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## **DANCE MOVEMENTS AND URBAN TRAJECTORIES ACROSS AND IN THE CITY. A ROMANIAN CASE STUDY**

This article looks at the movements of dancers of the Ensemble Timișul (Timișoara, Romania) by juxtaposing two theoretical perspectives both of which have been termed the anthropology of movement. The author analyzes the dance movements and urban trajectories of the dancers applying both the anthropological approaches to movement or mobility in cities, and anthropology of bodily movement and apprenticeship by anthropologists, dance scholars and ethnomusicologists. The article considers the dancers' daily travels around the city between rehearsals, performances and social events, as well as their bodily movements as dancers (on stage and in rehearsal) and how this specifically local way of moving is transmitted to newer dancers. The author proposes that the concepts of flow and synchrony, as applied to their dance moves can also be applied to the dancers' bodily movements during their lives in the city.

Key words: movement, dance, cities, synchrony, flow

In this article, I will consider the movements of dancers in the Ensemble Timișul based in the city of Timișoara in the Banat region of southwest Romania, by juxtaposing two theoretical perspectives both of which have been termed the anthropology of movement. I will first offer an overview of recent anthropological literature on movement or mobility in cities,<sup>1</sup> and secondly I will consult works on the anthropology of bodily movement and apprenticeship by anthropologists, dance scholars and ethnomusicologists.

Recent works on the anthropology of movement or mobility within cities look at the urban pathways or trajectories traversed by individuals and raise

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<sup>1</sup> Dance and dancers' lives in an urban environment have received only limited academic attention. See Thomas 1997, Hanna 1979b and Ness 1992.

questions regarding how to undertake fieldwork with urban subjects who spend much of their lives on the move. In order to counteract previous trends for static, place-based anthropology,<sup>2</sup> these works tend to focus on their subjects and their movements whilst “in transit” between places, rather than looking at movements that take place within the “stopping points” that also are an essential part of urban life. In my research, I am interested in the lives of the dancers, that include their movements (“in transit”) which meet at stopping points, and as their social lives become ever more involved in dance this increases the socialising and the time spent at meeting points with their colleagues. I explore these factors by applying a non-static approach to examining the lives of dancers through their movement.

In this article, I offer description of both movements *between* and movements *within* “stopping points”<sup>3</sup> (Sanjek 1990:176) in the city as I argue that both of these aspects are vital parts of urban based lives. I will also open up the discussion on movements in cities to include the daily trajectories, mobilities or flows of the dancers as they move across the city in order to arrive at their destinations. I will describe their forms of socializing while travelling together and consider how this can vary according to their mode of transport.

I consider the dancers’ bodily moves at their stopping points by way of their habitual movements, which create a sense of belonging and are learnt by apprenticeship to the Ensemble. These habitual moves include their dance moves during rehearsals and cultural performances<sup>4</sup> and the methods used to pass on these specifically local ways of moving to newer members of the Ensemble. In the final part of this paper, I focus more closely on movement by looking at the concepts of flow and synchrony in connection with their moves during dance performances. I propose that these concepts can also be applied to their bodily movements during their daily lives in the city, thus drawing together works from both theoretical strands of thought in the anthropology of movement literature.

The fieldwork for this paper forms part of my ongoing research into the lives of folk dancers in the city of Timișoara. I utilize the ethnographic method of

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<sup>2</sup> See Duijzings 2011, 2010, Coleman and Collins 2006, Hannerz 1980 and Sanjek 1990.

<sup>3</sup> In his paper on urban anthropology in the 1980s, Sanjek uses the term “stopping points” to refer to key urban locations that are foci of activity for city dwellers and thus are ideal sites for participant observation by urban anthropologists.

<sup>4</sup> The term “cultural performance” was introduced by Singer (1955:27). I am using this term to distinguish “cultural performances” from a more general use of the word “performance” often found in a wider body of literature, which frequently refers to all bodily actions (see Schechner 2002:2). An alternative is to use “staged performances” but not all of these events take place on a stage; or Turino’s “presentational performance” (2008:25-6), which is closer to what I will describe below. However, my overall work challenges the notion that the performances of local dance and music in Timișoara that I have studied are fully presentational, as these performances are in the community for the community and thus lie between Turino’s categories of participatory and presentational performance.

