

WORLD DANCE: (NOVI) EUFEMIZAM U PLESNOJ TERMINOLOGIJI?

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U potpunosti nedosljedno korištena koncepcija world dance u plesnom svijetu i u široj javnosti navela me na propitivanje kompleksnosti već usvojene i nedefinirane sintagme. Terminološkom i sadržajnom nepreciznošću sintagma potencijalno implicira značenja koja dovode u pitanje korektnost njezine uporabe. Potencijalna problematičnost sintagme dijelom se nalazi u implicitnom preslikavanju značenjskih oznaka world musica, iz kojega se nametnulo propitivanje povijesnog i suvremenog konteksta terminološke problematike etničkog u plesu. U ovom će se tekstu analizirati moguća značenja te iznijeti teorijsko promišljanje pojma world dance na primjeru klasičnog baleta propitivanjem kontroverzne postavke može li pojam world dance zahvatiti i plesni oblik klasičnog baleta.

Ključne riječi: ples, world dance, world music, balet

Koncepcija *world dance*¹ među plesačima, raznim praktičarima plesa ili u široj javnosti različito se koristi, nedosljedno zahvaćajući raznolike plesove i/ili plesne oblike. Ne postoji ujednačenost njezine uporabe ni usuglašenost svojevrsnih predodžbi o terminu.²

¹ Prepoznatljivost termina *world dance* na globalnoj ali i na lokalnim razinama upravo je u izvornome anglosaksonskom obliku. Dakle, s obzirom na neprepoznatljivost prijevoda kao svjetskog plesa, u tekstu ću koristiti *world dance* kao jedinstvenu terminološku oznaku plesne kategorije, a potom i *world music* kao terminološku oznaku glazbene kategorije zbog podjednakih razloga.

² Tako primjerice, na razini visokoškolskog obrazovanja, na američkom sveučilištu UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles) u nastojanju otklanjanja od kolonijalne prošlosti i kolonijalnih asocijacija usmjerenih na rasnu i klasnu hijerarhizaciju zapravo se riječicom *world* nadomješta odnosno zamjenjuje prijašnji termin *ethno*. Tako *world dance* navješćuje svojevrsno neutralno komparativno područje u kojem bi svi plesovi bili podjednako različiti i podjednake važnosti (usp. Foster 2009:1–2). *World dance* nadalje stoji često na mjestu naslova ili kao opis pojedinih plesnih skupina, plesnih događanja, plesnih okupljanja, plesnih festivala i sl. Međutim, nije utvrđen podatak kada i gdje se termin prvotno javlja te kojim se tempom i na koji način rasprostranjuje njegovo korištenje. Danas se iza njega kriju mnogi plesni oblici i plesovi.

S obzirom na znanstvena promišljanja i analize, riječ je o relativno novijoj koncepciji iako je bilo nekoliko znanstvenih pokušaja njezine analize.³ Jedan od njih je nikad ostvareni pokušaj objavljivanja tematskog broja američkog časopisa *Journal for the Anthropological Study of Human Movement* (JASHM) koji je 2011. godine objavio poziv za tekstovima koji bi problematizirali pojavnost koncepcije *world dancea*. Eventualnim tekstovima na tu temu objava nije bila suđena, s obzirom na to da taj tematski broj, bez tumačenja urednica, nikada nije objavljen. Uspješnog ishoda je pak realizirani zbornik radova *Worlding Dance*, urednice Susan Leigh Foster, koji iz raznih perspektiva problematizira *world dance*. Međutim, upravo jedno od pitanja postavljeno u pozivu američkog časopisa, inspiriralo je ovu analizu. Ono glasi: uključuje li *world dance* sve plesove osim baleta i modernog plesa? Kroz ovaj će se tekst stoga pokušati analizirati moguća značenja te iznijeti teorijsko promišljanje termina *world dance* na primjeru klasičnog baleta, propitivanjem kontroverzne postavke može li pojam *world dance* zahvatiti i plesni oblik klasičnog baleta. Osim toga, kompleksnost konstrukcije i njezina problematičnost proizlaze iz načina njezine uporabe te posebno iz potencijalno implicitnog preslikavanja značenjskih oznaka (bolje problematiziranog) pojma *world music* iz kojeg se nametnuo suvremeni i povijesni kontekst plesne terminološke problematike etničkog u plesu.

