le stagiaire soit capable de reproduire / car s'il est capable de reproduire il est capable d'aller plus loin*"- et chercher à comprendre pourquoi et comment il faut s'engager dans la danse – Eric pense qu'*"il faut que la stagiaire comprenne l'esprit dans lequel la danse se fait*". Cette activité réflexive sur leurs modalités de transmission les amène dans un premier temps à percevoir leur complémentarité différemment: non plus comme une différence voire divergence mais une forme de répartition de rôles entre eux deux.

Particularité de cette méthodologie: l'un et l'autre s'interrogent, l'un et l'autre se complètent, l'un oblige l'autre à préciser, l'un permet à l'autre de dire autre chose ou autrement la même chose. Car chacun est très attentif à ce que dit l'autre, chacun répond indépendamment et est impliqué en même temps par la réponse de l'autre. Compléments, précisions, affinements sont générés par ce regard croisé qui est provoqué par l'entretien d'auto confrontation. Ainsi, alors que dans leur discours a priori ou a posteriori, les deux frères disent ne pas toujours être d'accord, ne pas avoir les mêmes priorités dans leur pratique de stage, prétendent penser différemment, la situation d'auto confrontation et de dialogue qui s'installe les conduit à constater et reconnaître qu'ils recherchent la même chose, qu'ils sont tout à fait d'accord, enfin leurs propres termes surgis dans le contexte dialogique sont "*en fait nous n'éclairons pas la même chose*" (EAC du 20 juillet 2005).

Il apparait clairement que le dispositif créé par la relation dialogique entre chercheure et praticiens influence directement leurs pratiques d'analyse et d'affinement de ce qu'ils font dans l'acte de transmission, leur permettant de préciser les relations entre leur conceptions propres et leurs intentions et ce qu'ils mettent en place sur le terrain. Mais ce n'est pas seulement une "performance pédagogique" qui est améliorée, c'est surtout une contribution à la vie de la bourrée telle qu'ils la proposent aujourd'hui qui en est éclairée et située.

Ainsi quelques mois plus tard, au cours du deuxième terrain, j'observe que la quantité des discours ayant pour objet de contextualiser et de donner sens à la danse ont augmenté. Par ailleurs de nouvelles propositions apparaissent, davantage en rapport avec le sens et la pratique traditionnelle de la danse. Didier Champion demande aux danseurs de rentrer dans la danse sans se mettre au préalable ensemble et en attente. Ils doivent être là dans l'espace, indépendants l'un de l'autre, comme présents à autre chose et soudain rentrer dans la danse (comme le faisaient les vieux danseurs de bourrée collectés). Il commente encore à un autre moment: *"nous savons de mieux en mieux dire aux stagiaires*".

Le dispositif dialogique leur permet aussi de réaliser un travail d'élucidation, de prise de conscience de leurs savoirs faire et des limites de ceux-ci, leur permettant d'identifier les difficultés ou les limites de leur action, leur donnant les moyens de les dépasser, car il les met dans une nouvelle activité de recherche qui n'est plus seulement générée par l'observation des stagiaires en train de danser mais par l'observation de leur propre activité de professeur guidant les stagiaires... une prise de conscience plus fine de leur propre activité d'enseignement.

C'est aussi la question de la tradition qui resurgit. "Que transmettons-nous? A partir de quels collectages?" Et cela leur permet d'interroger plus finement la question: "est-ce que nous pratiquons et enseignons une danse traditionnelle? Que signifie une pratique traditionnelle aujourd'hui?" Etc. La tradition va donner le lien et permettre de constater la différence comme le précise Jean Pouillon (1975, 1993).

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PANEL 1

DIVERSE FIELDS TO TEXT: REVIVAL CASE STUDIES

Conversations at the ICTM World Conference in Sheffield, England in 2005 suggested a search for shared etic terminology for cross-cultural discussion of dance revivals. It is recognized that revival traditions are very diverse. It is proposed that "past orientation" can be seen as a broad continuum of possibilities, ranging from communities that are "obsessed with the past" to those that are "unconcerned with the past," and many options in between. Similar ranges of possibilities seem to occur for "national orientation" (focus on national, regional, ethnic identity in the dance and resulting political approaches), "recreational orientation" (focus on pleasure/benefit for the dancers), "spectacular orientation" (focus on aesthetics, fine art, theatrical values). Each of these four factors may be shown to be more or less relevant to any particular revival community: participants may emphasize one orientation or a combination of two or more. Panelists share a set of readings and try to apply these terms to their own field materials. The goal of the panel is to explore whether this set of terms can be used consistently to facilitate useful cross-cultural comparisons.

Andriy Nahachewsky and Stephanie Smith (panel organizers)

Participants in order of papers presented during their panel session:
Egil Bakka (Norway), Tvrtko Zebec (Croatia), Stephanie Smith (United States), Mats Nilsson (Sweden), Marie-Pierre Gibert (France), Andriy Nahachewsky (Canada).**

***Editor's note. Although Nahachewsky's presentation is the concluding panel paper, it may also be read as an introduction and orientation to the basic concepts of the panel's organization.*

IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE AND PRACTICAL PRIORITIES OF THE NORWEGIAN FOLKDANCE MOVEMENT

EGIL BAKKA
Norway

The aim of our panel, as I have read it, is to test some concepts for comparing orientations of revival movements, to large extent based in Andryi Nahachewsky's unpublished work.[1] In my case study I have tried to distinguish between what I call a declared orientation and realised orientation. By declared orientation I mean what leaders and ideologists of a revival movement express about ideals and intentions. I have based my discussion on mainly one written text, which I try to contextualise. By realised orientation I mean where revivalists seem to be orientating themselves judged by the solutions and strategies they find and the priorities they make in their work.

Since I am presently working on a history of expert work with folk dance in the Nordic countries together with a group of some 12 other Nordic researchers, among them Mats Nilsson, I am also drawing on material from that work to say something about the realisation.[2] My abstract proposed an analysis based on the discourse around two persons, but due to time limitations I have decided to concentrate mainly on one person only, the late Klara Semb (1884–1970).

I will only be working with one branch of the revival, which has always been controversial within the revival. I will, however, give you the following draft just to put my topic in a broader context.

Some branches of the Norwegian folk dance movement[3]
Regional dance and music (competitions and mostly subtle revitalisation 1890s)
Song dance an explicit creation based on strong vival material from Faeroe Isles (1902)
National repertoire of figure dances, (around 1910)
19th century couple dances (1960s)
Swing, rock'n roll, and so on (1970s)

As a further restriction, I will mainly be focussing on one particular event and its ramifications in order to achieve a certain thickness of the description. It is an event where a revival is faced with its vival.[4] In the late fall of 1925 a group of Faeroe islanders had been invited to perform their already famous traditional dancing and singing in Norway.

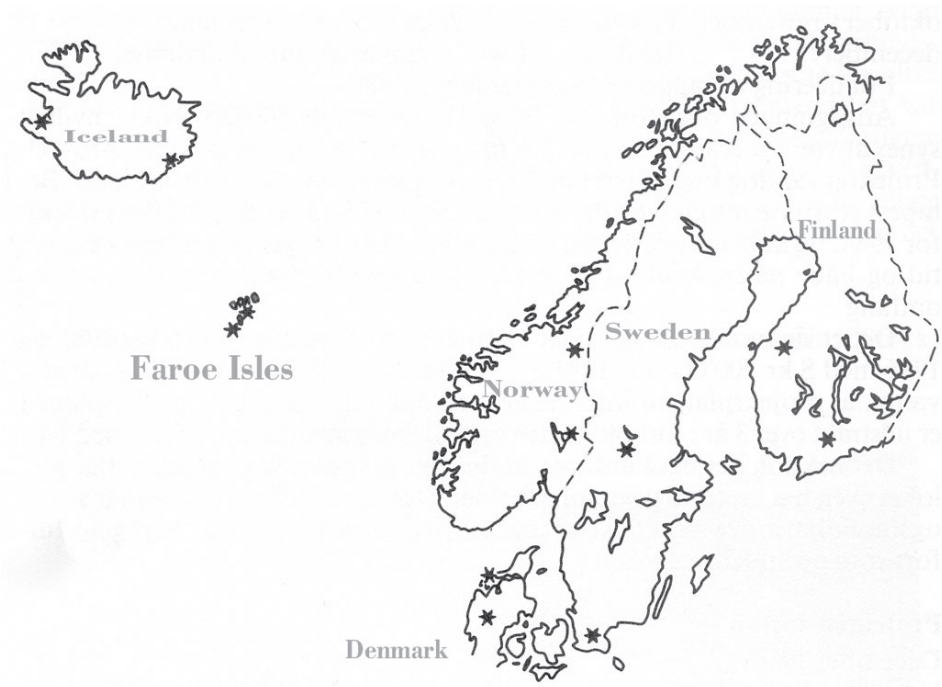

Figure 1. Map of Nordic countries

In Oslo they are giving their performance in the old main hall of Oslo University where the Nobel Peace Price Celebration has been taking place. The cultural elite are present, as are leaders of the Norwegian folk dance movement [Dale 1961:94]. They are going to see what is firmly established and known as the authentic tradition taken as inspiration for the new Norwegian genre **song dance** which was invented some 23 years earlier [Bakka, Biskop 2007:382].

Figure 2. Hulda Garborg in the middle with four Faeroese dancers, probably from the group visiting in 1925 [Semb 1926:38]

A critical event

I would call this a critical event, and I found the concept used by the American professor of communication Daniel J. Hess. He proposes the concept and a procedure for analysing such events in his book on culture learning.[5] He is working in a mode of the present, but I think his procedure can also work well in longer perspectives of retrospect. He is suggesting a process of four phases:

1. Recognising a happening as a critical event
2. Reconstructing the event
3. Collecting additional information on it
4, Making interpretations - and for purpose of learning: shaping new behaviour.

When I now try to apply this idea, I realise that I might be the one recognising the event as a critical one, and I am reconstructing it and presenting additional information to you as readers. The interpretations are certainly also mine in this article, but it turns out that the event called for interpretations even right after it had happened and even shaped new behaviour. This somehow gives my dealing with it as a critical event a double dimension.

Before we reconstruct the event more in detail we need to repeat briefly the history of those 23 years the event is mirroring. For the purpose of this article, I give you the results of point 3, the additional information before point 2.

Early history of the Norwegian song dance

In 1901 the Danish folklorist Hjalmar Thuren published a booklet: *Dance and balladry on the Faeroe Isles* (see Thuren 1901). It contained a simple description of the dance, and mentioned attempts to use the dance in Denmark.

The first lady of the national movement in Norway, authoress Hulda Garborg reviewed the booklet in an established Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet* [Garborg 1902], suggesting that the dance should also be adapted to Norwegian ballads. Already in March 1902 she presented her first attempt with a group of her lady friends of the capital city. In the summer of 1902 she travelled to the Faroe Isles to get a firmer understanding of the dance. On her return she taught the dance within clubs of the liberal youth movement, she published collections of Norwegian ballads and songs to be used for dancing [Norigs Ungdomslag 1903] and a history on the song dance [Garborg 1903]. In this way she established a new genre called Norwegian song dance with the simple Faroese steps to the stanza and a freely choreographed "change" for the refrain.

The new genre has been said to spread like fire in dry grass, and Hulda Garborg's pupil Klara Semb took little by little the leadership. She gave the choreographing of dances a new twist, she visited the Faroe Isles in 1911 [Bakka; Biskop 2007:390], and she published the first full manuals with both songs and dance descriptions in 1922 (Semb 1922).

Reconstructing the critical event

Hulda Garborg's pioneer work to establish a Norwegian song dance was well known, and respected in 1925 when the Faroese group came to Oslo. Klara Semb was the practical authority that was travelling and teaching all over the country, but who had still to defend her position, particularly in Oslo. A tension towards her teacher and allied Hulda Garborg had also arisen probably because Klara Semb had published in competition with her [Bakka 1991; Bakka; Biskop 2007:516].

The Norwegian song dance was a quiet dance with a simple version of the Faroese step.[6] The dance presented by the Faroese group in 1925 was very dramatic with a lot of jumping and stamping and loud, strong singing.[7] It seems to have been a dramatic, surprising and perhaps shocking event to even the most well informed members of the audience. Hulda Garborg is impressed and writes some quite personal but also sober remarks in her diary.[8] A lot of criticism was levelled at her and her followers as the originator of the Norwegian song dance because the difference seemed to be so obvious. The well established author Olav Gullvåg wrote in his review: "We very soon realised that our Norwegian song dance is no more than an academic reflection of a phenomenon of nature" [Dale 1961:94].

Along with the discussions in newspapers there were internal debates in a periodical where the folk dance movement had a regular column *Leikarvollen* (The Playground).[9] Here earlier work in Norway is discussed and criticised by a leading instructor in the largest folk dance group[10] in Oslo, who is considering himself Hulda Garborg's pupil [Svinndal 1926:69]. It seems Semb thinks he is mainly criticising her, because she is moving even further away from the Faroese model than Hulda Garborg has. Klara Semb defends herself:

> Everybody, except for Aasm Svinndal agrees that our songs are not well suited to be performed in the Faroese style of singing and dancing. Additionally I find some of what Asm. Svinndal is writing to be misleading, like the following: "To develop a new Norwegian way of dancing without basing it on the living Norse way of dancing is of little value" Who has tried anything like that? We did try to build something new, that is true, but on the old ground. It is not possible simply to move a living Faroese folk tradition on to Norwegian ground [Semb 1926:189].

From other sources it is quite clear to see that the two leading ladies are quite explicit about what they have done: To coin the Norwegian song dance based on the Faroese tradition [Garborg 1913:46–69; Semb 1922:3–5]. It also seems that the jumping and stamping version of Faroese dance presented in Norway in 1925 was not really a typical version. It was perhaps rather a dramatising of tendencies in some Faroese communities [Bakka 1985:24].

Interpretations and new behaviour

What were the practical consequences of this quite important event? There was a keen interest among Norwegian folk dancers to analyse and understand the peculiarities of the specific Faroese dance and singing as presented in 1925. Several leading folk dance instructors wrote small articles[11] about the variations[12] based on how they had experienced the visiting dancers. There were also discussions as to whether the variations and the style ought to be taken up by the Norwegians. They were, however, slowly incorporated in the Norwegian song dance, and descriptions were published in Klara Semb's manuals [Semb 1935:29–33; Semb 1948].

> "**Past orientation**" *can be seen as a broad continuum of possibilities, ranging from communities that are "obsessed with the past" to those that are "unconcerned with the past," and many options in between.*

Now time has come to test our concepts of orientation. Past orientation is the first. It is difficult for me to place my example here on a scale between strong and week orientation towards the past. I can look at my material in terms of how it, seen as revival, is relating to the vival it is referring to.

Klara Semb and most other leaders of this revival is strongly and clearly referring to a concrete vival which is still in function. There are clear declarations about the importance of studying and understanding the vival. Links back to the vival are clearly drawn. This is so both in what Klara Semb says and in what she does, as I see it. Klara Semb's and other instructor's work with the dance and song of the visiting Faroese dancers shows us that the vival was carefully studied and the resulting understanding and documentation were used in the revival work.

Our pioneers were also quite clear in their declaration that the revival is not an attempt to copy or transfer the vival into the revival. There is a clear intention about adapting the material to Norwegian conditions, to build something suitable and realistic in a new era, a new country and a new context. It is an example of what Eric Hobsbawn has called an invented tradition, but based on an explicitly expressed and reflected modernistic intention. A contrast to intended adaptation might perhaps be called "the intention of faithful revitalisation". This is the clear approach in all other branches of the Norwegian revival, at least declared, and certainly from Klara Semb.

Finally we could look at what we might call critical distance. Do the revivalists express the understanding that a vival cannot be fully and totally recreated in revival? Even this critical distance is expressed in our example, although it is not at an advanced level. In summary it seems easier in my case study to look at how a revival is relating to and representing its vival than to look at strong or weak orientations to the past.

"**National orientation**" *(focus on national, regional, ethnic identity in the dance and resulting political approaches)*

I have chosen the following text to discuss national orientation. Klara Semb is arguing that Faroese dance and singing could not be transferred to its new context without changes:

> The Faroe Islanders have lead their life far apart from other people right up to now. (...) They have managed to keep their individual ways more than anybody else just because they have been living so far apart from all foreign influence. No one else is singing like they do. We are singing more like they do in other European countries. Even if we did not have a broken history [union with Denmark and Sweden] we would certainly not have been able to keep our singing like that, if we ever did sing that way [Semb 1926:189].

A main point here is the idea about the broken history, which is a keyword for the idea about linking the new Norway, which got its independence in 1905, to the powerful Viking and medieval Norway.

The folklorists of the early 20th century presented both the Norwegian ballads and the Faroese chain dance as being of medieval origin. A question which is not referred to in the text is how the song dance revival is situated politically. Anthony Shay is discussing state-sponsored professional folk dance ensembles around the world in his book from 2002 (*Choreographic Politics*). Those are in Shay's words accruing symbolic and cultural capital for their respective nation-states [Shay 2002]. I suppose many of those ensembles and their leaders were close to and in some sense tools of some importance for the rulers.

The song dance revival was hardly ever of much importance for any government, and represented more of a liberal culture-political subculture, which tried to give a contribution to the representation of their nation. The contribution was controversial in revival circles, even if it was perhaps the most visible part of the revival all through the first half of the 20th century. The question about how it was situated politically is too big for this discussion, but in my mind a decisive one in the discussion about national orientation.

The song dance was hardly used to celebrate national identity in a way comparable to what a state ensemble could do. It was certainly a powerful and important symbol in its subculture and most Norwegians would know some of its songs, but it did not have the prestige of the Arts and the stage. It had another trait, which I think is typical for revivals with political orientation. Traditional culture is local, and its variability does not so easily serve a national identity. A new genre or form based in one symbolically important tradition, but invented for its present function, probably serves building of national identity much better. This kind of selection and adaptation is also a central question in Shay's book.

"**Recreational orientation**" (focus on pleasure/benefit for the dancers),

"**Spectacular orientation**" (focus on aesthetics, fine art, theatrical values).

I found the following piece of text which I will use for my discussion of recreational and spectacular orientations:

> When Svinndal writes that our dance is "only a piece for performance", I do not believe he can mean that. Young Norwegians are not so childish that they keep up a cause like this one only to show off. It is truly the least attractive part for the city folk dance groups that they have to use evenings and Sundays in summer to propagate Norwegian dances. All those I have spoken to have been tired from performances, but have sacrificed their time due to their engagement for the cause. [....] Additionally these 8-10 performing dance groups (of the cities) are few compared to hundreds of clubs in the countryside that never performed. They are dancing for their own pleasure, because dance songs and figure dances are nourishing their minds and release joy of life in healthy young people" [Semb 126:190].

From the material I use here, Klara Semb's recreational orientation seem very clear. Performances are just boring means to the main aim of engaging young people in folk dancing. Folk dancing is a stimulating, valuable activity for young people's development. This very clear "pedagogical" note makes dancing something, which is more than just fun. Pure fun is hardly a sufficient aim for serious activity in these days. It certainly is not a declared aim, and I am not sure if it is sufficient to attract people even in its realisation.

As a general comment I would like to say that the strong emphasis on recreational dancing is coupled with a rather strong scepticism against theatrical versions of folk dancing. When Klara Semb arranged dance festivals she wanted as many as possible to participate in the dancing. Performances could not be avoided, it seems, but she put together national programs which all dancers learned through the winter, and which they could dance together at the festival. This was both a declared and a realised policy from her side. The mass performances where dance skills played less role were prioritised over performances by highly specialised and well trained groups from the cities.

She also talked about her fear for influence from ballet and gymnastics. A statement from her later years in 1956 has a similar direction: "To polish a dance so that everybody and everything seems to be moulded into the same shape is to violate the dance. The movements then become false grace without spirit or life" [Semb 1956:7].

The analysis of the folk dance revival could probably be well served by Pierre Bourdieu's field concept. As an example, Klara Semb had an important social capital in her large countryside networks, which might have influenced her positions in the field, and her attitudes in questions of priorities. She taught less in the cities, and had her main opponents there.

Endnotes

1. See Nahachewsky's contribution to this panel.
2. This history was published fall 2007, see Norden i dans by Bakka and Biskop.
3. This is a simple draft based upon how different kinds of dance material were dealt with in a field of more or less interwoven organisations and activities. I have added estimation on when the organised work with each kind of material started.
4. Concept by Andriy Nahachewsky; see introduction to panel.
5. Publication accessed through the book database Ebrary (Hess 1994:23).
6. Film footage probably from the 1920s can be consulted in the Rådet for folkemusikk og folkedans (Rff) Archives video M 49.
7. Film footage probably from the 1920s or 1930s of a Faroese group dancing in the style described from 1925 can be consulted in the Rff Archives video M 49.
8. Typed transcript of the Hulda Garborg diary at Rff-sentret (partly unpublished).
9. See Svinndal 1926 in the weekly magazine For Bygd og By 1921–1932.
10. Leikaringen i Bondeungdomslaget i Oslo. (It is difficult to find an overall word in English for the local units of the folk dance movement).
11. Semb (editor), Leikarvollen 1926: 21, 22, 69, 125, 141, 173, 189
12. The "branle simple" structure earlier performed with plain, heavy stepping, was here performed with hopping while gesturing with the free leg. Klara Semb analysed the relatively free variations into a set of four tempi, where the fourth tempo was the most dramatic and ornamented one.

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PERCEPTIONS OF THE STAGED FOLK DANCE PRACTICE IN CROATIA

TVRTKO ZEBEC
Croatia

Discussing the *kolijani* ritual together with the custom of *choosing the king* on the island of Krk, I questioned myself if that ritual could be characterised as a revival or is it a continuity of tradition, or could it be both (Zebec 2006). I tried to show that the dialectical relationship exists between a tradition and its continuity on one side, and a revival on the other. Because, even if the *koleda* is not always regularly practiced, but there are ten, eighteen-twenty, or even more than thirty years in between, it still shows strong continuity through the strategy of combining collective, cultural memory with symbols of identification and their public expression and visibility in revival. I combined *emic* discourse of the source people, interlocutors on the island, with my *etic* one, outsider's knowledge and interpretation. I tried to found the answers in the dialectical relationship between tradition and revival, confirmed in the interweaving of the old "pagan" symbols (although they are expressed with a new meaning or just repeated as a rule or order) with the most contemporary expressions of the peoples' identity. I tried to answer the questions about *what, when* and *how*, considering them as important as the question about *why*, just as Owe Ronström [1996:6] suggested a discussion about different approaches to *revival*.

In this "experimental" panel we are using *revival* with another meaning. We discuss "revival case studies" with the accent on cross-cultural dimensions of *dance revivals.* As Andriy Nahachewsky proposed, this definition also pays attention to *emic* perceptions, but is in the end an *etic* category, and no other factors are involved except whether the researcher perceives that "the dance participants are actively concerned with the past of their tradition or not" [Nahachewsky 2006:162]. Folk dance production on stage in Croatia has never been considered as *revival.* From this perspective, my discussion should not be a part of this panel. However, as the participants are always invoking past dancing through the paradigm of showing *old, domestic,* and *local* tradition, a discussion of Croatian staged dance fits into the proposed cross-cultural comparison. A political ("national") orientation focused on local, regional, and ethnic/national identity in dance was always important, especially when social and ideological circumstances changed. Following these changes up until today, I am trying to analyse and to put together *emic* and *etic* dimensions and views of participants in processes and interpret them from the other proposed discourses – "recreational" and "spectacular" performing orientations.

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From the time when it started in the 1920s and 1930s, public practice of folk music and dance was a part of the political program of the Croatian Peasant Party, and participants and performers were still peasants. They presented their own *living* tradition, culture, music, costumes, and dance. At that time they wanted to present themselves just as they are, or they thought they should be, or as we know, as intellectuals and people from towns thought they should be.

Just as a reaction to European national movements during the 19th century and the framework of the Enlightenment before that, when the aristocracy and intellectuals "became aware of and discovered folk traditions and the life of 'simple' peoples" [Bauman 1996:72], the same processes started also in Croatia. As it is known by the texts of Elsie Ivancich Dunin (1988) and Nancy Ruyter (1984), the *Salonsko* and the *Dvoransko kolo* became popular in towns at the social events where national consciousness and pride were expressed. Those dances were urban choreographies composed of figures inspired by rural dances – similar to the *Češka beseda* in Bohemia/Czech Republic or the *Kör* in Hungary. At the same time, at the end of the 19th century Croatian peasant singing choirs were organized for the first time and in the same way as bourgeois choirs. The organisation *Seljačka sloga – Peasant Harmony* taught the peasants (which were about 80 per cent of Croatian population then) how to make music in a way that was declared as their own.

Naila Ceribašić found that three basic models were developed over the last 80 years of folk music public practice: modernistic model until the 1930s, traditionalistic model in the second half of the 1930s, and socialist realism model during the 1950s [Ceribašić 2003:406]. In the first one, folk song in artistic form was encouraged, with a conductor, the choir singing authored compositions created on the basis of folk songs (from the most desirable simple harmonization to more complex arrangements). Thus, peasants from different parts of Croatia had to perform in the same manner (harmonious choir sound), the same music – even quite literally, for there was a limited number of available compositions and authors. The main idea was to make a music that would be national, which would unite the peasantry and urban people. The creation of national culture was the main background idea. According to the proposed terminology in this panel, although I am talking about the national culture, I would say the *political orientation* [rather than *national* as Andriy proposes], was always very important. That process was one-sided, from urban to rural, from intelligentsia to peasantry. "The outsider ideology of emancipation through literacy and *aesthetization of old traditions* created a

new dependency: the subordination to musical practices, aesthetics and performance concepts from the hegemonic culture of the upper classes" [Bauman 1996:77]. At the same time, from the end of 19th century, in the country, parallel with their own tradition, especially in small cities, you could find fireman brass bands, *tambura*, and jazz orchestras, as well as dance masters and their schools. They played music and danced all the European modern dances during dance evenings, events and weddings, only for fun as a social gathering, and not for stage.

The *Peasant Harmony* changed its approach to folk music and dance through time, though this does not necessarily correspond to a breakdown of the old and beginnings of new socio-political formations [Ceribašić 2003:254].[1]

In the second model in public practice of folk music in Croatia, during the second half of the 1930s, the idea of modernization with national compositions and conductors in front of the choirs was rejected [Ceribašić 2003:75]. Primeval, autochthonous peasant art became seen as an eternal source of Croatian cultural individuality. Direction and public practice of folk culture was entirely supervised by the organization *Peasant Harmony*. So, again we had the same folk paradigm, as Theresa Buckland emphasized when writing about multiple interests and powers, and the relationship between collectors and folk [Buckland 2002:75]. The organisation *Peasant Harmony* as intellectuals, urban and high culture on one side, and now peasantry in performing groups of "vival" dance (term proposed by Nahachewsky as a complementary counterpart for revival dance), as the *exclusive* bearers of national distinction, presenting the *old*, *local,* and *domestic* culture on the other.

At the same time, we have another parallel, but not so dominant urban idea following the first model with the national compositions and authors for choirs, that definitely followed half a century-old idea with *Salonsko kolo* at social events. We could read in the magazine (*Sklad* 1935:1): "If every year we introduce only two folk dances, arrange the music and choreography, we could have even *elite* social events with only folk dances, very soon!" In February 1935, the *balun* – an Istrian folk dance was performed at the carnival social and dance evening in Zagreb by an amateur group of people from the theatre circle. The name *balun* came from the Italian *il Ballo* and it means the *dance.* That is a Croatian dance from the Istrian peninsula, which has been under the administration of Venice during several periods in history, as some other parts of our coast. National symbolism was important and significant by choosing this dance. Next year, 1936, the same amateur group of students and people from the theatre and ballet circle in Zagreb, *Matica kazalištaraca*, went to the international dance competition during the 11th Olympic Games in Berlin with choreographies of folk dances prepared, as they said, especially for that occasion. Ballerina Nevenka Perko performed solo ballet dances inspired by folk dances from three different parts of Croatia as interludes between the arranged group choreographies of folk dances. We could read from the newspaper reviews that the German audiences accepted them with ovations. As far as we know, that was the first performance of stylised Croatian folk dance choreographies at a festival somewhere abroad. It was national and spectacular at the same time.

After the Second World War socialism suppressed any boundaries inside South Slavic, "Yugoslavian collective" – national, cultural, ideological, class. It was an essential element in the project of creating a new man and a new, united, unified socialist, and Yugoslavian culture. The Croatian peasantry lost its position as the legitimate bearer of a distinct folk and national culture, and *Peasant Harmony* lost its position of legitimate creator of a discourse on folk culture. Moreover, as Ceribašić concludes, the adjective folk and the name folklore were kept mostly in the sphere of dance [Cerebašić 2003:239]. Only the dance sections of cultural and educational societies, I would add, mostly or only in the villages, kept characteristics of "*old*", "*peasant*", "*local*", and "*national*". On the other hand, the time of blossoming for urban folk dance ensembles came and the socialist realism as the third model of public practice of folk music recognised by Ceribašić.

Anna Ilieva identified a similar phenomenon of the "amateur art activities" in Bulgaria as "the huge octopus whose tentacles gripped the entire country" [Ilieva 2001:125]. During socialism it should have been a-national, or in Yugoslavia – super-national. The leaders believed that dance could be something more than *original* folklore. It could be stylised, raised to a higher artistic level. As opposed to that, original folklore could not be anything more but a dance and associated music. It reached the very bottom of the scale for official socialist and public value. At the same time, for some, it acquired a very important symbolic meaning of resistance against the socialist regime among the nationally oriented consciousness. Although the idea of making folk dance choreographies in towns existed for a long time, the background was different in this period. The national idea as the framework at the end of the 19th century and in the first part of the 20th, at that stylised – *spectacular* orientation, shifted to a unified, non-national, socialist concept in the second part of the 20th century.

The concept of *revival* acquired other connotations in our social and political context after the last war 1991–1992. In our independent Croatia, among the village performing groups, we can notice a stronger return to a concept promoted by *Peasant Harmony* during the 1930s – to present *old, local,* and *national* culture. *Revival* with meaning of renewal, reconstruction and revitalisation, especially for the parts of the country, which were destroyed or plundered during the war, started quickly after that war. Urban folk dance ensembles still hold on to their stylised presentations – because they cannot do differently. The members of these ensembles are students and town youth – the idea of *local* and *old* does not mean a lot for them. They can only feel pride for their nation when it makes them different in front of the others at the festivals abroad. Recreation is most important for them – to travel, to have fun and to have nice company where they can sing and dance.

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How to conclude? In this particular context of Croatia, one orientation of presenting folk dances on the stage,

for example spectacular (in terms mentioned by Nahachewsky and this panel), could be the same or very similar in different political and social situations even in drastically different regimes and with a completely different background and symbolic meaning. So, its political use could be also completely opposite. The participants and the audience could understand the meaning of any orientation differently than its official, public message. Just as in the case of our texts, they are only our constructions of reality.

From one discourse, analysing the public practice of folk music (Ceribašić 2003), we can see three different and strictly divided models in time, but from the other, relating mostly to folk dance practice on stage, we see that a couple models can exist in parallel. The main question remains – do we really have to discuss a revival dance, revival community and revival tradition and not about the living tradition – performers and the audience? We have a tradition of presenting folk dances on the stage for more than 80 years now in Croatia. These dances, most of them, were still a living tradition in the moment when they came to the stage. Some of them were probably reconstructed or revitalised, but from that moment they became again a living tradition. So, we do not have to call them *revival*!

And if the past orientation is the basic one for discussion about revival, does it mean that the "world music" is also revival? Did the huge octopus from 1989 grow up more and become today maybe the "world dance"? Is spectacular orientation what makes it attractive for a wider audience? And how is it accepted among "source people"? Is that important at all? We are creating our identities now and here, in the village or on the stage, performing revival or vival dance, and each of them has some components from the past, from our background and culture, some of them are recreational, some of them are more spectacular, some are more political. And their meaning could be different for performers, for audience, or for researchers. This perfectly shows how we construct our texts, and how important our cross-cultural discussions are. We can accept some definitions or we can criticise them but we always have to explain what it means to us.

Endnote

1. Since the 1920s we have changed our political status and regimes several times – we had the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, then the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Independent State of Croatia (during the Second World War), and after the People's Liberation Movement – the People's Republic of Croatia inside of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia / then the Socialist Republic inside of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and finally the Republic of Croatia, after the breakdown of socialist Yugoslavia from 1991 and the last war. It is easy to imagine how folk music and dance public practice have changed in relation to these political changes.

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ENGLISH COUNTRY DANCE IN THE UNITED STATES: ROOTED IN ENGLISHNESS OR PURELY RECREATION?

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United States

Following up on the discussions of dance revival and revitalization at the 2005 ICTM Conference in Sheffield among the present panel members, this paper examines aspects of English country dance in the United States from the early 20th century up to the present. Using concepts put forth by panelist Andriy Nahachewsky, we propose that "past orientation" can be seen as a broad continuum of possibilities, ranging from communities that are "obsessed with the past" to those that are "unconcerned with the past," and many options in between. Similar ranges of possibilities seem to occur for "national orientation" (focus on national, regional, ethnic identity in the dance and resulting political approaches), "recreational orientation" (focus on pleasure and benefits for the dancers), and "spectacular orientation" (focus on aesthetics, fine art, theatrical values) [Nahachewsky 2005]. Each of these four factors may be shown to be more or less relevant to any particular revival community. A dance form can show characteristics of more than one orientation, and over time can exhibit changes in orientation.

The practice of English country dance in the United States in the early 20th century will be contrasted with an examination of the mid-century revival and present-day practice, and the relative importance of past, national, recreational, and spectacular orientations in the dance form in the three time frames.

Cecil Sharp and English Country Dance

English country dance (ECD) was revived in the early 20th century when European romantic nationalism and disenchantment with industrialization was at its height. The form underwent a secondary "revival" or revitalization mid-century that was at its peak from the 1950s into the 1970s. ECD was reconstructed and revived by the English collector Cecil Sharp in the first decades of the 20th century. He began to collect traditional village dances in the 1900s and then turned his focus to the reinterpretation of dances first published by John Playford in 1651 as the *English Dancing Master*, and in later editions published through 1728. The repertoire that Sharp taught was a mixture of the village dances and the Playford dances, creating a repertoire that had its roots in the village on one hand, and the court and the gentry on the other. This dual nature of English country dance repertoire makes its classification as "folk dance" complicated, at the very least.

Sharp had a nationalist agenda to renew interest in English dance and song and to preserve these elements of English culture. Country dancing had fallen by the wayside in both the United Kingdom (U.K.) and the United States (U.S.) with the popularity of the waltz, other couple dances, and quadrilles in the 19th century, which was why it had to be revitalized. Sharp traveled to the U.S. several times, teaching ECD in a number of locations, particularly New York City, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Boston and Pittsfield, Massachusetts. He founded the American Branch of the English Folk Dance Society in 1915, the earliest folk dance organization in the U.S. He ran the Society summer schools for 3 years, patterned on summer schools held in England; the first was in Eliot, Maine in 1915, followed by two sessions in Amherst, Massachusetts in 1916 and 1917. Sharp's connection to the U.S. English country dance revival was thus direct and immediate. His patron and supporter, Mrs. Helen Storrow of Boston, participated in summer schools and was an enthusiastic adherent of ECD. Women who had been taught by Sharp became key teachers in the U.S. spanning the years 1915–1980, solidifying Sharp's influence in America.

The late 19th and early 20th century in both Britain and the United States saw population shifts from rural areas to cities, notably London and New York, and also new waves of immigrants coming to America from countries outside northern Europe. Overcrowding, poor sanitation, crime, sweat shops, and other such horrors stimulated reformers to look for solutions to these urban problems. Settlements were established in New York, Chicago, and other urban locations to work with immigrants and the new urban poor. During roughly the same time period, a physical education and recreation movement was growing in prominence in the U.S. The active leaders included Elizabeth Burchenal, an educator and folk dance teacher whom Sharp met in his visits to New York. Folk dance was felt to be a particularly appropriate activity for young girls. Daniel Walkowitz remarks: "Social reformers taught folk dances from the ECD and American traditions as a way to transmit values and modes of expression from an imagined essential 'natural' rural past they saw threatened by the presumed 'artificiality' of urban life" [Walkowitz 2006a:785]. The revival of English country dance in the U.S. was thus given an additional boost by both the recreation movement and the reformer/ settlement movement.

The American summer schools led by Sharp set forth a model for the teaching of English country dance in the U.S. in subsequent years. Summer schools were held in Amherst, Massachusetts from 1927–1932. Pinewoods

Camp, near Plymouth, Massachusetts, became one of the prime summer teaching centers for ECD from 1933 onward. Pinewoods was also a center from which much of the institutionalized practice of English country dance radiated and influenced people from other parts of the country. Sharp's values were transmitted to younger generations and spread by those who attended Pinewoods Camp dance weeks and became leaders themselves.

While we do not have fieldwork per se from this early 20th century era, archival photographs exist. It is clear from photographs of the summer schools and other locations where Sharp taught that Sharp's aesthetic held sway. His acolytes and those he taught were performing the dances the way that Sharp advocated, with an erect posture, body weight slightly forward on the balls of the feet. The dancers at the summer schools were English and American people clearly from educated, middle to upper class families. In looking at various photographs of English country dancing in the U.S. in the first half of the 20th century, I read the dancing bodies as very English.

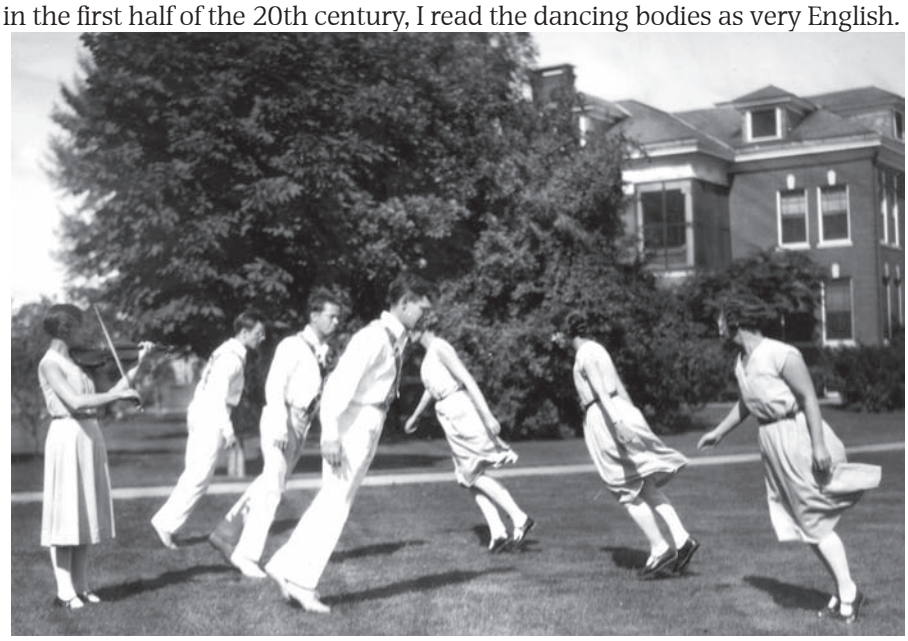

Figure 1. Dancers perform an English dance at the Amherst, Massachusetts Summer School in 1928. (Photo courtesy of the Country Dance and Song Society, used with permission.)

As occurred with other dance traditions, ECD went through a secondary revival in the U.S. mid-20th century, extending into the 1970s. The social, political, and economic trends of the times encouraged the establishment of a counter-culture, which turned away from materialism, capitalism, and an unpopular war, and espoused communal, rural, inclusive, anti-mechanistic values, as well as challenging existing social norms concerning marriage and sex.

National orientation and Englishness

English country dance as taught by Sharp in the U.S. in the 20th century registers strongly on the national and past orientations from the historical and photographic evidence. For the purposes of this paper, I am considering "Englishness" as the equivalent of a national orientation. The revival of English country dance in England occurred in parallel with the revival of European traditional dance in the early 20th century, and exhibited many of the same characteristics. These revivals encompassed both nationalism and a looking to the idyllic or historical past in their attempt to preserve folk culture. Sharp was keen to promote native English expressive culture, predominantly in educated, middle and upper class circles, and he was also concerned about the encroaching influence of jazz and other elements of popular culture. The revival of ECD was as much expressive of English nationalism as it was an expression of anti-modernism and a fear of what was going on in dance halls [Walkowitz 2006a:786]. The English Folk Dance Society was founded in 1911 by Sharp, and through his leadership, ECD had begun to be taught in the physical education curriculum in schools.

When Sharp came to the U.S., he was not bringing an unknown dance form into the U.S.; ECD had been done in Colonial times, notably in Williamsburg, Virginia. Sharp was looking for English cultural survivals in America, particularly song, much as he had done in England, as well as wanting to promote the establishment and reinforcement of a strong Anglo-American tradition of dance. The Englishness of ECD in the U.S. was reinforced by the name of the society Sharp founded: the American Branch of the English Folk Dance Society.

Through the earlier fieldwork conducted by the English Country Dance Video Documentation Project[1] since 1999 with contemporary dancers, teachers, and choreographers, I was initially under the impression that the Englishness of the dance played a significant role, even now in the early 21st century. More recent interviews with English country dancers, some of whom are English, persuade me otherwise, that in fact the "Englishness" of the dance form is far less significant to most individuals than the recreational aspects, most particularly the social networks and community aspects.

English country dance does not have the same identity and ethnic markers that many other forms of folk or recreational dance done in the U.S. have. Dancers do not have an ethnic dress such as the kilt. While many of the dancers in the early 20th century who danced with Sharp and his anointed acolytes were most likely of Anglo extraction, the contemporary community is still predominantly white but includes people of non-British European origins: Italians, Irish, Jews, as well as a few Asians and African-Americans. English ethnicity is not the focus of contemporary ECD in the U.S., and the concept of Englishness has also changed in the world of easy transatlantic crossings.

Daniel Walkowitz comments perceptively on the national character of ECD in the present-day U.K. and U.S.:

> While an Anglo-American folk dance tradition may have emerged on both sides of the pond, it did so with national inflections. Social interactions on and off the dance floor reflect what dancers see as 'national character': British reserve or American brashness. The difference can be heard as well in what I see as the politics of sound: the tempos and orchestration, and the energy, pace and flow of the dance as mirrored in the energy, pace and melodic line in the music [Walkowitz 2006b:6].

A connection to the past

In Sharp's time, the national orientation or Englishness of ECD was pronounced, and ECD was embraced as an expression of Englishness. Englishness seems of relatively minor importance to the contemporary ECD community, but I have encountered a number of dancers for whom the connection with the past is important, thus there is a complexity and duality in the contemporary orientations. The specificity and historicity of the connection to the past varies widely among dancers.