“following people” (Marcus 1995:106) as they move around the city between the sites of action in their daily lives, studying their “movements and interactions” (Duijzings 2010:95), and spending time with them at their key stopping points. My involvement with their lives over a six year period has included participant observation at rehearsals and performances, formal and informal interviews, and on occasions “performing ethnography” (Turner 1987:139-153).

## **Moving through the City**

Ensemble Timișul is an amateur folk ensemble whose activities are funded by Timișoara Municipality.<sup>5</sup> They perform regularly at municipal events and also represent Timișoara outside the city at cultural exchanges and at international festivals. The main Ensemble has between twenty and twenty four pairs of dancers who perform suites comprised of dances both from the ethnographic regions that comprise the Romanian Banat and from the other regions of Romania. They are accompanied by a folk orchestra of professional musicians, and local vocal soloists. Ensemble Timișul has three sections, the main (adult) section, as well as a teen and children’s section. The current generation of dancers in the adult section of the Ensemble Timișul took over from the previous generation of dancers in 2005<sup>6</sup> and since that time, the number of events including local Banat music and dance has steadily increased. Performances of local dances are regularly included in municipal events and local festivals as well as at weddings, in local clubs and on local and national television channels. The current generation of dancers in Ensemble Timișul, performs regularly at these events, and also provides a pool of teachers to pass on their skills to groups of younger dancers at local schools and in nearby villages.

The lives of these dancers centre around movement. Like all city dwellers they live their lives “on the move” as they traverse the city from one stopping point to another, moving around the city from their homes, places of study or work to rehearsals, performances and social events. I argue that the lives of dancers focus around a network of stopping points that are interconnected by movements (or trajectories). Within the city of Timișoara the “action” (cultural performance) does not take place continuously in every corner of the city. It happens at specified times and in particular locations, and involves certain individuals, including the dancers from Ensemble Timișul, whose paths I have followed.<sup>7</sup> In their daily lives

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<sup>5</sup> The city of Timișoara is the regional capital of the Banat region of southwest Romania, and the third largest city in Romania. It is a lively city, with modern amenities and a historic centre still in need of renovation.

<sup>6</sup> These dancers were mostly between sixteen and eighteen years old in 2005.

<sup>7</sup> It also involves the musicians, singers and organisational team including the administrators, drivers, and sound engineers whose roles I cover in more detail in my forthcoming dissertation.

these dancers are constantly moving through the city, following habitual paths with stopping points at the sites of cultural action. The key stopping point or hub of activity is the Municipal Culture House that is situated a short walk southwest of the city centre. This is the location where the planning and organisation of regular cultural events that take place in the city occur during working days, and it is also important over the weekends when events take place. This building also provides the rehearsal space for the various sections of Ensemble Timișul, as well as for local Serbian and Hungarian dance groups. The dancers from the adult section of Ensemble Timișul can be found here on Tuesday and Thursday evenings and also on other occasions when they are involved in the planning and organisation of events, or are about to set off for a performance event that takes place outside the city.

During their typical weekly programme of performances the dancers in Ensemble Timișul move between other stopping points in the city. Their typical schedule may include a municipal performance, a number of short cabaret style performances at weddings, parties, or in a local nightclub that organises evenings dedicated to local music and song. They also may move outside the city for a performance in a nearby village, or town in another region of Romania, or once or twice a year for a foreign tour. The public events in Timișoara that involve performances of local music and dance take place in several prominent locations: *Parcul Rozelor*, one of the many parks in the city centre where a large covered stage is located; in the Opera House or Banat *Filharmonica*; on specially constructed temporary stages in one of the two main squares of the city centre; in the car park belonging to the *Dan Păltinișanu* football stadium southeast of the city centre; or at the Banat Village Museum on the northeastern outskirts of the town within a wooded area known to the locals as *pădure verde*.