Problematičnost sintagme *world dance* na nekoliko razina pojavljuje se već svraćanjem pozornosti na potencijalna značenja dviju sastavnih riječi. Prvi dio sintagme *world* istodobno implicira heterogenost kao i homogenost kategorije. Svojevrсна je naznaka zahvaćanja *svoga* svjetskog ili pak *jedinstvenog i monolitnog* svjetskog. Korištenjem općeg nazivnika *world* stvara se dojam kako je uistinu moguće govoriti o jednom, jedinstvenom i reprezentativnom plesu, kao i o ideji kulture kao heterogene plesne cjeline.

³ Jednim od prvih znanstvenih i značajnijih pokušaja promatranja plesa iz globalne perspektive može se smatrati djelo *A World History of the Dance* njemačkog muzikologa Curta Sachsa iz 1937. Djelo je radikalno pokušaj sabiranja i kompariranja plesova iz gotovo cijelog svijeta kroz različita razdoblja, počevši od kamenog doba i “orijentalnih civilizacija”, preko grčkog i romanskoga klasičnog razdoblja, renesanse, 18. stoljeća, do “razdoblja valcera” (19. stoljeće) i “razdoblja tanga” (20. stoljeće). Međutim, Sachsova je povijest plesa zahvatila zapravo samo povijest plesova zapadne Europe.

Pored toga, riječ *world* sadrži i svojevrsnu konotaciju vlasništva u smislu da je svjetski ples onaj koji pripada (i cijelom) svijetu, a ne nužno (samo) pojedinom geografskom odredištu ili plesnoj zajednici. Iz toga proizlazi pitanje u kojoj mjeri zajednice koje se identificiraju s pojedinim plesovima ili plesnim oblicima mogu ili žele biti suglasne s takvom podvodljivošću. Drugi dio sintagme *dance* mogao bi se odnositi na doslovnu jedninu plesa ili plesnog oblika, s potencijalom njegove unutarnje raščlambe i kategorizacije s obzirom na lokacijske, povijesne i kontekstualne razlike. Svakako, s obzirom na prvu riječ *world*, jednina *dance* zahvaća neku potencijalnu množinu reprezentativnih svjetskih plesova. Pridjev *world* asocijativno se veže za termin globalno, asocirajući na globalnu rasprostranjenost, globalnu primjenjivost ili globalnu prepoznatljivost samo jednog ili više plesnih oblika. Podvođenjem različitih plesova pod jedan naziv upućuje se na nastojanje osiguranja kategorije koja bi slijedila trendove globalnosti, interkulturalnosti, multikulturalnosti i drugih pomodnih *-alnosti*. Pritom se neminovno previđaju *insajderske* zakonitosti i vrijednosti svakog pojedinog oblika. Marta Elena Savigliano drži da je *world dance* reprezentacija, jedan od novijih načina sastavljanja, konceptualiziranja te procjenjivanja “drugih” plesova (2009:164). *World dance* zapravo nisu neki novi, novopojavljeni plesovi nego je riječ o odabiru postojećih oblika koje bi koncepcija trebala zahvaćati odnosno o stvaranju nove kategorije. Međutim, ako se koncepcijom nastoji prepoznati nova plesna kategorija, ona tada neminovno zalazi u već postojeće, remeteći njihove okvire (uglavnom također vrlo fleksibilne i neprecizne u definiciji), iako, kako je Veit Erlmann primijetio, prodiranje stranih elemenata moguće je definirati kao destruktivan proces tek ako pretpostavimo da je bilo koja kultura *a priori* koherentna cjelina (usp. 1993:5). Potencijalno zalaženje u druge plesne kategorije ili zahvaćanje nekoliko plesnih oblika stvara nove problematičnosti. Ponajviše u pokušavanju vrednovanja odnosno primjeni estetskih okvira pripadnih jednoj kategoriji na druge. Primjerice, kada kritičar prema vlastitim estetskim vrijednostima ocjenjuje druge (drugačijih estetskih vrijednosti) (usp. Gottschild 1997:169–171). Naime, važno je uzeti u obzir pojave i standarde od ključne važnosti istraživanima te biti svjestan vlastitih okvira (estetskih i drugih) poimanja i evaluiranja, ali i onih promatranih, odnosno istraživanih, jer “jedan od najlakših načina obespravljenja drugih jest prosuđivati ih prema standardu koji previđa