In writing about ethnic dance, Andriy Nahachewsky introduces the concept of "the imputed setting," which is useful in analyzing the past orientation of revival dance. Nahachewsky comments that the "the act of retrospection, of thinking about an earlier dance precedent when performing a dance," can be a key element in the practice of dance. He elaborates:

> This consciousness suggests that the participants in the dancing associate the dancing with two contexts: the "actual setting" in which the dance is presently being performed, and the "imputed setting" which is being referred to or suggested by the performance. The imputed setting is where and when the dancers are "pretending" to be [Nahachewsky 2005:9].

The historical imputed setting for English country dance might be the English court, the ballroom of a stately home, or the Assembly Hall in Bath during the 17th and 18th centuries, while the actual setting for ECD in America could be a weekly dance in a church social hall, a dance camp, or a Playford Ball in a school gymnasium.

In 2004, Jennifer Beer and I explored dancers' inner imaginings: the dancer's mental conceptions of the imputed and actual settings [Smith; Beer 2004]. I have continued doing fieldwork on this topic. Trisha Sandefur, an English woman I interviewed who is part of my ECD community in Maryland, is unusual in her ability to connect to past history through a dance:

> ...say it's a 1702 dance, I can in my mind see all the people in Queen Anne's time doing it. Or if it's in the 1650s, I can see all the Cromwellians doing it in my mind, you know. So there's a connection to the past that's marvelous. And I suppose that's part of the Englishness of it for me. There is a connection, very specifically to historical periods [Sandefur 2005: interview].

The connection to the past and the imputed setting is often highlighted by the use of period costumes at special occasion dances. The historical accuracy varies. Sandefur participates in a local group, which does Regency era dancing. She has a Regency period ball gown, which she wears to the Regency balls held several times a year. She remarks:

> Well, when I wear my ball gown, I just feel like Elizabeth Bennet, from Pride and Prejudice... I feel as if I'm in one of the great homes in England, and Mr. Darcy's around the corner... you really do feel as if you've gone back in time... we use Regency language as much as we can... [Sandefur 2005: interview].

Beverly Francis, a New York dancer and librarian who is also a scholar of Jane Austen, likes to wear period costume at balls. She remarks:

> Well my dress started out ten years ago as a 1740s era ball gown, and it's been remade this year. And the dressmaker, Kit Campbell, got the idea that people remade dresses all the time and combined new bits and pieces to make a new gown. So my dress has been updated about 15 years... now it's just probably a late 1750s dress [Francis 2001: interview].

ECD balls can be a startling mix of period and contemporary clothing. On the other hand, there are a number of dancers who have expressed that they are very much in the present when they dance, wear contemporary clothing at special events, and do not reflect on other times and people who did the dances. Musician Peter Barnes comments:

> I would say English country dancing is first of all not an attempt to recreate something in the past but it's an ongoing tradition where people dance dances that might be 300 years old or they might have been made up yesterday. People wear normal clothes and must come and interact normally, and a caller will tell them what to do... [Barnes 2004: interview].

Thus the orientation to the past and to Englishness is very much an individual, rather than a collective, reading. It must also be noted that there are periodic revivals of interest in ECD and Englishness through such vehicles as the Jane Austen films.

The English Country Dance repertoire and orientation shifts

In Sharp's time, the repertoire was a mixture of village and gentry dances. New dances started to be written in the 1930s onward. In other research presented in this forum, I have argued that the work of English country dance choreographers such as Pat Shaw (English) and Fried Herman (Dutch, living in the U.S.) have created a perceptible shift in the standard repertoire of ECD community dance groups in the latter part of the 20th century [Smith 2005].

Do the new dances, written by Americans, British, Belgians, and Dutch, all qualify as English? The American ECD community accepts them as so. Many dancers see virtually no distinction between the old and the new repertoire; others like a mix of the two. Ruth Scodel writes: "Doing new dances doesn't make it any less English" [Scodel 2006: xxxx]. Oregon dancer Brooke Friendly comments: "I love the mix of old dances and new dances and I love that English country dance is such a living tradition, it's not so stuck in the past..." [Friendly 2004: interview]. Some of the new dances may reflect a shift in a participatory dance form towards a more spectacular orientation because of their complexity and the attractiveness and showiness of new figures and patterns being devised.

Recreational orientation

English country dance has always had a strong recreational component on both sides of the Atlantic, and it is this orientation that is strongest in ECD done in the U.S. now. In its imputed settings of village and the houses of the gentry, the social aspect of the event was extremely important. In both settings, it was an opportunity for people of the opposite sex to have social time together, which could lead to courtship and marriage. In Sharp's time, ECD also had a strong recreational orientation, but one with a social and political agenda.

In examining the photographic record of dance weeks at Pinewoods Camp from the 1930s onwards, it is fair to surmise that those who did English country dance were part of a larger community. Many contemporary dancers express similar sentiments about the importance of community and meeting a number of needs through ECD.

Susan Merrill, a dancer who is English but has lived in the U.S. since the late 1960s, observes: "I think the main thing that drew me to it [ECD] was the community, that people sort of stuck together and loved the dancing and sort of extended that to one another" [Merrill 2005: interview]. Similarly, Philadelphia dancer Peter Ogle remarks, "It's community more than anything else that's important" [Ogle 2004: interview]. Musician Peter Barnes comments, "... it's a great way for exercise, meeting people, and just to have fun while also participating in a tradition which is hundreds of years old..." [Barnes 2004: interview].

Figure 2. English country dance in the U.S. is about recreation and the social community it constitutes on and off the dance floor. (Photo by Stephanie Smith 2005.)

In many ways, the shift from the national and past orientation of ECD towards the recreational is reflected in the history and focus of the American Branch of the English Folk Dance Society (EFDS), now the Country Dance and Song Society of America (CDSS). The EFDS American Branch was more prescriptive, while CDSS considers itself a resource and supports the training of leaders, without prescribing how ECD is to be done. The focus is ultimately on community: the CDSS "tag line" for publications is: "Continuing the traditions, linking those who love them."

Conclusion

English country dance in the U.S. has undergone a shift in orientations between the early 20th and 21st centuries. The importance of the national and past orientations were very significant in the early 20th century when Sharp began collecting and interpreting English dance, and when he re-introduced ECD in the U.S. in 1915, there was a deep importance attached to the fact that this was an Anglo-American tradition. The countercultural stance of ECD at that time, as a recreational pastime that was an antidote to popular culture as embodied by jazz and dance halls, is partially mirrored by the counterculture of the 1960s–1970s, which sought to create an alternative community through expressive culture. The countercultural stance is still present to a degree in those who do ECD today in the U.S.; there is a sense that ECD is an esoteric pastime but is the common interest of a community where the participants care deeply about each other both on and beyond the dance floor.

Based on the scales of national orientation, past orientation, recreational orientation, and spectacular orientation, I would suggest that English country dance as danced from 1915 to roughly the mid 1970s had strong readings on the past, national, and recreational orientations. The readings, I surmise, have changed since the mid-1970s, to a predominantly recreational orientation, showing a decrease in past and national orientation, and a tendency toward the spectacular orientation, particularly with the ever-increasing body of new and often complex dances in the English style. Englishness is not of particular concern to contemporary English dancers, but the social community created by the dance is all-important.

Endnote

1. The English Country Dance Video Documentation Project was started in 1999 by Daniel Walkowitz of New York University, and Stephanie Smith and Charles Weber of the Smithsonian Institution, to document English country dance events in the U.S. and to interview leaders, dancers, and musicians. The Project is based at the Smithsonian Institution. All interviews quoted in this paper are part of the Project, and will be available to researchers in the future at the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Smithsonian Institution, and the Special Collections Department of the University of New Hampshire Library.

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FROM POPULAR TO FOLK –> FROM FOLK TO POPULAR: THE SWEDISH CASE

MATS NILSSON
Sweden

Introduction

My point of departure is the Swedish folk dance movement that has it roots in the National-Romantic times in the middle of the 20th century. We have to keep in mind that Sweden as a national state has a low profile when it comes to creating " national " thinking. This can be seen as a result of the facts, that the state/country Sweden has never been occupied since medieval times, and has since been a centralistic state, with low power to the regions. This might be one reason that Sweden does not yet have a formal National hymn and did not have a formal National Day until 1982, June 6, that was made a holiday first in 2005. All this leads to the conclusion that we Swedes are in many ways still "creating" Swedishness. But there have been nationalistic and romantic projects among parts of the Swedish bourgeoisie, especially in the middle of the 19th century but also in the late 20th century. And this is possible to see when it comes to folkdance and music.

Etic concepts

Our panel for Revival has worked with four main concepts. I prefer to see them as continuums rather than something fixed, and that the historical periods have more or less the phenomena behind the concepts. My idea is to try to put these concepts into the five historical periods in the Swedish example. But I am adding some more concepts.

Our panel's main concepts:

Recreational, doing myself for "fun" has its other end in art.
National tendencies has local/regional, and also international, as some sort of polarities.
Spectacular goes a bit towards art, but more for "entertainment" and parallels the recreational bit.
The past, dancing because the dances have something to do with old times, is something else than dancing and having fun "here and now".

My added concepts:

Revitalization: vitalize something that is not vital that lacks liveliness, driving force, that is dead or boring.
Transition: shift in context, from one social group to another. A change from one condition or set of circumstances to another.
Consolidation and standardization: creation of the canon, to make or become solid or strong. Unite or combine into one.
Popular dance or folk dance: folk dances are the dances danced in the folk dance clubs, in a more formal setting, while popular dances are the ones danced in the way of dancing that people in general do for their own fun.

Five periods in Swedish folk dancing

1521 ~ 1870 (pre-industrial society)

In this period there is what we can call *vital popular dancing*. The repertoire is dominated by couple dances, but there are also group dances such as the quadrille. As far as we know dancing must be seen as recreational for the dancers. There are absolutely some national-romantic ideas, but it is harder to say if "the past" is really important.

1870 -> 1920 (early industrial society)

Even if it has already begun, it is during the end of the 19th century that the creating of the Swedish folk dance canon takes off, in a process that I call *from popular to folk.* It is *a transition* of some of the popular dances, mostly group dances (quadrilles) from one context, common peoples dancing, to another context, the staged dances for entertaining bourgeoisie people. There are also new dances created in the same shape inside the growing folk dance

movement. There are also some spectacular tendencies in the dancing, but it is not a dominant idea. (The first folk dance teams were set up by men only, no women.) The recreational dimension is probably most obvious for the audience; they want to be entertained by farmer's culture on the bourgeoisie stages. The national-romantic dimension is there, but it is more romantic display than national. "The past" - dimension is rather a "the other"-dimension, and the others are mostly called "the folk", meaning the farmers in Sweden.

1920 -> 1970 (modern society)

This is the time when Sweden becomes modern in most senses, and it is the time for consolidation of the *folk dance canon*, through a process I will call *standardization and consolidation.* An important idea in the folk dance clubs is that a folkdance shall look the same every time it is danced wherever it is danced. The National Folk Dance Association Board decides what of the created and transformed dances that are to be seen as and called folk dances, and the dances also gets standard names instead of different local ones. The legitimized repertoire is dominated by group dances (more than 3 dancers), mainly quadrilles, and it is definitive recreational, at least for the dancers even if the audience does not always think so. There is also a national dimension in the discourse, but even more a antimodern dimension like agitation against modernity like jazz music and dance. It also often takes the shape of morals and judgment about good and bad culture – and what youth should do and not do (that is, Bourdieu's taste culture, Cohen's Moral Panics and all that about generations after Mannheim). To call dancing in this period spectacular – no, not really, it is more the participatory and recreational part that is emphasized. The orientation to "the past" is then not so strong.

1970 -> 2000 (late modern society)

During this period, after the 1968 "revolution" in most of the western world, there is a back to basic movement with red and/or green political references, that react against the folk dance clubs way of dancing, and partly tries to take the dances *from folk to popular.* It is a period of *revitalization* [make vital again] of the couple dances, that is, the *polska* for recreational use, not for spectacular performances. The national is less important than the regional or rather local connections. "The past" becomes important at least in one way, it is back to the dances and the way of dancing that was before "the canon" was created. An overall question in the revival movement was "Who gave the Association the right to decide what folkdance is and what is not"?

2000 -> (post modern society)

Now, in the 21st century, the revitalized couple dances have become *vital, popular dancing* again for recreational purposes. There is also some minor attempt to create spectacular (and art) dances for an audience. The national dimension is there in the meaning; especially the whirling couple dance *polska* is seen as a very Swedish dance, a Swedish contribution to "world dance". "The past" might be important in theory but not in reality, it is the "here and now" dancing that is important.

DVD examples

Three versions of quadrille:

As a popular dance 1928 (Kadrilj från Halland)
As a folk dance 1936 (Landskronakadrilj i Söder om landsvägen)
As a folk dance 1992 (Landskronakadrilj i Gröna boken)

Two versions of popular dancing:

Polska från Dala-Floda 1928
Polskedans på Allégården 2006

Conclusions

Folk dances in folk dance clubs belonging to the Swedish National Association for Folkdance are...

* More recreational than art
* More national than local/regional
* More participatory than spectacular
* More "here and now"than linked to the past

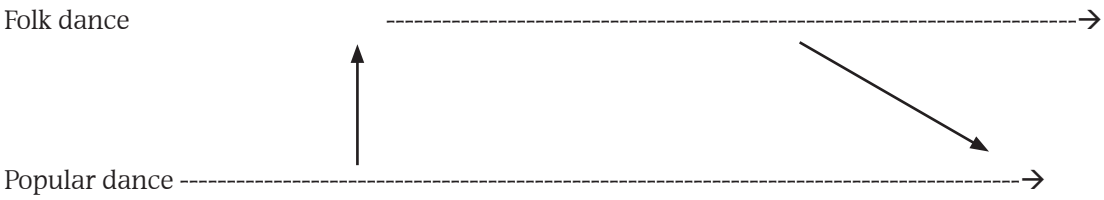
The opposition in the 1970s, in their revitalization process, did not question these dimensions, but emphasized more...

* Couple dances instead of quadrilles
* No national canon – use local variants
* ***If*** on stage – *more* spectacular and/or art
* Ecstatic more than emblematic – or at least, separate them

In the following figure I try to visualize what I have written. For me it is obvious that "folk dance" as a concept and

a way of thinking dance is created by the cultural elite during the 19th century. We can say that the folk dance genre was created in the transition of dances from the floor, where they were danced as popular dances, to the stage where they became "theatrical" dances to look at. But people still danced, and still dance their popular dances just for fun. So we can say that before 1850 there were no folk dances or folk dancing, just popular dancing.

	~>1870	1870~>1920	1920~>1970	1970~>2000	2000~>
Spectacular	+	+	-	-	-
National	+	+	+	-	+
Recreation	+	-	+	+	+
The past	-	-	-	+	-
	vital	transition	consolidation	revitalization	vital



CAN ISRAELI FOLK DANCE BE STILL CALLED REVIVAL? SHIFTING PARADIGMS AS A MOVEMENT BECOMES A TRADITION

MARIE-PIERRE GIBERT
France

Abstract

A little more than 60 years after the official birth of Israeli Folk Dance (at a meeting in Kibbutz Dalia, 1944), can this "ideal case" of revival be considered a "vival" dance form, thus validating the hopes of the first creators whose desire was to build a new culture shared by all the Israelis?

The use of the paradigms of "recreational," "national," "spectacular," and "linked to the past" proposed by A. Nahachewsky (ICTM Conference in Sheffield, 2005) appears helpful in analysing this form of dance, shedding light on a clear shift of emphasis from "national" and "linked to the past" during the first decades, to "recreational" and "spectacular" nowadays. These orientations, understood as continuums, can help make the analysis more precise and accurate, since they are always present, but at different levels and under different aspects, depending on the time period or the dance context which is analysed.

Moreover, this analysis will try to integrate different points of view on Israeli Folk Dance, thus creating a counterpoint between the dancers', the creators' and the researcher's voices.

COMPARING REVIVAL CASE STUDIES

ANDRIY NAHACHEWSKY
Canada

I presented a paper entitled "Shifting from 'national' to 'spectacular' in Ukrainian Canadian dance" at the ICTM World Conference in Sheffield in 2005 (later published as Nahachewsky 2006). Follow-up discussions about this and other presentations suggested a search for shared terminology for cross-cultural discussion of dance revivals. Participants in this discussion, Egil Bakka of Norway, Tvrtko Zebec of Croatia, Stephanie Smith of the United States, Mats Nilsson of Sweden, Marie-Pierre Gibert of France, and I agreed to participate in a panel to follow up on these ideas at the ICTM Ethnochoreology Symposium in Cluj Napoca the following year.

The ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology started in the mid-20th century as a group seeking cross-cultural standards in dance terminology. The current panel, organized in connection with the sub-study group on "Revival," is a much smaller experiment for cross-cultural comparison, testing four main concepts and their related terms to see if they may be useful for dance revivals.

The participants in this panel each shared some common readings proposing the ideas of "past orientation," "national orientation," "recreational orientation," and "spectacular orientation" for consideration when describing revival folk dance communities.[1] In our presentations, we attempted to relate how these ideas are relevant (or not) to the specific revival dance communities in Norway, Croatia, the United States, Sweden, Israel, and Canada, which our panelists have been studying in for a number of years. My role in the panel in Cluj was mainly to review the concepts as an introduction to the other panelists' papers, and later to provide a conclusion summarizing the results of the experiment. This paper reflects those two goals, and is intended to be read in connection with those articles in this publication.

Introduction: the four concepts

The first concept proposed for consideration explores the degree that the participants in the dance tradition are concerned with the past. On one end of this continuum, the dancers are wholly engaged in the present moment of dancing. The tradition may well be part of a long history, but the participants are not thinking about it as they move. Dance is quite famous for its ability to engage the body, the mind and the spirit of its participants in a holistic flowing experience. I propose to call this type of activity "vival dance" – dance that is "alive" to the moment. The other end of this continuum is represented by dance activities that are dedicated to the past. They perceive that the dancing is more significant insofar as it connects with that past. This situation may be called "re-vival dance." Revival dance then, according to this conceptualization, refers to any dance tradition in which the participants make active references to the past in their contemporary performances.[2]

Of course, dances cannot exist entirely in the past, but must necessarily involve some elements of present experience as well. Focus on the past can only be a matter of greater or lesser emphasis. Revival dances can be seen as being associated with two times at once. The "actual setting" is the time and place of the physical performance of dance. The "imputed setting" is the time and place in the past, which is emulated or referenced during the performance. Therefore when members of an ethnic dance club in Toronto put on Hungarian costumes and perform a *csárdás*, their "actual setting" is in Canada, but the "imputed setting" is a village near Budapest, perhaps a century ago. "Vival dance," by these definitions, has a clear "actual setting," but has no "imputed setting."

I recognize that the concern with the past in revival dances may take a variety of forms, and may vary greatly in terms of its intensity. In some instances, the whole community is focused together at replicating a past dance experience. In other communities, the earlier performances are significant, but the dancers might be equally interested in the actual contemporary experience. In still other situations, references to the past are fleeting, and concern only some individuals in the community. "Past orientation," then, is proposed as a broad continuum of possibilities.

"National orientation" is a term proposed to suggest a concern with communicating cultural identity on the part of the dancing community. This cultural identity is often political, as when the dancers perform as an expression of allegiance to a state. Sometimes the dance is an expression of minority ethnic or local identity. When the participants are strongly motivated to symbolize the target identity, the activities can be described as having a strong national orientation. Like the previous concept, this orientation may be found in a variety of intensities, ranging from fanaticism to irrelevance. Chechen warriors dancing to intensify their emotions before engaging in a fight may serve as an example of strong national orientation.[3] Irish folk dancers entertaining at a Saint Patrick's Day celebration may serve as an intermediate example. A group of American grade six students dancing the Mexican Hat dance in their social studies class may serve as an example of softer, but still evident national orientation.

According to the third concept, dance communities may be more or less engaged with a "recreational orientation." Recreational orientation is identified when participants are primarily concerned about pleasure, social, physical benefit, or emotional release as they perform. Spectators tend to be less relevant as recreational orientation increases, and the dancers focus on their own experience. Some dance communities are actively oriented towards recreational ends. Other communities are not. Again, recreational orientation is proposed as a continuum of possibilities.

Fourthly, dance communities can be described as having a strong "spectacular orientation" if they are powerfully engaged in creating art for spectators. Their dance traditions are typically performed in theatrical settings, and aesthetic considerations dominate considerations of quality and success. Other communities are not concerned as much with how the dance looks, or with evaluations of its beauty.

In suggesting these four concepts, I propose that the national, recreational and spectacular orientations are each somewhat related to the existence of past orientation. They are, after all, intended to describe characteristics of revival dance communities. However, they are also each somewhat independent, and therefore any particular case study may observe that one orientation is strong, while another is weak, a third is intermediate in significance, and so on.[4] I propose that each revival dance community has its own configuration and balance of priorities at any given time. I recognize that revival dance traditions are very diverse.

Cross-cultural patterns

I further hypothesize that it will become possible to identify cross-cultural patterns in dance communities, depending on the balance of their various orientations. For example, I anticipate that revivals with a strong recreational orientation will tend to use relatively simple dance forms, and I predict that this trend will be evident cross-culturally. This tendency allows open participation and a greater sense of satisfaction for participants of diverse skill levels. Traditions that can be described as having a strong spectacular orientation, on the other hand, will tend to value complex forms, and to prize virtuosity and exceptional abilities. Dance communities with a strong national orientation may tend towards an intermediate complexity in their forms, since they may want to achieve a balance between inclusivity and impressing viewers.

As a second example, I suspect that, cross-culturally, leaders of traditions with a strong national orientation will tend to make decisions that emphasize cultural purity. Cultural identity, after all, is made evident by contrast with other peoples. Recreationally oriented dance traditions, on the other hand, will be less concerned with cultural purity, as long as their dance activity is fun. As a third example, I suspect that strong national orientation will tend towards developing common intra-national standards, using the dance movements to communicate unity within their culture. In communities with a spectacular orientation, on the contrary, the tendency will be for each performing artist or each group to strive for a unique niche, differentiating themselves from their colleagues and competitors.

Response to the panelist papers

After listening to the presentations of each contributor to the panel, I have a number of observations. I'll describe what I see as the positive results first. The first comment is that these orientations do seem to be relevant and applicable to a variety of dance revival traditions. (Perhaps this is not a surprise. The panelists likely chose to participate because the ideas resonated in some ways with their work.) Perhaps a more significant observation is that these ideas were applied broadly to try describe overall community tendencies by some panelists (Zebec, Smith, Nilsson), and more narrowly to particular subsets of the communities by others (Bakka, Gibert), and even to specific individuals (Bakka).

Secondly the case studies confirm that revival movements differ in terms of their orientations. As I understand the descriptions, some of the traditions have a strong national orientation (Norway, Croatia, English Country Dance in the earlier period, Sweden in the earlier periods, Israel in the earlier period, Ukrainian Canadians in the earlier period), whereas other traditions seem to have a weaker focus on cultural identity (English Country Dance in the later period, Sweden in the later periods, Israel in the later period). Some of the traditions seem to be oriented clearly towards recreation (Norway, English Country Dance in the later period, Sweden, Israel in the later period), while others are not (Croatia, Ukrainians in Canada). Some of the communities seem to value spectacular tendencies (Croatia and Ukrainian Canadians in the recent periods, Sweden in the early period), while others do not, and even seem to be antipathetic to them (Norway, English Country Dance, Sweden, Israel). Some of the described communities had one clearly dominant orientation, while others emphasized two or three orientations in different combinations.

According to my understanding, the panelists in this experiment demonstrated quite clearly that these orientations are not simple. There are many variations possible within each orientation. Concern with the past, for example, varied quite considerably. Whereas almost all presenters identified at least some concern with the past in their relevant communities, the specific perception of the past was quite diverse. Therefore, in Israeli folk dance in the earlier period, the past often referred to "Biblical times" perhaps 2000 years ago, before the Exile. Norwegian song dances referred to a medieval past. English country dancers imagine slightly more recent imputed settings, perhaps ballrooms in England in the late 1600s or 1700s. Other elements in the English Country Dance movement seem to refer to the past much more vaguely, as reflected in their general anti-modern attitude. Croatians in the earlier period imagined a very recent past in rural Croatia, not far at all from the time and the place of the actual performances. Ukrainian Canadians also imagined the ideal peasant world of the 19th and early 20th century, but this world was

physically quite distant from them by the time they performed it on stages.

It is also quite clear that the qualities of those past worlds, which are idealized in the revival movements can be quite diverse. As Tvrtko Zebec notes, it may not be as much a question of how much the community is oriented towards the past, but what kind of past they are oriented towards. In Croatia, the past was associated with different qualities at different times. Communities seem to express their past orientation sometimes by a strong research interest in past forms, by an impression of past feelings, by an emotional attachment to a specific place, through a political ideology, or in other very different ways. Early Israeli folk dancers seem to have valued a healthy, vigorous, youthful and even "rough" aesthetic to connect to their past. Some English Country Dance, on the contrary, emphasized genteel qualities. Egil Bakka describes a striking moment in Norwegian dance history when participants in the tradition were confronted with the softness and gentle character of their song dance revival, and were abruptly challenged with evidence that they should be dancing more vigorously and energetically.

A number of other issues were raised by the panelists in relation to past orientation. Several panelists noted that orientation toward the past was always incomplete, perhaps ambivalent, muted, contested. This is the context in which I understand Mats Nilsson's reports of the move from "folk" (past-oriented) to "popular" (present-oriented). He refers to the increasing tendency in recent periods in Sweden for the dancers to embrace the *polska* and other dances as a part of living in the present. According to our terminology, past orientation decreased in this period. Almost all panelists rated concern with the past as "intermediate" in different ways. Indeed, it has been said that revivals are never completely authentic, but always create something new as well. I understand these various remarks to be consistent with my original suggestions that it is impossible to be 100% engrossed with the past, but all dance activities necessarily engage with the present to some degree as well. Past orientation must be imperfect. The actual setting is always relevant.

Similarly, "national orientation" is proving to have several variants, including association with a political state (Israel, Croatia), a national culture (English, Norwegian, Ukrainian) and with regional or local identities (within Yugoslavia, within Sweden). In some cases, the nationally oriented dance revival is actively supported or manipulated by the government. In other cases, the ruling elite is quite unengaged.

Recreational and spectacular orientations are not analyzed in detail in the papers for this panel. Nonetheless, I suspect that they also likely reveal a number of variations.

A further complexity to the description of each orientation is that it may not be relevant to all the people within any given community to the same degree. Therefore, Stephanie Smith provides quotations from contemporary English country dancers who claim that they are very interested in the past, while others declare that this is not really important for them at all. Egil Bakka, Mats Nilsson, and Marie-Pierre Gibert, each limit their comments to only a specific subgroup within the larger dance movement in order to simplify their comments. Indeed, Egil Bakka illustrates that even particular individuals might be contrasted in terms of their orientations.

Sometimes the concern with the past is explicitly stated by the participants in the dance community, other times this past orientation is implicit, but quite clearly evident to the outsider analyst. Egil Bakka suggests that it is useful to compare the "declared orientation" of the revivalists he is studying (as gleaned from their public statements), and their "realized orientation" (as is evident from their decisions and the practical results). As proposals for cross-cultural terms, the four categories explored in this experiment are necessarily etic terms. Sometimes the etic categories are very similar to the ideas expressed within the communities, but sometimes they are not.[5]

Shifts in orientation over time

It is also quite notable that each revival dance tradition may change its orientations over time. Each presenter with a diachronic survey shows a shift in the primary orientation over time. Thus, as I interpret it, Tvrtko Zebec argues that Croatian dance changed both its past orientation and its national orientation somewhat over three different periods, and increased in the significance of the spectacular orientation in the Yugoslav socialist period. Stephanie Smith demonstrates that English Country Dance started with a national orientation dominant, but this has shifted towards a recreational orientation. Mats Nilsson identifies five different historical periods, and presents a chart to show how each orientation became more or less important each time. Marie-Pierre Gibert documents a shift away from the earlier national orientation to a much more recreational mode. My own research has shown that Ukrainian dance in Canada has shifted from national to spectacular orientations over the 20th century. These observations may be the most valuable results of this panel, since the traditions in each case are contrasted with their own antecedents or derivatives, and by the same researcher.

Patterns

In spite of the diversity described above, the shifts in revival traditions hint at a few possible cross-cultural patterns. In most of our case studies, in Croatia, English Country Dance in the United States, Israeli folk dance and Ukrainian Canadian dance, the dance revival communities started in the first half of the 20th century with a relatively strong national orientation, which thereafter seems to have generally declined over time. In English Country dancing and Israeli dance, the trend has been to increase recreational orientation. In Croatian and Ukrainian Canadian dance, the trend has been to increase spectacular priorities.

Challenges with terminology

This experiment was not entirely successful in establishing uniform use of terms and concepts. I hoped that each of the four orientations would be interpreted very broadly for the purposes of these exploratory cross-cultural comparisons. However, some of the chosen terms seem to have been internalized in more specific ways by the different panelists. This may have resulted from insufficient clarity in the definitions in the preparatory readings, or through influence from other definitions for similar words. "Past orientation" is very complex, as has been described above. Egil Bakka and Marie-Pierre Gibert both raise the question of whether it is essential that the dances be historically accurate in order for the tradition to be oriented to the past. I would respond that it is not necessary. I argue that past orientation can be significant when the community is trying to copy the earlier forms exactly, but also when the participants are just making reference to the past, and allowing novelty and creativity to co-exist with this consciousness of the imputed setting. Accuracy of the past orientation is not necessarily the same as intensity of the past orientation.

Perhaps the most problematic term for this experiment is "revival," associated with "past orientation." It is proving to be loaded with other meanings and connotations. According to my proposal, there is no need for a dance tradition to be "dying" before the next phase can be called a "revival." Also, as noted above, there is no specific need for historical accuracy. Further, we do not have to differentiate here whether the revival is carried out by the cultural descendants of the imputed dances, or if performed by other people, as other scholars require. When Tvrtko Zebec notes that "folk dance production on stage in Croatia has never been considered as revival," I am not concerned. We are not necessarily using these people's definition of revival, and their emic view is not compulsory for us here. According to the definitions set for this panel, folk dance production on stage in Croatia is a fine example of revival, with its reference to earlier peasant life. Tvrtko's discussion is welcome and valuable in this project. Some writers and readers may find it difficult to consider revival as broadly as proposed here.

"National orientation" also posed some problems. I did not intend it to be contrasted with ethnic, regional, local identity, or with super-national identities such as Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union. The intent is that it focuses on expression of any specific ethnocultural or political identity. Perhaps this concept should be called "identity orientation." Zebec proposes "political orientation" and this may be a good solution, as long as it allows for a very broad definition of politics.

The terms for recreational and spectacular orientations seem to be less problematic. This is perhaps because these terms are used in the ethnochoreologic literature in much the same way as proposed for this experiment, so we don't have interference from other definitions. The terms "vival dance" and "imputed setting" seem to have been accepted and naturalized by several of the panelists, though they are not engaged with critically much at this point. Mats Nilsson uses the word "popular dance" in a way that seems similar to the proposal for "vival." One possible solution for "revival" and "national orientation" is to create neologisms, so that influence from other definitions becomes less of a factor. I have recently come to prefer "reflective dance" rather than "revival" to suggest the idea of linking back to the past [Nahachewsky 2005]. The key is to find new words that are intuitive in English, and can hopefully carry across languages and academic subcultures.

At this stage in the experiment, we have not yet gone into enough detail about the forms of the dances to verify or refute the hypothesis that the orientations are strongly connected with tendencies in the dance forms. I continue to believe that some connections will be found.

One response to the partial success of this experiment would be to work harder to specify more exactly the meanings and boundaries of each term, and to work longer together on this project. Another response is simply to recognize that these concepts do not need to function as firm categories with absolute boundaries. For the present, I am comfortable with the idea that these concepts could serve impressionistically for cross-cultural comparisons. Occasionally they may provide insights that are very clear, but often they will be experienced at their fuzzy edges.

Endnotes

1. Nahachewsky 2003, a draft version of Nahachewsky 2006, as well as several chapters of my unpublished monograph Dance across cultures. In those readings, the concepts were the same as proposed here, but the terminology was slightly different.
2. This definition of "revival" is very broad and somewhat different than many others in common use. This particularity of the definition may be a significant challenge to this experiment.
3. Note that the identity that is represented in the dance does not have to be an existing country.
4. However, in some respects, "spectacular orientation" can be seen as oppositional to the "recreational orientation." More often than the other pairs in any combination, it seems that spectacular tendencies are high when recreational tendencies are low, and vice versa.
5. In this regard, it might have been useful to standardize the methodology for each panelist, in order to produce a more equal comparison of the differences in orientations. As it is, some are presenting their assessments based on interviews, others based on participation, others based on historical documents. These diverse methods reflect emic and etic perspectives differently. Such standardization, however, was beyond the scope of our current experiment.

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PANEL 2

WALKING FIFTEEN THOUSAND STEPS WITH ST. GEORGE: FROM FIELD TO TEXT

The Sub-Study Group on Ritual Complexes together took part in St. George's Day ritual event in Varvara, Bulgaria from May 5 to May 7, 2005. In this presentation, panelists coming from different perspectives look at the rituals from different points of view. Using theoretical frames and previous experiences, each panelist explores a ritual movement system from various parts of the world. These include the calendrical dance ritual cycle in Bulgarian, Polynesian festivals, Carnival rituals in the Italian Alps and Sabah ancestor rituals from Malaysia. The panelists then focus on two themes * the problematic definitions of terminology and their positions in the St. George's Day event as participant observers provoking conceptual discussions with the wider assembly of attendees at the conference.

The participants are Adrienne Kaeppler, Anna Ilieva, Anna Shtarbanova, Placida Staro, Mohd Anis Md Nor, and Hanafi Hussin.

Photographs by Adrienne L. Kaeppler 2005.

RITUAL, THEATRE, AND SPECTACLE: EXPLORING THE RITUALS OF SAINT GEORGE'S DAY

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In May 2005, six members of the Sub-study Group on Ritual Complexes took part in the rituals associated with St. George's Day in Varvara, Bulgaria. The leaders of the group were Anna Ilieva and Anna Shtarbanova, who had previously made detailed studies of the ritual. The other four -- Placida Staro, Mohd Anis Md Nor, Hanafi Hussin, and Adrienne Kaeppler, were interested in the rituals of St. George's Day as an extension of their studies of ritual in other societies. My paper places St. George's day into the larger frame of festivals, and, especially from the point of view of the "beholder," explores the event as ritual, theatre, and spectacle.[1] Essentially, the four novices started out as "spectators," but became "engaged audience members" after gaining some understanding of the rituals from Ilieva and Shtarbanova.

ST. GEORGE'S DAY RITUALS

I begin with a summary of our participation and experiences in the rituals. Each of the four of us wanted to broaden our knowledge of structured movement and dance and their relationships with ritual by participating in a ritual event in which movement is an important element (see Ilieva 2001). St. George's day is a calendrical event based on the coming of spring, which supplicates rainfall for the crops. The origin of the ritual is pre-Christian and goes back to a female goddess of the Bronze Age who was worshipped in parts of southeastern Europe. In Varvara, this part of the event takes place in a sacred space at the top of a nearby hill up which we walked 15,000 steps,[2] along with church officials, several old women specialized in the structured movement aspects of the ritual, and many members of the community.

The night before St. George's Day, during which the main ritual took place, sheep were brought to Varvara's Eastern Orthodox Church to be blessed by the Priest before they were sacrificed and subsequently roasted at the top of the hill for a communal feast.

Early in the morning of St. George's Day itself, women brought decorated bread to the church that they had baked during the night to be blessed by the Priest, also to be taken up the hill for the feast.

In the church, the women sang old traditionally-pitched songs accompanied by clappers[3] and the men sang Christian songs. After the Priest blessed bread, water, sheep, and participants, all began the long trek up the steep hill. Wearing headbands of oak leaves, the procession was led by the Priest and officials who carried banners featuring St. George on a white horse, followed by a band, old women, and the rest of the community. Along the way, as the procession passed through the village, women showered the procession with handfuls of grain. After some hours of walking up the hill, the procession arrived at a ritual space where the bread previously had been transported and sheep were being barbequed. Music specially associated with the ritual, along with other music, was played and enjoyed.

One of the main elements of the ritual was a performance of structured movements by specialized women to bring rain. Several old women began their performance, and right on cue it began to rain and continued raining for some time. Plates of food were distributed to all participants and everyone went into the tents to eat. These tents had been set up the previous day as 'everyone knew it would rain.' This ritual performance (sometimes referred to as a *horo*) performed by the old women is distinguished from other Varvara music/dance in that the music, movement motifs, and songs are specific for St. George's Day. The important movement elements here included lower body movement motifs typical of dance in the Balkans, but with more emphasis on the left leg/foot than the right, thus emphasizing the ritual importance of the left. The main movement motif is in four beats: Left foot cross in front of right foot, right foot steps to right side, left foot crosses behind right foot, right foot steps to right side.

The women performed at the top of the hill, mid-way down the hill, and at the bottom of the hill. Also, along the way back down the hill to the starting point, the procession stopped at each crossroad so that the Priest could bless bread for those who were not able to climb the hill and take part at the sacred space. When reaching the village, a festival of dance and music went on for several hours.

Most of this seems relatively straightforward in that during the ritual it 'always' rains and efficacy is preserved. However, the performance includes other elements for which people have no explanation and which are done 'because they are part of the ritual.' For example, much of the ritual is markedly associated with women as we learned from Anna Ilieva. For example, a newly married woman will bake bread during the night in a white clay pot wearing her wedding dress. Before St. George's Day, a newly married woman often wears her wedding jacket and headwear, but on St. George's Day her mother-in-law changes her headdress for a married-woman's kerchief. The women also make oak-leaf wreaths. In the past, women collected herbs and bathed in the dew before sunrise, then bathed in the river where this turns to the left, reflecting the motif that 'everything should be done to the left.' In some villages, women dance around the bread table three times followed by the Priest who also dances around the table three times.

Men bring their first-born male lamb of the year with a candle on its horn to be blessed by the priest. The Priest sings to the lamb and with the lighted candle makes the sign of the cross on the forehead of the lamb. Several families take their lambs to a crossroad to form a 'border-crossing' for the Priest. A man should give salt to his lamb and have the lamb symbolically cross a border by walking over a belt while facing to the east. After sacrificing the lamb, the man should dip his finger in the blood and put a spot on the foreheads of children. Then he should put the blood into a river, water, or earth.

But why do ritual supplicants in Varvara take part today? Essentially, besides being a ritual that must be performed to bring rain for the crops, St. George's Day has become an identity festival and a mechanism of renewal of what it means to be Bulgarian. In addition, traditional structured movement, ritually performed, connotes present-day political identities.

FROM SACRED SPACES TO FESTIVAL "STAGES"

I now place these events into the context of festivals, which it was acknowledged St. George's day had become. In the last few decades the study of >festivals= (I use the term here in the broadest sense to indicate a gathering of people for a specific event) has become an important element in the analysis of social life. Only recently has the exploration of festivals begun to include study of the music/dance performances, why music/dance is such an important aspect of festivals, and how music/dance performed at festivals might contribute to cultural theory. Festivals take place at special times and places and often serve to intensify societal values by bringing them into sharper focus during special

events. But as the world changes, special events change along with the values they intensify. Festival performances project societal values and indicate how values change and are exhibited in public presentation.

Ritual, theatre, and spectacle

In order to understand how ritual has evolved and changed, I frame my analysis from the point of view of the beholder and then enlarge the frame to place ritual into the context of festival. In exploring a festival, I focus on what the individual brings to the event, that is, if the beholder is a ritual supplicant, an engaged audience member, or a spectator.

Ritual

The study of ritual has been of special interest to many anthropologists. And although Maurice Bloch has noted, "I very much doubt that an event observed by an anthropologist which did not contain these three elements [ritualised speech, singing and dancing] would ever be described by him as a ritual. In other words these phenomena have been implicitly taken as the distinguishing marks of ritual" [Bloch 1974:57], the movement element has seldom been the focus of interest.

Following Rappaport, an anthropologist who worked in New Guinea, I define ritual as "the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not encoded by the performers" [Rappaport 1979:175]. That is, these formal acts and utterances are learned/memorized (or read) from the teachings of ancestors and are not generated or originated by the performers. According to this view, a ritual is "a form or structure. . . [having] a number of features or characteristics in a more or less fixed relationship to one another" that can only exist in performance. "The medium [that is, the performance] is part of the message; more precisely, it is a metamessage about whatever is encoded in the ritual." The performers may not fully understand the movements and texts they are enacting, only that it is necessary to do them; the *process* of performing, as well as its efficacy or outcome, is primary.

Theatre

As rituals must be performed, it is appropriate to include them to the more inclusive category of "performance" and relate them to theatre and spectacle. Theatre, according to Carlson, is based on an activity with roles for performer and audience that "closely imitate the ongoing processes of human society and culture" [Carlson 1989:236]. Whereas ritual is often performed primarily for the gods, theater requires an engaged audience, which is usually set apart from the performing space or "stage." Theatrical actions, and the frames in which they are performed, are often governed by rules that set them apart from everyday rules of behavior and sometimes subvert them.

Unlike ritual, in which the formal acts and utterances need not be encoded by the performer, theatrical acts and utterances *are* encoded by the performers. Rather than the performance itself being the message, the message in theatre is *derived* from the performance. That is, in theatre the performers do understand what they are doing; and it is the product that is the message (not the process of performing it). Although in both ritual and theatre process and product are important, it is a question of foregrounding and backgrounding: in ritual the process is primary, in theater the product is usually primary.

Spectacle

Next, I separate theatre from spectacle. In theatre the audience is engaged. Performers and beholders understand the languages of speech and movement, as well as the stories and cultural values being conveyed. They have "communicative competence." If the beholder does not have communicative competence, the performance can be considered spectacle and the beholder a spectator. Beholders may spectate but do not have the competence to be engaged by understanding the texts nor do they know how to decode what is being conveyed by the music and movements. Many of the beholders at festivals are spectators; others are engaged audience members, such as judges, teachers, students, and individuals knowledgeable in cultural traditions.

Festivals

In festivals, both process and product are important. But equally crucial is understanding the festival event and the sociopolitical discourses enacted through it. Understanding content and context, as well as the creative processes, is important for understanding how meaning is derived from an event, how the frame of an event must be understood in order to derive meaning from it, how intention and cultural evaluation can be derived from the framing of the event, the necessity of understanding the activities that generate the event, and even the possibility of understanding society through analyzing the event. For local audiences, events, such as the rituals of St. George's day, can be considered theatre or as religious ritual. For outsiders, the event is primarily spectacle, or, with some background, as theatre. How a performance is decoded depends on what the beholder brings to the event and determines if he/she will be a ritual supplicant, an engaged audience member, or simply a spectator.