Timișoara is a compact city with many options for means of travel along trajectories between stopping points. This fact allows sufficient time for daily lives to include multiple stopping points. When the dancers travel through Timișoara, they can do so on foot, by car, in a local yellow taxi from one of the numerous ranks situated around the perimeter of the old town, by bus or tram (even though bike lanes have been painted during the last two years, the number of pedal bikes in Timișoara is relatively low). On many occasions my fieldwork has involved travelling across the city with one, or more, of the Ensemble Timișul dancers, by car, bus or on foot. This act of travelling together is essentially sociable, and this sociability can also be a useful time for fieldworkers to have informal chats with their informants, or else listen to the daily conversations between their companions. Urry (2000), Thrift (2004) as well as Lee and Ingold (2006) have looked at socialising whilst travelling. Urry and Thrift have considered driving, while Lee and Ingold have written about walking, and I would offer a comparison between the two experiences. The main venues used for municipal

cultural events are mostly within walking distance of each other and the city centre (the exception being the Banat Village Museum). However, many of the Ensemble Timișul dancers prefer to travel by car despite the increasing traffic in the city and the growing difficulty in finding parking spaces, especially near to the centre and in the congested roads around the Municipal Culture House. When travel is organised for attending performances a coach is usually hired, or groups of friends carpool and the driver is given money to offset the cost of gas. Thrift discusses how travelling by car produces “its own embodied practices of driving and ‘passenger’” (Thrift 2004:46), while Urry describes car travel as an “automobilised time-space” and comments that car journeys give rise to “distinct ways of [...] travelling and socialising” (Urry 2000:59). Compared to walking, sitting in a car involves minimal body movement, and can be a sociable or a peaceful time depending on the situation. Both Urry and Thrift comment on the static experience of sitting inside a car while the world outside passes by, or does not when stuck in a traffic jam. Thrift draws parallels between these experiences and rail travel by drawing on de Certeau’s chapter on railway navigation in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, where de Certeau describes travellers as “[i]mmobile inside the train, seeing immobile things slip by” (de Certeau 1984:111). For a fieldworker working with urban residents, this “time-space” of immobility away from the stopping points of life can provide opportunities to embark on informal discussions that might not be possible at other times.

During the course of my fieldwork parking became more problematic in the city centre especially during the daytime. The increased regulation of parking in the central metered zone caused much discussion, especially when signs threatening to remove illegally parked cars appeared. My own residence in the city and increased parking costs meant that I spent more time walking either through the city centre with the dancers, or meeting them while walking, usually in small groups, in the central square. The central square in Timișoara is lined by open-air cafes and bars during the summer months and is a common socialising area for all Timișoara residents, including the dancers. However, the large shopping mall is rapidly also becoming a coffee shop centre. Lee and Ingold who examined the relationship between walking practices and “forms of sociability” in Aberdeen, northeast Scotland saw walking as “an inherently sociable engagement” (Lee and Ingold 2006:67-68). I would comment that walking through Timișoara gives a different perspective to driving, especially as it is possible to traverse the heart of the historic city centre, across routes that are forbidden for cars to access. According to de Certeau’s classic chapter “Walking in the City”, through the act of walking a pedestrian can appropriate “the topographical system” of the city streets thus forming “relations among different positions” (de Certeau 1984:97-98). Places in the city centre can be linked by a straight line, rather than the circular route around the centre that cars are forced to take. Walking also means that the person is moving,

unlike during car travel when they are static. I found that during my fieldwork this sense of shared movement led to different topics of conversation with my informants. Lee and Ingold further observe that “[d]uring a shared walk, people very often talk to each other, yet the talking usually involves very little direct eye contact” (Lee and Ingold 2006:81), because people’s gaze is focused on looking forward or around them. I would argue that this leads to a closer engagement with their surroundings. The conversations that I shared while walking tend to be less reflective and more about the surroundings, the stalls in the Christmas market in the central square, the new eating place that opened during the last week, or the renovations that are taking place to the historic city centre. These discussions parallel the experience of Richardson (2005) who joined her subjects in the city of Odessa during walks organised by the *My Odessa Club*. These walks provided their participants with a “way of sensing the city’s history(ies)”. These trajectories of movement, or “urban pathways” (Finnegan 1989:297), change over time. Over the course of my fieldwork, as the popularity of local music and dance increased, the paths traced by the Ensemble Timișul dancers have become more complex and interwoven. Their habitual trajectories have increased along their route from home or place of work or study to the culture house or event venue. Urban pathways now include trips to the school or nearby village where dance is taught, and to the night clubs that host evenings of local music and dance. Developments in social media technology have also meant that, as a fieldworker, my knowledge of their trajectories is improved by studying their use of applications such as Facebook “check in”, or their Facebook status or photos.