njihov odabrani estetski okvir i njihove specifične potrebe” (Gottschild 1997:171). S druge strane, pridavanjem podjednakih vrijednosti te isticanjem ravnopravnosti svih plesova (ili plesnih oblika) svijeta, gube se jedinstveni referencijalni estetski okviri koji često i utječu na razgraničenost pojedinih plesnih oblika, njihovo definiranje i razumijevanje. Također, osiguranje nove kategorije gdje bi se neki od naizgled vrlo različitih plesnih oblika (po strukturama koraka i tehnikama koje uvjetuju njihovu izvedbu, primjerice) našli unutar iste, potencijalno dovodi do dekontekstualizacije (poimanja, a potom i izvedbe). Dekontekstualizacija često vodi transformaciji, pa čak i gubitku smisla i značenja, budući da, kako je primijetila Georgina Gore, smisao često ne počiva u samim plesnim pokretima nego u interakciji svih elemenata izvedbe, uključujući očekivanja i odaziv publike (Gore 1986:55).

WORLD DANCE I WORLD MUSIC

Najkompleksnija problematičnost pojma *world dance* u njegovoj je asocijaciji na *world music*. Rasprostranjena je percepcija pojedinih (plesnih) zajednica, grupacija ili organizacija o *world danceu* kao plesu ili plesovima “raznolikosti”, ponajprije etničkih, kroz koja se odaju prizvuci egzotičnog, dalekog i tradicijskog. S obzirom na praksu i tendencije pojedinih plesnih skupina, organizacija pa čak i institucija⁴ u svojevrsnom preuzimanju pojedinih predodžbi o *world musicu*, potencijalno primjenjivih i na *world dance* gdje bi *world dance* trebao ili mogao zahvaćati plesove s elementima tradicijskog i etničkog u suvremenosti, problematičnim se pojavljuje pojam ethno/folk odnosno izbjegavanje jednoznačnosti s *world dance*. Ethno navodi na izvorno i autentično, a kad se isto događa i s *world dance*, dolazi do problematičnosti terminoloških odrednica i njihova razgraničavanja.⁵

⁴ O vrlo raširenom uvođenju termina *world dance*, ponajprije na američkim sveučilištima; vidi Foster (2009:1–3).

⁵ Pritom, čiste su etnografije i etnologije, odnosno čisti, izvorni, autentični oblici neustanovljivi. Sporani su vremenski i prostorni okvir njihova sagledavanja jer niti su prostori uvijek isti niti se vremenski precizno može ustanoviti prvo (ne samo najstarije poznato, dostupno ili ustanovljivo) razdoblje njihova pojavljivanja. Naila Ceribašić (2003:261) drži da je izvornost “suvremena estetska koncepcija i suvremena praksa koja