FESTIVAL AND RITUAL RELATIONSHIPS

It remains to examine how festivals are related to ritual, theatre, and spectacle, if at all. In ritual an important element is the process of performing and its efficacy. In theatre the most important element is understanding the product. In

international events, such as festivals, the process of performing has again been strengthened – but, is it ritual? I suggest that it is. As noted above, according to Rappaport in ritual, "The medium is part of the message. . . it is a metamessage about whatever is encoded in the ritual" [Rappaport 1979:175]. Encoded in local festival events, is a performative demonstration of cultural, ethnic, and generational identity. Although the performance products may not be fully understood in all their historic richness, the process of performing illuminates to performers and beholders their commitment to the preservation of the cultural forms of old as well as to the emergence and development of new performance traditions. This is intertwined with the emergence of traditional and modern States with distinctive cultural and ethnic identities as well as crossing traditional boundaries into global society. Identity formation and presentation has collapsed and reformulated categories of ritual, theatre, and spectacle. Through continuity, rupture, and change, revivals and inventions, tradition and innovation, festivals such as St. George's Day in Bulgaria, are, as I suggested above, a ritual renewal of what it means to be Bulgarian.

Endnotes

1. See Kaeppler 2010 and 2011 for other publications relevant to this one.
2. I measured the number of steps by wearing a pedometer.
3. These were recorded and analyzed by Placida Staro.

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MAG-IGAL AND IGAL-JIN: DANCING THE SPIRITS OF THE ANCESTORS IN THE RITUALS OF MAGDUWATA OF THE BAJAU KUBANG IN BUMBUM ISLAND, SEMPORNA, EAST MALAYSIA

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Introduction

This paper is based on a case study of the *Magduwata* ritual observed in the Bajau Kubang community in the village of Kabimbangan Tengah located on the southern tip of Bumbum Island within the district of Semporna in Sabah (North Borneo), Malaysia. Field research was conducted twice; the first visit was from the 17th to the 19th of September 2004 and a final observation was conducted from the 8th to the 9th January 2005. Permission to conduct this field research on a private ritual-healing ceremony was given by Haji Bakhara bin Onnong, head of the Onnong's household. The *Magduwata* healing ritual was conducted to placate spirits of ancestors that were assumed to have caused illness to the members of the household, in particular, the illness that befell Haji Bakhara himself. Failures to hold annual new rice offering ceremonies of *Magpaii Bahau* (offering of newly harvested hill rice) over two annual cycles were believed to have contributed to the 'imbalance of spiritual energies' in his household. In the past three year period, Haji Bakhara's refusal to sponsor this event[1] has made it a revived rarity in his household. He decided to reconvene the old but familiar healing rituals of *Magduwata* after much deliberation on his part. The ritual observed in this paper was held in the house of his elder brother, Maharaja Ibnu Hari bin Onnong. Haji Bakhara is the sixth sibling of the Onnong family.

Source of power: Duwata (ancestors), Busong/Tula' (curse), Paii Bahau (new rice)

There are three prominent reasons, which necessitate *Magduwata* as a placatory event to appease ancestors' spirit and to heal 'imbalances' that breaches social order and spiritual harmony. These are the ancestors (*Duwata* or *Ruwata*) whose curse against surviving descendents who had disobeyed or disregarded the rites of *Magduwata* rituals had caused illnesses, which may only be cured by offering newly harvested hill rice (*Paii Bahau*) as they solicit forgiveness to redress the breach in acknowledging the presence of their ancestral lineage (*Katurunan*). Reconciliation with ancestral spirits is to be attained after a successful *Magduwata* healing ritual.

Duwata

Although the egalitarian Bajau Kubang professed Islam as their religion, their affinity to an eclectic indigenous belief systems and the monotheistic Islamic religion becomes tenuously intertwined when indigenous spirits are recognized within Islamic term of reference. God is recognized as *Tuhan* (a Malay term) or *Allah* (the Islamic god). However, *Omboh* (ancestor), which is a Sama or Tausug term, may also be called as *Arwah* (a Malay term for departed soul). *Ruwata* (spirits of the sky) and *Jin* (spirits in the guise of smoke) and *Syaitan* (a derivative of Islamic Satan in the Malay language) are malevolent or benevolent powers from the spiritual world, which may inter fear with lives of the living when offerings to placate and acknowledge their presence are breach. Hence, *Magduwata* becomes necessary to appease spirits of the ancestors. *Duwata* or *Ruwata* are generically referred to as spirits or souls of ancestors. Hence, the act of appeasing ancestors' spirits through ritual offerings, body cleansing, recitation of Islamic verses (*Doa*), music making (*Magtagunggu*) and trance dancing (*Mag-igal*) or dancing spirit bearer (*Igal-Jin*) is recognized as an act of obedience and filial piety to the ancestors (*Magduwata*). Appeasements through annual ritual offerings of newly harvested hill rice (*Magpaii Bahau*) are referred to as *Magruwata Kok Taon* (to celebrate an auspicious moment of the ancestors' New Year according to the ancestors' calendar). This is done with the offering of newly harvested rice, *Magpaii Bahau* which is processed into sweet-meals for the appeasement ceremony. Similarly, ritual healing ceremonies (*Magduwata* or *Magduwata Kabusongan*), rituals to prevent against ancestral curse (*Magbusong*) and exorcism rituals for grave sicknesses (*Bekelamat*) are indigenous systems of pre-Islamic times, which becomes necessary should any incurable illness amongst members of a family are deemed to have been caused by *Busong* or *Tula'* (cursed of the ancestors). In this particular situation, *Magduwata* may also be referred to as *Magjamu* (feeding of ancestors) while the act of asking for forgiveness from the ancestors for any wrong doing or to admit fault is known as *Magpataluwak*.

Magpaii Bahau

Magpaii Bahau refers to the offering of new rice to the ancestors' spirits (*Duwata* or *Ruwata*). Clifford Sather remarked how this event, which he referred to as *Magpai Baha'u*, was celebrated by the Bajau Laut (Sea Gypsies) in the village of Kampung Bangau-Bangau in Semporna.

> *Magpai baha'u*, marking the return of the ancestors, opens with the fashioning of the *kulit mbo'*. At midday, the bin is filled with new rice. Next comes the nightly dancing of the jin, followed in the morning by the preparation of the new rice, climaxing with the midday feasting of the ancestors. Finally, the rite concludes with early morning bathing. In addition to *magpai baha'u*, the mediums perform further public dances during the year, called *magigal jin*, meant to entertain the village ancestors and the numerous spirits believed to inhabit the surrounding region, and so preserve their continued goodwill. Such dancing is also thought to have a therapeutic virtue, as the spirit guests are said to bear off with them when they disperse the various afflictions and woes suffered by village members. Tandoh ([sic] an informant) insists that there is a marked improvement in village health following *magigal jin.* Garani ([sic] another informant) maintains that, by tradition, such dancing should be performed every lunar month, on the fourteenth or fifteenth night, during the full phase of the moon. This is also the time in which *magpai baha'u* is performed.[2] In practice, the dancing is held less regularly, or at least it was in 1964-5. Its time and planning are fixed by a meeting of mediums called by the *nakura' jin* [Sather 1997:304–308].

The *Magpaii Bahau* ritual of the Bajau Kubang in Bumbum Island, replicates the same rituals observed by the Bajau Laut (Sea Gypsies) in Bangau-Bangau Village as described by Sather. The main offering is newly harvested hill rice, which is accorded with a privilege status as head of the offering tray, *kok dulang.* Aside from newly harvested de-husked hill rice, other offerings include coconuts, sugar canes and corns. All these are processed, cooked and offered within the three-day period to the ancestors, which is commonly known as *Magjamu ni ka omboan* or *Magpataluwak ni ka omboan* (to feed offerings to the ancestral spirits).

Langkapan (ancestral heirloom)

Other than causing displeasure to ancestors' spirits for not renewing yearly offerings of newly harvested rice or acknowledging ancestral lineage (*Katurunan*), curses in the form of *Kabusongan* or *Katulahan* may also arise for the failure on looking after ancestral heirloom (*Langkapan*). Other than the required compliance to offer newly harvested hill padi or fulfilling the indigenous filial calendars, *Kabusongan* may also have happened due to the lack of respect to *Langkapan*, which had been passed down from one generation to the other. These tangible cultural objects must be ritually blessed according to the indigenous ancestral calendar of *Magruwata Kok Taon*, which is usually observed during the Islamic month of *Rejab*, two months before the advent of the holy Islamic fasting month of *Ramadhan.*[3] The *Langkapan* are conduits of spiritual energies between the ancestral spirits and the world of the living.

Kabusongan are only diagnosable through spirit mediums (Jin).[4] As intermediaries, the spirit mediums become the vehicle of his or her spirit helper through whom the spirit communicates. Diagnosed *Kabusongan* requires ritual *Magduwata*, a feast of offerings as a healing agent. But it takes both the village mediums (*Jin*) and the village Muslim congregational leader (*Imam*) to conduct this ritual. The former deals with the ancestral spirits, the latter with Islamic recitation of holy verses. These two individuals and their functionaries forged a synthesis of syncreticism in the world of the Bajau Kubang, the landed seafaring gypsies.

Rites of ritual

Magduwata ritual is conducted through three ritual rites; *Magpatanak* (the preparation of ritual offerings), *Amangan Pai Bahau* (rites of Magpai Bahau) and *Magtagunggu'* (ritual music) and *Mag-igal* (dancing). The preparation of ritual offerings, *Magpatanak*, which last between one to two days consists of the following:

- sun-drying of newly harvested hill padi and corns
- gathering of cane sugar, coconuts, tumeric, *kisul* leaves, perfumes and benzoin or incense (frankincense or myrrh)
- laying out *Langkapan* (ancestral heirloom) in the living quarters

The first day is reserved for the processing of the newly harvested unhusked hill padi. It is first sun dried before being removed from the drying area to the mortar and pestle by the female members of the family to be pounded and de-husked. The new rice (de-husked padi) are placed in the middle of the house (living area) and are allowed to 'sleep' overnight with other *Langkapan* (ancestral heirloom) if the illness is light or for two nights for the more serious ones. This process is called *Amagtuli Buas* and *Magtubos.* During *Amagtuli Buas*, the entire household sleeps in the living area while the sick patients sleep in the sacred space near the mound of sun-dried newly harvested hill padi.

The rituals for *Amangan Pai Bahau* (rites of *Magpaii Bahau*) are more elaborate. First it involves the cooking of new

rice, *Paii Bahau*, from the mound of sun-dried padi left to 'sleep' overnight. This is called *Bungkar* (to awaken things left asleep for cooking processes). Waft of benzoin or incense (frankincense or myrrh) smoke falls over the 'sleeping' offerings.[5] The first of several coconuts left to 'sleep' with the mound of padi is taken to the kitchen to be processed into oil, which would eventually be mixed with yellow rice, *Buwas Kuning*. The 'sleeping' new rice is divided into three piles. Two piles of rice are cooked with tumeric to produce yellow rice (*Buwas Kuning*). The third pile of rice is soaked in water and cooked into sweet meals (*Kuih Panyam* and *Durul*). The pile of corns is also taken into the kitchen to be fried in oil and the residue is mixed with cane sugar to become, *Poloh-Poloh*, which consist of burnt but sweet corn residue.

As the rice is being cooked, sick members are accompanied to the ancestral graves with some other members of the family. In the case of the family from Bumbum Island, they had to go on a two-hour boat ride to the island of Omadal to visit the graves of their ancestors. Here they asked for forgiveness and blessings from the dead ancestors and conduct a ritual bath (*Amandi Kubur*) near the grave mound. While this is being done, sick members of the family pray for the return of good health and the expulsion of curses (*Katulahan* or *Kabusongan*).

Before they return to Bumbum Island, a family member enters the sacred space to ask permission from the ancestor (*Omboh*) to raise the ceremonial flag (*Panji Ka'ambo'an*) on the flag pole by the side of the house. Raising and flying of the ceremonial flag marks the moment when ritual rites will soon take place in the home of the sick patient. Once the entourage returns from their visit to the ancestral graves, cooked offerings are placed in the middle of the living quarters. The cooked offerings consisting of yellow rice (*Buas Kuning*), sweet rice cakes (*Durul*), rice sweet meals (*Panyam*) and sweet fried corn residue (*Poloh-Poloh*) are laid in a row of plates as it awaits the communal bathing of family members.

The entire family, young and old, sick and able bodied, are regrouped in the middle of the house as they await the head of the household, in this case, Haji Bakhara bin Onnong, to deliver a 'ritual advice' to all members of the family. His 'ritual advice' deals with the importance of upholding their '*Katurunan*' or ancestral lineage through the continued practice of *Magduwata* as a means of acknowledging ancestral spirits to expel curses in whatever form and disguise.

At the completion of the 'ritual advice', the entire family members partake in a communal bath on a jetty outside the house. This communal bath is also known as *Amandi Katurunan*, 'bathing of the ancestral lineage' or *Amandi Tolak Bala*,[6] 'bathing to avoid mishaps'. The bath is done by splashing water three times over members of the family, which is followed by ritual blessing by the village Imam, leader of an Islamic congregation, who does the *Magalambe* (waving yellow cloth over the family members).

At the conclusion of the 'communal' ritual bath, members of the family, guests and visitors are invited to sit around the ritual offerings for the recitation of Islamic hymns and *Doa* (recitation of prayers). The *doa* or recited prayer texts consist of several *surah* (chapter or verses) from the Quran (*al-Fatihah, al-Iklas, an-Nas, al-Baqarah*). As the prayer is being read out loud by the Imam or leader of the congregation, smoke from the burning incense or myrrh permeates within the living quarters. At the end of the recitative session, the eldest female member of the family pour some of the newly produced coconut oil on to the first pile of yellow rice called *Pito Botangan* (seven ceramic plates of offerings) before it is offered to be consumed by the sick members of the family. Following this, another final recitative session as a dedication to the soul of the dead takes place. This session is referred to as *Doa Arwah* (prayers for the dead). It begins with the Imam drinking some water from the water container made out of coconut shell (*Baung*), which is followed by the recitation of verses (*al-Fatihah, al-Ikhlas 3 times*, *al-Falah, an-Nas, al-Fatihah, al-Baqarah*, and *Ayat Kursi*), which is followed by *Jikil* (Islamic *Zikir*), chanting and supplicating god's name. Two Imams do the recitation, one reciting the *Doa* (verses), the other responding to the last quatrain of the verses in melisma. At the end of this session, members of the family and invited guest are invited to consume the offerings of yellow rice (*Buas Kuning*), sweet cakes (*Durul*), sweet meals (*Kuih Panyam*) and residue of burnt sweet corn (*Poloh-Poloh*). The ritual consumption of offerings made from newly harvested rice or *Amangan Paii Bahau* (eating new rice) completes the rites of *Magpaii Bahau*.

However, it is the final and last rites of the *Magduwata* ritual, which engages the crossing of worlds between the living and the spirits. Referred to as *Magtagunggu'* (playing of the *Tagunggui'* ensemble), it also involves dancing (*Mag-igal*), spontaneous or trance-induced. *Tagunggu'* ensemble is made up of a set of small kettle or pot gongs placed on a wooden rack, a double-headed brass snare drum called *Tambul* or *Tambol*, and two large hanging gongs called *Agung*. *Tagunggu'* ensemble are also handed down from one generation to the other and is considered to be one of the *Langkapan* tangible objects or ancestral heirloom, which must be well looked after and played by an expert. Violation against taboos in the playing and caring of the *Tagunggu'* ensemble may also bring ancestral curse leading to *Kabusongan* or *Katulahan*.

Mag-igal and *Igal-jin:* dancing the spirit of ancestors

Dancing (*Mag-igal*) cannot happen without *Magtagunggu'* or music making. Hence, the ritual musical repertoire of *Magtagunggu'* includes musical pieces (*Titik*) and dances (*Igal*) normally performed for non-ritual performance as well as specific ritual pieces and dance styles. Musical pieces such as *Titik Limbayan, Titik Lellang* and *Tititk Tabawan* with respective dance styles identified by the pieces' name; *Igal Limbayan, Igal Lellang* and *Igal Tabawa* are performed by family members and guest spontaneously to celebrate the occasion.

Only *Titik Limbayan* and *Titik Lellang*, which are accompanied by the dances of *Igal Limbayan* and *Igal Lellang*, are musical pieces designated for the Jin or spirit mediums. These two musical pieces are classified as tunes for the ancestors (*Titik Duwata*).[7] Other than these musical pieces, which are accompanied by dance, other pieces are also played to invite ancestral spirits to the realm of the living. These are *Titik Tagna* (introductory piece), *Titik Jampi* or *Titik Jaupi* (incantations for the ancestors), *Titik Duwata* (tunes for the ancestors) and *Titik Lakkas-Lakkas*[8] or *Titik Lubak-Lubak* (literally means to play fast and fast).

Magi-igal or dancing by participants and observers of the *Magduwata* ritual and the playing of the *Kulintangan* pot-gong ensemble (*Magtagunggu'*) are integral parts, which are virtuous and profound to the *Magduwata* ritual. It is the culmination of momentous moments in the intense rites of ritual, cathartic and salutary, the former to ill health, the latter to the spirits of the ancestors. Hence, individuals with the strongest inclination to fall into trance while dancing are encouraged to take the role of dancing spirit bearer (*Iga-jin*), the rest who dance along, threads liminal spaces as conduits for the merging of spirits of the ancestors and the living lineage. Jin, like humans, is gender specific. Thus, possession by male or female Jin is acknowledged through the playing of specific musical pieces (*Titik*). *Titik Lellang* is associated with male Jin while *Titik Limbayan* is recognized as possession by female *Jin*. Spirit mediums who dance the *Igal-jin* (dance of the spirit bearer) holds a handkerchief in his right hand and areca palm fronds in his left hand. In the Malay myth, palm fronds from the Areca plant has long been considered to be fodder for roaming spirits. It is quite possible the same holds true with the Bajau Kubang.

In this research, the younger brother of Haji Bakhara bin Onnong, Haji Jenari bin Onnong, displays tendencies of an emerging Jin (spirit bearer) as he dances with costumes from the ancestral heirloom. He is believed to be the bearer of ancestral spirits and the receiver of *Katurunan* (ancestral lineage). As the Jin falls into a trance, a member of the family would place a *jimpau* (handkerchief) on his or her shoulder to ensure that the dancing (*Mag-igal*) becomes trance dance of the spirit bearer (*Igal-jin*). It is during the *Igal-jin* that ritual healing takes place. The *Jin* (spirit medium) in trance takes the position of the healer by rubbing or massaging sections of the anatomy of the sick person. The handkerchief (*Jimpau*) is also used to beat the patient as trance dancing intensifies to a rapid pace. When dancing becomes arduous, the spirit bearer collapsed on to the floor in a faint. He is soon revived by the shaman, who could also be the village Imam, to recover from his exhaustion.

In spite of the seemingly clear division of labor between dancing the *Mag-igal* and dancing the spirit bearer (*Igal-jin*), boundaries are often crossed over if someone who dances the *Mag-igal* has the callings to become spirit mediums for their ancestral spirits. They too may perform trance-dancing and becomes the *Jin* (spirit bearer).[9]

At the end of the trance-dancing (*Igal-jin*) and ritual healing, all members of the family continue to dance the *Mag-igal* for the rest of the afternoon as they await the sun to set. At this juncture, the dance becomes spontaneous social-dancing, often performed in a linear formation around the living quarters that was once a sacred healing space. When *Magduwata* is about to end, a series of Islamic verses (*an-Nas, al-Ikhlas, al-Falah, al-Fatihah, al-Baqarah*) and a recitation of a *Doa* (prayer) is read to conclude the event, marking the end of a syncretic event of indigenous and Islamic rituals.

Liminal performativity of *Mag-igal* and *Igal-jin* in Magduwata

One of the many aspects of Turner's liminal phenomena "tend to be collective, concerned with calendrical, biological, social-structural rhythms or with crisis in social processes whether these result from internal adjustments or external adaptations or remedial measure" (Turner 1982). The ritual-healing processes of *Magduwata*, from the *Magpaii Bahau, Magtagunggu, Mag-igal* and *Igal-jin* are collective calendrical remedial events to reintegrate internal and external social crisis through redressive actions. The breaching of social and indigenous taboo by ignoring the need to sustain ancestral lineage (*Katurunan*) or the up-keeping of ancestral heirloom (*Langkapan*) has brought about curses (*Kabusongan* or *Katulahan*) from the ancestors' spirits to members of the Bajau Kubang family or community. The need to reintegrate becomes more apparent when sickness, which are attributed to curses (*Busong* or *Tula'*) become incurable unless redressive actions such as *Magpii Bahau* and *Magduwata* are conducted. This breach not only threatens the hierarchy of the family within the Bajau Kubang community, when senior members of the family as caretakers of ancestral heirloom (*Langkapan*) refuse to acknowledge the presence of ancestors (*Omboh*) by means of negating the importance of offerings (*Magpaii Bahau*) and exorcising spiritual angst (*Magduwata*).

The liminal phenomena is entered when hierarchical relationships are temporarily ignored or forgotten in the final phase of *Magduwata* where dancing (*Mag-igal*) and séance through dancing spirit bearers (*Igal-jin*) become liminal phases. In this context, liminal and liminality is a period of time when a person is "betwixt and between social categories or personal identities" [Schechner 2001:58]. The liminal performativity (where performance is floated freely) of *Mag-igal* and *Igal-jin* in *Magduwata* is temporary and does not permanently change the family's hierarchical structure.

As observed in the *Magduwata* rituals in the Onnong's household in the village of Kabimbangan Tengah on Bumbun Island, liminal performativity begins immediately when *Magtagunggu'* (music making) is played. Members of the family, first lead by older members, dance the *Mag-igal* but no pecking order was observed when dancers begin showing tendencies of becoming spirit bearers. Perhaps the prestige of being able to submit to ancestral spirits entering their body may have induced many elderly dancers to dance in a conscious trance-like dance, inviting if they

wish, ancestral spirits to enter their bodies. Hence, the loud metallic sound of the T*agunggu'* ensemble and the rapid beating of the snare drum become crucibles for the merging of spiritual energies in a structured movement system, which is indigenously recognized as *Igal* or dance. Dancing the *Igal* (*Mag-igal*) as liminal performance becomes more meaningful if the dancers are able to enliven the expectations of the participants through *Igal-jin*, dancing the dance of the spirit bearer.

Liminal performativity of *Igal-jin* transcends social hierarchy when younger dancers or older members of the extended family takes the role of the spirit bearer as he or she dances with the handkerchief and Areca palm fronds to become the conduit and spirit-healers between the world of the living and the world of departed ancestors. Haji Jenari, the younger brother of Haji Bakhara bin Onnong, who is able to perform *Igal-jin* when and if ancestral spirits take over his dance, for a liminal moment becomes more important than what was dictated by his social hierarchy. Similarly, Inda' Aishah binti Haji Abagat, a female relative from the village of Tongkaloh who spontaneously took the role of dancing the dance of the spirit bearer and drank half a pitcher of sea water before stepping out of her trance and séance, was in a liminal state of performativity.

Liminal performativity in *Magduwata* enables the participants of *Mag-igal* and *Igal-jin* to perform within the matrix of space and audience (participants) freely, hitherto, liminalizing the constructs of hierarchy of the Bajau Kubang community. It not only altered time and space beyond legal or socio-cultural convention but made it acceptable outside the familiar. It is both strange and estrange. Dancing the *Mag-igal* by the participants and dancing the dance of the spirit bearer (*Igal-jin*) not only satisfy the need to reintegrate a crisis breached by non appeasement of ancestral spirits, the regressive action of *Magpaii Bahau* and *Magduwata* enables liminal events to be the instrument of reconciliation between the living and the deceased.

Endnotes

1. One of the main reasons for his reluctance to continue with this ritual has to do with his opinion on religious tenets. Since ritual offering of *Magpaii Bahau* relates to the world of ancestors' spirits, he is in the opinion that rituals of this nature are blasphemous to his Islamic faith. Based on that opinion, he has deferred organizing Magduwata ritual to a point when his illness, which was being treated by modern medicine, became worst. He now feels that it has to do with ancestors' curse or *katulahan*, which is also known as *kabusongan* amongst the Bajau Kubang communities.
2. "The timing and organization of these events are planned in each local community by its mediums. The time of magpai baha'u is fixed, according to village jin, by the appearance of a constellation of stars above the north-eastern horizon of the sky, corresponding to the source of the nort-east winds (utall' lo'ok), called the pupu (Pleiades?), shortly after sunset (pallawa' allau). Once these stars appear in position, a group of mediums is sent inland to buy newly harvested rice (pai baha'u, literally 'new unhusked rice') from agricultural communities. Not cultivating rice themselves, the timing of the rite is thus determined by the harvest seson of their neighbours. In Semporna in the 1960s, the medium generally traveled to Lihak-Lihak, although at times new rice was also obtained from mediums in Sitangkai, who are said to have made an annual pilgrimage to Tawitawi to purchase newly harvested rice from Sama farmers on the island. The rice obtained is shared out between the village mediums and is husked, using a wooden mortar and pestle, by the female members of each medium's household" [Sather 1997:304].
3. Amongst the paraphernalia of ancestral heirloom commonly found in the households of the Bajau Kubang are;
   - *Lai* (large ancestral ceramic plates)
   - Ceramic plates of various sizes for sweetmeals, bowls that served as coasters or bowls used for rain seeking rituals.
   - Drinking glasses
   - *Kuha'* (a pair of large ladders)
   - *Pamamaan* (betel leaf containers made from Ipil wood)
   - *Buku Maulud* (book of Islamic hymns reciting praises for the holy Prophet)
   - *Jimpau* (yellow cloth)
   - *Ampit* (red cloth)
   - *Lantaka'* (miniature canon)
   - *Tepo* (pendanus mats)
   - *Baung* (coconut sheels, which are filled with water and are expected to shake during spirit trancing)
   - Ancestral four poster beds
   - A set *Kulintangan* pot-gongs with two *Agung* (hanging gongs) and *Tambul* or *Tambol* (brass snare drum)
4. The word Jin is a derivative of *Jinn* in Arabic, a pre-Islamic concept of "genii", which has become confused or combined, with a number of various other more beliefs, current in various countries in which Islam prevails. The *Jinn* is held responsible for certain illnesses, which they cause by taking possession of people [Rouget 1985:279].
5. This is done by the eldest sister to Haji Bakhara bin Onnong assisted by a female relative of the family.
6. This bath is conducted by Imam Haji Mohd Darwis Barat Daya (maternal cousin of Haji Bakhara bin Onnong).

7. *Titik Duwata* is further divided into two; *Titik Jampi* and a combination of *Titik Limbayan* and *Titik Lellang*.
8. *Titik Lakas-Lakas* is similar to *Titik Tabawan* from Tabawan island and *Titik Lubak-Lubak* played amongst the Tausug (people of the sea).
9. Inda' Aishah bt. Haji Abagat, a female relative from the village of Kampung Tongkaloh in Semporna spontaneously took the role of the dancing spirit bearer and administered spiritual-healing when she fell into a trance. She even went to the extent of admonishing the musicians for not playing to the right tune when she was in trance. However, the most significant observation made on this event was her request to drink sea-water at the height of her trance-dancing. It caused a slight commotion when her request was not eagerly granted for fear of dire consequences to her health. This was finally resolved when she drank almost half a pitcher of sea-water before she fainted in exhaustion. Upon regaining herself, she told the sick patient to repair the dilapidated house, a request transmitted to her by the ancestor spirit who came in contact with her during her trance-dancing. This remark was seriously taken by the family members as a reminder to upkeep the ancestral lineage and heirloom, a causal reminder of cursed miseries or sickness from their ancestral spirits.

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PANEL 3

REPRESENTATION OF DIFFERENT REALITIES EXPERIENCED IN THE FIELDWORK CARRIED OUT IN THE REGION OF IZMIR, TURKEY

This panel is dedicated to the Izmir fieldwork experiment carried out by members of the Sub-Study Group on Field Research Theory and Methods and is organized by Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin and his colleagues from the Dance Department of the Turkish State Conservatory at the Ege University (May 3–10, 2005). The purpose of the panel is to illustrate and comment on the great diversity of the reality that we experienced in different places and circumstances during the fieldwork process.

Anca Giurchescu (organizer)

Panel participants:
Anca Giurchescu (Denmark/Romania), Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin (Turkey), Fahriye Dinçer (Turkey), Helene Eriksen (United States/Germany), László Felföldi (Hungary), Jaynie Rabb [Aydın] (United States/Turkey).

Figure 1. Researchers of the ICTM Sub-Study Group on Field Research filming Zeybek in Çomakdağ, Muğla (Photo: Emir Cenk Aydın, May 2005)

INTRODUCTION

Anca Giurchescu
România

The field as a "culture text" or "textualizing" the field reality

Each community has its proper socio-cultural reality that exists independently of the researchers' presence. When we decide, however, to research a certain aspect of the unpredictable reality we choose and frame – according to a set of criteria – a certain segment in the continuous flow of real facts. Thus at a conceptual level we structure a "significant unit" (coherent and meaningful facts well defined in time and space) that becomes the focus of our interest: the field of our research**.** In fact the reality that we experience, observe, analyze, describe, record and interpret can be seen both as "mental representation" and a "construction" [Gore 1999:210–211), that I may consider a "culture text."

In cultural semiotics the concept of "culture text" is a central and significant operational term, which was reprised – in a new perspective – by the American anthropological studies. Defined by Jurij Lotman (of the Moscow-Tartu school) and later elaborated upon by Clfford Geertz in his *Interpretative anthropology*, a culture text is a process, a dynamic factor of culture, which while directed by its own lows, is mutually dependent and in active relationship with other culture texts and social processes. It is at the same time a relativistic concept, meaning that the same content (reality) may appear as part of a text, as a whole text, or as a set of texts, depending on contexts and points of view. A culture text differs from a non-text by its internal coherence and by its form that is clearly delineated by introductory and closing markers.

I elaborate on the concept of culture text, because not only the Hıdrellez or the Alevi's Samah events and the Zeybek dance performances may be considered culture texts, but also the social and cultural realities in many villages may be (and have been) turned in a sort of texts. The planning and the organizing processes (necessary for our fieldwork experiment) structured the unpredictable reality giving it a certain format and limits. I mention two contrasting examples: on the one hand, the totally unpredictable reality of the Roma *mahalle* where the Hıdrellez event took place, and the fully constructed (ceremonious) reality in the village – where a staged wedding was performed in natural settings, by a large group of local people to honor the foreign researchers.

Another aspect I would like to mention concerns the researchers' approach to the field. Reflexivity is sine qua non for the field-texts description and interpretation. Therefore the representation of field-texts – be they materialized as written notes, essays, diaries, ethnographic descriptions, graphical transcriptions of dance or music or verbal texts, sound and visual recordings, and so on, are characterized by subjectivity in accordance with the researcher's personality, interests, knowledge, and skills. In more general terms, the political, social and economical conditions, and the institutional orientation both are marking the researchers' representations. In addition, it is doubtless that the same field-text may be experienced and internalized differently by the insiders of a given community (or event) from the researchers (outsiders). The anthropological "actor-oriented" research perspective where "*things are seen from the actor's point of view,*" as expressed by Clifford Geertz [Geertz 1973:14] intends to bridge this discrepancy. It is easy to understand that due to objective reasons, our rather superficial fieldwork experiment did not try to reach this level of depth.

In turn, the diversity of the ethnographic texts resulting from the Izmir field research (that stretched from thorough transcription (by the Turkish team) of the research process and its results, to visual recordings that illustrate different approaches to the same reality, and to subjective diaries), all have the capacity – I suppose – to reveal the great diversity of the "field culture texts" that we encountered.

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2005 İZMİR / TURKEY FIELD RESEARCH FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE PLANNER

MEHMET ÖCAL ÖZBİLGİN
Turkey

For about 50 years we believed that the traditional life in Turkey would continue without being affected by external factors. I have performed fieldwork on a regular basis in many regions of Anatolia as a member of the conservatory where I have been working for 15 years. However, it was only when my grandmother passed away that I realized how I lost a major informant who could provide me with very important data related to the dance tradition of my ancestors.

So, this is the reason why we, who deal with traditional Turkish culture, are panicking today. We are striving to record our traditional culture that is changing and extinguishing day by day. This panic that we feel leads us to mistakes from time to time. Sometimes we want a dancer to dance to the camera without getting the answers of 'why, where, when?'

The migration from the rural to the urban caused by the major changes in the Turkish economy has completely changed the sociological structure of the Anatolian people in the last 50 years. On the other hand, the dance tradition, which continues being a part of the popular culture in the rural area, is considered a performance art while being performed as a part of the traditional rituals in urban life. The urbanite population has risen from 20% to 70% in the last 50 years. This situation has created 'urban villages' in the cities. Today, if you want to make research on the dance culture of Balkan or Caucasia Turks, you will find the most satisfying information in the outskirts of İstanbul. I believe that it is not enough to conduct research only in one village so as to analyze this complex structure of Turkish dance tradition. In order to define folk dances with respect to the consequences of urban-rural relationship clearly, it is necessary to analyze the affects of these two on each other. For this reason, in the fieldwork that we planned to perform in 2005, I wanted to show both the rural and urban staged forms of the dances.

We decided to realize this project in the first week of May in order to determine the dance culture seen in the *Hıdrellez* tradition celebrated by the Gypsies on May 5 each year. The fact that Turkish Folk Dances Department was ready to perform their staged show helped the project to be realized.

The timing of the fieldwork in 2005 was scheduled so as to observe the *Hıdrellez* entertainments having ritual characteristics. Tepecik district in İzmir is the biggest site where Gypsy musicians who take part in all of the folk dance and musical activities live. There is a problem of security in this neighborhood because some groups doing illegal business live here. Two years before, when I mentioned this project to my Gypsy musician friends living there they said that they would be pleased to collaborate. However, when they heard that the project would contain about ten local researchers and ten from abroad, they said that it would be a problem to keep such a crowded group safe because there were new ethnic groups who started to live there and they were having conflicts every day.

But I insisted so strongly that my friend recommended us to record inside his house half opening the curtains. I have never felt that awful in my life. When I mentioned my desperateness to my colleague Bortan Oldaç, he offered his father's help who owns a grocery store in *İkiçeşmelik*, a Gypsy neighborhood. He helped us to get permission from the unofficial leader of the neighborhood thus we could organize the visit at the last minute. When we arrived there on May 5, I felt that there were some secret bodyguards around us to protect the visitors. There was a bonfire where two streets met, and they had provided the necessary music by placing a keyboard on a pickup truck, and they lighted the entertainment area by placing lights in certain places of the street. From their attitudes I sensed the concern of the local people to show their cultures in a best way to the visitors coming from abroad. Two hours later, some drunk young men form the neighborhood got really very angry upon seeing a group of outsiders. So we had to leave the İkiçeşmelik Romani neighborhood as quickly as possible.

It was ten p.m., so assuming that the entertainments would still be continuing we took our group to Kordon Boyu, one of the most popular places by the sea. We found the perfect atmosphere for a field researcher. There were music groups consisting of the *davul* and *zurna* playing contemporary Romani tunes and everyone was dancing spontaneously.

On May 6, in the morning, we collected data related to the *Hıdrellez* celebrations in Aydın District, İncirliova County, Alevi village of Akçeşme. In the early hours of the morning, everyone collaborated to prepare the *keşkek,* which is a celebration meal.

Figure 1. Women preparing *keşkek* in Akçeşme, Aydın (Photo: Emir Cenk Aydın, May 2005)

Keşkek is a meal, which has a ceremonial cooking process, and it is prepared by mashing the wheat and meat for a long time. While the *keşkek* was being prepared, we interviewed with the villagers on the importance of this *Hıdrellez* ritual with respect to Alevi culture. We recorded the local *zeybek* dances in the study that we performed in the garden of the village coffee house. Also we requested them to show us the *semah* dance that Alevi people perform in *Cem* rituals. They didn't consider it as a problem to show us this practice, which is a religious dance and it is supposed to be performed only when certain circumstances are fulfilled. Nevertheless, during their preparations and performance we determined that they hadn't been performing their religious traditions and they had forgotten many parts. When we asked the reason for this, they said that the state's and society's imposing Sunni culture upon them and the changes caused by the modern life made them distanced from their religious practices.

We encountered entertainment in the Antique City of Pirenne on our way to Milas County in the afternoon, on May 6. We had the chance to observe the performances of the *mehter takımı*, an Ottoman era orchestra, and Bursa Kılıç Kalkan Band in the theatre.

Figure 2. An Ottoman era orchestra, *Mehter takımı* in Pirenne (Photo: Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin, May 2005)

On May 7, 2005 I took our group to the Çomakdağ villages in Milas where we had been doing field research regularly since 1993. I had last visited this region in 1998. They had not changed their way of life and traditional clothing for many years so it was the most 'authentic' area I had seen in this region. With the guidance of my colleague Abdurrahim Karademir, they had joined the village folk dance contests organized by the Municipality of Culture. They were aiming at raising their economic income with the village tourism that was becoming popular at the time. We had informed both the villagers and official authorities that we would visit the village in order to perform scientific research. When we arrived in Kızılağaç, we saw that the villagers had prepared a welcoming ceremony. The villagers were standing in a 500 meters long line and they were offering us flowers. It was as if the president of the USA was

performing an official visit. They gave opening speeches in a well-prepared schedule and they served us lunch. They walked us through the village giving information on the history and architecture of the village. And the wedding ceremony, which normally lasts four days, was performed within two hours with a narration on a specially prepared stage. It is impossible to forget the hospitality of the villagers that they had shown so willingly. However, it was as if the whole organization was fictionalized in order to show the foreign tour operators how an ideal place their village was for a touristic trip.

Figure 3. *Zeybek* at an organized wedding in Çomakdağ Village
(Photo: Emir Cenk Aydın, May 2005)

In the evening, on the way to the hotel, we found out that there was a wedding entertainment (*kına gecesi)* in Ketendere village. We were really welcomed in the wedding where we arrived as unexpected guests. In the occasion where about 500 people attended, we had the chance to collect very valuable recordings and make observations that helped us comprehend the local wedding ceremonies.

We interviewed the local musicians and dancers on local dances in Bodrum County, Kızılağaç Village on May 8, 2005. We recorded the regional dances. The data-collection work taking place in an alcohol free environment and the simultaneous translation from Turkish to English caused the informants to get nervous at the time of the interview. The dance collection that we performed with the people who saw the occasion decided to join us spontaneously proved to be more productive and natural.

On May 9, when we came back to Ege University Conservatory, a panel called 'Folk Dances Studies in the World' was held by the group that performed the field research with the broad participation of the Turkish Folk Dances Department students.

I had mentioned my idea to perform a field research in Turkey to the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology for five years. As a young researcher, when I had this opportunity I studied with upmost passion and eagerness to create the perfect organization. The program I prepared was really perfect. I had planned each and every minute that the participants had in Turkey. During five days I would show the wonderful folk dances of my region to the participants from every perspective. However, none of my plans turned out the way I liked. But it was the occasions we encountered by chance that provided us with really valuable information and experience.

Each of the participants had different backgrounds. Some of the researchers were interested in individual-group relationship or creation in time and space while some others considered dance from the perspective of movement. Various approaches as anthropological or ethnological and the differences they created were clearly seen. Thanks to this field research, I have observed how different points of view enriched a study even if there are some hardships of having scientists with different opinions doing a collaborative work on a subject. For this reason, I am thankful to all of my colleagues who took part with their contributions in this field research group.

We can categorize the aims of this field research below:

1. Contexts of performances
    a. rural
    b. urban
    c. stage

2. Dance and ritual structured movement system types in the Zeybek region (regional movement structure)
    a. Zeybek – main dance types of the region
    b. Semah – ritual Alevis
    c. Çingene dances – belongs to ethnic dance minority of the Roma

3. Dance milieus
    a. entertainment event
    b. religious ceremonies
    c. communal festivities

Figure 4. Group of researchers and faculty from the Turkish Folk Dance and Music Conservatory at Ege University (Photo: Emir Cenk Aydin, May 2005)

HIDRELLEZ

ANCA GIURCHESCU
Denmark/Romania

From the perspective of fieldwork experience the event called *Hıdrellez* (*Hederlez*), enacted May 5th and 6th, was one of the most rewarding for being a totally "unprepared," uncontrolled, spontaneous, and rather improvised happening. Decision was taken at the last moment to introduce the group of foreign researchers to a small Romani community for being safer, rather than a larger one. Following this criterium, the team of researchers (7 foreigners and 4 local ones) arrived at the Ikiçeşmelik *mahalle* (quarter) around 20 o'clock. A group of about 50-60 people mainly youngsters, but also old, mature, and children dressed in their Sunday best, were gathered on a little square at the crossroad. Small, rather poor houses, 3-4 white painted metal tables and chairs placed at the street corner, the Turkish flag attached to the power wires made up the decorum of the ritual event. Being served to eat at a table, a man (perhaps the chief of the *mahalle*) attentively was "supervising" the whole crowd while smoking *nargile* [water pipe]. When we arrived, a small group of men were dancing individually in a large circle around a bonfire. The music was provided by a CD player with very poor sound quality. However, the popular melodies, most of them in 9/8 were loud enough to enhance people to improvise their Gypsy style dancing (*çingene*) in solo, couple or chain formations, often performed simultaneously.

Figure 1. *Hıdrellez* - dancing around the bonfire in Ikiçeşmelik
(Photo: Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin, May 2005)

The active participants were of all ages: babies carried in the dance on the shoulders of their fathers, an 8-year-old girl dancing with very expressive Gypsy style gestures, young men, young women and even older ones. The dancing had a participatory character, which became even more obvious when - by contrast - a professional couple performed in front of the audience.

The participation in the dance of the foreign researchers was accepted as a normal fact. Conversely, the dancing of the Turkish researchers attracted the attention and appreciation of the audience. The sudden apparition of two young men dressed as bride and groom (having in fact traditional character) brought about surprise and hilarity.

Figure 2. *Hıdrellez* - young man dressed as bride, in Ikiçeşmelik
(Photo: Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin, May 2005)

In very general traits the *Hıdrellez* event, as enacted at the Ikiçeşmelik *mahalle*, was reproducing the traditional model. Thus, around 21:00, when the flames of the bonfire quiet down, people gathered around and started to jump back and forth three times over the fire, children first. The verbally expressed purposes of this so called "*fire ritual*" were: health, good omen, purification, keeping tradition, and not the least fun. At 22:30 we left Ikiçeşmelik to go to Kordon, a very large square close to the seaside in the centre of Izmir. Hundreds of Romani people were gathered on the place, each *mahalle* grouped around its own *zurna* and *davul* players, dancing, watching the dance, meeting acquaintances and chatting. Dancing is the main purpose of this second sequence of *Hıdrellez*, which lasts until late night.

Moving from a group to another, I could experience the general atmosphere of excitement, joy and pleasure for dancing without any constraints. A woman was showing off with provocative rapid hips thrust and belly bouncing; a handicapped young boy danced in front of the musicians; two young men performed a sensual duet as man and "woman", with codified gestures and expressive attitudes. Scattered over the whole square women, men, youngsters, and children were dancing individually, for their own pleasure.