Fenster, who studied personal narratives about people’s lives in the cities of London and Jerusalem described the “everyday” nature of belonging that men and women develop in their daily practices in cities by analysing narratives about their perceptions of sense of comfort, belonging, and commitment. She noticed that the “corporal experiences of everyday walking” and the knowledge accumulated while doing so enabled the development of “belonging and attachment” to the urban environment (cf. Fenster 2005:242-243). I would suggest that this sense of belonging and attachment, which is reflected in the daily trajectories and stopping points, is an important factor in the attachment of the lives of the dancers to Ensemble Timișul, which is in itself a microcosm of belonging to the Banat community. Ensemble Timișul, which is funded by the municipality, performs at all major events that take place in the city and travels outside Timișoara to represent the municipality. Their participation in these performances gives the dancers a closer sense of belonging to their city in two ways: they both perform in the city and perform for the city to present the city and this involves them in connecting key locations in the city in their daily trajectories.

## **Dance Moves at a Stopping Point**

The members of Ensemble Timișul rehearse twice a week, and each rehearsal lasts around two hours.<sup>8</sup> These occasions both allow the dance repertoire to be acquired and polished and give many the chance to socialise with other members of the group. Those that come to rehearsals follow habitual routines that are associated with the group's protocol or "way of being". Upon arrival at the Municipal Culture House, dancers hang out in the foyer for a while chatting, drinking coffee or water and smoking until the previous class has finished and it is their time to dance. The most active members arrive a little early and join those with less experience, helping them with their steps and moves. Those in the foyer amble into the hall around 18:00, and go to get changed into dance clothes. Once changed they sit round the sides of the hall in small, mostly gendered groups, chatting until it is their time to dance. These habitual moves, or back region choreographies (Goffman 1959:144), are connected to a sense of belonging that they have built up over time. These include both bodily and locational movements within parts of the room, the move toward the Culture House Hall, where dancers gather in groups, and the bodily postures taken when sitting and chatting. These habitual moves are an integral part of all dancing lives and have also been discussed by Marion concerning competitive ballroom dance (2008:156), and Wulff (1998) in reference to ballet dancers. Once the younger group of dancers finishes its final dance suite, the choreographer or dance instructor in charge calls for the boys to line up in their places for the first choreography to be rehearsed. Then he/she calls each girl in turn and puts her into place in front of one of the boys. Once all the places are filled he/she directs the musicians to start playing the appropriate sequence of tunes and the dance rehearsal begins.<sup>9</sup>

In order to discuss the acquisition and performance of micromovements that can be identified by intimates as a local form of dance, I will draw on works by anthropologists, dance scholars and ethnomusicologists on the anthropology of bodily movement, and recent theories of embodied learning through apprenticeship.<sup>10</sup> It has been acknowledged that people from different locations have their own characteristic ways of moving their bodies while standing, walking,

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<sup>8</sup> The main section of Ensemble Timișul has around twelve dance suites in their repertoire, including six suites from Banat. Each suite is made up of a number of identifiable local dances that are performed in a fixed order so as to flow from one dance to another. The associated choreography is designed to arrange the movements of the dancers around the stage (cf. Mellish 2012).

<sup>9</sup> Unlike many groups, Ensemble Timișul does not start each rehearsal with a warm up session or step practice. They also normally rehearse with musicians unlike many groups that use recorded music for rehearsals and only have musicians for performances.

<sup>10</sup> For the anthropology of bodily movement see Kaeppler 1985 regarding structured movement systems in Tonga, Ness 2003:213 and Sklar 2001:30 regarding embodiment of cultural knowledge and embodied methods of dance learning or Novack 1990 regarding contact improvisation. Note

sitting or resting (Hall 1976:75), and these local ways of movement can also be seen in the dance moves that make up a local way of dancing.