Komparacija s glazbom kao srodnim fenomenom čini mi se nužnom s obzirom na istovjetnost dijela sintagme sadržane u *world*, kao i referentnost područja istraživanja tih dvaju fenomena (glazbe i plesa). Naime, pojedine prakse i diskursi u kojima se termin *world dance* već koristi, mogli bi proizlaziti iz percepcija i predodžbi preslikanih po uzoru na *world music*.⁶ *World music* se javio iz potrebe pronalaženja nove kategorije u koju bi se smjestile glazbe s kojima se “nije znalo kamo”. Dogovorom zainteresiranih distributera glazbi “stvoren” je kao zasebni ogranak glazbene industrije (Connell i Gibson 2004:349).⁷ Postao je tako izmišljeni “žanr” koji je Zapad stvorio kako bi u njega smjestio sve glazbe koje zadovoljavaju njegovu žudnju za “novim”, “suštinski različitim” i “egzotičnim” Drugim (Piškor 2005:33). Zapadne produkcijske kuće nastojale su plasirati nešto novo, daleko, egzotično i autentično pod jednim nazivom stvarajući zapravo od odabranih glazbi novu, umjetno stvorenu kategoriju plasiranu za potrebe suvremenih medija te dobar plasman i profit na tržištu.

se upire na zamišljenu negdašnju praksu. Zbiljska srodnost sa zbiljskom negdašnjom praksom (ako je ova uopće dohvatljiva), prilično je nebitna, iako čini samu srž koncepcije izvornosti”. Anca Giurchescu (2001:117) pak smatra da je “autentičnost romantična konstrukcija. Ako autentičnost ima konotaciju ‘istine’, tada je svaka ljudima smislena izvedba, implicitno autentična”.

⁶ Diskursi unutar disciplina koje zahvaćaju glazbe (muzikologija i etnomuzikologija odnosno antropologija glazbe kao najreferentnije) i ples(ove) (plesni studiji, antropologija strukturiranog pokreta, plesna etnologija, etnokoreologija i plesna etnografija) mogu se nadopunjavati u istraživanjima potencijalno srodnih problematika. Kako bi se objasnilo potencijalno područje preslikavanja (značenja *world musica* na *world dance*), neophodno je ukratko podastrijeti neke analize *world musica* kao područja istraživanja glazbi iako se konstrukti na ovome mjestu ne mogu detaljnije komparirati te nije moguće zahvatiti svu problematiku *world musica*. Svakako, *world music* je popraćen znatnom znanstvenom analizom unutar (etno)muzikologije te humanističkih znanosti koja može poslužiti i propitivanjima *world dancea*. Primjerice, već prepoznati aspekti poput rasne imaginacije, (post)kolonijalizma i globalizacije (usp. Piškor 2005:19–31) mogu služiti kao smjernica ili referentno polazište.

⁷ Nakon sastanka nekih produkcijskih kuća i novinara u Londonu 1987., “*world music* se u Velikoj Britaniji pojavio kao formalna komercijalna kategorija” (Connell i Gibson 2004:349). Pritom, prema riječima Iana Andersona, jednog od prisutnih na tom sastanku, pregovaralo se o različitim nazivima gdje se *world music* pokazao onim koji najviše uključuje i najmanje izostavlja (ibid. 349–350).

Mojca Piškor ističe da je *world music* u početku obuhvaćao glazbe koje je geografski moguće vezati uz takozvane tropske zemlje, odnosno glazbe koje su dijelom vezane uz zemlje takozvanoga Trećeg svijeta. Postupno su u kategoriju pripuštane manjinske glazbe zapadnog svijeta, a tek u novije vrijeme u njoj je moguće pronaći i zapadne glazbe, pod uvjetom, dakako, da ne pripadaju popularno-glazbenom *mainstreamu* ili zapadnoeuropskoj umjetničkoj glazbi. Hoće li se neka glazba naći pod etiketom *world musica* ili ne, ovisi o njezinoj povezanosti s konkretnim mjestom na karti svijeta, konkretnom društvenom pozicijom ili mjestom u osporavanoj i neodgovarajućoj, no u okvirima diskografske industrije uvriježenoj podjeli glazbe na umjetničku, tradicijsku i popularnu (Piškor 2005:32–33). *World music* prije svega je tek konstrukcija koja se mijenja s obzirom na vrijeme i mjesto u kojem nastaje (ibid. 4) te polazišta s kojih se promatra.