The researchers left the Kordon square at midnight.

Figure 3. Dancing on Kordon square, İzmir
(Photo: Anca Giurchescu, May 2005)

HIDRELLEZ poster presentation II

I chose the Poster format for presenting some general information on the *Hıdırelez* ritual in order to facilitate the comparison of this ritual carried out by Anatolian Roma, with similar ones practiced in different cultural, geographical, and historical contexts. This rather schematic "meta-text" is only one of the possible representations of *Hıdrellez* the way we experienced it in the field. It is constructed from subjective observations and interpretation of the reality, from "in situ" information (with help of interpreters), from discussions with local specialists and from the analysis of visual and sound recordings. These rather scarce data were complemented and crosschecked with further readings at home.

> The presentation of the Poster will be introduced by the projection of a roughly edited 6 minutes video recording of *Hıdrellez.* As we will see the event had two well delimited parts: 1. Dancing around and jumping over the bonfire (at Ikiçeşmelik), and 2. Meeting of several *mahalle* of Izmir on the Kordon square with dancing being the main purpose. [Video recording]

Explicit and implicit parameters of the ritual *Hıdrellez*:

Explicit parameters

Name: *Hıdrellez*, a fusion *Hızır* and *Ilyas*, the names of two prophets. Other names according to location: *Herdeljez, Ederlazi, Erdelezi, Sultan Nevroz* and *Sfântu Gheorghe, urđevdan, Georgjuovdan* (Orthodox religion).

Origin: *Historical:* Known in ancient times as ritual celebrating the arrival of spring or summer in Mesopotamia, Iran, Syria, and Egypt. Later it came to Anatolia, Greece, and Mediterranean countries.
Mythical: The prophets (Gods) *Hızır* (*Chidir, Chadhir, Khizer*) and his brother *Ilyas* became immortal by drinking the "water of life". They meet once a year – between May 5 and 6 on the bank of a river where people displayed small figurines representing their wishes which should come true.
Hızır is the representation of "earth" and the symbol for good omens. It is supposed to help poor people, fulfill wishes, and to bring wealth and fertility. *Ilyas* as representation of "water" is supposed to protect rivers, heal sick persons, and bring fecundity for animals and humans.
Oral legend: "After the Gypsies were expelled from the society, their Goddess/God was imprisoned in a river at the seventh level of deepness. She/he was allowed to come at the surface only the night before May 6, re-descending again before sunrise at the seventh level. She/he is supposed to bring luck, fulfill wishes, to heal and to have fecundation powers" [spoken by Ûkler Uncu, member of the Folklore Club of Boğaziçi University, Istanbul].

Ritual time: May 6 by Gregorian calendar (40 days after the spring equinox) and April 23 by the Julian calender. The invocation actions are completed by night (between May 5 and 6) before sunrise.
May 6 the summer starts and lasts until November 8. These 186 days are called *Hızır-days.*

Space: *Geographical space:* Turkey (especially Anatolia), Iran, Greece, southern Serbia, Kosova, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Albania, Romania.
Local cultural space: Mahalle (Ikiçeşmelik), at crossroads and on Kordon, where all the *mahalle* meet, at the rivers, and in the woods/grasslands/graveyards (for common picnic).

Participants: *Ethnicity:* Gypsy, Turkish, Kurdish.
Religion: Muslims/Alevis, Christians (Eastern Orthodox).
Gender: mixed; women being more active than men.
Age: all ages (especially youngsters and children).
Social hierarchy: the leader of *mahalle* supervises the event.

Symbolism: Rebirth of nature, beginning of summer, communication with the dead.

Functions: Prophylactic protection, healing, fertilization and fecundation of nature, animals, humans, fortune telling, good omen, bringing luck and wealth.

Interdictions: Not to sleep at night.

Symbolic components; ritual instruments/actions:

Fire: For purification, health, good luck, jumping, or leaping over the bonfire three times.
Water: For cleaning, fulfilling wishes, healing, and fecundity. Actions: placing amulets and written wishes on the river bank; bathing in the river, intercourse in the water of barren women to get pregnant. [Similar qualities are attributed to the dew at sunrise May 6.]
Dancing is an important ritual instrument: enhances emotional participation and provides entertainment. (*Romani havası/Gypsy Halal.*)
Music making: Accompanies dancing and creates celebratory atmosphere. Each *mahalle* has its own *davul* and *zurna* players. (They may be substituted by recorded electronic music).
Ritual actions: Washing and drinking dew before sunrise; rolling on grass, bathing in the river, jumping over bonfire, eating together (enforcing family/clan unity).
Costumes/masks: Young men dressed as women.
Objects: Symbols such as figurines/amulets (animals, houses, cars, TV sets, and so on, made of clay) are iconic representations of wishes.

Implicit parameters:

The implicit parameters may be explored with help of dialogical discussions with the active participants and the onlookers. For understandable reasons I could not complete this crucial aspect of the field research. I will list however, some pertinent parameters:

- The participant's representation of the event (expectations, feelings, emotions).
- The experience of previous events, which contributed to build up the actor's competence.
- The participants' mutual acquaintance enhancing the sense of commonality, togetherness, and establishing interrelations within the group.
- Mentality that structures the individual's attitude concerning beliefs, life style, tradition versus innovation, and so on.

Process parameters:

Vitality: At its formal level *Hıdrellez* is still vital. Beliefs and some ritual practices are however progressively discarded.
Transformation: In accordance with people's changes of world view, interests, social relations, and so on, the ritual has the capacity to incorporate new elements, acquiring new meanings. Due to its flexible structure *Hıdrellez* seems to resist through time (For example, in Izmir and Istanbul it is organized for tourist and commercial purposes, still keeping at large the traditional model).

Figure 4. *Hıdrellez,* jumping over the bonfire in Ikiçeşmelik
(Photo: Anca Giurchescu, May 2005)

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON TAHTACI RITUAL MOVEMENTS IN AKÇEŞME VILLAGE, MAY 2005

FAHRIYE DINÇER
Turkey

We visited Akçeşme village on the 6th of May and were welcomed by the inhabitants of the village very warmly. They told us that the population of the village was around 450 people and there were about 120 households in the village. They added that around 600–700 villagers were living in other places. According to their narratives, many villagers started to move to urban areas in the second half of the 1940s. This narrative is in accordance with other data that signify the same period as the one when the migration processes in Turkey have started due to economic reasons. We were also informed that the villagers own their houses and earn their living by growing and selling agricultural products, especially those of strawberry, beans, and eggplant.

Our decision of visiting Akçeşme village depended on two reasons: First, the religious belonging of the inhabitants: they were known as the Alevi. Second, we were informed that the villagers celebrate *Hıdrellez*[1] by visiting their religious places like *tekke* (dervish lodge) and having a meal in its garden, one day after the Romani population. So, the 6th of May would coincide with that special event. However, we were not able to accompany them during their visit to the *tekke*. Instead, they presented us the special food prepared for *Hıdrellez*.

The villagers with whom we talked called themselves as Alevi, and Akçeşme village as an Alevi village. The *Alevilik* is a non-orthodox belief system and its believers constitute about 15-20% of the whole population in Turkey. The Alevi population is ethnically diverse and includes various local lineages. The Turkish Alevi groups constitute about 75%, the Kurdish Alevis about 25%, while the Arab Alevis (known also as Nusayries) seem to be some less than 1% of the Alevi population in Turkey. It must also be indicated the acknowledgement of Alevi identity had always been a great problem since the late Ottoman era. Nevertheless, since the late 1980s, many people started to express their Alevi identity in accordance with an Alevi movement that had resonance in social and political realms.[2]

The villagers in Akçeşme called themselves as Alevi and explained their religious lineage specifically as Tahtacı. The Tahtacı is one of the well-known Turkish Alevi groups, concentrated largely on the western, southwestern and the southern parts of Anatolia. Many fieldworks on the Tahtacı tribes have been conducted since the late decade of the Ottoman era. The data on the Tahtacı communities are more detailed and numerous than many of the other Alevi groups, especially from those of the non-Turkish ones.

In the Akçeşme village we had the opportunity to observe a current practice in terms of the Tahtacı ritual movement. We were told that the ritual (*ayin-i cem* or *cem*), which was not taking place since the late 1950s, have been revitalized in the last few decades. Accompanied by *bağlama* (a long-necked, plucked folk lute), the *semah* movements were performed in the open air.

Figure 1. *Dede* playing *bağlama* in Akçeşme
(Photo: Anca Giurchescu, May 2005)

It needs to be noted that we did not observe the ritual as a whole, but only the movement part, which is presented to us – who were foreign researchers – in the public sphere of a Tahtacı village. We stayed in the village for about ten hours, watching several performances and conducting some short interviews. The observations that I am going to express are based on this event; more than delivering conclusions, they may help us to formulate either some questions or several clues that require further investigation and deeper analysis.

Observation-1: The separation of the ritual movement from the ritual and its presentation in the public sphere:

This first observation was not quite surprising in relation to recent developments that were concerned with the declaration of the Alevi identity in the public sphere, in which the *semah* – ritual movement of the Alevis – had a specific recognition. It was through the middle of the 1980s that the *semah* has been introduced to the public sphere as one of the novel items of the Alevi rituals in order to justify the presence and the rights of the Alevis in Turkey. At the beginning, the older generations usually did neither promote the attempt nor present a challenge. The main concern was about the context of the movement: the *semah* was just one of the services in an Alevi ritual, which necessitated the fulfillment of all of the Twelve Services (Oniki Hizmet) in order to be conducted. While the new developments brought about discussions of *Alevilik* in terms of traditionality and modernity, the *semah* turned to be a kind of symbol in a modern context to indicate and support the Alevi identity. In time, some members of the older generations kept up with it.

Although, this observation was not genuinely a surprising one, it was remarkable to observe it in the context of a small village. Some researchers tend to express the appearance of *semah* in the public sphere in relation to the challenging conditions of modern metropoles. In that context, the experience that takes place in this village seems to be puzzling. It must be added that some of the villagers that we had the opportunity to interview seemed to support this trend for it puts an end to the concealment of their religious identity and the *semah* justifies the "humanistic" and/or "modern" character of their belief system. Those arguments shared so much with what is asserted in the big cities and published in the texts.

Therefore, this first observation requires further investigation to deeply analyze the revitalized forms of the *semah* in rural context *vis a vis* urban contexts. Perhaps it should begin with questioning the relationship between the traditional and small rural areas, in order to challenge the direct and unquestioned linkages, and to reconstitute rather viable ones.

Observation-2: The similarities between the *semah* movements, traditional dance movements and popular dance movements.

Following a short recess that was given after the presentation of the *semahs*, some villagers, mostly females restarted to sing and dance. From time to time they played instruments like *bağlama* and *tef* (tambourine). Their movements accompanied the popular songs of the time. They were performing neither *semahs*, nor traditional dances, but the movements and the dance forms they used resembled both of them. Quite rarely, they seemed to improvise some movements that they observed from the video-clips that appear frequently on the television screens. Should it be surprising? Throughout their lives, the villagers' bodies were used to perform *semah* and other traditional dance movements and now their improvisations seemed to contain the mark of what their bodies' have already accumulated. It was possible to determine that as the age of a person decreased, her/his movement repertoire shared less with *semah* and traditional dance movements.

At this point, first, it is necessary to mention one subject, which has not been investigated thoroughly by researchers who deal with the *semah*: the similarities between the *semah* movements of a local group with its traditional dance movements (in terms of form and measure). In terms of my research, I observed similarities between the two in several different cases, and Akçeşme is another one that confirms the argument. At this point, it seems important to suggest further research on this topic – but the research, which will include the popular dance movements as well. This is not to suggest a distinction between the traditional dances and the popular ones, but to underline the necessity of historicizing their construction (and reconstruction) processes in order to investigate each and every level of relationships on concrete bases.

Observation-3 is related to the question of ethnic identity within the large Alevi community.

This observation is derived from the narratives of two young girls, not from the performances. They told me that they moved to Akçeşme ten years ago from a region called Dersim, which is largely populated by Kurdish speaking Alevi people. The girls were not living in the central part of the village, but near the railroad at the border of the village. They said that there are only two houses at that part. About how they feel within that village, they told me that they consider themselves neither as foreigners nor as insiders. According to their narrative – as well as according to those of some other local people – being Alevi was an important component of their identity, which grasps all the Alevis together. For example, other villagers informed them about our visit so they would be able to come and meet us. They did not have to get invitations to come to the village, but the invitations made them feel more comfortable. Unlike most of the local people in Akçeşme they were not doing agricultural work, but the male members of the family were construction workers. Again unlike most of the others, they did not own the buildings in which they were living.

The majority of the population in Turkey is Sunni and diverse groups or many people within this large segment do not perform cohesion just on the basis of their religious identity. Yet, since Alevi belief system lies at the margins – when not outside – of the legitimate religious system, it has a greater potential to create a kind of solidarity among diverse Alevi people/groups. What we have witnessed seems to be one of those examples, but it still requires more careful investigation. Because, first of all, the narrative itself brings about several differences between the local Tahtacı group of the village and new immigrants in the context of sense of belonging: expecting invitation, not feeling as an

insider, different economic positions, and so on. On another level, in the history of Turkey, the Turkish Alevis have been considered more acceptable than the others on the basis of their ethnic identities. Therefore, the quality of the coherence among diverse Alevi people needs to be identified. Do we observe a kind of tolerance – which signals various forms and levels of hierarchy – or, do we observe a just equality? So, again I conclude with some questions with the hope of providing some bits of clues or axes for further research.

Figure 2. Alevi *Semah* dance in Akçeşme
(Photo: Emir Cenk Aydın, May 2005)

Figure 3. *Tef* player in Akçeşme
(Photo: Anca Giurchescu, May 2005)

Endnotes

1. *Hıdrellez* means the Coming of Spring (Ederlezi).
2. For further information about the Alevi population and revitalization of the *semah* in Turkey, see Fahriye Dinçer 2000.

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FROM FIELD TO TEXT - DVD PRESENTATION

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United States/Turkey

The following paper is a report and written synopsis of the audiovisual (15-minute DVD) presentation given by Jaynie Rabb Aydın at the International Council for Traditional Music Study Group on Ethnochoreology's 24th Symposium in Cluj, Romania. The topic of the visual ethnographic presentation grew from the original research that took place in Izmir, Turkey in May of 2005, when the ICTM Sub-study Group on Ethnochoreology,[1] conducted a team survey and field investigation of the some of the regional folk dances originating in the Aegean region (*Ege Bolgesi*) of Turkey.

Although the ICTM Sub-study Group on Ethnochoreology documented different types of dances during the course of the one-week field trip, this particular video presentation focused solely on the Zeybek dance, a Turkish folk dance that is performed at social celebrations and community rituals throughout the western part of Anatolia. The Zeybek dance is also choreographed for the stage by national folk dance ensembles as well as other professional and amateur folk dance groups. The *Ege Universitesi Devlet Türk Musikisi Konservatuvarı Türk Halk Oyunları Bölümü* (Ege University State Music Conservatory Turkish Folk Dance Department) is particularly well known for staging Turkish folk dances throughout Turkey and at international competitions and festivals. Both formally and informally staged Zeybek dances were observed and documented during the course of the study group's research works.

Figure 1. Researchers filming a Zeybek dance in Bodrum
(Photo: Anca Giurchescu, May 2006)

Six scenes of Zeybek dances are included in the presentation. Each scene depicts one of the various ways in which Zeybek dance performances were arranged for the ICTM Sub-study Group on Ethnochoreology's observation. The Zeybek dance performers featured in the video presentation were either the Ege University folk dance ensemble students or community dancers who were filmed off of the University campus in various field locations in the provinces of İzmir, Aydın, or Muğla. The scenes were edited out of temporal context in the attempt to clearly illustrate the process of how the *Ege Universitesi Devlet Türk Musikisi Konservatuvarı Türk Halk Oyunları Bölümü* faculty and students participate in transforming dance from the field to the stage. This idea also represents one of the main themes of the ICTM Sub-study Group on Ethnochoreology's joint field research trip.

None of the scenes in this particular video presentation depict dances performed at a social event organized exclusively for community members because most of the dances filmed in the field locations were arranged for the specific purposes of documentation by the ICTM research team. Whether or not these circumstances formed the basis for an "authentic" or "organic" field experience became the subject of discussion among some of the ICTM researching participants. Some team researchers objected to the necessary manipulations done by host organizers so that they could facilitate specific dance events and performances within a time frame that would suit the research itinerary.

Regardless of professional and personal opinion, each member of the research team was provided ample opportunity to record and document dance in a variety of field situations despite the level of planning, treatment, or staging involved.

The fifteen-minute "From Field to Text" audio-visual begins with the founder and then head of department Dr. Cengiz Aydın informing the international team of dance researchers about the mission, history, and research philosophy of the *Ege Universitesi Devlet Türk Musikisi Konservatuvarı Türk Halk Oyunları Bölümü*. Dr. Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin translates the welcome and introduction from Turkish into English. Dr. Cengiz Aydın primarily discusses the importance of carrying out field research in the preliminary stages of choreographing Turkish folk dance for the stage. In essence he discusses the notion that, when on stage, the university-trained dancers are representing the lived folk customs embodied in the contemporary Turkish regions and acknowledges the wide variety of dances that exist with the Turkish Republic's borders. Dr. Cengiz Aydın posits that while the staged dances are indeed refashioned for a consumer audience, long hours of fieldwork and methodic observation of dances performed by the non-professional folk dancers in the social, ritual, and celebratory context provides valuable knowledge for the professional dancers and choreographers who are later responsible for representing these performances to a formal consumer audience. Tea is served to the research team as he also explains the curriculum, research techniques and strategies that are employed by the teachers and students at the *Ege Universitesi Devlet Türk Musikisi Konservatuvarı Türk Halk Oyunları Bölümü.*

A middle-aged male Zeybek dancer performing in the village of Çomakdağ in Muğla, Turkey is the focus of the scene that follows Dr. Cengiz Aydın's introduction. Çomakdağ is well known throughout the Ege region for preserving regional customary wedding traditions and the village affairs committee has chosen specific community members to form a dance group that performs when guests and visitors come to the village for traditional weddings (either to have a wedding or to attend one). *Davul* and *zurna* musicians accompany the dancer's solo, which begins with a one-minute strut around an unpaved picnic area that served as the stage for the first in a series of dance performances presented throughout the day around the village. The featured Zeybek dancer in this scene, like the other male members of the community ensemble, wears the customary Zeybek costume that includes *potur* (knee-high pants), *sal kuşak* (a thick woven belt), *yelek* (vest), knee-high black leather boots, and a felt and cloth cap that is adorned with fresh springtime flowers. The audience is comprised of village onlookers, other members of the Çomakdağ community Zeybek performance group, and the ICTM Sub-study Group on Ethnochoreology's researchers. Because multiple researchers were filming this Zeybek performance, their images and cameras were not edited out of the dancing space and were included as a part of the video presentation. For example, during this particular dance scene researcher Abdurrahim Karademir from the Ege University Folk Dance department runs across the dancing space with his tripod and his professional Panasonic video camera. He is then seen setting up his tripod and camera as the dancers perform the beginning portion of his dance.

Abdurrahim Karademir is invited to dance Zeybek by one of the Çomakdağ villagers in the next scene of the presentation. He performs the dance as an unplanned act, not knowing that the villagers would call on him to participate in the dance display, and he improvises a solo Zeybek dance while wearing his ordinary daily clothing.

Figure 2. Zeybek improvisation, in Çomakdağ, Muğla

(Photo: Emir Cenk Aydın, May 2005)

A local villager shows his respect and admiration of Karademir's dance by walking into the performance space and circling a Turkish Lira monetary note around his head and then tipping him with this money, which will later be given to the musicians for their services. This scene was included to illustrate the fact that the community members

regard Karademir, one of the main organizers of the field trip, with high respect and view him as an insider. The locals in Çomakdağ praise his ability to perform the regional Zeybek Dance and later express to some of the researchers off camera that they are aware of his contributions to the field of folklore research in Turkey, as he has been working in their villages and surrounding areas for decades. Partially for these reasons, Karademir had the special ability to arrange folk performance in a manner that would suit the ICTM Sub-study Group on Ethnochoreology's time frame and schedule. To put it another way, he was able to persuade the local villagers to stage a dance event and perform dance traditions that would not ordinarily be open for outsiders to view and film within specific time constraints. Karademir had come under scrutiny by some of the field research trip participants because of his perceived interference with local dancers as he often asked them to be mindful of the camera so that the researchers could capture their dances in the best light and circumstance for documentation. However, as a trained visual ethnographer Karademir did not himself behave unnaturally and is acutely aware that his presence is often unavoidably connected to each dance event he films. This scene was included in the video presentation because it elicits that fact that the researcher, in this case Abdurrahim Karademir, is a dancer himself and he is both and insider and a subject in the overall field survey.

The next scene edited in the presentation depicts an elder male villager performing his version of Zeybek dance in the mountains surrounding the Turkish port town of Bodrum in the Muğla province. An unpaved pine and olive tree-lined garden area in front of an old village house is the stage for this dance performance. Live musicians were arranged for this particular dance demonstration and well-known regional violinist Rasim Eris joined the musical ensemble, which also included *darbuka* and *oud*. The musicians sit on an old stonewall that overlooks the outdoor dancing space. The Zeybek dancer depicted in this scene wears his daily dress that includes loose fitting trousers, a button-up long-sleeve shirt, and a knitted cap. Although this dancer's performance does not last long and does not appear as energetic as the previous dancer in Çomakdağ most likely due to his age, he performs the classic Zeybek steps in time with the local style of the Zeybek music from the Bodrum peninsula district.

The scene that follows depicts a Zeybek dance choreographed for the stage performed by male students from the *Ege Universitesi Devlet Türk Musikisi Konservatuvarı Türk Halk Oyunları Bölümü.* Unlike the previous dances seen in this presentation, this performance highlights a Zeybek men's group dance with more than one dancer taking center stage. The dance is performed in the Folk Dance Department's formal auditorium. The student dancers are dressed in the traditional Zeybek costume that is similar to the style of the first dancer from Çomakdağ featured in this presentation with *potur*, *yelek*, *sal kuşak*, and knee-high black leather boots. However the Ege folk dance students wear embroidered floral chains called *Oya Yazma* adorning their felt caps and they also wear *yatağan* (Ottoman knife) tucked into their belts. Live musicians sit upstage and accompany the student dancers. The musical ensemble features a bağlama player and a vocalist. Obviously, the students perform their stage choreography oriented towards the theater audience that in this instance was comprised solely of ICTM Sub-study Group on Ethnochoreology researchers. Yet the *Ege Universitesi Devlet Türk Musikisi Konservatuvarı Türk Halk Oyunları Bölümü* instructors, specifically Dr. M. Öcal Özbilgin briefed the audience before the performance commenced and discussed the choreographers concepts of how they intended to preserve the "authenticity" of the proscenium staged dance. For the purpose of time management this briefing was not included in the audiovisual presentation given at the meeting in Cluj, 2006.

The next scene takes place in the paved garden area of the *Ege Universitesi Devlet Türk Musikisi Konservatuvarı Türk Halk Oyunları Bölümü.* Male and female students are practicing a group Zeybek dance that they will perform on the stage as a part of the conservatory's end of the spring semester final examinations. The folk dance department students seen in this segment are a part of the conservatory's ensemble, EKIN, in which students get the chance to exhibit the dancing skills they learned during the four-year program of study. The students are clothed in their sports attire and sneakers and are softly singing the melody of the music that they will be accompanied by at the performance. They are shown dancing some of the characteristics Zeybek movements that were performed earlier by dancers in this presentation.

The final scene in this presentation shows almost the entire EKIN Turkish Folk Dance ensemble performing a group Zeybek dance on the Ege University Culture Center stage. The girls are wearing *salvar, Üçetek* (a three-skirted cloak) and elaborate headgear draped with scarves that were made specially for this end of the school season performance by the *Türk Halk Oyunları Bölümü* atelier. The male performers are wearing the characteristic male Zeybek costumes, also made for them by the conservatory atelier. Clearly, the staged version of the Zeybek dance differs from the performances observed in the field in terms of staging approaches, orchestral accompaniment, and numbers of performers. However many similarities are apparent especially in terms of movements, rhythms, and timing. This scene is meant to represent the full transformation from field to stage and give the viewers of this audiovisual presentation a better grasp and understanding of the fieldwork and consequent choreographic concepts and research philosophies put into practice by the *Ege Universitesi Devlet Türk Musikisi Konservatuvarı Türk Halk Oyunları Bölümü.*

Figure 3. *Zeybek* performed on stage –Turkish Folk Dance and Music Conservatory, Ege University
(Photo: Helene Eriksen Reisimler, May 2005)

Many issues and discussions arose related to the representation of different realities experienced in the fieldwork experiment carried out in Izmir, Aydın, and Muğla. Among them was the matter of how the management of the folk performers in the field influenced the final dance product and how the presence of so many cameras affected the dancers performances in the field. While the answers to these questions were not specifically addressed in this video presentation summary, the glimpse into the behaviors and processes of transforming dance from field to stage was given in audiovisual format.

Endnote

1. The 2005 ICTM Sub-study Group on Ethnochoreology was sponsored by the Ege University State Turkish Music Conservatory and was attended by numerous international dance researchers.

Figure 4. Zeybek improvisation in Bodrum
(Photo: Anca Giurchescu, May 2005)

THEME TWO

DANCE AND SPACE

LA DANÇA OR *OS PAULITEIROS* – DIFFERENT SPACES OF A PORTUGUESE STICK DANCE

BARBARA ALGE
Germany

In Portugal today, different *danças*[1] including sword, stick and *mourisca* dances can be found. Among them, the stick dance *Pauliteiros de Miranda* is the most popular (Alge 2004).[2] The stick dance known in Portugal as "*dança dos Pauliteiros*" and in the region of Miranda as "*la dança*",[3] supposedly originated in the region of Trás-os-Montes, primarily in the Mirandese High-Plateau (*planalto mirandês*), including the *concelhos* (municipalities) of Miranda, Mogadouro and Vimioso.

There, several groups of Pauliteiros from the city of Miranda do Douro and neighbouring villages in the regions of Miranda, Mogadouro, and Vimioso exist. Since 1981, groups of female Pauliteiras have also formed.

The stick dancers wear a particular costume composed of white embroidered skirts, ornamented hats, vests, woollen socks or, exclusively in religious context, black trousers, vests and hats. The women's costume differs slightly, primarily in the length of the skirts. The Pauliteiros dance is accompanied by bagpipe and drums or by the so-called *tamborileiro* playing pastor's flute and drum. The dancers contribute to the music by hitting with two sticks and playing castanets in certain parts of the dances.[4]

The repertoire of the Pauliteiros is composed by *lhaços* (name of the stick dance music and dance pieces) and *passacalhes* (processional music pieces). Choreographically, the *lhaços* can be divided in processional (danced while marching), ritual (danced around offerings) and others (for example, including dramatic figures). It is important to mention that the Pauliteiros are able to adapt the stick dance to any melody, which as will be shown later in the text, leads to innovation in repertoire.

Traditionally, Portuguese ritual dances were performed during religious festivities, but especially since Rodney Gallop's invitation of a Pauliteiros group to London in 1934, the City Council of Miranda do Douro promoted the stick dance for performances outside Miranda. The dance was further institutionalised by a local priest and ethnographer from Miranda named António Maria Mourinho. Today, an increasing popularity and innovation of dance space can be noted in the Pauliteiros.

In the following section, different contexts for the stick dance are shown in order to analyse the impact that different contexts and spaces have on costume and repertoire. The author attends to the differences between religious-functional and folkloristic performances, as well as street and stage performances. The observations are based on the author's field research in Paris and Portugal and personal communications with stick dancers between 2003 and 2007.

Spaces of the Pauliteiros stick dance

Local religious festivities

Since the Middle Ages, throughout Portugal, ritual dances have been incorporated into religious feasts and processions, primarily Corpus Christi. José Maria Neto [1907:40] described Pauliteiros' dancing in the vesper before the feast of Corpus Christi in one of his sonnets, and António Mourinho (1984) confirms Pauliteiros' participation in the Corpus Christi procession. Today, Pauliteiros no longer dance for Corpus Christi, but each village and town in the region of Miranda celebrates its local Saint and includes the participation of local stick dancers. In some cases, other villages invite Pauliteiros to participate in the religious festivity. The main festivities celebrated in Miranda are Saint Barbara and Our Lady of Rosary in summer, as well Saint John the Evangelist, Christmas and New Year in winter.

In religious festivities, the Pauliteiros appear at various moments and in different spaces and their function varies between the different groups. Some groups still perform a public general rehearsal the evening preceding the festive day in the centre of the locality or at the local association hall. All groups the author observed collect offerings for the feast (*peditório*) the morning of the Saint's day. The groups pass all houses and religious places and dance *lhaços* in front of the building for its occupants. Some groups still respect the ritual of dancing in front of the church at the beginning of the *peditório.* The group from the village Constantim even danced in the church during Holy Mass [Alge 2003: video].

In the processions, some groups carry the statues of the patron saint and other groups accompany the statue of the patron saint with castanets. The Pauliteiros from the village São Martinho de Angueira accompany the entry of the procession into the church playing castanets [Alge 2004: video]. After the procession, Pauliteiros perform various dances in front of the church, ideally their whole repertoire. It is the last and most important moment of the religious festivities for the stick dancers.

In the village Constantim the Pauliteiros accompany ritual figures called *Carocho* (devil) and *Velha* (old lady) on the day of Saint John the Evangelist (28 December). The figures participate in the *peditório* and appear when the dance is performed in front of the church.

Local secular festivities

As a local symbol, Pauliteiros are also invited to dance in secular festivities such as weddings, political ceremonies, private parties, inaugurations, and so on. The spaces in such feasts are the street, outdoor places, restaurants, associations, and the church.

National festivities

Since the end of the 19th century, Pauliteiros have performed on different occasions throughout Portugal at events that range from commemorations, to festivals, inaugurations, and political rallies. Today, they even perform in discotheques, hotels and congresses. In January 2005 the Pauliteiros de Malhadas were invited to dance in the "night of skirts" in the discotheque Lux in Lisbon, a discotheque known to be especially frequented by homosexuals.

National and international folklore festivals

Folklore festivals and *encontros* (encounters) organized around certain musical genres or kinds of instruments are one of the most frequent opportunities for music and dance groups to perform. Among the different Portuguese ritual dances, the Pauliteiros appear the most in folklore festivals as their repertoire appears more complex and "spectacular." In some cases,[5] folklore festivals even take place on the occasion of religious festivities – which blurs the boundary of sacred and secular context.

Recently, stick and sword dance festivals have emerged as well. On the 29th of June 2006 the author observed the "1º Encontro de dança de espadas e mouriscas" in Ribeira Brava, Madeira, where a folklore festival took place during the Feast of Saint Peter. The Pauliteiros de Malhadas were invited to dance after the Ribeira Brava sword dance in front of the church and to march in the procession behind the local sword dance ensemble. In this case, folklore and religious context mixed as the Pauliteiros are not part of the St. Peter tradition in Ribeira Brava. The 1st International Festival of Pauliteiros took place on the 7th of July 2007 in Miranda do Douro and was organized by the association Pauliteiros de Miranda do Douro - Mirandanças. The aim of this festival was to bring together stick dances from different countries. However, only Pauliteiros from Miranda and Spanish groups participated.

Additionally, Pauliteiros participate in international folklore festivals, such as the sword dance festival in the Royal Albert Hall in 1934 in London, the 1976 Folklife Festival in Washington, D.C. or, most recently, the 21st popular dance festival in Balingen (Germany) in April 2007.

***Feiras* (fairs)**

Apart from folklore festivals, the *feiras* (fairs) provide an opportunity for music and dance group performances. The author documented Pauliteiros dancing in local *feiras* in Miranda do Douro in August 2003 and in Valongo in May 2006.

Music and theatre spectacles

As early as 1959, the Pauliteiros dance was performed in the *Teatro Moderno Mirandês* in Lisbon in the context of a theatre piece entitled "As Saias" by Alfredo Cortêz. From 1996 on, the Pauliteiros from the village Malhadas have performed the stick dance during the concerts of popular Portuguese singer Né Ladeiras. The music group Galandum Galundaina, an ensemble whose members come from Miranda and play traditional Mirandese instruments, includes the dance of the Pauliteiros in their performances. As they are the best known group exporting "música Mirandesa," they have a big impact on the dissemination of the stick dance. (See <www.galandum.co.pt> [accessed 1 July 2006].)

Performances as local and national symbol

As the author has argued elsewhere (see Alge 2007), the Pauliteiros are changing from being a local symbol to becoming a national symbol, which means standing for "traditional Portuguese culture." Hundreds of Pauliteiros appeared as representatives of Portuguese culture during the European football championships in 2004. The Portuguese Communist Party's Festa do Avante in September 2005 and 2007 included Pauliteiros stick dance as well. The Pauliteiros from the city of Miranda do Douro presented themselves together with *gaiteiros* (bagpipe and drum ensemble) and Mirandese donkeys in Lisbon in January 2006 in the context of the event "Hardware+ Software=Burros" in order to promote Mirandese culture.

Television and internet

In Portugal, popular traditions are frequently covered by the media, especially in television shows and documentaries. For example, Pauliteiros groups were invited to appear in the show "Portugal no Coração." Today, videos of Pauliteiros dances can also be found on YouTube and some groups have created weblogs (for example: <http://agarramestespalos.blogspot.com> [accessed 1 July 2006]).

Impact of different spaces on the Pauliteiros stick dance

Religious context of *la dança*

The stick dancers from the village São Martinho de Angueira still use the trouser costume when dancing in their local religious feast, but use – like all other groups – skirts outside this context. All *dançadores* use different costume at different moments of the religious feast when dancing in their locality: in complete costume the dancers appear in the processions and when dancing in front of the church. In the *peditório,* however, the *dançadores* appear in day-to-day clothes only using vests and hats from the Pauliteiros costume.

In the processions, in front of religious places and in front of mourning houses, Pauliteiros take off their hats. The largest range of repertoire is shown in performances during religious feasts, because the local population can choose any *lhaços* for the *peditório.* Ritual *lhaços* are performed and *passacalhes* are played during the processions. Sometimes, ex-dancers join the dance in the *peditório* and in the village Constantim the ritual figures *Carocho* and *Velha* interfere with the dance.

Folkloristic context of the *"Pauliteiros"*

In secular festivities and folklore festivals, Pauliteiros always dance in their skirts costume. They often add a person in a *Capa de Honras* (brown wool coat), perhaps a person that carries the *alforges* (bags for the sticks), and sometimes girls in traditional Mirandese costume.

Folklore festivals have had a remarkable impact on the reduction of repertoire as the Pauliteiros can at most dance five to ten *lhaços* during a festival performance. A homogenisation of the repertoire can be observed in the different Pauliteiros groups as they all want to show the most popular *lhaços* with the most spectacular choreography. Besides, groups introduce new arrangements that turn the performance more spectacular. The Pauliteiros from Miranda do Douro, for example, dance the last part of the dance called "Bicha" in one row and present the dancers solo. Besides, they sing the *lhaço Canedo* in call and response.[6] The Pauliteiros from S. Martinho add an extra jump at the end of the dance when the two rows of dancers turn face to face to each other.

In national secular festivities, the Pauliteiros dance is mostly staged. As the space is limited, some *lhaços* like the *Salto ao Castelo,* where a human tower is built and one Pauliteiro jumps over it, cannot be danced. However, the Pauliteiros de Malhadas even performed the *Salto ao Castelo* in 2005 in a hotel in Estoril where they only had four square meters space. One of the dancers told the author that they had to dance more closely and therefore, this rendition was less beautiful (personal communication, July 2006, Madeira).

At *feiras*, performances take place outdoors in space mostly delimited by market stalls, and in certain places the street itself, but the dances can also be staged. In the street, Pauliteiros perform processional *lhaços* or walk to the music of *passacalhes.*

In September 2005, Galandum Galundaina performed at the Festa do Avante in Seixal (Lisbon) organised by the Portuguese Communist Party. The space for the dance of the Pauliteiors was influenced by microphones, cables and interfering camera men. The masses of people were situated on an open space in front of the stage, clapping hands and sometimes dancing to the music as well. Due to the big space and mass celebration, the Pauliteiros appeared heroic in their splendid white costume that became even more spectacular when they – striptease like – took off their vests. A new element in the dance was the audience participation and clapping hands in the *lhaço Salto ao Castelo.* The masses of people and the noise created an energy that let the Pauliteiros appear more forceful and their dancing more aggressive. This impression might have also been created because the Pauliteiros were situated higher than the audience.

Similarly, the Pauliteiros performances were enhanced by a stage that included torches and objects from popular Mirandese culture during Né Ladeira's concerts. When promoting Mirandese culture in Lisbon in January 2006, the Pauliteiros danced in the streets in the centre of Lisbon, as well as at the castle. The exotic appearance of Pauliteiros, *gaiteiros* and girls in Mirandese costumes mixed with traffic that had to stop when they passed. People, street musicians and, at a certain moment, even policemen on motorcycles followed the Pauliteiros – which completed their image as "stars."

Invention in the choreography was in this case, similar to folklore festivals, with the clapping of the hands in the *lhaço Salto ao Castelo*. When the author asked a dancer (around 20 years) how his dancing in Lisbon streets compared to other performance spaces, he answered "there is more contact with the spectators than dancing on stage."[7] The Pauliteiros of the village Malhadas appeared even more exotic when dancing on the island of Madeira with the ocean and the city of Funchal as background. Their hot felt costumes seemed out of place in the southern island ambience.

Once a Pauliteiros group was asked by television to execute the stick dance to the popular song "Vou a Miranda..." from Rui Macarenhas, because, as it was stated in the introduction, the stick dance can be adapted to any melody.

Conclusion

This article provides some insight into the impact of different dance contexts on costume, repertoire, and arrangement of the stick dance Pauliteiros.

Concerning the costume, it was shown how it differed between religious and folkloristic context. Further, in folkloristic contexts, reduction and innovation of repertoire was observed. Ritual *lhaços,* for example, are today not

presented outside religious contexts, whereas especially *lhaços* underlining the "masculine" and "warlike" image of the dance are preferred in non-religious context. In order to become more "spectacular," performers create new arrangements of the stick dance, as for example, the clapping of the hands in the *lhaço Salto ao Castelo* or the new arrangement of the dance part *Bicha,* that was explained earlier.

Today, the Pauliteiros activity is continuously increasing, whereas other ritual dances in Portugal rely on emigrants and local erudites for revival and revitalization. However, it must be taken into consideration that among the different Pauliteiros groups in the region of Miranda, groups receive varying levels of promotion and not all have opportunities to dance in all the spaces mentioned in this article. Some groups enjoyed more popularity than others due to local politics and availability of members. The Pauliteiros from São Martinho de Angueira, for example, are not promoted by the City Council of Miranda do Douro any more, but still dance in the local religious feast. Recently, new Pauliteiros groups were established in the context of the newly built music school in the city of Miranda do Douro.

Since 2004, especially the music school in Miranda do Douro (*Casa da Música*) and the City Council of Miranda do Douro contribute to an institutionalization of the Pauliteiros stick dance and to the promotion of certain groups for folkloristic contexts.

The author thinks that in the future, the function of *la dança* might be reduced in local religious feasts whereas folkloristic performances of the Pauliteiros might increase.

Endnotes

1. *"Dança"* is the expression used in Portugal and Spain for ritual dances to distinguish it from baile (popular dance). Other present Portuguese ritual dances are the sword dance *Baile dos Ferreiros* from Penafiel, the *Dança dos Homens* and *das Donzelas* from Lousa, *Dança do Rei David* from Braga, the *Dança dos Mourisqueiros* and *Bugios* from Sobrado, and the sword dance from Ribeira Brava (Madeira).
2. The author would like to express her thanks to Kate Brucher from the DePaul University in Chicago for the revision and comments on this text.
3. The population of the region of Miranda calls its stick dancers "dançadores" (and not Pauliteiros!) and the stick dance "la dança" or "dança de palotes." The author opts for "Pauliteiros" as it is the better known term in Portugal and internationally.
4. Not all Pauliteiros groups use castanets.
5. For example, *Festa da Santa Bárbara* in Palaçoulo on the 12th of September 2004.
6. Although the *lhaços* are based on a text, they are usually only sung during rehearsals by the rehearsal leader (*ensaiador*) in order to memorize the choreography.
7. It seems that this recently founded group does not dance for religious occasions and is more accustomed to dancing on stage.

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DANCE IN SPACE: *KOLO* AND ITS CULTURAL SPACE

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Kolo nowadays is the only folk dance among Serbian population in and outside Serbia that has been preserved in its original context, functioning as entertainment.

The stability of the dance pattern *kolo* in a period of over a century raises the question of whether the strength of this dance pattern was determined by the change of cultural space or by political power of the time, or by both? A transformation of a folk dance will be presented through an examination of the cultural-historical space of central Serbia, contacts with European culture, development of instrumental praxis and its importance for the development of *kolo*, as well as through an analytical procedure in the study of choreological structure and its dependence on the spatial context, depending on internal and external influences and based on historical records and personal fieldwork experience. This popular name denotes a specific dance pattern usually performed with instrumental accompaniment. In current dance practice in Serbia the basic meaning of *kolo* is used primarily as an expression for the dance pattern. Other meanings of the word *kolo* – arrangement in space, group of people participating in dance, dance event and expression of the ethnic group – are in the background nowadays.

Based on historical records, the dance pattern *kolo* was recorded from 19th century in certain localities within the rural area of central Serbia, formerly known as Old Serbia. In 1876 ethnologist Milan Đ. Miličević noted down titles *Kukunješ* and *Moravac*, which were dances that belong to the type of *kolo* dance pattern. As far as it is known those are the oldest records of this pattern in Serbian historical writings.

Figure 1. Milan Đ. Miličević, "Principality of Serbia," books 1 and 2, Belgrade, 1876.

Forming of such a dance pattern was determined by a specific cultural space, shaped over the past centuries by the native population and the settlers who came in three migratory streams. The migration of the population from rural to urban areas became crucial for the diffusion of *kolo.* In all occasions during the dance parties or balls in the cities the main rural dance was *kolo* with different names.

At this time significant process of cultural divisions between village and city started. The rural population still tended to keep archaic shapes of traditional culture while an intensive process of urbanization had started to reflect the influence of cultural models from Western and Central Europe. Owing to the simplicity of this dance pattern, in the recognizable combination with instrumental accompaniment of two-quarters rhythm (2/4), people easily embraced and adopted *kolo* in a traditional formation (open cycle) in its original non-ritual context, expressing their skill at dancing and creating a great number of variants based on different melodies.

The internal space that *kolo* forms is constant. Various step patterns of *kolo*, which existed during the first half of the 20th century, have been simplificated into one basic step pattern. *Kukunješ* written in the system of Labanotation shows one measure to the right and three in the spot, and symmetrically one measure to the left and three in the spot.