Apprenticeship in this context refers to the transmission methods that generate a flow of new members who go through the learning process that allows them to learn the local habitual ways of moving. It should be noted here that in order to acquire the necessary dance moves needed to be accepted as a full member of the adult section of Ensemble Timișul, two elements are most important. The first is a developing competence in performing the local dance steps included in Banat dances. This competence, once acquired, can be practiced both during group rehearsals and on social occasions. The second element needed concerns the structure of the choreographic suites performed by Ensemble Timișul. These dance suites are made up of local dances collected in villages, combined with generic dances from Banat (*hora, brâul, ardeleana, de doi*), and each ensemble has its own variation on these dance suites. Many of the dancers whom I am concerned with in this paper started dancing as children either in the children's sections of Ensemble Timișul or in the children's Ensemble Hora Timișului based at the Children's Culture House in Timișoara and thus were gradually socialised in local dance and music.<sup>11</sup> Their progression to the main section of Ensemble Timișul took place during their later teenager years and they moved from one ensemble to another in their friendship circles bringing with them their previous experience of learning local dance moves. These movements have become habitual to them over many years, and so when dancing choreographic suites of local dances, all they need is to learn the order of the dances and specific positioning. For those few who did not start dancing before joining the Ensemble (either in a children's group or socially in a nearby village), the road to perfecting one's dance moves involves a steady climb in experience and many hours of hard work.<sup>12</sup>

Dance, as a form of structured body movement, can be passed on by informal means, involving non-verbalised kinetic transfer or through formal instruction, using verbalised, structured teaching, and written notations or a mixture of both. In the case of urban folk dancers, it has frequently been held that only formal methods are used.<sup>13</sup> Based on my observations of rehearsals with Ensemble Timișul, I would challenge this. I observed that the local dance knowledge to be

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that Williams 1991:174-200, Farnell 1999, 2000 and Downey 2010 all make reference to the work of Bourdieu on "habitus" and the theory of practice.

<sup>11</sup> See Bailey 1994:47-48, Turino 1989:158 and Pop 1964 for more detailed discussion on children's socialisation in local music and dance.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion concerning the long hours of work needed to perfect dance moves on other dance genres see Marion 2008 (regarding competitive ballroom dance) and Wulff 1998 (regarding ballet).

<sup>13</sup> For discussion on this see Shay 2006, Giurchescu and Bloland 1995:70 and Maners 2008:145.



embodied is transferred using more traditional or informal means similar to those found in village settings or during an apprenticeship.

Recent anthropological works on apprenticeship discuss methods of knowledge transfer from the experienced “guru” to the apprentice. Apprenticeship involves bodily learning through imitation, developing how to move and use parts of one’s body in a way that becomes habitual, rather than learning moves through formal teaching or by using printed books or notations. Ingold (2000) investigated the “enskillment” involved in making string bags in New Guinea, Makovicky (2010) observed the acquisition of lace-making skills in Slovakia and Downey (2010) studied skill acquisition in Brazilian Capoeira. Marion drew parallels between Ingold’s work on skill learning and the bodily training undergone by competitive ballroom dancers where the “the entire purpose of practice is to automate valued bodily postures and movements, and to routinize them in such a manner that they do not require conscious effort or attention” (Marion 2008:150). Downey’s and Marion’s works both deal with forms of embodied movement, but in both cases it is a form of movement that has no links to the participant’s place of origin, or their local ways of moving their bodies. I contend that there is considerable difference in the acquisition of a skill of competitive dance, or a martial art to the enculturation of learning a local form of dance where the participants have some degree of socialization in these local “ways of being”.

In the case of the Ensemble Timișul dancers, the novice acquires their initial knowledge of how to perform their dance moves by closely watching experienced dancers and consciously emulating their moves.<sup>14</sup> As Downey discusses in his work on Brazilian capoeira, this conscious emulation is then processed by the dancer and used unconsciously to replicate the movements of the expert (Downey 2010:S24). Once the basic moves are acquired, stylistic nuances are conveyed by the choreographer or dance instructor during Ensemble Timișul rehearsals. These gurus will dance beside new members or place new members between, or direct them to dance in pairs with more experienced dancers. This allows this stylistic “correction” to be conveyed on an individual basis by kinetic transfer rather than by using words to describe the “correct” method of execution of the steps. An example of this is the specific *svikt* (Bakka 1991:224) that is found in dances from the Banat mountain region and gives these dances their unique aesthetic quality.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> See Cohen (2010:S199) on imitative learning, and Goodenough (2006:993) on individual re-creation of actions.

<sup>15</sup> For a more detailed discussion and analysis of the choreological elements of Banat Mountain dances see Green 2011. In this context, I use the term “aesthetic” to refer to “notions” of appropriateness and competency held by the dancer’s reference groups which guide the dancer’s actions (cf. Hanna 1979a:316).