Etnomuzikolozi i znanstvenici srodnih disciplina *world musicu* pristupaju s divergentnih polazišta, no slažu se da pojam ne posjeduje jedinstvenu i jasnu definiciju te da ga nije moguće promatrati kao zasebni žanr (usp. Guilbault 1997:31; Connell i Gibson 2004:350). Unatoč tomu, on je konstruiran kao žanr – pripadaju mu odijeljene police u prodavaonicama, prate ga specijalizirani časopisi, televizijske i radijske emisije (Piškor 2005:11). U samoj srži diskurzivnih strategija koje izoliraju *world music* kao zasebnu kategoriju naglašavanje je različitosti odnosno drugosti glazbi koje pripušta u svoj okvir (ibid. 34). Ovdje je prepoznatljivo načelo uključivosti odnosno isključivosti.

Upravo se problem uključivosti odnosno isključivosti u konstruiranju *world dancea* pokazuje presudnim faktorom. Ne koristeći riječ *world* samo simbolično, sintagma *world dance* bi mogla zahvaćati i pripuštati gotovo sve plesove pod svoje okrilje, s obzirom na to da se svi plesovi plešu, poimaju, interpretiraju, promatraju, stvaraju ili nastaju negdje na ovome svijetu. Međutim, konstrukcija koja asocira na sličnu (u ovom slučaju *world music*), značenjski možda sasvim drugačiju, ne može izbjeći percepcije koje će je poistovjećivati ili slično smještati, bez obzira na to što naziv govori. Naime, glazbe koje kategorija *world music* uključuje, ističe Mojca Piškor, unatoč svojoj sveobuhvatnoj geografskoj odrednici ne dolaze iz *cijelog* svijeta (2005:33; istaknula I. K.). U slučaju postojećeg ili potencijalnog

preslikavanja, svaki ples ili plesni oblik izostavljen iz terminološkog okvira moćna naslova *world dance* biva ili podređen ili nadređen drugima. Izostavljanjem plesova zapadnih korijena iz potencijalno svjetskog naslijeđa (na koje naziv upućuje) dolazi ili do njihove degradacije ili sasvim suprotno, njihovo izostavljanje (iz kojih god razloga) daleko ih nadređuje svima ostalima. Stoga, upućuje li *world* u nazivu, kao što se događa s *world musicom*, zapravo na njegovu isključivost ili upravno obrnuto, sveuključivost? Valja li novom konstrukcijom (opet) odjeljivati *ples* od *world dancea*?⁸

BALET KAO ETNIČKI PLES?

Na ovom se mjestu shodno prisjetiti sličnog isključivanja unutar kategorije etničkih plesova na koje je upozorila Joann Kealiinohomoku, upućivanjem na opravdanost pripuštanja klasičnog baleta unutar okvira etničkih plesova odnosno unutar okvira etnoloških istraživanja.⁹ Sugerirala je pritom da bi se zapravo svaki ples mogao promatrati kao etnički odnosno da su svi plesovi etnički s obzirom na to da općeprihvaćeno antropološko stajalište etničkim plesom drži “plesni oblik određene grupe ljudi koju povezuju zajedničke genetičke, lingvističke i kulturne veze, s posebnim naglaskom na kulturnu tradiciju” (Kealiinohomoku 1969/1970:31). Dakle, ako bi *world dance* mogli biti svi plesovi i ako bi se svi plesovi mogli promatrati kao etnički, onda bi svi plesovi mogli biti kako svjetski tako i etnički te se ova dva pojma u ovom segmentu čine prilično sinonimima. Ova zanimljiva koncepcija, iako iznesena davne 1969., do danas nije u potpunosti zaživjela ostajući, čini mi se, na onodobno senzacionalnoj ideji. Ideja je svakako zaintrigirala i rezultirala višestrukim ponovnim

⁸ Primjerice, i Piškor je primijetila da unatoč dobronamjernoj ideji pluraliziranja glazbenih studija u okviru sveučilišnih programa u Hrvatskoj, uporabom kategorije *world music* stvoren je terminološki dualizam koji glazbu odjeljuje od glazbi svijeta. Zapravo je dodatno produbio podjelu prema kojoj glazbe percipirane kao nezapadne i etnički različite ostaju odijeljene od glazbi Zapada (2005:18–19).