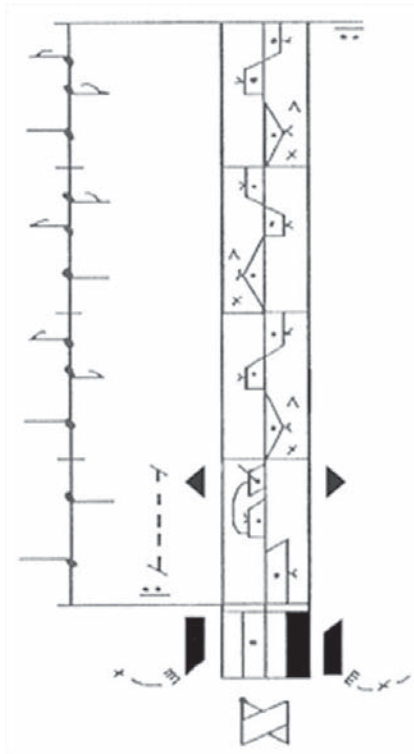

Figure 2. Dance *kukunješ* in one variant

With the revival of folk production in the mid-20th century *kolo*, in a great measure, transcended the boundaries of the local and became the only dance pattern unifying people from different regions. Beside the social and the economic unification, the idea of homogenous national identity was spread over.

Besides the social and economic development in the mid-20th century, what also received much attention was the then ideology of the unity of Serbian people, emphasizing one's own national identity. With the revival of folk production the dance *kolo* transcended the boundaries of the local and became a symbol of national identity. Moreover, *kolo* transcended the territory of Serbia. Broadening the space from rural and urban areas of Serbia, *kolo* became the only traditional dance among Serbian population in and outside Serbia that has been preserved in its original context.

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DANCING IN THE DEITIES' SPACE: QUESTIONS OF SACREDNESS IN BRITISH HINDU DANCE PRACTICE

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Exploring concepts of space, its production and its dynamics in relation to the body and its social relationships has drawn academics from a wide range of disciplines such as social anthropology, geography, religion, performance studies and dance. The centrality of the body in space in social, cultural, political, economic and religious life impacts onto scholarly understanding across these areas, creating questions of the representation of space, the use of space, the individual's experience of space and the types of discourse at play within it. Henri Lefebvre reminds us that 'it is by means of the body that space is perceived, lived – and produced' [Lefebvre 1991:162]. For many communities, sacred and secular space are significant notions, and ones that are often bounded by dance and movement practices, as well as the interplay and exchange between public and private space and it is this area I shall examine in this paper. Ethnographic research work carried out in British Hindu communities provides the material for this discussion.

The sacrality of space

Ideas of sacred spaces geographically and architecturally such as seen, for example, in the North American Indian tradition and in Aboriginal life in north Australia, are found too in ancient Indian thought. The strict rules codifying the building of Hindu temples set out in the *Shilpaprakasha*[1] are dominated by a complex cosmic symbolism that conceives of the temple as a cosmos in miniature, a place which functions as a link between the gods and man. An image of cosmic man is thought to be held within the sacred geometric ground plan (*Vastupurushamandala*) and the buildings of the temple: the base of the temple being described anthropomorphically as the feet (*pada*), the walls as the body and limbs (*griva*) and the roof as the head (*sikara*). The inner sanctum, or womb house (*garbha griha*) is where the central image resides, usually only accessible to qualified priests, and certainly not to non-Hindus. The dome of this inner sanctum represents a mountain peak, a symbol of sacred purity and the abode of the gods, reached only through arduous pilgrimage. It indicates the transcending from the mundane to the divine. Sometimes the levels in the dome or tower are likened to the points of the *chakra* [six to nine nerve centres in the subtle body considered to be the channels for spiritual energy] in the human body. These *chakras* also need to be transcended; it is propounded, in the journey to *moksha* [Hindu concept of liberation from cycles of life and death], or liberation. Stephen Huyler writes:

> The temple compound is thus a microcosm, a conscious replica of the conceptual universe. It functions not only as a seat of the Gods but also as a metaphysical means of transcending the exterior worlds and entering the center, visualized as the matrix of creation. Consequently, the entire temple plan is intended to assist the progression of the devotee from mundane existence to divine realization [Huyler 1999:132].

This concept of temple space as the living home of god is invoked still in contemporary discourse. Joanne Waghorne writes of a renowned Indian architect, V. Ganapathi Sthapati, who has designed numerous new temples in India and the diaspora and who states 'that the entire temple is the body of God' [Waghorne 2004:180].

Dance and religious space

Emphasis is given to the relationship of man, the temple and dance in legendary Indian dancer Balasaraswati's heavily marked religious discourse where she describes a performance of the classical dance form of Bharatanatyam.[2] The performance is seen as being analogous to a devotee entering the temple for worship, and Balasaraswati likens the actual Bharatanatyam recital to the structure of the temple, each item of the performance being akin to a further step on the journey inwards both physically and metaphorically (see Balasaraswati 1985). As the dancer dances, it is as if she proceeds towards a meeting of the deity in the temple's sacred space. At the end of a performance comes the final, jubilant dance piece called *tillana,* expressing by analogy the climax of *darshan*[3] in the temple, with the burning of the camphor lights and the roar and bustle of the devotees. The culmination of the dance performance is seen to be synonymous with this most important and sacred aspect of temple worship – *darshan* – the moment of beholding the deity by sight and through that seeing, receiving the blessings of the divine. *Darshan*, it is believed, dissolves all sense of difference. This discourse does not simply remain a historical one – at a recent (2006) *arangetram* performance in London, the dance items were introduced in the same religious manner.

Balasaraswati was herself a *devadasi*, a temple dancer, who, as a ritual specialist, would perform in the temple's sacred space and at secular occasions. The abandoning of this practice, by law in 1947, and the dance's subsequent history has been well documented by other scholars (Srinivasan 1985, 1988, Gaston 1996, Meduri 1996), yet if we examine today's Hindu temple ritual, for instance in the United Kingdom, there is evidence of a new religiosity and scurrility in temple practice that now includes dance performance. Different strands of the *devadasi* temple dance are now being replicated in the contemporary Hindu diaspora in a creative, transplanted and unconscious manner (see David 2005).

This raises pertinent questions relating to the dancer, the devotees and the deities in relation to sacred space. For whom is the dance performed? For the deities? Or for the devotees, or for both? If so, is it acceptable for the dancer to have his or her back to the deities?[4] Several dancers have spoken to me of the power of the moment of contact with the deities, of facing them and offering the dance to them when performing in the temple's sacred space. At recent British Bharatanatyam performances for *Navratri* (a nine-night Autumn festival celebrating the feminine power of the divine) in the Mahalakshmi Temple in East Ham, east London, the dancers performed in the small ritual space directly in front of the main deity. They performed with their backs to the deity, but facing the devotees, a characteristic perhaps of staged auditorium performance.

One British Bharatanatyam dancer performed for two consecutive nights in London during celebrations for the festival of *Mahasivaratri* (the great night of Lord Siva). The first 'performance' (with no stage, or special lighting), took place *in* the temple, beside the main shrine to Siva, and the space there enabled her to dance both toward the shrine and the deity, and to the audience. These were her comments on that occasion:

> This was the first time I had danced in a temple on *Sivarati*. At the temple, I felt particularly privileged, as they had never allowed dance there before. And to dance by the shrine was also very significant. The fact of dancing in a temple was itself significant.

The next evening she danced on a stage in a secular venue, where ceremonies and *puja* for the same festival were being conducted. Although she had found the experience in the temple to be most profound, these were her comments on the second performance:

> The next day was quite different. I think it represents my feelings about the nature of sanctity. The stage has always been a sacred space for me, so dancing there was no less sacred than the temple. In terms of my experience, the second performance was more powerful. I really felt Siva around me and inside me...In both cases, I did not treat it as a performance, at all. It was not a performance for an audience. The dance was for Siva; it is Siva [Ramphal 2002: interview with Ann R. David].

It is worth noting here the point made by the dancer that in her mind and experience, the dance was not, in both cases, for the audience. However, it was obvious on the two occasions that the audience was visibly moved by watching her dance, and that the potency of the dancer's experience was conveyed to those of us watching. The dissolving of difference between the dancer, the devotees and the deity to some extent did take place, perhaps in this case, intensified by the heightened experience of the dancer.

Figure 1. Vena Ramphal performing a Siva dance in front of the Siva shrine during Mahasivarati celebrations at the Highgatehill Murugan Temple, London.
(Photo by Ann R. David, 2005.)

The director of London's Bhavan Centre (Institute of Indian Culture) where this second performance occurred, remarked to me that 'anywhere we worship is the temple; the stage is the temple, God is there' [David 2001: field notes], dismissing notions that only in the temple is there sacred space. The practice at *Navratri* by the British Hindu Gujarati community of hiring large local halls where a transportable shrine is set up, transforms the hall into a sacred space, a temporary temple, in which worship of the goddess *Devi* is undertaken. It is no less a religious occasion because it is not in a temple. In fact, decisions as to whether or not to hold dance performances *in* the temples or in the halls adjacent to the temples are often made for purely functional or practical reasons. At the Ealing Tamil Amman temple in London, if the hall is busy with wedding celebrations, then the temple will be used for cultural performance; if not, or if the temple is too crowded, the hall with its stage will be used. It is a flexible and fluid situation.

A vivid account of an Indian *mela* (gathering, festival) mounted at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington DC in 1985 described how a facsimile temple was constructed by the Smithsonian workers to illustrate the architectural form of a Hindu temple. But, the notion of a facsimile temple did not sit well with Mela participants.

> On the first day of the festival, the signs came down. In ensuing days, the potter made a clay *yoni* (divine womb) to match and serve as receptacle for the exhibited polished stone *lingam* (phallus). The priest painted symbols on the structure indicating a Shiva temple... By the end of the first week, daily *puja* was performed in the now-no-longer-facsimile temple. Gujarat dancers performed in its previously undefined courtyard, and *bhajans* were sung there [Kurin 1991:330].

The space was transformed by the Hindu participants into a sacred/ritual space, just as when dancers perform their invocatory bow before performing, making the stage then sacrosanct. This was noted in the report on a two-year research project entitled 'South Asian Dance in Britain', led by Andrée Grau:

> Looking at choreography one can see that observing the way dancers approach the dance space shows another kind of link with spirituality. In many genres space is consecrated by the dancer's invocation, for example, and this invocation transforms it so that it can be inhabited in a special way [Grau 2002:70].

When the temple deities are brought out into their urban London, and often white, middle-class surroundings from the temple for festival processions, such as the annual chariot festivals (*ter*), these streets too are transformed into sacred/ritual space. Within the temple itself, the sacred yet public space is animated by the movement of the deities, the priests and the worshippers, brought alive by the powerful sensory nature of Hindu worship – the smells of flowers and incense; the sounds of bells, chanting and instruments; the bright colours of clothes, decorations and burning lamps transforming the space into one where ritual and sacred communication may take place.

Yet how does the building of new temples by the British Hindu community conform to a sense of sacred space, when they mostly occupy crowded urban sites, hemmed in by other surrounding buildings and dominated by housing rather than the elements of nature? Waghorne suggests this may be the reason for the 'increasingly elaborate consecration rituals now, which sacralize both the temple and its land' [Waghorne 2004:235]. This may be a sense, as Pnina Werbner puts it, of 'sacralizing locality' [Werbner 1998:65]. The change in temple structure to accommodate the colder British climate (under floor heating, carpets and glass windows) and the changing patterns of British Hindu community worship (larger communal spaces) yet retaining the sacred geometry of the temple within the traditional architectural formula is a phenomenon still to be researched, and the question of sacred space still remains pertinent.

Embodying the divine

Within the Hindu temple, the male priest mediate the sacred space already discussed that exists in front of and around the deities, and contact with the deities is solely through their agency. Before entering the temple each morning for ritual activity, the priests undergo a process of transforming their bodies – physically, mentally and spiritually – by bathing, reciting mantras and using specific hand gestures. Mantras are imposed onto the hands, constructing a new, divine state. In this way, the priests are purified and their body is perceived then as sacred space. Different spaces in the body are specifically and spatially located, not only in their physical presence, but indicated too in a metaphysical mode. This is a complex layering and transition of an individual and physical body into what is conceived of as a pure receptacle and vehicle for divine powers.

Figure 2. Senior Hindu priest at Shree Ghanapathy Temple, Wimbledon, London.
(Photo by Ann R. David, 2005.)

The priests employ hand gestures with symbolic and cosmic significance not only in this bodily transformation but also additionally in temple ritual, and many of these gestures appear too in the dance system. Lefebvre writes how these 'gestural systems connect representations of space with representational spaces' [Lefebvre 1991:215], noting how the systems signify worlds codified by social and religious practice and how they create their own socio-cultural and religious space. Kim Knott, in her recent book that takes a spatial analysis to examine the location of religion, states that it is through the body and the hands in particular, that 'cultural acts of separation and signification can be achieved' [Knott 2005:223]. Body and territory are formative for the notion of the 'sacred', and sacralisation does produce distinctive, and contested spaces.

The new sacralisation of public and private space, both architecturally and in an embodied location, continues to be part of British Hindu religious practice, and evidence appears to suggest, on a growing scale. Dance too is playing an increasingly significant part in this changing use of sacred space and the growing religiosity of temple ritual, indicating I would suggest, a new trajectory of embodied performance of Hindu faith or religion.

Endnotes

1. This is a medieval manuscript, which sets out rules and regulations for temple building.
2. See also the project carried out at PRASADA (Practice, Research and Advancement in South Asian Design and Architecture), De Montfort University, Leicester, considering Indian classical dance and the Hindu temple. Some of the conclusions drawn from this innovative research stated that: 'Architecture and dance both have representational as well as abstract aspects. Indian classical dance can be a vehicle for narrative, its gestures codified for connotation of ideas or things or feelings... Hindu temple architecture, on one level, is perhaps the world's most representational architecture, not only for the stories and images that its walls display, but also for the representational origin of its formal vocabulary, based on an imagery of little buildings grouped together to make a heavenly palace. But the essence of each of the two art forms lies in underlying abstract patterns, expressed through bodily means...What we can say for certain is that sastric (relating to the Sastras, the body of ancient Hindu laws) dance and temple architecture show their closest parallel in these underlying patterns, which in both cases are dynamic, unfolding in time and space' [Hardy; Lopez y Royo 2002].
3. Sanskrit word for 'seeing'. As the camphor light is held up to the deity, the unblinking gaze falls upon the devotees. It is literally a 'seeing', and a 'being seen', and the contact is exchanged through the eyes. It is not just a passive receiving (see Eck 1998, and Fuller 1992).
4. If we look to examples in the Roman Catholic Church, the original performance of the Mass privileged the priest and his relationship with God, rather than the congregation. The priest recited the Mass in Latin, in a low murmur hardly heard by the attendees, and faced the altar with his back to the congregation. The priest was communing with God, rather than with the audience of worshippers, and remained in the reserved sanctuary space (the sacred space around the altar). This changed radically in 1963 with the Second Vatican Directive, which brought a new theology of the Mass, offering a democratisation of the procedures of worship. From then the priest faced his audience, spoke to them in English, and was allowed to move out of the sanctuary to give communion [McCarthy 2005: interview with Ann R. David].

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DANCING OUTSIDE THE BOX: HOW OTTAWA VALLEY STEP DANCERS CONCEIVE OF PERFORMANCE SPACE

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In this paper, I examine the use of space in Ottawa Valley step dancing. Ottawa Valley step dancing originated in the lumber camps of the Ottawa Valley, bordering both the provinces of Ontario and Quebec in Canada in the 19th and early 20th centuries. It is an amalgamation of Irish, Scottish, English, French-Canadian, and Aboriginal styles of solo percussive dance. The style has been further influenced in the 20th century by American tap dancing and Appalachian clogging. The most important context for contemporary Ottawa Valley step dancing is the competition circuit, a series of fiddle and step dancing contests that occur throughout the province of Ontario each weekend from May to September. Most competitions include both fiddling and step dancing, and many competitors compete in both art forms. I have been participating in this "circuit" of competitions with my family, as a fiddler, step dancer, teacher, and judge, for almost 30 years.

I first started to think critically about the concept of space in Ottawa Valley step dancing when an 8-year old student returned from the first contest of the season in 2001. I had been unable to attend, and she took it upon herself to fill me in on what I had missed. "Tommy was all over the stage," she told me excitedly. "Can we do that with my routine?" She was clearly most impressed by the routine of this young boy, just a year older than herself who, according to her description, had covered much more floor space than was typical of Ottawa Valley step dancing routines at the time. Since then it has become characteristic for Ottawa Valley step dancers to move around the stage, from side to side, front to back, turning to the sides and corners, and even making full 360 degree rotations. Almost constant movement around the stage is the rule, rather than the exception, to the extent that long-time step dancer, teacher, and judge, Judy Waymouth, told me, "Today, I would say that a performance that is danced in one spot would show me the dancer is not comfortable moving about on the stage, that he or she has less expertise" [Waymouth 2006].

But this is a huge departure from the aesthetic of using minimal space that predominated Ottawa Valley step dancing until the late 1990s. As a young dancer in the 1970s, I remember being told by my teacher that we should be able to dance on a one-foot square. In a twelve-step routine, usually just one step would move out of that square, allowing the dancer to travel laterally across the stage and back again. As children, we would exaggerate our distance across the stage beyond what was aesthetically pleasing, just to take advantage of that little bit of freedom. On stage, however, we were careful to dance on one spot and control our movement across the stage.

In part, we danced in this way because it was "tradition". The aesthetic of minimal space has its roots in the English, Irish, and Scottish step dancing styles that are the basis of step dancing in the Ottawa Valley. It is evident in Brendan Breathnagh's description of Irish step dancing from the beginning of the 20th century:

> The good dancer danced, as it were, underneath himself, trapping each note of the music on the floor, and the use of the half door and table for solo performances indicates the limited area in which he was expected to perform the elaborate and intricate steps [Breathnagh 1971:55].

On an even smaller space than a half door, Irish dancing masters, who would advertise for students by performing publicly, would demonstrate their expertise by dancing on a small platform or top of a barrel [Foley 1998:516]. It is said that a good dancer could dance on six square inches [Foley 1998:516]. Similarly, in England, pedestal dancing was a common way for dancers to show their superiority; the size of the plate and its height depended on the ability of the dancer [Flett & Flett 1979:20]. Purportedly, Lakeland step dancer, Robert Dolan performed on a brass plate one foot square, mounted on three and a half foot legs that were screwed to the floor. More typically, however, the dancing surface was 18 inches square and only one foot high. There is documentary evidence that this practice was brought to Canada by English and Scottish immigrants. In a 1957 interview, Cape Breton step dancer Hugh McKenzie describes how at the end of an evening of dancing, the two men who had performed the most steps had to "dance it out." A block of wood, 18" high and 12" in diameter, was placed in the center of the floor. The two men danced around it, and then jumped up and danced as many steps as possible on it; the one who danced the most complete sets on the platform won [Flett & Flett 1996:191].

Dance scholar, Catherine Foley, contrasts the confined space of the older *sean-nós* style of Irish step dancing with the increased travelling of the more recent competitive style; she attributes the increase in movement to younger

performers and larger spaces available in halls and on stages [Foley 1998:518]. There were two contrasting styles of step dancing in England as well. One, which was probably developed in pubs or on the street, had close, compact foot and leg movements and was performed in minimal space. The sound of the footwork was more important than the visual appeal. The other, probably originating on stage during the 18th century, had larger movements, with equal emphasis on aural and visual effects [Flett & Flett 1979].

Catherine Foley and Tom and Joan Flett suggest that staged performance was at least partly responsible for increased movement in Irish, Scottish, and English step dancing, Surprisingly, the same result did not occur in Ottawa Valley step dancing, despite the increasing importance of competitive, staged performances since the 1950s. This is even more surprising when one notes the popularity of group step dancing since the 1970s, in which three to five step dancers perform simultaneously, incorporating complex choreography.

Another reason for the lack of movement is purely technical. Because contests are held in large halls, usually arenas, the stage must be miked in order to hear the dancer's beats. In the 1970s and 1980s, it was common to have just one microphone in the centre at the front of the stage. As dancers began to incorporate more lateral movement, contests began using three microphones, but they are still located only along the front edge of the stage. This prevents dancers from traveling back very far, at least for any period of time.

In this video clip of René King, a prominent Open class dancer in 1985, note that he is performing in front of only one microphone. His slight side-to-side movements are always balanced, so that he moves away from the microphone, ever so slightly, in the first half of the step, but returns to it in the second half of the step. He is facing front and centre for the majority of the routine, turning slightly to the corners on just nine of the 22 steps. He moves laterally on eight of the 22 steps, leaving five steps where he stays in one spot, facing the front. Just a note about the Ottawa Valley contest routine, to prepare you for what you are about to see: Dancers perform 32 bars of a clog, 48 bars of a jig, and 96 bars of a reel, without stopping, to live fiddle and piano accompaniment. In the 1980s, steps were either four or eight bars long, corresponding to the phrases or sections of the fiddle tune, performed first starting on the right foot, and then always repeated on the left foot.

Video clip from 1985

The emphasis of this performance is clearly on the footwork. It is easy for the judges, who are sitting right in front of the stage, to notice mistakes, as well as stylistic criteria such as leg and foot crossing, both in front and behind. Dancing in one spot is much easier for the dancers as well. Open class dancer, Chad Wolfe, told me that he finds this kind of performance takes much less energy, and therefore results in a higher degree of accuracy in terms of precision and timing [Wolfe 2006].

Now I would like to contrast this performance with one from 2002, 18 years later. In this example, Chad Wolfe, a prize-winning Open class competitor is also performing the clog, jig, and reel competition routine. You will notice many differences, including much more complex and less repetitive footwork, increased range of movement of head and arms, slower tempo, and flashier costuming; however, I ask you to focus on Chad's use of space on the stage.

Video clip from 2002

It is immediately apparent that Chad is using a much greater performing space than René did 18 years earlier, and that he is almost constantly moving in his routine. Lateral movement, which occurs on 18 of the 22 steps, is of a much greater distance, enabled by the three microphones set up across the front of the stage. His lateral movement is bounded by the two outside microphones. He turns to the corners on 12 of the 22 steps and much less predictably than René did in the earlier example. While René turned to one corner on the first half of the step, and then to the other corner on the second half of the step, because Chad seldom repeats the same footwork on both feet, his turns appear to be more random. In some steps he turns to only one corner for part of the step; in others he changes direction three or four times. Chad also makes three full rotations in his routine, leaving just one 8-bar step where he stays in one spot, facing the front of the stage. Many steps combine both lateral movement and turning to the corners in the same step.

All the step dancers with whom I spoke regarding performance space agreed that routines "look nicer" with increased movement. They also used descriptors such as "dynamic," "entertaining," "appealing," "flashy," and "interesting." Open class step dancer and judge, Mathew Johnson, says "movement allows the dancer to add in some elements that can't be done very well on the spot, so it adds another layer of complexity to the routine" [Johnson 2006]. His fellow competitor, Chad Wolf, adds that movement provides greater scope for creativity, although he cautions that it also makes it harder to achieve the necessary accuracy in the footwork.

Although it is difficult to pinpoint the timing exactly, this abrupt change in aesthetic seemed to take place in 2000 and 2001, becoming evident in contests during the 2001 season. Chad Wolf credits the participation of a handful of Ottawa Valley step dancers in two large music and dance productions in Toronto. *Needfire*, based on the music and dance traditions from Canada's east coast, was first produced in 1998, and revived two years later, in 2000. *Swingstep*, which combined swing music and dancing with Canadian fiddle tunes and Ottawa Valley step dancing, was staged in 1999. Chad performed in the 2000 production of *Needfire*:

> I received a call from Chanda Gibson who was working as the step dancing choreographer for the show. She said the show's main choreographer and director had seen some male step dancers but were not satisfied, as these dancers danced too much in one place. They loved the energy and intricacy of the Ottawa Valley style, but also wanted the dancer to fly across the stage in every direction to maximize the 'wow' factor for their audiences. I prepared an audition number which covered more area than I was used to. Once I passed the audition and began rehearsals, both Chanda and the other choreographer assisted me in creating routines that filled the stage. All the step dancers in these shows encountered this and had to adjust their styles accordingly. Some of us continued competing after performing in these shows and incorporated more movement into our competitive routines [Wolfe 2006].

So, as Chad suggests, dancers who had performed in the shows, brought the new aesthetic back to the contests. The young boy who so inspired my little 8-year old student, as I described in my introduction, was in fact a student of Chanda Gibson, the step dancing choreographer for the *Needfire* show. No wonder his routine that year was groundbreaking.

What is most interesting to me is that this abrupt change to a centuries old tradition has caused little controversy amongst the step dancing community. Every other major trend that I am aware of in the past 20 years has been met with an intense response: often both negative and positive. Some people do not like dancers using moves, shoes, and clickers from Appalachian clogging; others do not approve of the most recent trend to include fancy tricks from rhythm tap. There are complaints that steps have become too complex, that the beauty of the footwork and rhythmic interest is lost in constant beating; that dancers are dancing too fast; that they are dancing too heavily; that their feet are too high off the ground. In contrast, I have heard little criticism of dancers moving around the stage. In fact, the only step dancer that I interviewed who had anything negative to say is teacher and judge, Judy Waymouth:

> For the most part I like to see movement through a solo routine. It adds variety. Unfortunately there are a few key dancers now who I feel have taken the idea too far. They are always on the move and the beauty of their footwork is hidden from the audience at times. Also they move away from the floor mikes and then the audience cannot appreciate the beauty of their tap sounds as well. Like everything in life there has to be moderation [Waymouth 2006].

Judy identifies one of the problems this trend presents dancers and contest committees. With three microphones across the front of the stage, dancers have to be careful when, where and how they move to ensure that their sound is always clear. While the dancers in the large Toronto stage shows used wireless microphones attached to their shoes, this is clearly not practical in the Ontario competitive context. The way that contests place microphones on the stage in order to pick up the beats of dancers in a variety of positions will have to change in the near future if the trend of increased movement is to continue.

Despite Judy's caution above, though, she does support the concept of increased movement. So does Chad Wolf, who says, "I find this style of step dancing is much more dynamic and inspires a great deal more creativity in the routines. I welcome this new trend and believe it is a good and necessary change" [Wolfe 2006]. I believe this unprecedented degree of acceptance is due to the fact that the step dancing community is now used to seeing dancers moving around the stage in group step dancing. Although I do not have time in this presentation to provide a detailed description of the evolution of group step dancing in the Ottawa Valley tradition, briefly, group step dancing began in the mid-1970s with groups of three to five dancers performing the same steps at the same time, standing a row. Gradually, they started to change positions from horizontal lines to diagonals to V shapes to staggered lines. The emphasis was on the static position; movement was important only to the extent that it enabled dancers to change positions. Starting in the late 1980s, however, choreography came to be as much about movement as it was position; movement is now being used in much more creative ways. Ottawa Valley step dancing audiences, then, have become used to seeing dancers moving around the stage. It is not foreign to their aesthetic sensibilities. So when increased movement began to be used by a few solo dancers, stimulated by the choreographic demands of large stage shows, it was met with little resistance. The dancers and the audience are ready; now it is time for the technical capabilities to catch up.

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Ottawa Valley Step Dancers' use of space

	1985 René King Fergus, Ontario	2002 Chad Wolfe Pembroke, Ontario
Total Steps	22	22
Side to Side Movement	8	18
Facing the Corner	9	12
Front and Centre	5	1

THE ROLE OF SPACE IN THE *ŠTAJERIŠ* DANCE

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The paper presents the folk dance called *štajeriš* (Steierisch) in Slovenia, focusing on three different dimensions of space:

1. Space between the dancers or the couple (contact, touching, holding);
2. Use and utilization of the dance-floor;
3. Position and location of the dance-floor.

The *štajeriš* dance was popular throughout the eastern Alpine area of Europe, and also in Slovenia. Slovene names for the dance are *štajeriš, štajriš, štajerc, oberštajeriš, oberštajer,* and so on, evoking the origins of the dance that is believed to stem from Upper Styria. It is assumed that the dance was known among the Slovenes as early as in the late 17th century and it was widely spread by the 18th century. The dance was well known in the first half of the 19th century and it was a common response to questionnaires on folk tradition. The golden era of the dance was in the 19th and early 20th centuries when it had become one of the best-known and most popular dances in Slovenia. It was mostly danced in the northern parts of the Slovene ethnic territory (Gorenjsko, Koroško, and Štajersko), less in other parts; the only area where the dance remained unknown was Rezija. In the first half of the 20th century, the demise of the dance as a part of folk-dance heritage began. It survived the longest – well after World War Two – in the areas where it had been danced the most (valleys of Zgornja Savska and Zgornja Savinjska dolina, Koroško). When it was gradually abandoned in its primary function, it started appearing on stage as a performance in folk-dance groups, which is still true today. The *štajeriš* dance has remained a reality of stage productions by numerous folklore groups [Ramovš 1992–2000].

The *štajeriš* is a couple dance. It is danced to a characteristic 8-measure tune in ¾ or ⅜ beat that usually has an anacrusis (a forebeat). The same name is sometimes used for dances with a similar form and the identity of which is impossible to define due to the fusion of dance elements. This paper therefore deals with all the dances that are accompanied by a tune typical of the *štajeriš*, even though some of the dances have an entirely different form or name (for example, "vreče šivajo" – sack sewing). Older variants of the *štajeriš* typically have a simpler form and are related to the singing of alpine dance quatrains. The dance gradually became independent of the quatrains; the singing part was omitted and the form of the dance developed on its own. Variants without the singing part are usually livelier in character and faster in tempo. The dance had a special function at weddings, which is why it can be defined as a ritual dance. Due to its essential part, the miming game of wooing between a young woman and a man, the dance also belongs to love and courtship dances.

The *štajeriš* variants recorded in Slovenia vary according to the number of dancers required. The most common are couple variants; about 80% of all recorded variants are danced in couples. Two dancers, male and female, suffice for such variants. In group variants, three or more dancers are required (20% of all recorded *štajeriš* variants). Variants requiring exactly three dancers fall into the category of dances in threesomes (more than 60% of all the group variants). These three categories also represent the main three ways of using the dance floor regarding the first two dimensions.

Dimension 1: Space between dancers – contact, touching, holding

In the couple *štajeriš*, the focus of movement is on the upper part of the body. The main element is the intertwining of a dancer's hands during the turning of one or both dancers. The dance is usually performed with steps on the front part of the feet or in moderate running-steps (one step per quarter of eight note in moderate ¾ or ⅜ beat). The dance figure often ends in 1 to 3 stressed steps (stamps).

The most contact and touching is found in couple variants. In particular, this is the case of the variants in which the starting position is "crossed," that is, in which the male dancer holds the female dancer's left hand with his right, and the female dancer holds the male dancer's right hand with her left. The dancers can either face each other or stand in a parallel position. In this posture, the dancers turn one after another or the male dancer turns a bit later and faster. A greater intimate contact is observed in variants combining the crossed posture with a handkerchief. One of the dancers usually turns and twists the hands to the extent that any further movement is impossible. Henceforth the couple turns together in that position until they untwist their hands, ending the figure in the initial position. In some variants, the moment in which the dancers are intertwined most, is culminated in an indicated kiss. Body contact is further reinforced by the dancers' eye contact. The couple variants in which the male dancer holds his female

partner's right (or left) hand with his right hand in the initial position and their free hands are loose on the side or rest on the hip allow less intimate contact. In fact, the only contact between the dancers is their holding hands. The last recorded position is common in those variants, which have always played a vital role at weddings.

The variants danced in threesomes typically allow for less contact if they served as ritual dances at weddings than the rest of the variants danced by three dancers. The most common form of the *štajeriš* in threesomes contains a figure in which one of the dancers is tossed over the hands of the other two dancers, or a figure in which two dancers twist under the hand of the leading dancer.

Group variants include similar elements (tossing and twisting) but because the number of dancers is greater, there is no contact with some of them (for example, between the dancer number 2 and number 4).

Figure 1. Group variant of *štajeriš* from Viševek pri Moravčah
(Photo by Valens Vodušek, 12.12.1957 – Archive of the Institute of Ethnomusicology, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

This analysis shows that the contact between dancers depends not only on the number of performers (less contact in group, more in couple dances) but also on the function of the dance (less contact in ritual, more in courtship dances).

Dimension 2: Use of the dance-floor

Compared to other Slovene folk dances, the use of the dance-floor in the *štajeriš* is relatively modest (as far as x, y coordinates are concerned) and gives a rather static impression because dancers do not make full use of the dance-floor available. The reason for this is the fact that most of the *štajeriš* variants are couple dances, which do not require a lot of space when compared to group variants, and the nature of the dance does not call for extensive use of the dance-floor.

Most couple variants are danced on the spot; the dancers turn as well as change steps on the spot, the dancers change positions or turn around their common axis – all on a very small part of the dance floor when observed from a bird's eye view. But there are also some exceptions among the couple variants. The most obvious one is the variant in which the dance is combined with alpine dance quatrains. During singing, dancers either stand on the spot or walk in a circle, using the dance-floor more. The singing is followed by dancing which is performed on the spot. Having said that, some exceptions can also be found among the variants that are performed without the quatrains. In these variants, the couple first moves forward for 2 measures (6 steps), then backward (6 steps), followed by turning on the spot. Some variants, usually combining a sequence of different figures or simple variants of the *štajeriš*, also include a figure in which the couple moves forward in a circle. In the recorded variant from Mengeš, the couple runs forward in a circle in the first figure. In the variant from Ter nad Ljubnim the couple moved forward and backward in a circle in the first and the last figure. In the variant from Primož nad Muto the dancers moved forward in a circle during turning in one of the figures. The examples mentioned above show that the couple did not move around the dance-floor throughout the dance but only in certain figures. What is more, they did not move around the dance-floor freely, but always in a circle. This means that the couple variants did not use the entire dance-floor, only a small part of it; in the event of a more extensive motion the dancers always moved in a circle.

Variants danced in threesomes typically make use of the dance-floor in two ways. The three dancers either move in a circle, the movement followed by tossing or twisting, or they move forward for 2 measures and backward for another two in the first part, followed by turning under raised hands in the second part. This was characteristic of the so-called wedding *štajeriš* from Koroško. Group variants of the *štajeriš* that are performed by more than three dancers usually take over the entire dance-floor. All the dancers dance in the same formation. This is the distinguishing feature

of proper group variants and variants danced in threesomes in which several groups of three dancers can dance different variants of the *štajeriš* at the same time, unless a social function dictates a solo performance (for example, at a wedding).

Dimension 3: Position of the dance-floor

The *štajeriš* appeared at various dance events at which other dances were danced as well. The dancing usually took place indoors, normally in a large room called *hiša* (the house), which was the central room in a house. It was equipped with a dining table and a baker's oven, and it was the centre of activities during the cold season. After work, there was a dance party there. Until the 1970s most of the weddings took place in there, too. One of the most popular indoor places where dances often took place is the barn. One of the underlying reasons could be that people did a lot of work in barns and danced to relax after the work was done, and another reason could simply be the fact that the barn was very appropriate for such events (indoors, not too cold, wooden floor, large enough). The Slovenes preferred dancing on a wooden floor, which is why the barn became a convenient dance-floor. When dancing took place outdoors, especially at the festivities (for example, patron saint's days, parties of local societies), the organizers made sure the dance-floor was appropriate. On such occasions, young men usually put together a wooden dance-floor. In some festivities there were even several dance-floors which were later sold to villages or societies.

Another important space dimension has to be pointed out – public versus private space. Private space is referred to when dancing took place inside a house or in a barn, whereas public space designates dancing at festivities or dance-floors as well as pubs, although they were indoors.

From the archives and people's memories back to life – this time, on stage

The demise of the *štajeriš* began in the 20th century. Less and less often it appeared on the repertoire of musicians who played at dance events. It was preserved longest as a ritual dance at weddings where it was eventually replaced by the waltz. As the dance was gradually disappearing from the people's lifestyle, its rebirth on stage started. It became a part of performances staged by folk dance groups. When it was revived, not for pure pleasure but more as a manifestation of people's cultural and geographic belonging (to a local and national community), the dance acquired a new function and the role of space was transformed as well [Kunej 2007:189–200]. The transformation can be seen in all the three dimensions of space described in the previous sections. The most common variants to be performed are the complex ones (danced with a handkerchief). This is probably not due to the fact that these variants allow for a more intimate contact between the dancers but to the fact that such figures are more attractive than the simple ones. However, the chosen variants often make it seem that all the *štajeriš* variants involve close contact between the dancers. Furthermore, some variants in which a kiss was indicated were adapted for stage and the dancers now really kiss each other. When the dance was revived from records, the use of the dance-floor changed in some simple couple variants (excluding those that had a ritual function at weddings). Many such variants now include movement in the circle, presumably because this is supposed to be more attractive for the audience or because the change of position serves as a preparation for the dance that followed. The second dimension (use of the dance-floor) has not seen many changes, except for the one that has already been mentioned. Due to their character, group variants do not allow for many changes in the use of the dance-floor available. It should be noted, however, that the choreographers and/or individuals who adapt a dance for stage aim at an equal distribution of the dancers across the entire stage, for which they use the circle, parallel lines, a diagonal or another well-established or prescribed formation. Their tendency and aesthetic criterion is the full use of the available dance-floor and a vivid presentation of the dance. There are more than 200 active folk dance groups in Slovenia, among which I do not know of any that would not define the dancers' positions carefully and would encourage the dancers to decide which figure they wish to use at which position in the given situation and their current mood. However, this issue is beyond the scope of this paper.

Figure 2. *Štajeriš* with handkerchief on the stage, performed by Student Folk Dance Group France Marolt, Ljubljana (Photo by Miha Krivic, 2005 – from Archive of the Student Folk Dance Group France Marolt)

In conclusion, the staging of the dance called for major changes regarding the third space dimension. The dancing inside the house, in the barn, pub and at the festivities has been entirely replaced by dancing on a stage, be it a physical or metaphorical one (road, hallway, lobby). This divides the space in two parts (the performers versus the audience) and reinforces a visible and almost indelible border between the two: the dance is no longer in the private sphere, only in the public one.

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THE ROLE OF SPACE IN THE PROCESS OF FORMING AND SHAPING OF DANCE HERITAGE: THE PROBLEM OF AUTHENTICITY OF THE DANCE HERITAGE OF VOJVODINA

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Serbia

Northern part of Serbia – the plain area known as Vojvodina, according to its geographic position, represents truly an "open" area. Because of the exceptionally favourable morphologic ground features, Vojvodina has been permanently inhabited by the various migratory currents throughout history. This has led to the forming of its population structure as one of the most diverse structures in Europe that consists of Serbs, Hungarians, Croats, Slovaks, Romanians, Rusyns, Montenegrins, Roma, and other smaller ethnic groups. Constant ethnogenic processes and the processes of the accumulation in the area of Vojvodina have created special cultural amalgam called *the pannonisms* or *the pannonian varieties* in ethnology [Filipović 1962]. Serbian traditional culture represents its integral part and the consideration of the problem of the authenticity of the Serbian dance heritage, through which Serbs from Vojvodina define their idenity, seems rather intriguing.

The Slavic settlement (fifth century) represents the turning-point in the process of formation of the cultural core of Vojvodina. Various nations inhabited this area before Slavs, such as: Illyrians, Dacians, Sarmats, Celts, then Romans, and so on [Bosić 1996:6]. At the end of the 9th century, Hungarians inhabited Vojvodina and settled at this territory, forming their state in the Pannonian plain. The largest part of Vojvodina remained under Hungarian and, in other words, Habsburg authority until the end of the World War I [Bosić 1996:7]. Majority of the Serb population in the current Vojvodina have come from the parts south of Sava and Danube [Bosić 1996:8]. The first written records of the movement of Serbs from the Balkan Penninsula to southern Hungary (current Vojvodina) originate from 1404 [Bosić 1996:6]. Emigration of Serbs from the parts south of Sava and Danube was intensified after 1521 and the Turkish conquest of Srem. During the 18th century, the frequent settlements of Germans, Romanians, Slovaks, Rusyns, Armenians, Jews, Bulgarians, Spaniards, French, Italians, Greeks, Tzintzars, Macedonians, Albanians, and others were taking place. At the same time, the so-called transversal migrations happened as well. Although the ethnic and cultural plurality was present in many settlements, till the end of the 20th century the ethnic characteristics of almost all mentioned nations were preserved in the material and, especially, spiritual culture [Bosić 1996:9].

The spiritual culture of Serbs from Vojvodina was based on the brought spiritual inventory so the differences between Serbs from Vojvodina and Serbs from the parts south of Sava and Danube were mainly of the political nature at the beginning [Bosić 1996:6]. Through different cultural and political conditions, Vojvodina was determined in time as a specific entity of the Serbian culture.

Three regions were distinguished inside of the borders of Vojvodina – Srem, Banat, and Bačka – that, directly conditioned by the population structure and the space context, were governed by different cultural conditions. In spite of that, the Serbian dance practice in the above mentioned regions had the mutual primary forms of manifestation of the traditional dance – the same step patterns and the same formations, so it can be talked about one, and very homogeneous, dance heritage. Having in mind that Vojvodina with its position represents the border between the Balkan region and central Europe, there is the question of its authenticity.

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The most simple way to classify the dance repertoire of Serbs from Vojvodina is according to its formations. Dominant formations in which Serbs from Vojvodina perform their dances are: the round-shape and the couple dances.

Two main step patterns are used in the round-shaped formation:

1. Asymmetric – one step to the right, three steps to the left side;
2. Symmetric – two steps to the right, two steps to the left side.

1. The dance based upon the asymmetric step pattern is called the *veliko kolo* in the Serbian ethnochoreological practice. The first written records of this dance were given in 1891 by Antal Hadžić, who had seen this dance in southern Hungary. According to his description, which is identical to the description given by Janković sisters five decades later [Janković 1949:113], this dance was performed by men and women in the round-shaped formation and was accompanied by bag-pipes [Felföldi 2003:35]. The improvisational character of the performing of the *veliko*

kolo had become prominent primarily when it was performed by men, and it was performed mainly by the most competent dancers [Rakočević 2008:311].[1]

Step pattern (1+3) was changed during the performance in the most various ways and they all came down to one principle: the interchange of dancing in the spot and dancing through space. The relativity of the structure[2] points to its irrelevance in relation to the improvisational character of the dance itself and thus it can be said that, in the past, the *veliko kolo* has represented a paradigm of the dance performing style of Vojvodina.

2. The dance pattern "two steps to the right, two steps to the left" during the 20th century represented the universal model for creation of the dances in Vojvodina in all formations, among which the round-shape and the couple dances were dominant forms in the Serbian dance practice.