The transfer of nuances of local dance styling is dependant both on the dance knowledge of the instructors and their ability to transmit this to their students using techniques that can convey this knowledge. The choreographers who work with the various generations of Ensemble Timișul mostly have village backgrounds and acquired their own dancing skills though methods equivalent to apprenticeship and continue to pass on their embodied dance knowledge in the same way. Their methods of knowledge transfer are then used by the current generation of dancers when they in turn pass on their skills to children's dance groups in local schools and nearby villages.

### **Moving and Performing in the City**

On the day and at the time when a cultural event that includes local music and dance is scheduled to take place, the dancers from Ensemble Timișul move through the city to arrive at any of the key venues listed above. They are ready to move through what Schechner calls the three stages or the "time-space sequence" of the performance process; the proto-performance, performance, and the aftermath (cf. Schechner 2002:225). For cultural events in Timișoara, these three stages involve movement trajectories through the city. They begin at the Municipal Culture House for the proto-performance, moving to the venue during the course of the event and then finally either returning to the Culture House after the event has ended, or moving on to socialize in the park near a vendor who sells grilled meat and drinks, or at a coffee shop or a local club. The routine of arriving at the performance location, preparing for the performance, dressing in costumes, lining up in the wings, going on stage, leaving the stage, changing back into daily clothes, and leaving the performance venue all follow a defined routine that can be viewed as a choreography of habitual movements that comprise the entire performance process.

At the allotted time, the musicians start to play, and the dancers move from relaxed hanging out on either side of the stage into their positions for entry into the performance space. They straighten their bodies to assume their performance poise, and start to move in two lines of neatly costumed dancers moving in synchrony toward each other, with immaculate posture, neat footwork and smiling faces. This is Goffman's front region of the dancers' lives (1959:144). The choreographies or dance suites that are performed for the audience are made up of habitual embodied movements, rehearsed well enough until they become automatic, and synchrony and flow are often achieved during the performance. Each suite lasts around five to seven minutes with one dance flowing into the next, with the dancers gliding, twisting, and turning around each other. The music builds up to a crescendo, faster and faster, the dancers perform more and more pirouettes, another crescendo starts,

and finally the dancers take up a fixed pose in their pairs and the music comes to a stop. Some performances have something exceptional, a perfect synchrony is made between the music and the movements, and this can create a type of magic for the performers and some of the audience members. This optimal movement experience has been termed as a state of heightened consciousness or flow by Csikszentmihalyi (1990).<sup>16</sup> Turino (2008:4, 28-35) discusses the achievement of flow during participatory performance and the ability to achieve synchrony among closely bonded groups of people who grow up participating in local styles of music and dance. He comments that during performances when these states are achieved “moving together [...] in a group creates a direct sense of being together and of deeply felt similarity, and hence identity among participants” (Turino 2008:19, 43).<sup>17</sup> He considers this ability to sync during music and dance performance is a form of what Hall (1976) terms as “social synchrony” in everyday life (Turino 2008:41-42).

In addition to the habitual ways of moving bodies while dancing, the behaviours and interrelations between individuals in the dance space are transferred to life outside the key stopping points (the dance spaces) when small groups of the dancers meet in the city to socialise by drinking coffee, shopping, or visiting the night clubs. Characteristically, a dancer moves with grace and ease, and an increase in bodily awareness occurs as these dancers move through their daily lives. Their bodily moments are influenced by their time as dancers.<sup>18</sup> In his work on rhythm, body movement and social synchrony in everyday life, Hall analysed film footage of people communicating frame by frame, and found that when two people are engaged in harmonious communication they unconsciously move their bodies in a synchronous rhythm that he refers to as “a kind of dance [...] without music or conscious orchestration” (Hall 1976:71-72, 75-77). He observes that these movements conform to a form of “local rhythm” but that most people are unaware that this is happening. I would suggest that these observations apply to the movements of the Ensemble Timișul dancers while they are socialising in small groups during their daily lives in Timișoara. In their work on walking and sociability, Lee and Ingold (2006) also observed that a shared rhythm is established when two individuals are walking together, and that similarities can be drawn between the rhythm of shared walking and other activities including some forms of dancing

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<sup>16</sup> Csikszentmihalyi’s (1990) concept of optimal experience or flow provides a tool for describing the total immersion or focused motivation that individuals or groups can experience while participating in an activity such as dance or music.