⁹ Savigliano drži da postoje dva “arhiva” plesova. Jedan je arhiv “Plesa” odnosno umjetničkog plesa, a drugi je “arhiv plesanja” u antropologiji (usp. 2009:170).

objavljivanjem teksta i vrlo učestalim referiranjem. Tekst je značajno odjeknuo i eventualno proširio vidike, iako u neekvivalentnoj mjeri samoj ideji. Dio problematike uvedene tekstem Kealiinohomoku primijetila je Jennifer Fisher, pozivajući kulturne antropologe na prilagodbu metoda istraživanja kako bi uspjele zahvatiti i balet:

“Ako je etnografija, ukorijenjena u kulturnoj antropologiji, preživjela svoje kolonijalne početke, potrebno je iznjedruti više kompatibilnih metoda. Tko bi ih bolje mogao razviti nego znanstvenici koji znaju da je elitni oblik baleta potekao iz etničkog plesa; i tko je pozvaniji pozivati na suradnju nego ljudi koji plešu i promatraju balet jer oni su u etno uključeni danas?” (Fisher 2011:60)

Adrienne L. Kaeppler (2008:80–81) pak smatra da ono što Kealiinohomoku drži etničkim u baletu, odgovara “zapadnom” poimanju plesa. Naime, svojevrsnu etničnost u scenskim izvedbama baleta Kealiinohomoku (1969/1970:30–31) prepoznaje u simboličnom predstavljanju tradicionalnih zapadnih običaja i vrijednosti, poput kršćanskog blagdana Božića, primjerice. Kaeppler nadalje drži da je balet bio lokalna i “etnička” tradicija vrlo kratko vrijeme (u 16. stoljeću u Italiji), a s obzirom na to da “se svaka priča može smjestiti unutar baletnih pokreta”, otklanja balet iz njegovih lokalnih talijanskih izvorišta. Prelaskom granica, ističe dalje autorica, balet postaje “europski”, a krajem 20. stoljeća gotovo “univerzalan” odnosno široko prepoznatljiv. Iako se u nekim društvenim zajednicama ne prakticira, one ga prepoznaju. Osoba koja nikada nije nastupala u baletu, kognitivno može razumjeti strukturu baletnog sustava pokreta (usp. Kaeppler 2008:80–81).¹⁰

Međutim, argumenti na koje se poziva Kealiinohomoku, ne mogu se smatrati vrijednostima i simbolima samo lokalne i šesnaestostoljetne Italije. Protežu se do danas, iako u preformuliranim i adaptiranim oblicima. Svojevrsne zapadne vrijednosti od zanimanja do flore i faune koje navodi Kealiinohomoku i nadalje odražavaju simbolične vrijednosti Zapada. Kealiinohomoku tako ističe pojavu “uvažениh” životinja poput labuda,

¹⁰ Pritom, svakako postoje različite razine razumijevanja strukture baletnih pokreta, ovisno o razini uključenosti. Ovdje želim naglasiti njihovu prepoznatljivost.

a ne primjerice i svinje, bika ili krokodila koji su cijenjene životinje u drugim, “nezapadnim” predjelima svijeta. Također, za baletnu je fabulu ustaljenija pojava ruže, a ne primjerice kokosa (usp. 1969/1970:31). Dixie Durr, oslanjajući se na argumentaciju Kealiinohomoku, balet prepoznaje kao etnički oblik

“ne samo jer je primjer idioma (načina izražavanja) tjelesnog jezika koji otkriva običaje stvorene kulturnim tradicijama određene grupe ljudi, nego su te zajedničke kulturne i lingvističke veze odoljele vremenu i vidljive su kroz tjelesni jezik današnjih baletnih plesača.” (1986:3)