Jelena Dopuđa states that this pattern was brought over to the northern part of Bosnia from Srem by the second half of the 19th century [Dopuđa 1971:162]. In this period, the spreading of the tamburitza musical practice from town to village environments had begun in the regions of Vojvodina, Slavonia, and Croatia [Vukosavljev 1990:61]. Half a century later, Janković sisters noted that the asymmetric step pattern performed in the round-shaped formation was considered to be rustic (used pejorative) and the symmetric step pattern to be urban. They explained that this claim was actually illustration of the former class division that had remained more as a memory rather than live practice [Janković 1949:93].

The compatibility of the previous three sources implies the affirmation of the symmetric step pattern structure in the second half of the 19th century, which was in correlation with the popularization of the tamburitza music in the village environment.

However, the first concrete description of the round-shaped dance with the "two steps to the right, two steps to the left side" step pattern was not given till 1912 in the report of Ištvan Kolarov Mozeš who had seen this kind of dance in the Arad county performed by Serbs [Felföldi 2003:36]. Through the entire 20th century this pattern represented the irreplaceable part of the dance repertoire of Serbs from Vojvodina. This dance is most often called the *malo kolo* in the Serbian ethnochoreological practice. It was performed by men and women together in the round-shaped or semi-round-shaped formation and in a form of the permanent chain repetition of the simple or, in other words, complex varieties of two-measures motif. As well as the *veliko kolo*, the *malo kolo* also represented a challenge for the most competent dancers. The dance directly corresponded to the melodic back up and, with every new melodic part, the more complex variety of the basic dance motif was performed. The preservation of the *malo kolo* in the dance practice of Serbs from Vojvodina can be defined by the specific "dance nationalization" phenomenon,[3] for Serbs from Srem, Banat, and Bačka separately expressed their local identity and integrity, so there are *Sremsko, Bačko,* and *Banatsko (malo) kolo.* Differences between the mentioned dances are based upon the global form level but all three examples have the same step pattern structure.

"Nationalization" as a phenomenon has partly been conditioned by the space context. Danica and Ljubica Janković state that the traditional dance in Bačka between two world wars served as a symbol of preservation of the national identity, thus pointing to the constant gap between Hungarian and Serb population [Janković 1949:78]. The presence of this phenomenon at the wide area of the Balkan region, where it is most often established through the relation between the village communities – in a way that "every village has its *kolo*,"[4] points to the fundamental role of the *kolo* dances as a social phenomenon in the process of the "nationalization."[5]

3. Parallel with the round-shaped formation, which quite clearly orients Vojvodina towards the Balkan dance heritage [Felföldi 2003:85], equally relevant representative of the dance practice of Serbs from Vojvodina in the 20th century were the couple dances. Vojvodina was quite clearly oriented towards the central European dance practice using this formation. According to László Felföldi's records, Serbs from the Pomorišje region performed these kinds of dances even in the 19th century.[6] The concrete records of the first couple dances in the village dance practice of Vojvodina were unfortunately not written down in the literature.

When performed in the past, these dances had the tamburitza ensembles as their musical back up, or the accordion, which would, with the disappearing of the tamburitza practice by the end of the 20th century, completely take over the primary role in the village musical practice of Vojvodina. The main characteristic of these dances is the correspondence of the dance and the melodic back up at the macro level, in a way that parts of the form are mutually depended. Their form usually consists of two parts and is based upon the familiar "two steps to the right, two steps to the left side" step pattern. In the second part of the dance, this pattern usually gets rhythmically augmented. Serbs usually performed the couple dances in a group without the choreography, which completely bound this layer of the dance heritage to the central European dance practice. The most popular examples of this group are: *zurka, cigančica, madjarac, sirotica, ficko,* and *ketuša.*

The reasons of the dance structural uniformity of the dance repertoire of Serbs from Vojvodina should be clarified in the wider cultural-historic context. In the second part of the 19th century, after the formal abolition of the military frontier district in 1867, the national consciousness of Serbs from Vojvodina was awoken that can be witnessed in the vivacity in the fields of literature, theatre, music, science, and so on. It also came to the popularization of the tamburitza music as a part of the traditional practice (enrichment of the set of instruments, the technical improvement of the

instruments, forming of the tamburitza ensembles...) [Vukosavljev 1990:61]. This led to the establishment of formal principles of the European musical culture in Vojvodina that were based upon architectural principle – primarily, on the symmetrical phrase-construction. At the height of these tendencies, the tamburitza opus was starting to spread, simultaneously establishing the architectural principle in the traditional musical practice. At this constellation, the dance practice of Serbs from Vojvodina was reduced to the "two steps to the right, two steps to the left side" step pattern, as a paradigm of the architectural principle.

Immediately after World War I, "one step to the right, three steps in a spot – one step to the left, three steps in a spot" step pattern, that was used in the round-shaped formation, came from central Serbia to the area north of Sava and Danube [Felföldi 2003:49]. Similar to the "two steps to the right, two steps to the left side" step pattern, this pattern as well functioned as a model bonding itself to the various melodies, and people usually called most of the dances of this type the *Serbian kolo,* simplifying it, because of its origin. Seen from the ideological aspect, the occurrence of the *Serbian kolo* in the repertoire of Serbs from Vojvodina is very indicative! Differently from most of the parts with Serb population, where the above mentioned pattern served as a model for creation of the new dances, this was not the case in Vojvodina; in other words, the mission of the *Serbian kolo* as a symbol of the Serbian national being [Rakočević 2002:187] – to bind Serbian people in a way [Bajić 2005:106] – was not completely established in Vojvodina. Reasons for this phenomenon are ideological. As a result of the centuries-long separation from the motherland and different cultural-historic background as regards to the areas south of Sava and Danube, the cultural area of Vojvodina was determined as a specific entity of the Serbian culture, independent from its motherland. In this constellation, the dance tradition of this area inaugurated the round-shaped dance with the "two steps to the right, two steps to the left side" step pattern to the place of the "sub-national" symbol. Thus, it can be said that the mission of the *Serbian kolo* was baffled in advance because it was not needed in Vojvodina until the middle of the 20th century. However, the historical scenario in the second half of the 20th century led to the change of the primary state.

After World War II, the communist regime preferred the idea of a Yugoslav nation and thus all separate national symbols and all signs of national expression were prohibited. New conditions imposed the need for the defense of the separate national identities of all nations of the former SFRY. The process of defense of the Serbian national identity led to the soothing of the ideological differences between Serbs from Vojvodina and Serbs from the various parts of Serbia. The reflection of this phenomenon to the dance performance of Serbs from Vojvodina was to be seen through the general popularization and domination of the *Serbian kolo* in their dance repertoire that led to the disappearance of the local heritage from the traditional dance practice by the end of the 20th century.

Because of the especially cultural-historical conditions at the end of the 20th century (wars, jeopardizing the national identity, and so on), the *Serbian kolo* was additionally stimulated so that today this dance represents the main and, in most of the cases, the only traditional dance at all modern celebrations in Serbia (including Vojvodina) in village as well as in the city environment.

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The dance tradition of Serbs from Vojvodina, in all its stages (formation, preservation and, finally, oblivion of the authentic dance heritage) was conditioned by the space. "Openness" of this area directly favoured tumults that had various cultural-historic forms**.** It consequently shaped the dance tradition of this area. At all the territories where people come in contact and mix, as is the case in Vojvodina, there inevitably comes to the mixture of their dance traditions as well. German ethnomusicologist, Felix Hoerburger, claims that the dances of Germans and Slavs in the border regions are very much alike, but at the level of the internal characteristics of their dance heritage, primary of the performing style, these two traditions significantly differ [Hoerburger 1958:297-302]. According to the same principle, the traditional dance practice of Serbs from Vojvodina in the past was differentiated from that of the Balkans and, in other words, from the central European dance practice: the agreement with the above mentioned traditions established at the level of the step patterns and formations is more than obvious; what determined their dance practice and gave it the necessary originality was the performing style, as a fundamental ethnochoreological element [Mladenović 1973:57]. Global characteristics of that style can be recognized even today in the dance of the good dancers of the young generation. The polygon for the proving of their dance skills in the contemporary practice is the *Serbian kolo*. Some of those characteristics are: the domination of the male dancing in the sense of the high form of the improvisation, the most diverse embellishments, the rhythmical variations, while the legs are moved from the knees that enables the body to remain still and coordinated with the more reduced, female performance. Survival of the basic peculiarities of a performing style testifies about the survival of the sensibility that has given exclusiveness to the dance tradition of Serbs from Vojvodina in the first half of the 20th century. At the same time, today it represents the only proof of the former rich dancing tradition of the region.

Endnotes

1. László Felföldi points out that the *veliko kolo* was considered, even among Serbs from the Pomorišje region, to be one of the most complex dances [Felföldi 2003:47].
2. László Felföldi also points out to the partly determined relative structure as a significant characteristic of the *veliko kolo* [Felföldi 2003:57].

3. According to László Felföldi, the nationalization means the phenomenon that the certain folk elements at a certain territory are promulgated as a national property and identificational symbols [Felföldi 2002:119].
4. Olivera Mladenović talks about the social function of the *kolo* dances [Mladenović 1973:165–173].
5. Janković sisters as well talk about the social function of the *kolo* dances [Janković 1957: 39, 43].
6. László Felföldi specifically gives example of the couple dances, called *podvoje* [Felföldi 2003:49].

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"PARTITIONING THE TERRAIN": THE IMPORTANCE OF SPACE IN 15TH-CENTURY ITALIAN DANCE*

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Italy

In mid-fifteenth-century Italy, Space was considered a fundamental principle of dance, both aesthetically and technically. The fundamental principles set down in the dance treatises of the period were also basic concepts in other contemporary arts and sciences.[1] Thus, for example, the constructing, partitioning and gauging of space were essential to geometry and architecture as well as to dance.

In practical terms the fifteenth-century dancer, first had to change his or her dancing according to the requirements of the dancing space, be it a large hall or wide-open area, or a small or narrow room, and therefore, different dancing (size of steps and paths) was necessary for different spaces. This rule may seem obvious to us today, but if we perform a particular dance in a restricted space, such as on a stage, it can be a challenge to make the steps small enough, without tiptoeing or mincing. On the other hand, performing the same dance in a wide open space, with no "borders," can result in, not only taking steps which are too large but, more disconcerting, can actually cause the dancer to lose his bearings.

Next, the dancer had to, as did the architect, *gauge* space, specifically the space needed to return to his/her partner after having danced away from her or him. (This is also referred to as "computing" the space [Cornazano 1465: folio 4]). As will be seen, in fifteenth-century choreographies the dancers often separate from each other, and hence, it was essential (and still is in present-day reconstructions) to gauge the space of the separation so as to be able to return together with one's partner with the correct number and type of steps (video example of the *bassadanza* section of "Rostiboli gioioso" that perfectly illustrates the man, and later the lady, dancing away from his partner and then returning to her).

In the words of Guglielmo Ebreo (1463: folio 7):

> The partitioning of the ground . . . is supremely necessary to the perfect art of dancing, where there is need of keen discernment and unfaltering judgement in taking account of the place and room for dancing, and carefully apportioning and measuring it in one's mind; inasmuch as, while performing a *ballo* or *bassadanza* [see below] when the man leaves his lady, dancing to his own time, so must he be able to come back to her in the same time and not get out of time for reasons of space or lack of room. Where the room is short or narrow . . . it is advisable to use one's wits to measure and partition the ground and dancing area in such a way that with every kind of rhythm one is able to dance and keep together with the lady without gaining or losing ground. Thus a different measure and a different timing are required in a narrow and short room than in a large and spacious one, because partitioning the ground and keeping the measure in a narrow place requires more skill and is much more difficult than in a wide and open area where one can keep in time and partition with ease. Unusual and sound foresight is therefore needed here [Sparti 1993:95–97].

Finally, the dancer had to "concord" the space between him or herself and his/her partner. The concept of "concording the space" between partners implies feeling the other person's presence and dancing together without the need of holding hands.[2] It means being aware of the space between each other (video example of *bassadanza* "Fortunosa" for four dancers abreast in which there are many separations and changes of direction). As in the "negative space" in paintings, the space between the dancers that is shaped by their separations and comings together actually becomes an entity and as such creates a tension between the dancers that, in turn connects them.

Spatial ornaments

In the video example you may have noticed that the dancers turned their upper-bodies or torsos to the side while still going forward through space. This was a spatial embellishment known as "shading" (*ombreggiare*), part of another fundamental principle called Variety (*Diversità di cose*). Another way of ornamenting one's dancing consisted in varying the size of sideways steps –making them bigger or smaller. One could also change the direction of side steps so as to go forward or back in what today we would call diagonal – diagonal into the surrounding space as well as diagonal according to one's own body.

The bassadanza and the "seven" moves in space

What you have seen in the clips so far have been examples of the *bassadanza*, or low dance, one of the two dance-types composed by fifteenth-century dance-masters. If we analyze a typical *bassadanza*, we find it made up of simple steps which, first of all, go forward, cutting through the space. Then there are sideways steps, quick and small or larger and slower, as well as the diagonal-like side-steps which go forward or backward. When the dancers separate, some go forward into the room and some move to the back of the room. With the reverence or bow, the body goes down vertically; and with another ornament, called *ondeggiare*, or "making waves," the dancers rise up, as they also do in hops which occasionally ornament the *bassadanza.* Finally, there are many occasions when the dancers circle around themselves and each other in different ways. Thus, the dancer's body moves in seven ways through three-dimensional space. These same seven spatial movements are specified in a mid-fifteenth century treatise entitled *On Painting* by the architect and painter Leon Battista Alberti [Spencer 1956:79].[3] For Alberti, there were seven ways in which anything can move its place: up, down, right, left, in depth – that is moving closer, moving away, and going round. "I desire," he says, "all these movements in [a] painting." It certainly is not by chance that the dancing-masters echoed him in practice, though when we say there are seven directions in which a dancer can move in a choreography, it once again may seem obvious. But when, in one particular *bassadanza*, there suddenly is a moment after the four male dancers have circled around their partners when all eight dancers go down as one in a reverence, and then, after rising up, all move to the side with another step, that moment becomes magical *if* the dancers are aware of the spatial movements their bodies are performing and thus perform them with understanding and intention as well as with a sense of the unity of their body.[4]

The choreography of a typical *bassadanza* begins with the dancers going forward, then circling around with their partner, usually taking right hands, and ending up facing in opposite directions; from here they separate – continuing forward or going to the back of the room, then do a half-turn to face each other again. Coming forward, they pass by or "through" each other to the ends (the back and the front) of the room, half-turn again, come forward to each other and end in the middle of the room, everyone facing the same direction, and then do a final reverence. In the middle of the choreography, there will be a figure particular to that dance and more, or less, complex.

Three- and two-dimensional space

Besides the seven movements in three-dimensional space, the fifteenth-century choreographies clearly show us two-dimensional space in the dancers' floor tracks or paths, and in the formations traced by dancers' steps. Space is three dimension; "terrain" or ground is two dimensions. Characteristic forms and patterns are triangles, straight lines (or files) of three to five dancers one behind the other, circles, and figure eights – described in the treatises as "making a snake" or "dancing like a *signore* or a lord." The different dance tempos often underscore the different patterns. Note the variety of patterns in this *ballo* for five dancers (video clip of "Verçepe" by Domenico). Worth thinking about is the fact that these patterns would not have been easily (if at all) visible to the contemporary onlookers since the viewers would usually have been seated, on at least three sides around the hall, at the same level as the dancers, and not above them. Did the composers of these dances care about that, or were they satisfied with their creations as *they* envisioned them?

Dancing spaces: public and private

In fifteenth-century Italy, public dancing in a large place (a main square or the great hall of a palace) was a political statement. A grand ball for a state occasion, such as a wedding, gave the prince the opportunity to show, through his own dress, that of his courtiers, the jewels of the court ladies present, and the various decorations of the dancing space, his own magnificence: that is, his wealth and power. In 1473, for example, Eleonora of Aragon, the daughter of the King of Naples, was married (by proxy) to the Duke of Ferrara (their daughter would be the famous Isabella d'Este). In a square lined with, on this occasion, tiered platforms, capable of seating half of the 40,000 inhabitants of Naples, Eleonora opened the dancing. She was dressed, as all those present could clearly see, and as the chroniclers reported, in a gown of gold with a train "eight arms long." (It was normal practice for chronicles to exaggerate the number of people attending an event and the magnificence of a noble's attire.) Dancing in such a public space gave Eleonora the possibility of impressing visiting dignitaries, ambassadors, and her husband's family, with her full stature in terms of authority and riches.

By contrast, the dancing in private rooms was intimate, spontaneous, and more pleasurable. It was performed for the most part by ladies, among and for themselves, often in the evening after dinner.[5]

Thus, the *quality* of dancing, that is, the style of performance of the same dance, differed according to the space – public or private – in which it was performed. Public space also demanded the presence of a hierarchy of dancers whose names would be recalled in the official chronicles: princes, dukes, duchesses; while protocol was relaxed in the private rooms, where ladies-in-waiting were frequent participants. The musical accompaniment was also different according to the two spaces: the public space (the state occasion) required, as did the large (and often open) *physical* space, loud instruments such as shawms, trombones, pipes and tabors. For the dancing in private chambers, a harp or lute was appropriate. Furthermore, small rooms required choreographies that could be performed, thanks to many half-turns, in a limited space (video example of Guglielmo Ebreo's *bassadanza* "Pellegrina").

Performing spaces today

What happens to fifteenth-century choreographies when performing them today in spaces such as stages, or in halls with the audience at the same level as the dancers and seated all around the room. The question of shifting and adapting choreographies to different spaces was present already in late-sixteenth-century Italy. Dances began to be transported from a large rectangular ballroom, where onlookers viewed them from all sides, onto a raised platform with a one-direction focus. In the new space, the dance-steps did not change but the spectator's viewing did (as did the performers' focus), and this gave way to the modern, unsatisfactory and oversimplified term "theatrical dance", as opposed to "social dance".

For performances today, a frequent problem is how to present dances that were created for large, even "extra-large" spaces. The following video example shows part of a beautiful choreography for three dancers in a triangle. Each dancer has a chance to lead. The dance moves only forward. Even in the large palace courtyard in which this dance was performed during a summer course in Urbino, Italy, the space was insufficient, and modern "adjustments" had to be made, such as changing direction (going towards the back) for one of the repeats (video example of the *bassadanza* "Bialte di Chastiglia").

Besides the *bassadanza*, the dancing-masters invented the *ballo*, which was made up of different dance-types, each with its own meter and tempo.[6] Introducing the *ballo* and its main figure(s) was the "entrata", usually danced with a *saltarello* step to a short musical phrase of three or four measures. This phrase was repeated three to five times, or as many as necessary to arrive at the dancing-place. As musicologist-dance specialist Michael Malkiewicz pointed out to me in private correspondence in 2006, "The 'entrata' serves to lead the dancer, with music and a standardized step-sequence, from back- or side-stage to the stage-position where the dance proper begins. The 'entrata' can be seen as the shift from 'daily life' to the dance proper. The 'entrata' creates the virtual 'dance-room' within the architectonic room of a palace. It produces the 'invisible stage' between dancer and spectator" [Malkiewicz 2006].

Too often in modern performances there is not enough space to render an *entrata* convincing and meaningful. More often than not the dancers simply circle around while already in the dancing space. As a final example I will show you part of a magnificent choreography for four couples and two men, a kind of weaving dance with ribbons entitled "Tessara" (*tessere* means to weave). This dance is clearly difficult to perform within the limits of a stage (and is restricted even in a large hall or courtyard). Hence, as you will see, "editorial" adjustments have been made to ensure that the dancers do not move forward during the figures without also moving back (video example, "Tessara" by Domenico).

Some dance companies when performing "Tessara" choose to perform it on a diagonal. I personally have difficulties with this solution inasmuch as the diagonal was not yet an aesthetic concept, and not only was it not part of the dance of the period, but it was absent from fifteenth-century painting and architecture. An idea of how this *ballo* (and others as well) might have been conceived and performed came to me when I saw it danced along a road that winded through and out of a village in southern Italy. The road was lined with people waiting to see the passage of floats and processions for the particular feast day. The sixteen measures of "Tessara"'s introductory *saltarello* moved the dancers very far forward; the dance figures were then performed more or less in the same place but were also able to move forward as necessary. (It was during these figures that the musicians, playing loud instruments, with no sheet music, were able to catch up to the dancers.) Without the confirmation of chroniclers of the time, I cannot of course assume anything about the genesis of this dance, but, seeing the onlookers' reactions and observing that of the dancers, there was little doubt in my mind that "Tessara", if not *created* to be performed outdoors while traveling through streets, was certainly seen and danced in the best of possible performance spaces.

Good dancers will continue to be challenged as they adapt dances to available spaces, following the fifteenth-century rule of partitioning the terrain. Good performers will also seek – through awareness – to enhance the space between dancers, between dancers and onlookers, between dancers and their surroundings. The successful use of space, and the resulting tension, will capture the eye and the attention of all.

Endnotes

* The presentation was accompanied by illustrative video clips that are briefly described. The clips are from fifteenth-century dances reconstructed and performed by the Gruppo di Danza Rinascimentale (1975–1988, director Barbara Sparti).

1. See Sparti 2003b for a brief discussion of the basic principles. More information is provided in Sparti 1993, 11–12, and 93–99.
2. Domenico da Piacenza uses the term "concordantia de terreno" [1455 (?): folio 2 recto].
3. See other parallels between basic principles in Alberti's and Guglielmo Ebreo's treatises in Sparti 2003a.
4. The choreography in question is Domenico da Piacenza's "Pizocara".
5. For dancing in private, see Sparti 1993:59, 61. For public display and dance see Sparti 1996, especially 42–44.
6. For a discussion of the four *misure*, see Chapter 4 in Sparti 1993. The *bassadanza* was the slowest *misura*, in 6/4; the *quadernaria* was one-sixth faster and in 4/4; the *saltarello* was two-sixth's (one third) faster and in 6/8;

the *piva* was twice as fast as the *bassadanza* (three-sixth's faster) and in 4/8 or 6/8. The *saltarello* and *piva* were traditional dances and, like the *bassadanza*, not only part of a *ballo*, but independent dance types.

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FROM TEMPLE COURTYARD TO AMPHITHEATER: CHANGES IN THE USE OF SPACE IN BALINESE *KECAK* PERFORMANCES

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The Balinese dance *kecak* is one of the most prominent performing arts genres on Bali. It is promoted in tourist brochures, on websites and travel magazines as one of the most "traditional," maybe even "authentic" performances to be witnessed while on holidays in Bali. Most tourists with an emphasis on cultural tourism to Bali – individual or group – have a *kecak* performance included in their travel program.[1] When performed for tourists, the *kecak* will be presented in a standardized form, sometimes also called the *kecak ramayana*.[2] In this form, the *kecak* will last for one hour, during which an abbreviated version of the Indian Ramayana epic[3] is performed. A *kecak ramayana* features six to twelve female and male dancers depicting the scenes of the storyline. Their dresses are elaborate, every character has his or her recognizable dress and gestures. Around them, sitting in concentric circles cross-legged on the floor, an all-male chorus of about 100 men form both the living backdrop as well as provide the only musical accompaniment for the performance. The male voices shout out the syllable "cak" in a complex and multi-layered interlocking structure. The name *kecak* therefore is onomatopoeic, taken from this basic syllable *cak* voiced by the *kecak* group.[4]

As has been said, the *kecak ramayana* is often advertised and performed for a tourist audience, either on stages set up especially for this purpose, in the outer courtyard of community temples that function as public stage, or directly in the hotels. When asking tourists what they expect and like about *kecak* performances, among others I mainly got the response that they liked the performance but would have preferred a staging in the original context, as for example a German tourist put it: "I didn't like that it was no real kecak, but only for tourists."[5] I have no doubt that these tourists were incredibly disappointed were they to know, that the *kecak ramayana* is a dance performance *exclusively* staged for tourists, and that there is no other performance venue, no *kecak* in an entirely Balinese surrounding. Yet it would be wrong to state that the *kecak* is out of any Balinese context. It is a strong and important part of the Balinese culture, although the audience is composed of foreigners to the island.[6] *Kecak* groups, mostly organized in a form called *sekaha cak*,[7] are entirely community based and have several functions. The most obvious reason for villages or area groups to form a *sekaha cak* is to generate income collectively for the community by way of using the strongest source of income in southern Bali, which is tourism. In doing that through a performance in which many must participate, *kecak* groups not only generate income, they also stimulate the sense of community. Another side aspect is that by earning money through a Balinese performing arts form, the value local arts have in the eyes not only of the audience, but also in the view of the performers, rises significantly.

One might ask how a local genre as the *kecak* can make its way into being solely a tourist performing art. The explanation is to be found in the early historical development of the *kecak*. Due to several very valuable sources[8] it could be reconstructed, how exactly the *kecak* was created. In 1931, the German filmmaker Victor von Plessen came to Bali to film the movie *Insel der Dämonen* (Island of Demons). In order to make the film look as local, not to say "authentic" as possible, Plessen asked the famous German expatriate on Bali Walter Spies to help with the preparations and execution of the film. In later documents Spies is listed as "künstlerischer Beirat, Choreographie der Tänze, [...] ethnografische Beratung" (artistic adviser, choreography of dances and ethnographical advice) (Eisner 1933), though letters Walter and his nephew Conrad Spies wrote during that time indicate that his role exceeded that immensely.[9] Spies was responsible for choosing the locations, the cast, and also participated in developing the storyline. In addition, Spies chose the music and dance genres which would be included in the film.

For the final, climatic scene of the film, Spies decided to include a *sanghyang dedari* dance, which is part of an exorcism ritual. In *sanghyang dedari*, two female, pre-adolescent dancers fall into trance. While in trance, they educate dance movements taken from the classical Balinese dance repertoire. They are accompanied first by a female choir singing songs for transporting them into trance. When they dance, a male choir takes over, which does not sing songs, instead they produce the complex voice interlocking based on the syllable "cak" which today is the accompaniment for the *kecak*. The rite is carried out whenever a village was hit by misfortunes, in order to exorcise evil spirit forces that might roam the village.

On his first trip to Bali in 1925 (Rhodius 1960:35), Spies encountered such a *sanghyang dedari* ritual and was fascinated by it.[10] Ever since, he kept that fascination for this genre, which surely is the reason why he included it in the film at the final, climatic moment.

Yet, what actually is included in the film is not a *sanghyang dedari* as it is carried out in temple grounds. In many aspects, it was altered for the film. All trance in the film is pretense, we see the two dancers dancing with closed eyes, but they show no signs of trance as can be noticed in other film documents from this or similar rituals of that time.[11] In addition, the accompanying group of *cak* singers is performing some few dance movements. But the most significant difference is that a light is used in the middle of the *cak* group, in order to have the faces and upper bodies of the dancers lit up for the filming.

Therefore what we see in the film still is a *sanghyang dedari* ritual in the sense that it resembles the same structure of the ritual, makes use of the same movements and music. Yet, here for the first time the *sanghyang dedari* is taken out of a ritual context and performed for the filming process. The film *Insel der Dämonen* is often mentioned to be the reason the *kecak* was invented for. However, this is not entirely true. It is the first step away from the *sanghyang dedari* into the direction of a *kecak*, but the *kecak* as a separate genre was not developed for the film, instead it just happened to be developed at about the same time the film was shot. Spies and a very prominent dancer from Bedulu, I Wayan Limbak, were engaged in creating something new out of parts of the *sanghyang dedari* ritual. If this was shortly before the filming process or afterwards is not clear. There are no sources known so far that make reference to the exact times of this development. Limbak, encouraged by Spies, took only the male *cak* group out of the *sanghyang dedari* and started to experiment with the music and the dance movements.[12] The *cak* group was enlarged, and a storyline was added, which was carried out by male dancers from within the *cak* group, standing up as soloists from the group to join them again when their part of the dance was finished. The earliest source that mentions the name "*kecak*" is from 1934, written by Spies.[13] One can therefore assume that the *kecak* by this time had been established as a separate genre with a distinct performance context. Interestingly, as early as 1935, the *kecak* was performed for a tourist audience, which can be seen for example through a letter sent by Spies to Jane Belo and Colin McPhee, dating May 10 1935, in which he describes in detail how he organized a *kecak* performance for the visiting general governor of the Netherlands East Indies.[14] I have found no sources indicating that the *kecak* was ever performed for a Balinese audience. Therefore it can be concluded that from the very beginning, the *kecak* was performed in a tourist context, for which it was made suitable and promoted.

Concerning the *sanghyang dedari*, it was not superseded by the *kecak*, instead it continued to be carried out in its ritual context.[15] It is therefore false to say, that the *kecak* is a successor of the *sanghyang dedari*, instead it must be seen as an independent art form, for which some elements from the *sanghyang dedari* – the music and some choreographic as well as movement repertoire elements of the male chorus – have been separated and on artistic foundations transformed into an entirely secular performance genre.

In the following, I want to present one concrete aspect of the development from *sanghyang* to *kecak* and from *kecak* in the 1930s to *kecak* today. My aim is to focus on the choreographic aspects concerning use of space, and how this changed in accordance with the performance venue and aim of the staging. I will demonstrate, how the choreography and with it the use of performance space for the ritual predecessor *sanghyang dedari* was adapted and transformed into the present, secular form that is staged as *kecak*.

In order to point out how exactly the use of performance space was adapted to the performance context, I will compare two films of *sanghyang dedari* rituals dating 1926 and 1932 with two different films of *kecak* performances, the first from 1935 and the last from 2001. With this historical approach I want to point out, how the change of performance context correlates with the change of performance space and choreography.

My first example is taken from a film recorded in 1926 by Willy Mullens. It shows a *sanghyang dedari* ritual, which reportedly was only carried out in the inner temple grounds or *jeroan* of a temple.[16] The group of *cak* singers is sitting in concentric circles, very close to one another, on the right side. The audience is scattered around them, in the back you see the stone wall of the *goa gajah*. On camera movements further to the left you see another group of spectators there, and it is likely that next to the camera more audience could have been found. The dancers dance in the middle of the scene, heading nowhere but dancing freely on the given space. Being in trance, they walk and turn wherever their feet carry them, and are blocked only by the *cak* group to the right, the wall in the back and the group of people to the left. They also dance through or around burning charcoal, not noticing the heat due to their being in trance.

Figure 1. Still photograph from Mullens' *sanghyang* documentary from 1926

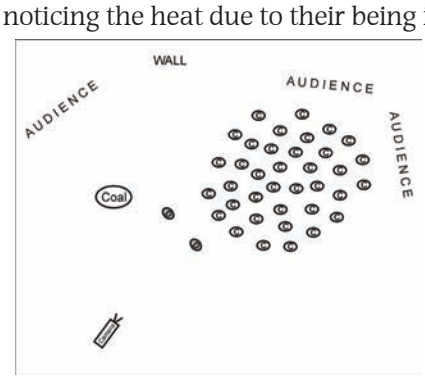

Figure 2. Sketch of the floor layout in Mullens' *sanghyang* documentary from 1926

It is noticeable, that neither the *cak* group, nor the dancers or anyone else involved in the ritual is actually facing a certain direction, in other words, they do not care where the human spectators are, or even *if* they are there or not. To carry out the *sanghyang dedari* is to face the gods, to have them descend into the trance dancers. It is not staged in any way, nor is it performed for the entertainment of the audience. This inner, ritual purpose of the dance is mirrored in the way the space is used; what is important is that all members and elements of the ritual are close to each other in order to see and hear. One could say that all elements of the ritual focus inwards, or maybe each other, they certainly do not face any auditorium. In that sense, there is no stage and no auditorium, the *sanghyang* can be watched from all sides and angles. The audience is secondary, they can watch from wherever they will find a place around the actual space of the event, but if they are not there, that would be sufficient as well.

A major change between this film and the next example is noticeable. The second example is the *sanghyang dedari* scene from the earlier mentioned movie *Insel der Dämonen.* The whole setting is designed to suit the filming, artificial lights are used, outside and inside the *cak* group, and for lighting up the two trance dancers. The *cak* group is situated on the left of the artificial temple scene. The group is much smaller than the group seen in the Mullens documentary from 1926, yet their role in the ritual is visually enhanced through the adding of the central lamp (*damar kecak*) in their midst, and some additional close-up shots of single members of the *cak* group.

It is clear, that the *sanghyang dedari* ritual for this film has been transformed into a performance of a ritual. I will not go into a detailed analysis of the differences between the ritual itself as documented by Mullens and this visual representation of the ritual in *Insel der Dämonen.* The two occasions differ enormously in terms of dance movements both by the female trance dancers and the *cak* group, the costumes, the overall progression of events and so forth. On a second level, the way the elements of the ritual are cut for the film differ as well; where Mullens tried to document the whole ritual's course of events, Plessen focuses on some more spectacular elements and uses montage to escalate the tension. Above all these already mentioned major differences, the use of space differs accordingly. An obvious orientation of the two female trance dancers away from the chorus, towards an "artificial" audience in front is noticeable. Of course there is no real audience; the only spectators are the two cameras filming the event (and, in the moment of the filming, certainly the filming crew on site). In order to achieve this clear alignment, the dancers just pretend to be in trance – as has been stated before –, and through that are able to control their heading and choreography.

What was obvious for the first example, namely the focusing inwards, the free use of space and the not-minding-the-spectators is not to be found here. The paths the dancers have to take are set, they are not free to roam the available space. Instead, they have to dance in a choreographed way for the cameras to capture their every move. The ritual altogether is formalized and polished, it is set up to face outwards and towards the cameras, the virtual audience.

Figure 3. Still photograph from Insel der Dämonen 1932

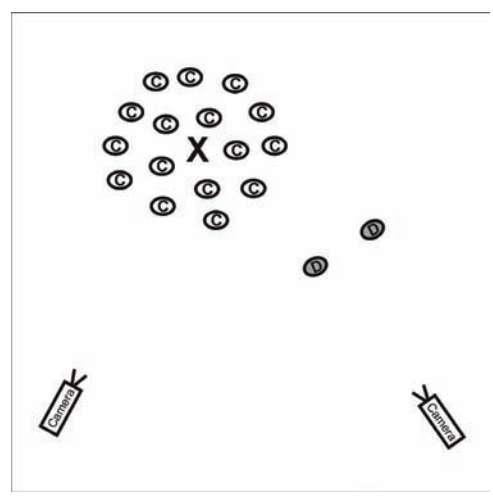

Figure 4. Sketch of the floor layout for the *sanghyang dedari* in Insel der Dämonen 1932

The third example dates 1935. It is a documentary filmed by Vicky Baum, featuring parts of a *kecak.* As noted above, by then the *kecak* had been established as a new and self-contained danceform. This document from 1935 is the oldest known filmographic source of a *kecak* dance performance. As has been stated several times by now, in 1935 the *kecak* was already exclusively performed for tourists, yet in the Baum documentary film we see no audience, the only audience again being the camera. The simple reason is, that this certain *kecak* performance was staged once and especially for the filming during daytime to ensure better lighting, whereas the *kecak* usually is performed at night. Thanks to a letter written by Baum during her stay on Bali, where she describes a *kecak* performance in length, we can conclude that the *kecak* filmed here, although during daytime, resembles that of nighttime performances for a paying tourist audience.[17]

Figure 5. Still photograph from Baum's Bali documentary 1935

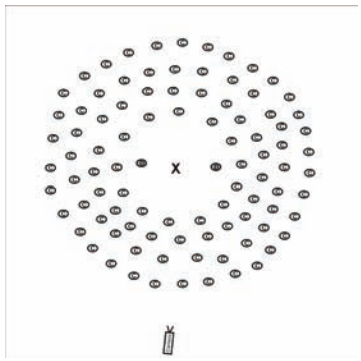

Figure 6. Sketch of the floor layout of the *kecak* in Baum's Bali documentary 1935

The setting has changed fundamentally; the final step away from the ritual has been taken. The *cak* group has become the center of attention, performing more elaborate choreographic elements in a group. The two female trance dancers, prominent in the *sanghyang dedari*, have been abandoned. Instead, soloists from the *cak* group rise to dance and perform a plot within the choir and around the central lamp. The male soloists are not in trance; they perform a story with a set choreography, namely the fight between two monkey kings, taken out of the Ramayana epic. The *cak* group has become the main attraction; it is no longer accompaniment but the most important part of the performance, placed in the middle of the stage. In order to fill the stage, the group has been enlarged to an even bigger number than in the *sanghyang dedari*, and they are seated with much more space between them in order to allow for broader movements of the *cak* group members. The focus of this new *kecak* performance lies on aesthetic elements and an enhancement of movements, a refinement of choreography. All this is maintained in order to suit the expectations of a human audience, and more so, of a foreign audience.[18] It should be mentioned here, that performing for purely aesthetic reasons, for the pleasure of a paying audience without any direct link to a ritual, religious or social event has had no tradition on Bali prior to the 1930s and the establishing of performances for visitors to the island.

Concerning use of space it is obvious, that although the solo dancers dance inside the *cak* group, they are choreographed to be seen by the surrounding audience. All *cak* group's movements are designed to be impressive to look at from outside, mostly the front, but also the sides, as in an amphitheater.

It should be mentioned here, how not only the space but also the venue, closely related to it, changed from *sanghyang* to *kecak*. While *sanghyang dedari* was and is always performed in the innermost temple grounds called *jeroan*, *kecak* performances in the 1930s were either staged on open spaces outside the temple, or the outermost yard of the temple, the *jaba*.[19] Both venues have in common, that the ritual or performance respectively can theoretically be watched from three sides, which are front, left and right. With the further development of the *kecak* into a tourist business, additional venues have been developed. As has been said, these days, *kecak* is performed in community halls, on open spaces in hotels, on especially built performance stages as well as continually in *jaba* temple grounds. Of interest here are the especially built stages where *kecak* is performed. In most cases, these stages are a combination of amphitheater and proscenium stage. The seating rows usually rise steeply in order to facilitate free view to the stage for all visiting tourists. The stage is only partly integrated into the seating rows' area, which allows to apply a choreography that has a strong orientation towards upstage and in addition can be laid out to look interesting if watched from the sides. Therefore, the common layout of a Balinese stage, which would be open on three sides with the audience surrounding it is still kept, yet adapted to foreign audiences' taste and their being used to a proscenium stage.

The final example is taken from a film of a *kecak* performance in 2001. The performing group is Sekaha Cak Puspita Jaya of Blahkiu.

Figure 7. Still photograph of a kecak performance by Sekaha Cak Puspita Jaya in 2001

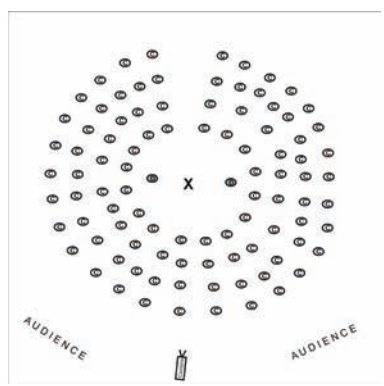

Figure 8. Sketch of the floor layout of the *kecak* performance by Sekaha Cak Puspita Jaya in 2001

This is a standard *kecak ramayana*, as it is performed until today for tourists on Bali. This particular event takes place on a stage especially built for *kecak* performances, the Uma Dewi in Kesiman, which is a typical example for the combination of local Balinese stage layout, amphitheatre and proscenium stage as has been described above. As in the last example, the dancers here are dancing inside the *cak* circle, around the *damar kecak* lamp, but in addition to that, the whole space of the stage is used not only by the *cak* group, but even more so by the solo dancers. They will dance in between, around, behind and in front of the *cak* group. In order to allow the solo dancers a better entering and leaving of the *cak* group, the concentric circles leave an alleyway open to the entrance at the backstage center. The 1930s *kecak* has been further developed into an entertaining performance, where the focus shifted from the *cak* group back to the dancers, who are elaborately dressed and masked. Nevertheless, a *kecak* performance today features complex dancing *and* elaborate *cak* musical accompaniment; both elements are considered equally necessary and important for a valuable *kecak* performance.

Several elements make clear that the *kecak ramayana* here is designed to meet foreign audiences' expectations of a staged performance. For example, the *damar kecak* is still in the center, but is not the only source of light; colored spotlights lighten up the performance. The use of space is also adapted from Western concepts of use of stage, where the walking and dancing paths of the soloists as well as the *cak* group are choreographed to cover all points on stage. Entrances and exits are choreographed with great variety by use of three different exits at the back of the stage, upstage and downstage elements as well as diagonal movements and lines of sight, and so on, are used extensively. Here the performance space has become the stage in its entirety. All action on stage takes place in a manner that provides entertainment to the audience, which is seated in front – and sometimes to the sides.

I would like to add a final paragraph in order to show that the *kecak ramayana* is not the only way *kecak* is performed on Bali today. In fact, there is a second branch of *kecak* performances that is outside the tourist context, though not as well known and widespread as the *kecak ramayana.*

During the last two decades another performance venue has slowly opened up and seems to be more and more appealing to both Balinese artists and audiences alike. At these venues, *kecak kreasi* (*kecak* creation) which are new works for *kecak*, are performed. Here *kecak* basics are often combined with other dance genres, and new and different plots are adapted. In contrast to the regular tourist performances, *kecak kreasi* are usually performed on special occasions only. One example for such a *kecak kreasi* would be a work called *kecak rebat* by the well known Balinese choreographer Made Sidia from 2010, which was choreographed for the annual *Pesta Kesenian Bali* (PKB), the festival for Balinese Arts, where the audience is comprised mainly of Balinese.

One could assume that *kecak kreasi* might have a different use of space, but fact is, that in accordance with the facts described above, the *kecak kreasi* makes use of the performance space the same way the *kecak ramayana* does. *Kecak kreasi* is designed for entertainment, heading outwards of the group and towards the audience. *Kecak kreasi* will be performed in the typical amphitheater-proscenium setting, where the audience can watch the performance from three sides, yet a clear orientation towards the front (upstage), away from the background (downstage) is noticeable.

In conclusion, for the case of the *kecak* and its predecessor *sanghyang dedari*, two general assumptions can be made. First, the less choreography is used, the more free the dancers are to roam the space, as is the case in *sanghyang dedari* rituals, the more the orientation of all people actively involved in the ritual is inwards, facing each other, not an outside audience. Second, the more choreography is used, the more all participants on stage are bound to exact courses of action, as is the case in staged *kecak* performances, the more is the orientation towards the audience and facing outwards. I hope that with these elaborations on the development from the *sanghyang dedari* towards the *kecak ramayana* and *kecak kreasi*, I was able to show that in the case of the *kecak* the use of performance space is directly linked to the performance context.