<sup>17</sup> This situation also has parallels with Turner’s “communitas” that he terms as a generic mode of human interrelatedness, especially occurring in ritual, performative and liminal situations (cf. Turner 1974:33).

<sup>18</sup> See Wulff (1998:102) who comments on this phenomenon in the lives of ballet dancers, and Marion (2008:150) for competitive ballroom dancers who channel their subconscious way of moving and conducting “into being, and being seen as, a certain type of dancer and person”.

or martial arts (Lee and Ingold 2006:81-82). These shared rhythms or synchrony experienced during harmonious communication are more easily achieved when those concerned already have a closely shared understanding, or as in the case of the dancers of the Ensemble Timișul, have a shared experience of dancing together.

As the lives of this generation of dancers have become increasingly dominated by their participation in the activities of Ensemble Timișul over the last five years, I have observed that their movements both around the city and within the dance space have become increasingly synchronised. Several of the dancers have stated in my interviews that their entire social life focuses around their dance commitments and that their social circle of friends is limited to those within the Ensemble as they do not have time to socialise with other friends. Even at times when they are not involved in dance rehearsals or cultural performances, they can be found drinking coffee together in the town centre, or at a night club or party, especially those locations where local music and song forms a major part of the evening programme.

## **Conclusion**

In this article I have interpreted the movements in the lives of dancers from Ensemble Timișul in Timișoara from two angles – through the lens of recent anthropological works on movement or mobility in cities; and by relating this to works on the anthropology of bodily movement and apprenticeship. The lives of these dancers include moving through the city, either alone, in groups or with the fieldworker. I observed that their sociality while moving is affected by their mode of transport, and that this can have implications for the fieldworker who travels with them. I noticed that their role as dancers for the municipality gives them a sense of belonging to the city, and that this sense of belonging in their trajectories across the city is also carried through to their stopping points for rehearsals, or at cultural performances where they followed a habitual choreography of movement on arrival, offstage and after the event. I explored their acquisition of the dance moves that are necessary to perform their local dances, from their locally born dance instructors, through imitation and embodied skill transfer, and then moved onto their cultural performances, where their competency in their local moves allows them to achieve flow and synchrony in their dancing. I finally propose that their time spent dancing enables this flow and synchrony to continue during the increasing amount of time they spend together in the city.

This paper has applied theoretical perspectives on movement in cities, and the bodily movements of dance and in life to the movements of dancers in the city of Timișoara. The points highlighted focus on the concept that both their trajectories

and micromovements while dancing and in daily life have been acquired through apprenticeship to Ensemble Timișul, and become habitual over time. This has drawn the members together, bound by a sense of belonging to their Ensemble and to the city, and resulted in them moving in synchrony both in life and on stage.

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## PLESNI POKRETI I URBANE PUTANJE KROZ GRAD.

### PRIMJER IZ RUMUNJSKE

#### SAŽETAK

Ovaj se rad bavi kretanjima plesača temišvarskog glazbenoplesnog ansambla Timișul, supostavljajući u svom pristupu dvije teorijske perspektive antropologije kretanja – prvu proizašlu iz radova antropologa o kretanjima i mobilnosti u gradovima i drugu proizašlu iz radova antropologa, plesnih stručnjaka i etnomuzikologa o pokretima/kretanjima tijela i načinima njihova prenošenja. Autorica prati svakodnevne putanje plesača temišvarskog ansambla kroz njihova kretanja gradom između pokusa, nastupa i društvenih događanja, dok istodobno razmatra pokrete njihovih plešućih tijela (na pozornici i na pokusima) i načine kojima se ti specifični lokalizirani pokreti prenose novim plesačima ansambla. Završni dio rada bavi se konceptima protoka i sinkronije vezanim uz kretanje plesača tijekom plesnih izvedbi. Autorica zaključuje kako bismo odraze tih plesnih pokreta mogli pronaći u svakodnevnim tjelesnim kretanjima i kretanjima plesača kroz grad, te tako na neki način spaja obje teorijske perspektive antropologije kretanja.

Ključne riječi: kretanje, ples, grad, sinkronija, protok