Etnički elementi koje je prepoznala Kealiinohomoku nalaze se u bijelim klasičnim baletima (odnosno onima nastalima najvećim dijelom u 19. stoljeću). Suvremena neoklasična djela (i nadalje prepoznatljiva kao balet) koja su plesnim rječnikom na osnovama plesne baletne tehnike stvorili suvremeni koreografi, i dalje odražavaju društvene vrijednosti (u novim vremenskim uvjetima), poimanja kroz nove priče, bez obzira na to što te priče govore. Prepoznatljive strukture pokreta kroz koje to čine, njihov je standardizirani jezik (plesna tehnika), način govora i izražavanja, ali ne i cijeli sadržaj. Sadržaj značenja stvaraju svakom novom izvedbom, a izvedbe mogu odražavati pojedine suvremene vrijednosti. Primjerice, baletna tjelesna virtuoznost danas može odražavati suvremeni imperativ Zapada za “napretkom”.¹¹ Balet je danas zasigurno široko prepoznatljiv i upravo mu prepoznatljivost s razlogom može donositi razne *svjetske* pridjeve počevši od *svjetski* prepoznatljive tehnike, *svjetski* prepoznatljivoga baletnog tijela (konstruiranog tom tehnikom) do institucionaliziranih praksi njegova izvođenja. Pritom, njegova prepoznatljivost ne potire svojevrsnu etničnost baletnih izvedaba.

Naime, balet se može smatrati izrazito slojevitim oblikom. Njegova slojevitost čini ga podvodljivim pod nekoliko kategorija. Primjerice, kategorije standardnog, tradicionalnog, etničkog, globalnog ili svjetskoga

¹¹ “Napredak” je težnja i konstrukcija zapadnog društva koja od tijela očekuje “razvijanje” kako bi postalo snažnije, tehnički (plesno) sposobnije i virtuoznije. Napredak je poželjan ali nije nužno realan niti uvijek koristan tijelu i čovjeku.

plesnog oblika. Možda najdominantniji dio te slojevitosti u današnje vrijeme ogleda se, kako je primijetila Andrèe Grau, u njegovoj egzistenciji unutar neutralnog, transnacionalnog prostora (2008:205). Balet je internacionalni produkt standardiziranoga plesnog oblika. Transnacionalni prostor njegove egzistencije odriče mu fiksiranu lokaciju. Potvrđuje se jedinstvenošću odnosno specifičnošću plesnog oblika, a ne više lokalnošću. Balet danas ne čine prostori njegove izvedbe koje se uvijek događaju u i na nekom prostoru, niti njegove priče čija je tematika danas protegnuta na raznolike zamisli suvremenih koreografa. Čini ga univerzalno primjenjiva tehnika te sva slojevitost njegove baštine koju nose i prenose mobilna plesna tijela.

Kroz povijest je bio prizemljen i povezan s društvenim pitanjima svoga vremena iako je kao plesni oblik uglavnom konstruiran kao udaljena umjetnička forma prozračne i nedodirljive ljepote. Tijekom svoga nastajanja bio je uvjetovan odraz društvenih, političkih i kulturnih okolnosti. Međutim, i nadalje se ne smatra dovoljno usidrenim i učvršćenim u društvo iako se vrti oko tematika ljubavi, izdaje i ljubomore, koje su odreda dijelom života i iskustva pojedinaca. Njegova povezivost s bajkama, kraljevima i kraljicama i mitskim bićima ne doprinosi njegovoj vezi sa svakodnevnim životom običnih ljudi (usp. Grau 2005:148–149).¹² Baletne tematike, u odnosu na društvene strukture, vrijednosti i norme, slijede obrasce europskih legendi i folklora. Arkin i Smith (1997) analiziraju popularnost nacionalnog plesa na sceni i društvenim podijima, a potom prirodu romantične narativnosti baleta i karakterne plesove unutar baletnog oblika plesanja.¹³ Baletnu su narativnost, sadržanu u baletnim fabulama, a oglednu u izvedbama, u jednoj mjeri nosili nacionalni, odnosno karakterni plesovi.¹⁴ Prevagom same baletne tehnike (predstavljene kroz zahtjevniju