Endnotes

1. For some general information and thoughts about cultural tourism on Bali see: McKean 1977, Picard 1996, 2007, and Dunbar-Hall 2001.
2. The *kecak ramayana* has been developed in the 1960s, using influences from several other Balinese and Javanese dance genres. This newly developed *kecak* performance soon became standard throughout southern Bali due to pressure by travel agencies to not bring their clients to *kecak* performances that would not provide the standard *kecak ramayana.* [Bandem / deBoer 1981:147].
3. For an introduction into the adapted version common on in Indonesia see Saran, Malini; Khanna, Vinod 2004.
4. This paper is based on material taken out of my PhD thesis finished in 2010, with the title: "The *kecak* – a Balinese dance, its genesis, development and manifestation today."
5. As part of the research for my thesis, I conducted a survey in 2006, which focused on the tourists' perspectives on *kecak* performances in the Ubud area.
6. For more information on the 'authenticity' issue concerning the *kecak*, see Stepputat 2011.
7. *Sekaha* is one of many possible social organizational forms on Bali, where membership is voluntary. *Sekaha* usually have a common goal, which can be artistic or social. For more information see Leemann 2001:93 and Geertz 1980:158.

8. For my PhD thesis I researched many historical audio, visual and written primary sources. They can be found, for example, in the archives of the KITLV (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) in Leiden, the KIT (Royal Tropical Institute) in Amsterdam, the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, the Berlin Phonogramm Archive and the Leo and Walter Spies Archive in Berlin.
9. For example a letter Conrad Spies wrote to aunt Martha (Walter Spies' mother), July 19, 1931. Letters from Conrad Spies and Walter Spies to their family are stored at the Leo and Walter Spies Archiv in Berlin.
10. Kunst in his second book about Balinese Music from 1925 included a description of the *sanghyang dedari* written by Walter Spies [Kunst 1925:454–458].
11. See for example Belo's *Trance in Bali*, a book, which relies heavily on fieldwork material by Belo, Gregory Bateson, and Margaret Mead (Belo 1960). In comparison see Mead and Bateson's film "Trance and Dance in Bali", released in 1952.
12. In some publications about the *kecak* you will find hesitation and speculation on who actually was involved in creating this early form of the *kecak.* After examining all relevant historical material I dare to conclude, that only Spies and Limbak together with the villagers of Bedulu were involved with the *kecak* at this early stage; all others like Katharane Mershon, I Nengah Mudarya and the villagers of Bona had their share of the development, but at a later stage.
13. See the paragraphs about music and dance in Gianyar, written by Spies, in the "Memories van Overgave" by H.K. Jakobs, *controlleur* of the Balinese districts Gianyar, Klungkung and Karangasem. The "Memories van Overgabe" were retrospective reports that had to be written by each colonial civil servant leaving his post in the Netherlands East Indies.
14. The letter is stored at the Walter Spies Collection, University of Amsterdam.
15. Since the 1990s, the *sanghyang dedari* is also regularly performed for tourists, although according to Balinese concepts of what should be promoted this actually is not allowed. The *sanghyang dedari* in its ritual form is rarely to be found on Bali. There are two possible explanations for that. First, it is obvious that even trance rituals and sacred dances on Bali are subject to change and trends, which would explain why certain other rituals and dances are to be found much more often than the *sanghyang dedari* today. Second, since the *sanghyang dedari* was connected to great misfortunes, plagues or widespread diseases in villages, and terrible events like those rarely take place these days on Bali, the reason to carry out *sanghyang dedari* rituals simply has ceased to exist.
16. In the background of parts of the film it is noticeable, that the ritual takes place in the open space in front of the *goa gajah,* a major architectural sight on Bali located half way between Bedulu and Mas. This "elephant cave" is generally dated to the 9th century. The space in front of the shrine today is not actually seen as a temple courtyard, yet the sight is regarded as a sanctuary. Whether the space has been used as a temple, or the ritual was transferred there by the filming team in order to have a more spectacular backdrop (the cave was only discovered three years earlier) must be left open to speculation.
17. Letter by Vicky Baum to her husband Hans Richard Lert, Bali, April 11, 1935. The letter is part of the Vicky Baum legacy kept at Akademie der Künste Berlin.
18. It has to be kept in mind that most visitors to Bali in the 1930s, originating mostly from Western European countries and North America, did have very little intercultural expertise and limited knowledge of the difference of cultures. Therefore when they went to what was advertised as "dance performances" of any kind they surely would expect to be presented with a performance similar to the way they knew performances for paying customers to be in their native countries.
19. For further information about the architecture and cosmological structure of Balinese temples, especially in the 1930s, see the chapter on "Temples and temple feasts" in Covarrubias 1999:263–275.

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"INVADING" SPACE: ACHIEVING GOALS IN A SOUTH KOREAN MASKED DANCE-DRAMA

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Kosông Ogwangdae is one of many old masked dance-drama forms still performed in South Korea. The name of this genre reflects the town in which it originated (Kosông), and includes a reference to "five clowns" (*ogwangdae*). The "clowns" are actually five aristocrats who are joined by a number of other characters in the five scenes that constitute a performance.

Kosông Ogwangdae was originally performed out-of-doors. Itinerant performers donned masks and costumes and enacted characters, through voice and movement, in open areas at outdoor markets and large fields in and near the town of Kosông.

In my comments here I examine how, by "invading" space, Kosông Ogwangdae performers today contribute to creating *shinmyông*, the overriding goal of the performance. I do this by addressing selected examples from three perspectives: the manner in which the performing space is delineated, the ways in which several characters make use of this space, and the way in which the performance concludes in relation to space. My observations are based on examining performances of Kosông Ogwangdae by Korean dancers in a variety of settings both in Korea and in the United States, and on interviews and conversations with performers and audience members.

Delineating the performing space

Performances originally occurred in impromptu arenas, settings in which they still frequently occur today. Musicians form a small arc at what becomes the "back" of the performing space, and members of the audience, who sit on the ground, are encouraged to continue this shape to complete a circular arena inside of which most of the performance occurs. Dancers move in the center of the circular space, form their own small circle inside the larger circular arena, and traverse this arena created by the musicians and audience members as they move, strut, and meander through the danced and spoken scenes.

A small space beyond the performing arena and the audience serves as an improvised place for donning costumes and masks. This is also where musicians prepare their instruments, and where performers rest between scenes. As the musicians and the dancers for the first scene leave this space to enter the arena and begin the performance, audience members move away from each other to create a pathway that becomes an understood extension of the performing arena.

While many performances today still are done in impromptu settings, they sometimes occur on raised platform stages, and occasionally on indoor proscenium arch stages. At these times musicians tend to stand in a line at the back or side of the stage, the performers change their overall focus to orient toward the audience members, who are seated on only one side, and entrances and exits are generally made from the side of the stage.

Use of space by several characters

Whether in an outdoor impromptu arena or on a platform stage, however, at times, there are deviations from these usual spatial orientations. In the fourth scene, Bibi, a mythological lion-like creature, sets out to eat the aristocrats. Unlike other characters who enter the performing space via the acknowledged pathway through the audience in time to the accompanying drum rhythms, Bibi leaps from behind the circle of spectators over the heads of audience members not seated near the pathway and aggressively bolts into the arena. He quickly looks around, and then just as quickly zig-zags between individual audience members as he invades their space and then hovers over an unsuspecting child or older person. This usually elicits screams of surprise or delight, and occasionally tears as a young child is frightened by both the sight of a masked character with horns and a long tail, and the unexpected presence of the character in the midst of the audience. It also meets with laughter and comments as audience members remark on the reactions of the unsuspecting individuals closest to the spatial intrusion.

The mythological creature returns to the central performing space, and then again winds his way back into the midst of the audience to reach another part of the circle of observers – continuing to avoid the "official" entrance pathway and confronting audience members. Again, shrieks of surprise and laughter meet this unanticipated invasion of the audience's space.

In the fifth scene, a humorous old woman waddles slowly down the entrance path and makes her way into the arena, her hips swaying in time to the beats of the drum as she laboriously wanders, searching for her errant husband. She takes several steps, pauses, and raises her hand to shield her eyes as she scans the horizon in front of her. She

does not see him, and continues her search. She finds her way to one edge of the arena, and stopping in front of an audience member, she looks out over the rows of seated spectators, as if hoping to find her husband among them. When she mimes looking for her husband in the space that "belongs" to the audience she, too, invades their space.

She violates the audience/performer spatial delineation again later in the scene. She eventually locates her husband, who is engaged in a tryst with a young woman. The young woman is pregnant, and about to give birth to her child. A blind shaman is called upon to assist in the delivery. As he begins ritual incantations, the old woman fetches the branch of a tree and a bowl, often made from a hollowed-out gourd that is filled with water. She dips the tree branch into the bowl and uses it to sprinkle water on the woman in labor to symbolically cleanse her and ward off evil spirits, part of the ritual to assure an easy and successful birth. She then circles the performing space, stops in front of an audience member, and sprinkles the audience member with water, again, a traditional practice to cleanse the person and deter evil spirits. This generates laughter, and she proceeds to another audience member in a different place in the circle.

She pauses and looks at the new person in front of her, who quickly covers his head in anticipation of being sprinkled. She then dips the branch into the water, and with a large arcing movement of her arm spews a light shower of water on an unsuspecting audience member several rows back.

Suspense mounts as the old woman proceeds to yet another part of the circle, pausing briefly several times as if considering who will become the next victim. She stops, looks at an audience member in the front row slightly to her right, looks straight ahead of her and a little further back in the audience, starts to dip the tree branch into the bowl, quickly grabs both sides of the bowl, with a burst of energy and a sweeping arm movement propels the entire contents of the bowl so they soak a huge section of unsuspecting audience members to her left, and then casually wanders back to the pregnant young woman as the audience reels with chatter and laughter.

Analysis

What happens when these characters disregard the mutually established spatial boundaries between performers and audience? In several instances dramatic excitement is created through the element of surprise. When performances occur in a traditional setting, there are no formal markings to set apart the performing space. Instead, understood delineations are created either by performers coming into the open space prior to the beginning of the performance and asking audience members to move back, come closer, clear a space on one side for the musicians, or adjust in whatever ways necessary to give the performers the space they need, or, occasionally, by placing temporary markers, such as tree branches, to delineate the needed space. Such markers are generally removed before the performance begins, leaving only implicit boundaries to separate the audience and performers, boundaries that are broken later through surprise actions.

When performances are presented on a formal raised stage, there is an explicit separation between audience and performers. This does not, however, prohibit trespassing the separation. The mythological character still enters through the audience before joining other performers on the stage, and the old woman often descends into the audience to execute her watery antics or vigorously projects them from the stage into the audience. In these instances, surprise actions break the explicit boundaries.

Since the first three scenes progress in a manner that respects the established boundaries, whether in a traditional or more contemporary setting, the audience is unprepared for transgressions of them. In addition to the actions of surprise spatial invasions, the responses of individuals closest to the intruding performers as well as those of others reacting to the surprise and expressing delight, or sympathy, to those most directly affected, serve to engage the audience in the performance. They are no longer passive spectators, but are now active participants.

More important, however, in relation to the ultimate goal of the performance, is that audience members have started to become a community, united by anticipation of what might happen next, joined in the cathartic experience that comes from laughter, and directly engaged with characters who initially seemed remote because of their stereotypic and "other" nature as well as their masks.

Becoming a community is critical in relation to the goal of the performance, which is to achieve *shinmyông*. A Korean writer describes *shinmyông* as "the spirit of life" (the description that follows is taken from Van Zile 2004). When one understands how to struggle with life and resolve life's problems, there is a release of power resulting in an experience known as *shinmyông*. This experience is said to reflect an understanding that "man is with Heaven," an integration of the sacred and secular. It is the result of the descent of a spirit into the individual, is characterized by ecstasy and spontaneous song and dance, and causes the person "to fly with the wind." When one individual experiences *shinmyông*, it is possible for that person to then "ignite" the *shinmyông* that is deeply hidden in others. The entire process is the result of the fighting spirit necessary to confront the struggles of daily life. If successful, which means communally shared, *shinmyông* "resolves the resentment and pain accumulated in the course of life, and gives fresh vigor to it." *Shinmyông* creates "a bond of community spirit by resolving the conflicting forces in life and society" (Anonymous 1988). Hence, the ideas of community and *shinmyông* are inextricably intertwined.

The culmination of the creation of *shinmyông* in Kosông Ogwangdae is evident in a series of invasions of space at the end of the performance. Following the last scene there is a realistic depiction of a funeral procession. Donned in traditional funeral attire of white clothing and tall hemp hats, the entire cast embarks on a procession through the

performing arena. Several musicians playing drums, gongs, and flutes lead the group, and all sing a slow, methodical funeral dirge. A number of performers balance two long poles on their shoulders, in the center of which is placed a highly ornamented rectangular shrine, which in a real funeral, would contain the body of the deceased.

The procession enters the arena via the established entrance and exit pathway, and circumambulates the performing arena. One performer then invades the audience space to select an individual and usher him (or her) into the performing space. The poles with the shrine atop them are lowered and the individual is helped to mount the poles in front of the shrine. He holds supporting ropes while the poles, together with him and the shrine, are hoisted back onto the performers' shoulders and the procession continues. A traditional practice at a funeral, the individual serves as a companion to accompany the spirit of the deceased on the otherwise lonely journey to the next world.

As the procession continues, individuals from the audience are encouraged to enter the performing space in order to place money in the intertwined ropes extending the length of the poles, money that symbolically can be used by the deceased to purchase necessities in the next world. (In a real funeral the money would be used to offset burial expenses and assist the living family members. In a Kosông Ogwangdae performance the money contributes to performance expenses.)

The boundary between the audience and the performers is once again transgressed. This time the boundary between the imagined performance and the real world is also transgressed. The poles may be lowered several more times to allow the individual who has mounted them to descend and other individuals, one by one, to actively become a companion for the deceased.

As the assumed boundary separating audience and performers continues to be crossed by some individuals mounting and descending the poles and others approaching them to make monetary contributions, the entire enterprise becomes increasingly communal as it builds to spontaneous audience involvement. The singing eventually subsides as the musicians segue into faster and louder music that focuses on the persistent rhythm of the drum and metal gong. The performers remove the poles with the shrine from the performing arena and return to begin to dance in an improvised manner. Audience members who have entered the performing space find themselves literally confronted by dancing performers, including musicians, and are drawn into dancing themselves. Audience members who may have remained spatially removed up to this point begin to find themselves drawn to the driving beat of the drums and the energetic movements of the performers and former audience members who have now also become performers. There is no longer a performing arena and an audience space. Spatial boundaries, whether explicit or implicit, have been dismantled as the audience and performers become a unified community immersed in *shinmyông*.

Why "invade" space?

I began this essay by referring to the "invasion" of space, and have used this term throughout my description and analysis. Although it is not a term I have heard (in its Korean version) used by Kosông Ogwangdae practitioners, based on comments of performers and audience members, it is a term I consider appropriate in relation to the modern performances described here. If understood in its basic definition as meaning "to enter another's territory" or "to spread completely," it is easy to consider it a fairly straightforward description of the way in which space is used in portions of Kosông Ogwangdae performances today. But even if used to embrace what might be considered more negative connotations, meanings of "entering by force," or "intruding upon," it can still be appropriate.

It is the intention of Kosông Ogwangdae performers now, as in the past, to create an atmosphere of *shinmyông*, or communal and spiritual involvement. In the past, this was an easy task. Performers were often friends or relatives who were shop owners in the village or who worked in the fields with local residents. Members of the audience knew each other. They also knew the story of the scenes depicted, and had participated countless times in the customs represented. A sense of community already existed. When a performance occurred, despite the need to give the performers space in which to move, there was no awareness of a "performing space" and an "audience space." The open field or town square belonged to everyone. If someone wished to interact with the performers or get up and dance with one of the characters at any moment during the performance, that was what happened, and no one thought it unusual. People knew that being sprinkled with water purified them and expelled evil spirits. Everyone knew that it was an honor and privilege to mount the poles carrying a funeral shrine to accompany a friend or relative on the journey to the next world. Everyone looked forward to joining not only the performers, but the entire community, in the joy and release of communal dancing at the end of the performance. There were no spatial boundaries.

Today's audiences are often not from Kosông. Most have been raised on television, film, and western-style proscenium arch theatres. They do not know the performers or the stories enacted, and many do not know traditional customs. They may come to the performance with several friends or relatives, but they largely sit among people they do not know to watch performers they also do not know. They come with an experiential background and psychological awareness of spatial boundaries, which they impose as the performance unfolds.

According to contemporary performers, in former times the mythological lion-like character did not begin his performance by mingling with the audience. The old woman gently sprinkled only a few audience members before continuing with the scene in which the baby is delivered. Members of the audience spontaneously participated in the funeral procession, and needed no encouragement to make monetary donations and join the culminating dancing.

In today's performances, by intentionally transgressing the space assumed to belong to the audience, and

by intentionally drawing the audience into the space assumed to belong to them, performers consciously adapt traditional performance practices to break down the non-traditional spatial boundaries. Indeed, today, in a Kosông Ogwangdae performance, "invading" space contributes to achieving the traditional goal of *shinmyông.*

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THE INTERRELATEDNESS OF GEOGRAPHICAL SPACE AND DANCE

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In this paper, which is part of a more comprehensive study I am working on, I focus on one of the oldest dance formations, that of the circle, to be found on the territory of former Yugoslavia. For this territory, much data exists for the period of the 1930s to the present day; therefore this study will concentrate on that particular period of time.[1] In order to present in the best way the dissemination of this dance formation, I used the division of the territory of former Yugoslavia into dance regions made by Ivan Ivančan (1971). According to his division, there exist six dance regions: the Dinara region (1), the Pannonia region (2), the Morava region (3), the Alps region (4), the Vardar region (5) and the Adriatic region (6). The Dinara region includes the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro without the coastland, the mountainous part of Croatia, western Serbia as well as the Mijač region in Macedonia. The Pannonia region comprises of the plains of Croatia and Vojvodina, the Morava region covers the central and eastern Serbia, the Alps region includes Slovenia and part of Croatia, the Vardar region is almost the whole of Macedonia, and finally the Adriatic region embraces the narrow coastline and the islands of the Adriatic sea.

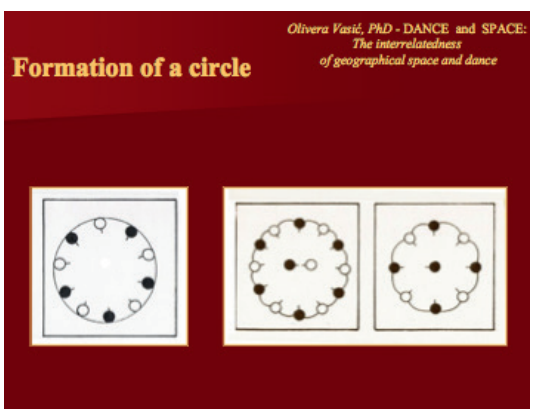

Figure 1.

In all these areas, one can find 266 dances in the formation of a circle. In addition to the circle, there are the variants of the circle with either one dancer or a pair of dancers in the centre depending on the dance function; the dancers are either linked or not.

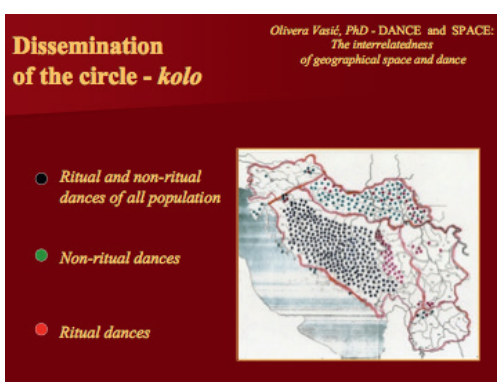

Figure 2.

The largest number of dances performed in a circle can be found in the Dinara region. The name used here for this dance formation is **kolo** or **zapučeno kolo**, **zatvoreno kolo** (closed circle). It was the constituent of various rituals like wedding ceremonies, funeral rituals, and the **vučari** processions. In, addition, it used to be part of harvest observances until the 1970s of the 20th century. It was the main dance formation at dance events and gatherings of all inhabitants of the Dinara region (the Serbs, the Croats, the Bosnians of all denominations). It could be accompanied merely by the rhythm of steps – that was **nemo** or **gluvo kolo** (mute or silent dance) – the name of the dances

having been given according to their features: *treskavica*, *poskočica*, *tapkalica*, *stupanje*, *triput na vrata*, *puška*, and so on. Dancing in a **kolo** (**circle**) could be accompanied by singing and as such the dances bear the names of the first line of the songs: *Pred ovim dvorom bijelim odavno kolo ne igra*, *Poigrala bijela vila* (in the wedding ceremony), *zetsko kolo*, *Višnjičica rod rodila*, *Selo, selo moje okićeno gorom*, *Gori gora, gori borovina* (at gatherings and dance events). Alternatively, dancing accompanied by songs was called **šetačko kolo** (walking dance) or **kolanje**. The dances in a kolo (circle), like *povratuša*, *dirlija*, were also performed to the vocal-instrumental accompaniment, the smallest number of them belonging to the ones with the instrumental accompaniment, mostly to be found on the fringes of the Dinara region. As regards the sexes of the dancers performing these dances in the form of **circle-kolo** (as they called it), they might be segregated depending on the dance function. The women of the community had a dominant role in the wedding ceremonies, the men in the winter rituals, whereas they mixed while dancing **kolo** at dance events and gatherings.

This dance formation called **kolo** (**circle**) holds a dominant position in the entire dance heritage of the Dinara region, no matter whether they are ritual or entertainment dances, if they are executed in towns or villages, or who performs them.

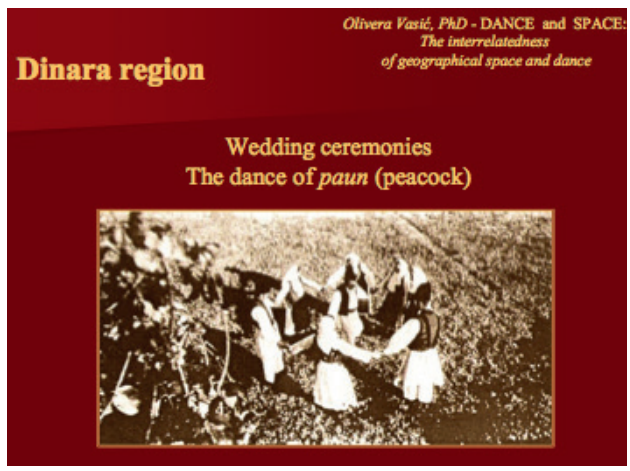

Figure 3.

Following further on this dance formation, it can be noticed that the Pannonia region is the second area to witness a considerable number of dances performed in a **kolo** (**circle**). Significantly, the whole dance repertoire of this region is divided into **kolos** and **couple dances**, meaning that the circle formation holds a noteworthy place in this region. **Kolos** could be performed to the accompaniment of songs, mainly at weddings, and they include dances like: *Lepa Anka kolo vodi*, *Oj ti mladi paune*, *Dilber nam je u kolu* (the Drava region) or at dancing gatherings with songs like: *Na kraj sela kolo igra*, *Ja ne volim, koj za kolom stoji*, *Postojale cure oko kola*, and so on, or with vocal-instrumental accompaniment like the dances *kalendara*, *povraćanac*, *ćire*, *dorata*, *pargara kolo*, *šokačko kolo* (Slavonia and Baranja). In the Pannonia region, **kolos** are also danced to the instrumental accompaniment, like *veliko* and *malo bačko kolo*, *bunjevačko kolo*, *kolo na dve strane*, *sremsko kolo*, *ore*, and so on, (Vojvodina). As for the dancers, **kolos** are usually mixed, female dancers having the dominant role only in the dances connected to the wedding rituals.

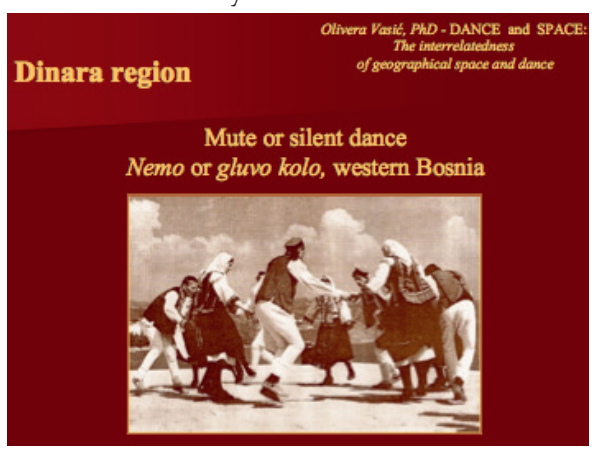

Figure 4.

The Alps region has dance heritage considerably different from other dance regions, a great number of its dances having been influenced by the ones from central Europe. Nevertheless, this region contains a certain number of dances performed in a circle, or as they call it **zaprt krug** (closed circle). The largest number of these dances is to be found in

Bela Krajina. These dances are: *mutapsko kolo* (silent dance), the dances accompanied by songs like *Kruške, jabuke, šljive*, *Lepa Anka*, *Seljančica*, *Pobelelo pole*, *Lepa moja gora zelena*... as well as two dances accompanied instrumentally, *žakle šivat* (Gorenjska) and *vrećo šivat* (western Styria). Both men and women participate in the execution of these dances.

Figure 5.

In the Adriatic region, the **circle** is represented in the dances to be found in the neighbourhood of Trogir, Šibenik, Dubrovnik, in Istra, and at the islands of Brač and Pag. The dances of this formation are called either *kolanje po starinski* or according to the places of their origin: *kolo iz Bola*, *kolo iz Marine*, *kolo iz Zlarina*; they can also be so called '*biraća kola*' (choosing kolos) like *balo di kušin*, *Igraj kolo na dvadeset i dva*, *I rešeto srce ima*, and so on. It is interesting to notice that, when they do not bear the names of the first line of the songs but the places of origin, they always have the word **kolo** designating actually the circular dance formation.

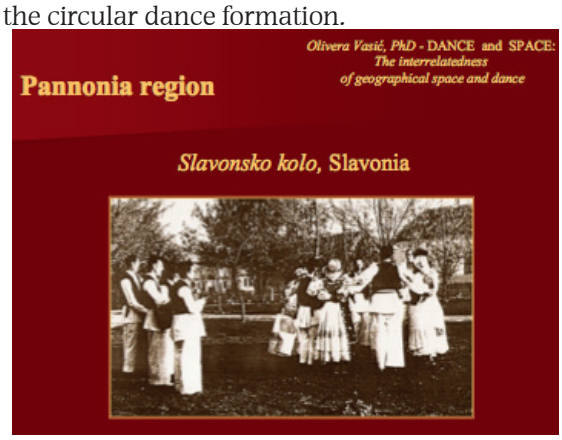

Figure 6.

In the Morava and Vardar regions, few dances are performed in a **circle**. In the Morava region, these are a few dances that used to be performed at Shrove-tide, *paunica* (in Gruža and Takovo), the women's Easter dance *čubra mara* (Crnorečje), the men's Easter dance *Hoće Ježo da se ženi* (the district of Siriniće at Kosovo) and men's dance *k'lač* (Prizren). In the Vardar region, there are several women's dances to be found near Tetovo and Skopje, like *ela, Lenče, ej sl'čence*, *tetovska kaločojna*, and so on.

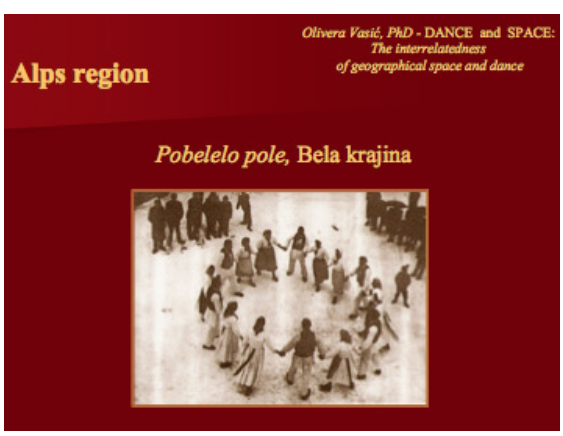

Figure 7.

At the end of this paper, a question can be posed, that is, is it the geographical space or something else what determines the circular dance formation – the **circle** (**kolo**)? Considering the dissemination of this dance formation, we can notice that the largest number is to be found in the Dinara region – 147 dances are of that formation; the Pannonia region has 71 dances of circular formation, the Alps region has 19 such dances, the Adriatic region has 18 dances and the Morava and Vardar regions have only six dances performed in a circle. The synonym of this dance formation is **kolo** in four regions: Dinara, Pannonia, Adriatic and Alps (but not of all dances of the Alps region).[2] The fact remains that this dance formation – the **circle** – disseminates into various geographical areas: mountains, plains and coastlands, indicating that geographical areas have no impact on its survival. Furthermore, the territory of former Yugoslavia witnessed multifarious cultural influences being the arena of many turbulent historic events. Nevertheless, the peoples of this country succeeded, until the 1970s, in preserving one of the oldest dance formation, that of the **circle**, called by them simply **kolo**.

Going back to this dance formation in the Dinara region, we can mention that it is present in rituals, at usual dance events, in both towns and villages, among the whole of population. Moving further to the fringes of this region, its number diminishes and it is preserved mostly in ritual dances (western Serbia). In the Pannonia region, this formation is to be found in the wedding ceremonies and the entertainment repertoire. In the Alps and Vardar regions, it can be found more in the entertainment repertoire than the ritual one. In the Morava region, it is connected only to the ritual dances, where as in the Adriatic region, this dance formation is present in the entertainment dance repertoire. To explain such a dissemination of this dance formation, we must remember the migrations of the population from 15th to the end of 19th century, although the migrations are still happening.

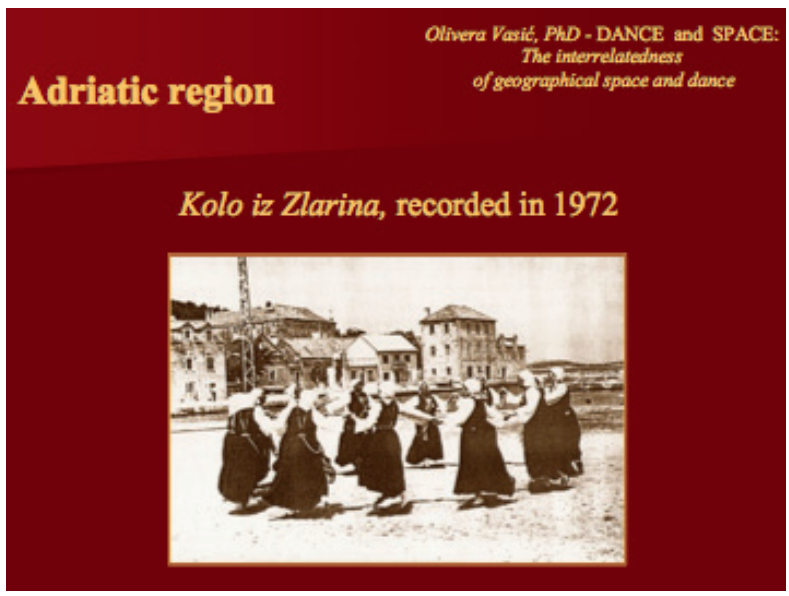

Figure 8.

The most numerous and strongest wave of migrations came from Dinara diverging from the mother land into several directions and populating both sides of the river Drina, the central and western Bosnia, the coastland, the Sava region in Bosina, all borderline areas – the border lands dividing the Ottoman and Austrian Empires (Bela Krajina, Bosanska Krajina...). The second migration wave of the people of Dinara was from Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Pannonia plain. Having crossed the river Sava, they spread to Slavonia, the Drava region, Bačka, Srem and Banat.

According to the available data, I assume that the dance formation of the Dinara population was the **circle** – **kolo** that has survived in the Dinara region until the present day spreading to other regions together with the migrations of its people. Therefore, the dance fotmation is not determined either by the geographical space, nor the historical events, nor different cultural influences, or village or town environment, but by the population taking with them that sort of dance formation. Understood in its broadest sense, space has no impact on dance formation, but its bearers, in this case the people of the Dinara region.

Appendices

1. The dance regions: Dinara (1), Pannonia (2), Morava (3), Alps (4), Vardar (5) and Adriatic (6)
2. Men's dance, women's dance, mixed dance, dance with a dancer in the centre, dance with a pair dancers in the centre
3. Kolo *pauna*, Sarajevo plain, kolo *osmerac*, *kolo* Bukovica, recorded by Ivančan 1972. Kolo *dnolučka truska*, near the town of Jajce, *Starobosansko kolo* Glamoč, igra *tanke slamke* to end a harvest, north-western Serbia, the dance of *paun* (peacock), *nemo kolo* – the dance of the **vučari** procession, *nemo kolo*, *kolanje*, western Bosnia, *sitan tanac*, a funeral ritual dance, Stari Vlah, western Serbia

4. Different linking of dancers in Slavonia and the Drava region, *slavonsko kolo*
5. *Pobelelo pole*, Bela Krajina, kačo zvijajo, western Styria
6. *Kolo iz Zlarina*, recorded near Šibenik in 1972., *Kolo iz Tkona*, Ugljan island, *Kolo iz Rožanca*, the Velebit passage, *Balo di kušin*, Istra
7. *Kalač*, Prizren; in the first part, the dancers use handkerchiefs to connect, in the second part, they are not linked, men's dance *Hoće Ježo da se ženi*
8. *Tetovska kaločojna*, women's dance in the neighbourhood of Tetovo of unlinked women dancers moving clockwise and counter-clockwise
9. The map of metanastasic migrations: red and green colours of Dinara population migrations
10. The map of the circle-*kolo* dissemination
    Blue colour – ritual and entertainment dances of all population
    Red colour – ritual dances
    Green colour – entertainment dances

Endnotes

1. The researchers and dance collectors whose data I have used are: Danica and Ljubica Janković, Ivan Ivančan, Mirko Ramovš, Živko Firfov, Gančo Pajtondžijev, Mihajlo Dimovski, Vlado Šoć, Jelena Dopuđa, Sveto Kačar, Dragica Panić-Kašanski, Olivera Vasić, Slavica Mihailović, Milorad Lonić, Ljubomir Vujčin, Dragica Radović, Desanka Đorđević, Dobrivoje Putnik, Bogdanka Đurić, and Dajana Kostić.
2. In this paper, I do not elaborate on other existing meanings of the word **kolo**: for circle and semi-circle dance formation, for dance gatherings, for place of performance or dance names.

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PERCEPTION OF SPACE AND BODY, AND CULTURAL ANXIETY IN *BUTŌ* PERFORMANCES IN SLOVENIA

NATAŠA VISOČNIK
Slovenia

Methods and goals

This research examines how the rise of global capitalism and the history of the Asian diaspora have shaped the political, economical, social and cultural interflows between Japan and other parts of the world (here Slovenia). A research focuses on the transnational influence of Japanese *butō* performance in contemporary Slovenian theatre, and looks at the significance of interculturalism between Japan and Slovenia that produces the paradigm-shifting means for understanding the political and cultural identity of contemporary Slovenia.

Butō performances in Slovenia displayed a dark ensemble of visions and movements of the sublime, but simultaneously exposed the political questions derived from intercultural arts exchanges: what, if any, are the limits and purposes to a culture-specific, Japanese stylized art form, such as *butō*, re-staging in Slovenia? What, if anything, is left or transformed of that intercultural exchange between Japan and Slovenia when Japanese culture is embodied and transposed upon the disciplined foreign body of white Slovene actors? In response to the above questions, this paper presents the ethnographic research that investigates the dynamics of the *butō* workshop and performance processes. The research deals with the transformation of Slovene performers, their perception of space and body in dance, the aesthetics and reception of *butō* performance by audiences. By doing so, this research wishes to comprehend how that displaced and ready-made *butō* practice in Slovenia posits continual political struggle and cultural anxiety in the contemporary Slovene context.

To answer the above questions it is also necessary to explore what *butō* actually represents. For this reason I tried to find answers to the questions about the origins, development and essence of *butō*. The investigation of dance has been combined with the attempt to understand the perception of body and space in the dance world. Spatial aspects of style may, however, go along with modes of organization of dance, document characteristics of wider social organization.

As a dancer who danced *butō* in seminars in Slovenia some years ago, I used dance in an ethnographic method to research my theme. As an anthropologist and japonologist I have started my fieldwork with questioning Slovenian dancers, actors, choreographers performing *butō* and also a Japanese dancer working and performing in Slovenia. I continued and developed my research by exploring some available literature on body, space, and *butō*. With this kind of methodological approach I was looking for the relation between a dancer's personal understanding of body, space, dance technique, and the perception of *butō* in society, where they work and perform.

Body in space

The most significant change for anthropology in recent years is found in the acknowledgment that space is an essential component of socio-cultural theory. But spatial analyses have often neglected the body because of difficulties in resolving the dualism of the subjective and objective body, and distinctions between the material and representational aspects of body space. The concept of "embodied space," however, draws these disparate notions together, underscoring the importance of the body as a physical and biological entity, as lived experience, and as a centre of agency, a location for speaking and acting in the world. We use the term "body" to refer to its biological and social characteristics, and "embodiment" as an "indeterminate methodological field defined by perceptual experience and mode of presence and engagement in the world. Embodied space is the location where human experience and consciousness take on material and spatial form. Embodied space is presented as a model of understanding the creation of place through spatial orientation, movement, and language [Low; Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003:1–2].

The space occupied by the body and the perception and experience of that space, contracts and expands in relationship to a person's emotions and state of mind, sense of self, social relations, and cultural predispositions. In Western culture we perceive the self as "naturally" placed in the body, as a kind of precultural given [Low; Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003:3].

The different view on the body shows Japanese philosopher Tetsurō Watsuji, when he argues that in the West mind 'I' is more important than 'body', and 'time' is more important than 'space'. But his view of the person emphasis the space as the *basho* of human existence, thereby stressing the spatial existence of the body [Yuasa 1987:42]. So

spatial-consciousness had been regarded as more primary in the East, and the fundamental state of consciousness is the juxtaposition of momentary space-experience, temporally cut off from before and after, and in this view we may find the backdrop of a traditionally Japanese, or more generally Eastern, mode of thinking about the relationship between humanity and nature [Yuasa 1987:45].

Initially, the body's movements do not follow the dictates of the mind. The body is heavy, resistant to the mind's movement; in this sense, the body is an object opposing the living subject's mode of being. That is, the mind (or consciousness) and the body exhibit an ambiguous subjective-objective dichotomy within the self's mode of being [Yuasa 1987:105]. By disrupting the binary mind/body by positionality and focusing on the situated and colonized body, states of mind become loosened from the location of social and spatial relationship. Pierre Bourdieu explains how body habits generate cultural features and social structure by employing the term habitus to characterize the way body, mind, and emotions are simultaneously trained. He uses this concept to understand how social status, moral values, and class position become embodied in everyday life [Low; Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003:3–4].

The process of accepting habitus into the body is unconsciousness process. It can be said that the reason for that is that people in the West forget that they/we are living in the body. With this statement agrees Tanja Zgonc, Slovenian dancer and choreographer, when she is saying "that we are lacking the basic knowledge for living in our body: an awareness of body movements and breathing. The main problem of the Western thought is that we are too much concerned of how the body looks outside." She then suggests that there are many ways of getting conscious of our body and she sees one of these methods in dancing, or more specifically in *butō* [Puncer; Brumen 2003:73].

Because dance does not exist in a cultural vacuum, but rather is a situated embodied aesthetic practice, it can also highlight and reflect the presence of this very dualism in the cultural domain. In addition, dance provides a rich set of resources for exploring the 'history of bodies', by examining technical shifts and transformations of dance styles in relation to the dancing bodies that perform them over a period of time and moving around the world. Furthermore, it provides a site to examine the limitations and extraordinary possibilities of 'the physical body' [Thomas 2003: 93].

Butō

Japanese society cultivates a special attitude to the body and they use body language much more than verbal language. The body is therefore a frequent theme in contemporary theoretical and philosophical discussions in Japan, a theme that emerged in the context of social and technological changes. The special attitude to the body in Japanese society can be seen in many phenomena: wrapping the body in a kimono as a way of exchanging information with other people, in the philosophy of martial arts, which developed a special regime for the body with emphasis on the body's non-verbal training, thought and spiritual power. This special attitude to the body is also evident in the theatre and dance techniques, which developed in Japan, for instance in ritual dances, folk dances, ballet and modern dances. As part of modern dance, *butō* represents modern body expression; it is neither dance nor theatre, but a special technique of blending body and mind into a uniform entity in motion.

Butō dance is a performing art that originated in Post World-War Japan and was first performed in 1959. As an avant-garde dance form, *butō* has its origins in the dancers Hijikata Tatsumi and Ōno Kazuo, who collaborated and developed distinct styles of *butō.* In contrast to the rhythm and balance of ballet, *butō* emphasizes discontinuity and imbalance, bends the body into strange and awkward postures, and avoids the imposition of fixed technique. Yet *butō* demonstrates certain continuities with classical Japanese dance: slowly flowing ground-related movement, asymmetry of poses and avoidance of strict rhythm. It is a contemporary form of dance that has little to do with either traditional Japanese dances or most western forms of dance, although it does borrow elements from some of each.

Butō presents challenges to rationality, conventional aesthetics and social norms: it portrays eroticism and violence, the embarrassing and the ugly, wasteland and alien worlds. Some *butō* performers work with disabled people and in mental hospitals, appropriating unconventional movements for the dance. The white face paint used in *kabuki* is often used over almost naked body in *butō.* Visual images are paramount, typically portraying agony and ecstasy, distortion and the grotesque. There is exploration of the boundaries between life and death, human and animal, male and female. Dwelling on boundaries, however, confirms their significance: the juxtaposition of multiple transgressions may ironically, in Durkheim style, reinforce the normality operative beyond the compartmentalized sphere of art [Valentine 1998:273].

It is not only performance, but also the embodiment of one of the most precise critical spirits in the history of the consciousness of the body, with strength of thought, which impinges deeply on the history of human spirit. Still, there are certain ideas that constellate around *butō.* One is the concept of the empty body. This refers to an opening up of space in the body to allow yourself room to be moved. For some artists, the result is a very depersonalised form of *butō.* One of them, Min Tanaka says, "I do not dance in the space; I dance the space," suggesting that the impulse for his dance is not coming from ego or self [Hermon 2003: online].

The most unconventional aspect of *butō* is its movement and the preparation that the dancer undergoes to prepare for the dance. It is a dance that has as much to do with meditation or martial art training as it does to dance in the conventional sense. It derives its power from what the individual who dances it brings to it in a very mental as well as physical sense. It is a directing of energy to the audience from the surroundings, the environment and the audience themselves as much as from the mind [Hermon 2003: online].

The causes for the origin of *butō* may be found in the social and political environment of post-war Japan, and it was above all an expression of opposition to the fast modernisation and rigid traditions of Japanese society. *Butō* at first saw the body as a raw matter, freed completely of society's regulations and rules that hold the modern body captive. Gradually, this raw bodiness was replaced by symbolical and idealised presentations and performances of the human body as we can see them today. From its initial rebellious phase, *butō* passed to a phase of searching for symbols of the Japanese body, its pristine nature, rituality and today it has become a global dance technique that no longer represents subversive states nor radicalism. Though *butō* wanted to revolt and move away from traditionalism, it can be best described as a mixture of elements from the traditional Japanese theatres *no* and *kabuki* and modern expressive dance and mimics. It departs from established dance rules and leaves the body a lot of leeway for improvisation. As such it has become a postmodern art form that stages the story of a society in its own way.

Butō in Slovenia: performances as cultural documents, cultural anxiety

The political, economical and cultural status and condition of Slovenia change in early 1990 with independence from Yugoslavia. A result of that was extensive cultural exchange with another world. Because of the drastic changes in world economy and capitalism, consequences of migration of the people and mixing of the cultures are something that we see in our everyday life. For this reason we cannot make clear distinctions between East and West in the contemporary world anymore. Therefore we should consider this phenomenon more as distinguished hybrid representations, and in this group of representation I would put *butō*. Although we try to avoid a discourse between 'us' and 'them', the ideological reality invades also in the field of dance art [Puncer 2003:69].

The early nineties were also the time when *butō* was brought in Slovenia by dancer and choreographer Tanja Zgonc, who encountered it in Vienna in 1987. Since 1989 she is a member of European dance group 'Ko Murobushi Dance Company'. She studied the *butō* method with leading Japanese teachers like Kazuo Ōno, Min Tanaka, Ko Murobushi, Tadashi Endo and Carlotta Ikeda. She teaches scene movement at the Theater Academy (AGRFT) in Ljubljana. She dances many modern dance techniques, but Japanese *butō* is method, on which her working processes and choreographies are leaned. Tanja Zgonc has in the last 15 or 16 years created about thirteen[1] independent performances and was awarded with the National Slovenian award for culture, the Prešern award, for her performance Koora in 2002 [Puncer; Brumen 2003:70–72].

She explains the situation: "Since the first *butō* performance in Ljubljana (Slovenia) in 1990, the perception of dancers and spectators' has changed noticeably. A method of *butō* was integrated in Slovenian theatre for the first time, when the Slovenian actor Radko Polič used *butō* in the play Don Huan na psu,[2] directed by Dušan Jovanovič, in Ljubljanska drama. Since that time the interest for *butō* performances has grown among Slovenian audiences and also between dancers and actors, and one of the results is also shown in the increase number of performances and participants in *butō* workshops."

Although it is more than 15 years that *butō* is present in Slovenia, it is still a dance technique strange to our perception, it was not a part of our habitus before. As it uses techniques of movements which derive from other cultural and philosophical background, it acquires a wider range of understanding of cultural phenomena from the dancer and the spectators. But it is also true, that *butō* in Slovenia is not just something that came from Japan anymore. It became an independent method, which is developing in Europe and other places of the world. *Butō* method itself was at first just dance-theatre method, but in the foreign countries it is placing itself in psycho-social therapeutic work with people [Puncer; Brumen 2003:73].

Conclusion

The people who are interested in *butō* are mostly dancers and actors. As actress Mojca Funkl says: "This method is very useful also in other non-buto performances; you can use the perception of the body and self in the theatrical plays; it helps to understand better the way you move and act. It is clear that *butō* gives our culture philosophy of Zen and consciousness of body and mind. For this reason it is sometimes difficult to understand it, especially if you practice it only for a short time." In words of dancers and choreographers we can notice one more difference between *butō* outside Japan and its origin. In some places of Japan people still live in a traditional *butō* way: that is, they live, eat, and dance together, and not only go on practice or workshop for four hours a day and only a definite period. Merely imitating the physical movement that one sees on a videotape or from a seat in a theatre will most likely lead to a dance that may seem different, unusual and interesting to someone who has never seen the dance before, but which is hollow and not interesting to one who has experienced *butō* performance up close or has gone through the process of preparing for and carrying out a performance of *butō*. The learning of *butō* is a never ending process, a task for a whole life. But Mojca Funkl here adds: "with our different way of creating and living we give *butō* new dimensions and new themes."[3]

Within European modern dance this method is like a mental process, through which an individual is confronted with his/her 'otherness'. But *butō* is about the human experience, not the Japanese experience. *Butō* is rather a part of one's understandings of the spiritual and intellectual inspiration to those who brought it to the stage. From this we can say that to perform *butō* in Slovenia is something different than to perform it in Japan or in other countries around the world. Each *butō* dance is unique to the person who dances it. For no one can create the same dance feeling that

any other dancer has already felt. The 'magic' of this dance then is in the ability of the individual to push away all that is unnecessary to the expression of the feeling in the dance. This opens other issue: the audience cannot usually discern what this internal image is – nor should they. The spectators read their own story into the actions, and what b*utō* dancers feel when they are dancing before different audiences. I assume that as a person lives in one society and embodies it, a *butō* is an expression of the relation between perceptions of space and body in that certain society.

Endnotes

1. Performances by choreographer Tanja Zgonc: V pot vpet (1989), Pot (1991), Iiza Iiza, haiku (Sem, kar sem, nič več, nič manj) (1994), Haus (1995), Manover 95 (1995), Mankind 3 (1996), Hiša (1997/98), Kagami odsev (2000), Koora (2002), Koan Kensho (2005); choreographer: Stefan Maria Marb: Golem III (2005).
2. Translation: Don Huan on his beam-ends.
3. Interview with Mojca Funkl, May 2006.

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FROM THE KITCHEN TO THE STAGE: SHIFTS IN SPATIAL USAGE WITH THE RE-CONTEXTUALIZATION OF NEWFOUNDLAND SET DANCE

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Set dancing in Newfoundland is a heritage performance genre that is enjoying a resurgence in popularity. Set dance – or square dance – is arguably one of the most recognizable forms of traditional Newfoundland dance. However, with the demise of the Newfoundland outport community and resultant way of life, so has vanished the context of Newfoundland set dance familiar to many. Overwhelmingly, gone are the days where set dance was a community event, or part of a "time" – or party – held at someone's home, learned as vernacular knowledge and passed on from one generation to the next. In its place have sprung new ways of learning this tradition: tourist events, workshops, festival performances. Theresa Buckland asserts in "Dance, Authenticity and Cultural Memory: The Politics of Embodiment" that dance is the embodiment of the collective memory of its culture. Through my examination of Newfoundland set dance, I would argue that dance embodies culture not only through its physicality, but by extension through its spatial use as well. This idea is also supported through the concept of proxemics. While proxemics is a means by which scholars can make cultural comparisons regarding appropriate use of distance and space, dancers' use of individual, interactional and environmental space through dance is salient to this study, and Edward T. Hall's work supports the link between movement communication and culture [Hall 2003:59].

Because of the recontextualization of this dance form, use of space has shifted dramatically, thus altering the dances themselves. There are innumerable movement analysis theories and methods that may be applied to any kind of dance study, but what is key is to explore movement in its cultural context. This paper aims to explore the shift from the kitchen to the stage and its effects on not just the appearance of the dance form but the function and purpose of set dance in Newfoundland and Labrador as well, through theoretical and descriptive analysis of set dancing in two conventional forms: first, its place in the Newfoundland time, and second, today's Dance Up event, a tourist-oriented event where the participants pay to learn several Newfoundland set dances over the course of one evening.

Why does the prevalence or popularity of any dance form rise and fall over the years? While the reasons may be varied, in the case of Newfoundland set dancing, I would argue that economics and modernization are significant in this discussion. Newfoundland, isolated by virtue of its geography as an island, maintained traditional elements of its culture perhaps longer than other places in North America; in some communities, roads and electricity were not common until the 1960s or 1970s. However, modernization has come with the times and many older individuals have remarked that with modernization, so have traditions declined. But from my research and fieldwork, I believe that Newfoundland set dance has not declined per se; rather, it has undergone a recontextualization necessary for its survival. Since the cod fishery failed in 1992, Newfoundland has been forced to develop its tourism industry, thereby focusing on its natural and cultural treasures, dance being one of them. This is the second arm of the shifts in context that are intrinsically linked to both the spatial use of the dance form and its corresponding function. While some may lament the demise of the traditional scuff in the kitchen, folklorist Sheldon Posen asserts, in his article "On folk festivals and kitchens: questions of authenticity in the folksong revival" that the move from kitchen to stage is a valid recontextualization of the group to which these community members already belong [Posen 1993:128].

In Newfoundland and Labrador, tourism as an industry extends as far back as the construction of the railway in 1898, when the interior of Newfoundland was opened up for the first time. Foreign, big game hunters were attracted to the interior country of Newfoundland. In his book *Making a world of difference: essays on tourism, culture and development in Newfoundland* James Overton traces the evolution of tourism development in Newfoundland culture, identifying Premier Joey Smallwood's 1966 "Come Home Year" as a significant tourist event in post-Confederation Newfoundland [Overton 1996:30], particularly as a means of introducing nostalgia as a significant attraction to the province. And in very recent memory, diversification of the Newfoundland economy has become necessary since the traditional means of making a living, through the codfish industry, has sharply declined since the 1992 moratorium. Tourism is one way the province has branched out to ensure the overall economic health in Newfoundland and Labrador. Newfoundland's natural and cultural resources are of increasing importance to the financial picture in the province overall. I include this brief foray into the development of Newfoundland's tourism industry as tourism is one of the most significant driving forces behind the revival of Newfoundland set dancing in its second existence.

It is paramount to realize that set dance in early rural Newfoundland was, for the most part, a social event. It is well documented in ethnographies of outport life that in times prior to paved roads, electricity and the distractions of other modern conveniences, people made their own fun and socializing focused on family and community. The reality of a cashless economy and lack of popular entertainments prior to World War II and the influence of American and Canadian soldiers stationed in Newfoundland meant that large, social gatherings in community halls, kitchen parties, and other "times" were the place for drinking, dancing, eating, socializing, fighting, singing, and playing music. While not all individuals would behave in this way at a time, dances were regarded as contexts where unconventional behaviour would be accepted; and, in some cases, expected. This is also why some dances, such as the "Kissing Dance," would be an acceptable dance among young people in this context.

In his seminal text on Newfoundland set dance, *Close to the floor*, Colin Quigley emphasizes the Newfoundland time as an integral aspect of outport social life. Quigley delineates two distinct times: the public time and the private time [Quigley 1985:59]; the first referring to large community gatherings in a public building, the latter limited to a specific kin, work or friendship groups, commonly occurring in the home; hence, the "kitchen party" that is a significant part of the lore of outport Newfoundland. Dance would then typically be found in both public and private times as a significant aspect of any kind of social event.

As Quigley so aptly describes in *Close to the floor*, set dancing, whether at a public or private time, was an essential ingredient for socializing and the socialization of community members. Rather than something to be learned and performed, dance was as normative an aspect of any kind of social gathering as food, drink and music. The partnering aspect of the dances, particularly the dances where partners were exchanged several times over the course of the dance, were especially suited to catching up with friends, or investigating potential romantic interests. Quigley writes:

> Eventually, someone would announce that the last dance would be the Kissing Dance. As one's choice of partner in the dance was often an indication of a choice of beau, 'some curious old ladies who had heard rumours of possible courtship would wait around all night to see who asked whom out in the Kissing Dance' [Quigley 1985:67].

Therefore, dancing was a way for single members of the community, particularly young adults, to court each other under the watchful eye of family and neighbours. It is one example of how dancing then had significant latent functions for community members that were unrelated to performance and technique.

In the book *I remember, I remember...My Gin Cove boyhood*, Reg Frampton describes his experiences with set dancing at a time:

> The typical square dance was rather an intricate affair and consisted of a number of "sets" with two opposite sides doing the set, and then they would have a break while the other two sides went through their paces. All of the various parts or sets of the square dance had names, such as "round the house" or "the grand chain." One dance could easily last half an hour, or even an hour, depending on how many couples participated. Several square dances would be performed in succession, and then during the breaks an adult would supervise what we called a "ring" for the children. All the youngsters would join hands to form a circle, with a boy or a girl in the centre. As the children went around and around, they would sing a song...At the appropriate time during the song, the boy or girl in the centre would choose a child of the opposite sex, and – if they were not too shy – at the end of the song they would kiss each other. Then another boy or girl would get in the centre and the dance would be repeated [Frampton 2002:41–42].

Even for children, times were set up as a means of exploring behaviours that were not necessarily approved of in everyday contexts; as such, set dances performed a highly social function for all members of a community during a time. Here is where kinesthetic and proxemic usage would also come into play. While dance served primarily a social function, the skill of the dancer would play into their social role. Since there was no formalized instruction of set dancing, individuals would learn by doing – partnering with an experienced dancer after a time of watching from the sidelines. Within any family or community there would be individuals known as tidy or neat dancers, meaning that they were light on their feet and used a small amount of space. Referring to someone as being able to "dance on the head of a pin," or "on a dinner plate," was high praise indeed. The two key factors determining the use of space in outport set dancing were both the space allotted, and the function of the dance itself.

Of course the space in which you dance affects the look of the dance itself. Especially if you consider the fact that Newfoundlanders thought nothing of dancing in their homes at a kitchen party (simply pushing aside any furniture that was in the way), you can imagine another reason why neat dancing would not only be the preferred aesthetic, but required of the participants. And while a public time would indeed provide more space, there would also be a far larger number of people, so the close quarters would remain. Thus the practicalities of spatial usage dovetail with the social function and the aesthetic preferences of the dance form at the time.

As with many folkloric or traditional forms of art, it is fair to say that there is a perception that these dances are

dying out; this leads, of course, to the notion that they must be preserved. Because of this, revival groups have formed, usually as a means of carrying on the tradition through either teaching or performing these set dances. The main issue I am raising here is that the dances have been taken out of their original context – a context, it is important to note, that no longer exists in the same way it once did – and have been commodified in a contemporary situation.

Through the Dance Up event, creator Tonya Kearley has created a revival event, taking a number of set dances and presenting them in a recontextualized format, thereby furthering a significant aspect of Newfoundland and Labrador culture that has not been able to continue in its traditional context. While Newfoundland set dancing exists in a revival form through several performance and recreational dance groups, they are small in number. Kearley is one of the few individuals in Newfoundland who is actively trying to revive set dancing to a large number of people. Over the summer of 2001, I attended a number of Dance Up events as fieldworker and participant, and spoke with Kearley about her experiences. While the event has been held in several locations across the island over the past nearly ten years, it is important to note that it has always been in a public location, often with a large space and a small number of dancers.

As I walked in to the main hall of the Masonic Temple in downtown St. John's for my first visit to Dance Up, I was immediately struck at the vast expanse of the room. Kearley kept a head count of how many were there, and told me that she would run the event with as few as eight people – enough to form one set of dancers, and therefore enough to perform a dance. I got the impression that large crowds were not expected, but that she never had to cancel a Dance Up. On this particular night, a dozen people attended, myself included. Kearley welcomed everyone and made sure that they understood that this was not a show that they were going to watch, but that they were all going to get up and dance. Most attending that night were tourists who had read about Dance Up in the tourist literature or had heard about the event from the hosts of the bed and breakfasts where they were staying. There were also some Newfoundlanders who wanted to attend a Dance Up because they hadn't learned Newfoundland set dances themselves, or had forgotten them and wanted to learn something more about their own culture.

Through verbal and kinesthetic instructions, Kearley led the group through a number of figures until they were comfortable enough to put a dance together. She used humour to firmly point individuals in the right direction, and it wasn't long before the group was comfortable and moving beyond marking the steps and actually dancing. The music started, and Kearley called the figures, unusual in the Newfoundland tradition, to ensure that the dancers knew which step was coming next.

Photo 1. Tonya Kearley teaches a figure to Dance Up participants
(Photo by Kristin Walsh, 2001)

Kearley has taken the traditional kitchen dances of "old time" Newfoundland and created a means for formal instruction in a new context. By taking the dances out of the kitchen and putting them on the stage, to paraphrase Posen, Kearley has shifted the context to suit the dances' *primary* functional change from social event to heritage event. Kearley As you can see from the video, Dance Up is obviously still a social event; however, it differs in that most people dance with a group they did not know before, and most do come to Dance Up with the intention of "leaning

dance". While the dance is not on an actual stage, as is the case when set dancing is performed at folk festivals and other such events, as a tourist event it blends what Goffman refers to the frontstage and backstage areas, the places that tourists see and those they don't. As a public display event, Dance Up takes the idea of Newfoundland set dancing in what Barbara Kirshenblatt Kimblett calls in situ and recontextualizes it. Kearley does not mimetically attempt to re-create a kitchen scene in order to replicate the setting in which these dances originally occurred. She provides context of traditional Newfoundland set dancing; however, the emphasis is on the here and now.

By dancing in a large hall with a small number of people, there is much more room to move. Therefore, participants may dance further apart, and use space in a less efficient way than those who were forced to dance in a small room in someone's home. Further, the individuals here are paying to be taught dances; aside from learning the actual figures, Kearley did not make any efforts to control participants' movements. Therefore, people stomped or walked or skipped through the figures, lines were long and uneven, circles were wide and sloppy – and no one cared. So the shift in function and context directly affects how the space is used.

Photo 2. Dancers walk through a new step
(Photo by Kristin Walsh, 2001)

Robert Cantwell identifies mimesis as significant to any kind of cultural communication. With Dance Up, there is a certain level of mimesis present; however, a full re-creation of earlier times is not the intention of this particular event. While a distinction should be made between conscious mimesis in performance, and less deliberate ethnomimesis, both may be found in an event such as Dance Up that both intentionally incorporates Newfoundland set dance in a new way, and instinctively including elements of vernacular Newfoundland culture at the same time.

What is significant, here, is that the "look" of her dances is similar that of those that were performed in outport Newfoundland kitchens years ago. In other words the untrained eye would not be able to tell whether a traditional dance, or one that Kearley has created, was the more "authentic." This is a key point in examining what Kearley is doing; she is trying to modernize set dancing in Newfoundland largely through packaging; the re-fashioning of older dances seems to be more to present them in a different light, rather than as a means of bucking tradition. In fact, the most significant visual difference would be in the shift in the use of space, directly linked in each respective context to the dance's function, aesthetics and context.

Tradition is a continuum, and the shifts in context – sometimes gradual, sometimes dramatic – often affect innumerable aspects of any dance form. Bella Dicks argues that heritage is, among other things, "forms of display that 'bring history alive'...predicated on the idea of making history more authentic, more real, and more immediate" [Dicks 2003:122]. While Dance Up is a relatively small event, it is still one of the few participatory set dance events that exist in Newfoundland today and indeed serves Dicks's functions of heritage. And that means that, for the interested consumer, Dance Up is likely where they will discover vernacular dance themselves. Set dancing in Newfoundland has undergone significant changes in context and function over the years; these shifts have meant alterations in aesthetics, too. So while the image of a family dancing a set dance in their kitchen as part of Christmas custom with tight, cozy sets and tidy dancing may no longer exist, that doesn't mean that the revival form is any less significant. While Dance Up's aesthetics, function and context is indeed dramatically different from the outport Newfoundland time, its development along the continuum of time means that it is a living tradition, albeit a changed one.

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ABSTRACTS

Presenters who do not have papers submitted to the Proceedings

CHI-FANG CHAO (Taiwan)

Searching the ethnic domain of body and movement: reflection on representations of dance in Taketomi isle, southern Okinawa

In this paper the author intends to explore the relationship between different ways of embodying kinesthetic experience by dance scholars, dance professional, and the non-professional practitioners, in order to reflect on the formation of knowledge of dance and the significance of social process in which dancing has embedded. The author will focus on dancing in Taketomi Isle, southern Okinawa, as an example. The ethnographic study of dance provides the chance to investigate various approaches of interpretation behind the representation as ways to highlighting interplay between knowledge and practice of dance. The comparison of different systems of representation reveals the necessity of ‚local knowledge' about the ‚ethnic domain' of body and movement, as well as the social structure and network though which the dynamic of cultural and political power manifests.

PÉTER CSEMPESZ (Hungary)

Dance in the context of sheep-measuring ritual in Magyarlóna (Luna de Sus), Kalotaszeg (Călata) region, Romania **(DVD presentation)**

The purpose of my video-presentation is to give a short summary of the results of a project based on a special ritual in Transylvania. The ritual named sheep measuring/milk measuring is connected to the sheep-shepherding activity of the rural parts of the region. It comprises several ritual elements with dance, music and dramatic components, which deserve the attention of ethnochoreologists. The project began in 1990 in the Kalotaszeg (Călata) Region directed by Miklós Teszáry. I joined the collecting work in 2004. The video-presentation illustrates the dances in their own context. The sheep-measuring ritual takes place in spring time around St. George's Day, which signifies the first day the sheep are out to be fed on the pasture. The key action is constituted in measuring the milk, which serves to define the sheep owners' share of the milk income. The symbolic elements of the custom (watering the shepherd and the sheep, clearing the village, flowering the hats and the head of the shepherds, dancing at the location of the milking, rolling down on a hill, and so on) are aiming at insuring fertility and the high income of milk.

EDWIDGE DIOUDONNAT (France)

Space of dance: scenic organisation and ritual re-creation

Bharata's indications are quite clear. Dance is done in a sacred area. Even though, most of the North Indian miniatures show dancers performing in empty spaces, no religious connotations seem to emerge. But today, it does exist an important scenic organisation of the dancing space of Kathak dancers (flowers, incense, representation of gods, circumambulation...).

Is it a continuation and an exportation from temple dances to dancing halls and theatres? Is it a sort of re-appropriation of dance sacrality in order to give it more respect after all its run down? Is it really to get the favour of the divinity, especially divinity of the stage, since a *pûjâ* is already done backward in the dance performer dressing room? Does it limit the creative power of dancers? How to get out of the divine and religious topics without been in rupture with its presence on stage?

ELSIE IVANCICH DUNIN (United States / Croatia)

Transformation of research and communication in the field of dance ethnology with four decades of electronic-aided technology

This paper provides a historical overview of how electronic-aided technology has transformed the process of research and communication based on a 40-year perspective of a dance ethnologist who has applied the changes of technology in her work.

By 1985, a square box computer with a built-in black and white 9-inch monitor, with 128K ram memory was a sensational new product; there was 400K extra memory storage on a single-sided 3.5-inch "floppy" disk; the machine was capable of running on different electrical currents using only the amount of power needed for a 60-watt light bulb: the square box computer and power cable weighed about 20 pounds, but with a handle, it became a portable computer; plus there were cables to attach to a somewhat portable printer that could be fed normal letter-size paper rather than sprocket-fed reams. For a fieldworker, who already had a portable audiocassette tape recorder, and a videocassette camera, all this technology was a dream coming true for fieldwork. Not only was it now possible to record dancing movement and its context into a tangible form, but also to process and edit the text about the dancing, to create databases of bibliography and demographic information, to create questionnaires, and so on – while in the field. And for all of this it was not necessary to create new software programs, as was necessary in the 1970s using room-size computers with flashing lights.

This portable technology and ready-made software available within the last two decades of the 20th century made

it possible for the dance ethnologist to apply energies to the research, rather than designing innovative methods to capture dancing and its contexts into tangible forms for documentation and study. The beginning of the 21st century provides us with ever more technological gadgets to apply to study and importantly for the communication of our field of study, not even dreamed of 40 years ago.

GEORGIANA GORE (France)
Understanding the other's dancing experience: methods and issues

How do we undertake fieldwork in dance ethnography? What is the relation between the methods we deploy and our objects of study? What are the effects of our procedures, formal and informal, on the knowledge we produce in the final text ? All these are questions much debated during the post-structuralist 1990s (for example, Buckland 1999, Farnell 1994, Ness 1996).

In a post-positivist interpretative dance anthropology, it is now accepted that meaning rather than behaviour is, at a certain level, the object of study, and that access to meaning is given through the dialogic relations instituted between researcher and actors in the field (Gore [1994] 2000, Grau 1992, Sklar 1999, and so on). Within these discursive relations, framed more or less formally by interviews and other more experimental procedures, are consensually constructed those fragments of knowledge which are eventually transformed/worked into the anthropological text. If the reflexive dimensions of this knowledge construction are also to be taken into account, this requires that the conditions for the production of knowledge be exposed in the final rendering (Kilani 1994). Drawing upon examples from my own and others' ethnographic experiences, I wish to explore processes of knowledge construction in dance anthropology from the positivist to the phenomenological, and from field to text.

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NANCY G. HELLER (United States)
From the caves of Granada to Radio City Music Hall: the effects of changing spaces on the politics, economics, and aesthetics of flamenco dance

Flamenco dance, as we know it today, began in the 1800s as an intimate, largely improvisational, traditional art form presented by, and for, members of an economically and politically marginalized group (for example, "Gitanos," the Gypsies of southern Spain). However, during the succeeding century flamenco was transformed into a popular type of theatrical/concert dance. One of the most important elements in this transformation was performance space. Early flamenco dancing was typically done solo, with limited vocal or instrumental accompaniment, inside or close to the home. This setting dictated many aspects of the form.

Flamenco changed during the latter half of the 19th century as entrepreneurs, recognizing the money-making potential of this art, established "cafes cantantes" throughout Spain. In these venues performers danced on a raised stage at one end of the room, using different types of costumes, movement styles, and overall moods, since their principal aim was to entertain (non-Gypsy) patrons.

Present-day "tablaos" (flamenco nightclubs) are outgrowths of the "cafes cantantes." But the biggest changes in flamenco have occurred in recent decades, as touring troupes of dancers have sparked an explosion of interest in the form as far afield as the United States and Japan. An extreme example of this phenomenon is Joaquin Cortes's carefully choreographed productions (featuring elaborate group numbers and costumes designed by Giorgio Armani), which have literally sold out New York's Radio City Music Hall. Clearly, the sorts of movement and technique required to "fill" this enormous concert stage (and to transfix a paying audience, few of whom are aficionados), must be significantly different from those found in traditional flamenco.

Using slides and excerpts from interviews with dancers, musicians, critics, and presenters, this paper will explore the many ways in which changes in space have altered the art form known as flamenco.

SIRI MAELAND – SIGURD JOHAN HEIDE (Norway)
Analysed dancing – danced analysis

The Dance Studies program at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim

headed by Professor Egil Bakka has developed a method for teaching dance analysis. The method is based on a systematically developed taxonomy for the study of Norwegian folk dance material and on methods for describing such dances. The students first practice in applying the taxonomy on both their own dancing and on film material. Then they are given the task to analyze in detail a period of 2–4 minutes of filmed traditional dancing. They work in small groups under supervision.

They prepare a detailed transcription of the film, they analyze the transcription looking for the grammatical principles on which the realization of the dance is based and make a tentative description of the dance vocabulary and grammar. All through the process students test their findings on their bodies, controlling their understanding by embodying it. Finally they are required to dance the dance being as faithful as possible to the model.

The paper proposes to demonstrate and discuss the method, and give examples of results from such work. Our live performances will be compared with the archival material on which it is based. We will further discuss how advanced dancers within the revival context of today can bring new insights and new interpretations to the work.

CAROL G. MARSH (United States)
Dance notation and space in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

During the 1680s at least four systems of dance notation emerged in France; those that have survived, by Lorin, Favier, and Beauchamp (as disseminated by Feuillet), enable us to reconstruct social and theatrical dances from the period with a fair degree of confidence. In the eighteenth century additional notation systems were developed to record the growing body of *contredanse/ contraddanza* being published throughout Europe.

Each of these systems addresses the question of space in a different way, and each approach privileges a different aspect of the choreography. For example, in the Beauchamp/ Feuillet system the careful notation of the steps may distort the floor pattern of the choreography. In the Favier system the relative positions of the dancers to each other are more significant than their absolute positions in the performance space.

My paper will survey the various dance notation systems in use in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the standpoint of how the notator dealt with spatial considerations. I will argue that both the type of dance as well as the intended audience influenced the notator's decisions about the representation of space.

ANNE MURSTAD (Norway)
***Conceptions of space and gender in Norwegian* springer** (student presentation)

The purpose of this ongoing research is to study some aspects of gender and space in two variants of the Norwegian traditional couple dance *springar*. Certain gender related issues in this type of dance have been briefly described in previous studies (Blom, 2003).

I will focus on how the difference in the male and female roles might be understood and experienced in terms of spatial relationships. This concerns the dancer´s conception of space in a particular context, and in the interactions with his or her partner. The male and female dancer traditionally uses the space in different ways, by their posture, steps, movement pattern, style and quality of movements, and so on. They also relate to each other partly in complementary ways, which can be described with an eye to spatial relationships. In general, the male leads the dance, and moves actively in space. He moves more of his body, and in more spatial planes, than the female dancer, who expresses control and modesty, uses less space, and moves according to initiatives from her male partner.

However, as ideological and contextual factors change, the dance changes, also when it comes to the performing of gender. For example, today, women dance the male role in addition to the female role. The spatial environment for the dances have also changed significantly, as they shifted from being performed as popular dances in the pre-industrial society, to being performed in community centres, village halls, and on stages, within the modern folk music organizations. I will focus on how the particular spaces and places of performance relate to the dancing, concerning gender roles.

Sources: My main sources will be dancers from two folk dance groups in which I have been involved for the last decade, one in the city of Bergen, and one in the village of Bø, county Telemark.
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IVONA OPETCHESKA – TATARCHEVSKA (Macedonia)
Spaces/places in the Macedonian dance tradition

Macedonian traditional culture model is based on the mythological conscience. The mechanisms for transmitting that kind of cultural information are connected with oral folk tradition, traditional dancing, singing and playing musical instruments. All these experiences happen in the social space or maybe it is more precise to say the place where people live and work. That place where people choose to dance or sing is not chosen by accident. It has its own semantic.

An analysis shows a very complex system of spaces/places for dancing and because of that there is the question about collective space/place and individual space/role in Macedonian dances. The question is how can we see that space? The answer could be - through rituals.

1.a. When we speak about collective space, which concerns a family community, we can summarize the places and their semantic where family members dance: like a yard, in front of the house threshold, around the home fire-place.

1.b. When we analyze the places which are important for the wider community, then we mean places like the center of the village, or one religious/cultural space which sometimes has to be shared with dancers from a different religion or ethnographic group (for example, Brsjaci-Mijaci meet each other in the monastery of "St.Bogorodica Prechista" - Kichevo). There are a lot of terms for these places/spaces like "sredselo", "polena", "saborishte" or "oralishche", "igrishte" or "gumenje" and so on, which in socio-normative structure of the traditional culture have a meaning as public places. The holy "middle of the village" with musicians, dancers, older peoples who watch all that is happening has had a role of a medium, through which one very important part of their social life is realized. But also, there are social rituals for collective welfare, which were danced in some mystic, cult places like holy wood, or near by some holy tree, or some mystic stone.

2. Individual space/role in dance is also one very interesting question, which is analyzed in this paper. Organization of that micro space in meaning, who can take the place of the leader in the dance, how can men and women be connected in some dance or, where it is possible to join the dance, or where is the place of the musicians in the dance, all these questions have their very precise answers, which depend on the social status of the person/s who want to dance.

COLIN QUIGLEY (United States)

Finding dance in the field and the text

One characteristic that distinguishes Ethnochoreology within dance studies has been the prominence of fieldwork in its methodologies. The importance given to fieldwork flows from a research perspective that views an interpretation of dancing as necessarily requiring close analysis of its production *in situ*. As an interpretive enterprise the practice of Ethnochoreology produces texts of various sorts. This presentation examines how this key juncture has been conceptualized and bridged within Ethnochoreology, identifying strategies that range from the production of "dance texts" to the analysis of "dance as text." Illustrations are drawn from my field-based interpretive analyses.

VICTOR A. STOICHITA (France)

Indexing and comparing audio/video sequences: Esonoclaste, an opensource software designed by (and for) ethnomusicologists and ethnochoreologists.

When a researcher returns from the field, one of the most time-consuming operations he/she has to face is the indexation of the collected material. The content of each audio or videotape must be described in detail, in order to allow later access to it. This is a crucial step in the intellectual process of research since reflection on the data will tend to be mediated by the segments marked in the first place.

Traditionally, most researchers use textual indications: some aspects of the content (place, date, name of the dance, personal remarks ...) are associated with the media's time-code (hours, minutes, seconds ...). The main drawback of this method is that the marked sequences cannot be accessed immediately: the tape has to be winded, rewinded, and so on. Thus, comparing choregraphical sequences located on different tapes requires a significant amount of time.

Another approach would be to cut the raw material into sequences, probably into different files on a computer. Comparing these sequences is quite easy. However, this method also has a drawback: the sequences are cut according to a criterion (say, the place where they were filmed) and if another criterion is required later on (the type of dance for example), the researcher has to resegment the material.

Esonoclaste allows combining both methods. Each tape is transferred to a single file on the computer's hard disc (in compressed or uncompressed form). Then, through a simple and intuitive interface, the researcher can drop markers to indicate moments that are significant to him. Each marker can be described on six different fields (name, context, personal comments, technical data, and so on). These fields appear in different colors in the software's window. Through a simple click on a marker, the corresponding section of the file is played. Markers can be moved, added, renamed or deleted at any moment.

One of the main advantages of this indexation method is that it provides an immediate access to whatever sequence has been indexed. It also allows several concomitant indexation levels, and easy re-indexation whenever required. Thus, the lap between intuition and verification is reduced to (virtually) none. One can easily reflect on the audio/video media itself, and such tasks as detailed comparison do not necessarily involve transcription anymore.

Up to now, the software has allowed specific results in several ethnomusicological researches (including my own). Some hints on its possible use in ethnochoreology will be suggested.

SZTANÓ HEDVIG (Hungary)
Two Resurections / FILM
Cameraman: DÉNES Zoltán, *Director:* SZTANÓ Hédi, *Producer:* BUGLYA Sándor, *Made by:* Dunatáj Foundation

A film "Two Resurections" follows the process of the Easter rituals in two different villages in Transylvania: one Hungarian - Magyarvalkó (Valcău) - in Kalotaszeg (Călata) Region and one Romanian – Aknasugatag (Ocna Şugatag) in Maramureş Region. Director of the film, being a professional ethnographer/cultural anthropologist and filmmaker, tries to discover the existing differences and similarities/sameness between the two cultures. She pays attention both to the "saint" and "profane", old and new, traditional and modern elements of the customs. The visual material is fit together with music and narration using the musical and narrative elements of the Easter customs. Dance is also included as an essential part of the village life in both selected villages. In the context of the ICTM symposium, the film illustrates the process from fieldwork to the professional, documentary film.

OMER BARBAROS UNLU (Turkey)
Crossing point of dances: Artvin

The city of Artvin lies in the northeastern corner of Turkey, east of the Black Sea region, and constitutes the border between Turkey and Georgia. The city encompasses a diversity of cultures as a result in history of its location on one of the branches of the Silk Road, serving as a gateway to Anatolia, being a stopping point for various civilizations, and also due to the difficulties in transportation in its uneven and mountainous geography. The people of Artvin, which lies at the point of intersection of "Horon" and "Bar" dances of the present Turkish Folk Dance categorization, have assimilated the solo and duet dance figures of the Georgian and Azeri dance cultures as well. In such a region as this, it is indeed difficult to do field research on local dances and to categorize findings and put them in text.

In this paper, the following subjects will be discussed:

a) How to correct the established theories and convictions based on incorrect evaluations made in the past regarding Artvin folk dances
b) What kind of a path should be followed given that the numerous differences and variations between cities cause difficulty in forming generalizations
c) Differences between emic and etic viewpoints
d) Differences in the views of researches on either side of the border
e) Problems which arise from the information extracted from sources who have migrated from Artvin
f) Discussion regarding the lost kinesthetic value during performance of Artvin dances, which are very important among the efforts of staging Turkish folk dances.

The presentation will be based on the findings of my field research conducted in February 1997 in the city of Artvin, and will include a video presentation.

VARGA SÁNDOR (Hungary)
Symbolic use of space on the dance events of Visa/Vişea Village

The author will show the traditional ways of how dancers, musicians and on-lookers traditionally utilise the space on the dance events of Visa Village. (Visa is a mixed Hungarian, Romanian village in Transylvania in Mezőség/Câmpia Transilvaniei Region.) He focuses on the symbolic meaning of the space, as it is understood by the present members of the dancing community. Special attention is paid to the relation of the dance space and the dance creation. At last the author emphasises the importance of this research in the framework of the dancing individuality research. This presentation is based on a five-year's field research in the above mentioned village and the surrounding 5 villages. My fieldwork resulted in a great amount of video recordings, photos and interviews, which will be selectively shown in the presentation.

DEJEU ZAMFIR (Romania)
CĂLUŞUL and the CĂLUŞERUL: a parallel

Many Romanian and foreign specialists, and melomans have written upon *căluş* and *căluşer* as customs and also dances but they referred more to their genesis and less to structure. We believe that a parallel between the two dances with direct reference to the morphological, kinetic and metro-rhythmic structure: measure, time, tempo, cells and common rhythmic motifs, syncretic aspects – relation with the tune and other elements adjacent to the dance, the rhythmic superposition and other particularities is more eloquent in asserting if these have a common origin or not. On the other hand both dances must be analysed in the context of European dances.

APPENDICES

A LIMERICK IN HONOR OF ANCA AND CLUJ

There was a young maid from Romania
Who went dancing to Transylvania
She studied căluş
But to tell you the truth
It enveloped her like a mania.

Anca's past is a series of places
At which she has left many trances
Rural to urban
Town to suburban
Her card deck displays many aces.

Early competitions were focused on rifles
This was not just a series of trifles
While taking her aim
Her eye was well trained
Then from targets her eye turned to dancing.

Repeated watching of dance in the field
Created documents that would soon yield
A form of notation
That would cause a sensation
That she carried with her like a shield.

She found a continuous thread
Units, cells, motifs soon danced in her head
From a focus on structure
Came a definite rupture
She took on meanings in dance of the dead.

Then, without asking questions or *Fragen*
She moved her abode to Copenhagen
Smart like a fox
She reported on Vlachs
Whose diaspora had moved to her block.

Then to Cluj she returns now with Csilla
To face the organizing gorilla
Using friends and her brother
Perhaps even her mother
For our experience beyond any other.

Next we traveled to Frata by bus
Many dancers were there to meet us
The mood there was good
And after tasting their food
We joined in dancing without any fuss.

After researching from field to text
One wonders what we can do next?
From a focus on steps
Motifs, figures, perplexed
Can we move on to widen our specks?

What happened to connections with Morris?
Have they become lost in the forest?
Are we having a race
To fill up some space
With revivals, survivals, connections?

India, Korea, Hawai`i, and Spain
Are now part of our dancing domain
So, it's not just fantasia
That we will go to Malaysia?
It is time for a trip next to Asia.

Then, as Laszlo returns once again
Taking from Anca her claim to the pin
He sat down beside her
She gave him a spider
He accepted with grace and a grin.

Now while placing our Anca in history
We find that there still is a mystery
As we leave Transylvania
We accept now her mania
A rousing cheer of "Viva Romania"!

With love from Sister Adrienne
[presented by Adrienne L. Kaeppler, 15 July 2006]

PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLAGE OF MOMENTS DURING THE 2006 SYMPOSIUM

Csilla Könczei and Corina Iosif

Tranzit House - Centre for Contemporary Art and Culture, Cluj

Bottom row, left to right: Mats Nilsson, Orsolya Ternei (volunteer), Kendra Stepputat and Ingegerd Sigfridsson; Top: Judy Van Zile and Theresa Buckland

Study Group inside Tranzit House, listening to a presentation

Anca Giurchescu, Teodorescu Florian and Narcisa Alexandra Ştiucă

Adrienne Kaeppler and Barbara Sparti

Kristin Harris Walsh

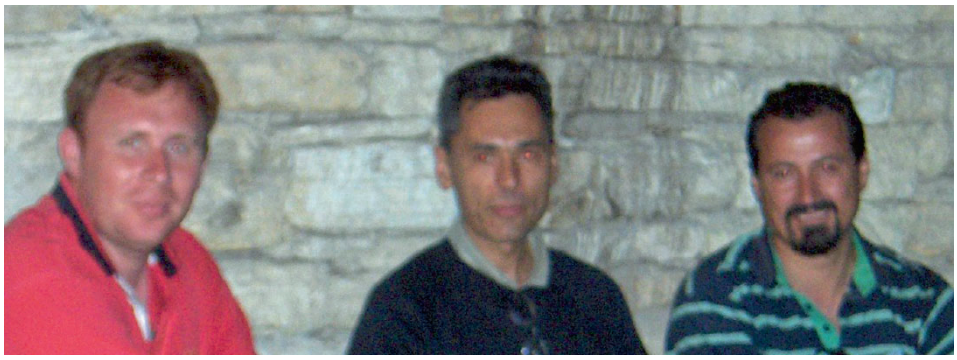
Andriy Nahachewsky

Stephanie Smith

Chi Fang Chao

Music group composed by Victor A. Stoichiță (flute), Zamfir Dejeu (drum) and local traditional musicians

Öcal Özbilgin



Silvestru Petac, János Fügedi and Teodorescu Florian

Vesna Bajić, Zdravko Ranisavljević and János Fügedi

Theresa Buckland and Daniela Stavělová

Egil Bakka

Anna Marie Nielsen

Colin Quigley

Nancy Heller and Judy Van Zile

Elsie Ivancich Dunin

Helene Eriksen

Irene Loutzaki, Andrée Grau and Daniela Ivanova

Left to right: Pălatca/Palatka band: Martin Florin Codoba, Lőrinc Codoba, Ştefan Moldovan, Márton Kovács "Puki", Mihai Remus Radac

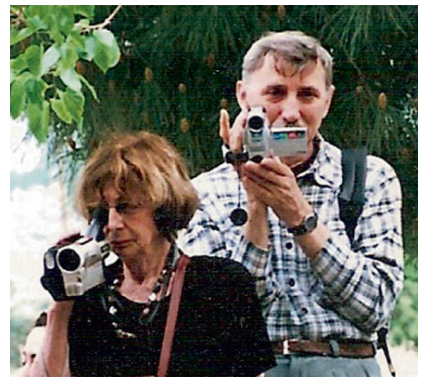
Rebeka Kunej, Tvrtko Zebec, Judy Olson and László Felföldi

Csongor Könczei and Hajnalka Mikó

Left to right: Katerina Cermickova, Daniela Stavělová, Nancy Heller, Anne Von Bibra Wharton with her daughter, Sophie, Rebecca Summerour, Barbara Alge, Kendra Stepputat and Andrée Grau

Corina Iosif is being served traditional offering of bread and salt in Frata (Cluj County).

Anca Giurchescu and László Felföldi



Olivera Vasić, Chi Fang Chao, Owe Ronström and Teodorescu Florian videotaping in Frata (Cluj County).

Performance group in Frata (Cluj County)

Performance in Frata (Cluj County)

Local performer dancing with Ann R. David in Frata (Cluj County)

Performance in Frata (Cluj County)

Preparing "gulyás/gulaş"
in Kide/Chidea (Cluj County)

Photographs courtesy of Anca Giurchescu, Elsie Ivancich Dunin, Emir Cenk Aydin, Barbara Sparti, and Erling Flem.

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