¹² Kada su se pisali “bijeli baleti”, doista su postojali kraljevi i kraljice. Oni postoje i danas (u zapadnom svijetu najčešće samo simbolično ili barem daleko od negdašnje moći), iako je struktura njihova djelovanja i utjecaja bitno drugačija od negdašnje.

¹³ Među plesačima i koreografima, “karakterni plesovi” jesu ustaljena terminološka oznaka za pojedine nacionalne ili tradicijske plesove unutar klasičnoga baletnog repertoara.

¹⁴ Autori 19. stoljeća za plesove integrirane u klasične bijele balette naizmjenice koriste termine “nacionalni” i “karakterni” (Arkin i Smith 1997:13).

virtuoznost baletnih izvedbi) suvremene baletne izvedbe “oslobođene” su velikog dijela narativnih elemenata. Međutim, nacionalni, odnosno karakterni plesovi i nadalje progovaraju o zapostavljenom, iako sastavnom dijelu gotovo svakog klasičnog baleta.¹⁵

Cjelokupnost baletnog oblika čine i povijesnim sljedovima naslijeđeni specifični stilovi (poput engleskog, talijanskog, francuskog ili ruskog), ali u konačnici ujedinjeni pod jedinstvenim konturama baletne tehnike. Pojedini njegovi stilovi vezuju se s nacionalnim predznakom, očitujući na taj način nacionalne tradicije pojedinih stilova baletnoga plesnog oblika. Arkin i Smith otkrivaju da ikonografija razdoblja romantičnog baleta svjedoči karakterističnim pozicioniranjima ruku, nogu, stopala, torza ili glave koja je služila “označavanju nacionalnog podrijetla” (1997:42).¹⁶ Baletnu bi tradiciju mogla prisvajati Italija, Španjolska, Engleska, Francuska, Rusija,

¹⁵ Publika u Paris Opéri, primjerice, u predromantičkom je baletu vidjela poljske, talijanske, mađarske i španjolske nacionalne (karakterne) plesove (Arkin i Smith 1997:20). Poput Herdera, mnogi su plesni teoretičari kasnog 18. i 19. stoljeća, primjerice Andre Gallini, Gennaro Magri, Carlo Blasis, izražavali interes za autentičnim, “istinitim” i “prirodnim” etničkim ekspresijama različitih naroda (ibid. 30–32). Libreto *Labuđeg jezera*, do danas najpopularnijega klasičnog baleta, temelji se na elementima njemačke narodne priče (usp. Wulff 2008:530), a treći čin zapravo je pregled nacionalnih plesova (mađarskog, španjolskog, ruskog ...).

¹⁶ Postoje nacionalne karakterne specifičnosti prepoznatljive u pojedinim plesovima. Primjerice, gotovo svaki promatrač tzv. zapadna svijeta znat će prepoznati tango, flamenco ili čardaš, a da ne zna ništa o strukturi koraka, pa čak ni o povijesnom razvoju nekog od tih plesova. Oni posjeduju prepoznatljiv način oblikovanja pokreta te se jasno identificiraju s pojedinim nacijama ili lokalitetima, bez obzira na koji se način identificiraju izvođači koji ih izvode. Tango je lako prepoznatljiv na prvi pogled, čak i na slici ili fotografiji. Adrienne L. Kaeppler (2008) uočava prepoznatljivost pa i razumljivost baleta, havajskog plesa *hule* ili mjuzikla *Cats* i bez prevelike uključenosti njezinih promatrača. Prepoznatljivost nekih plesnih oblika događa se odmah, bez obzira na to posjeduje li promatrač ikakvo znanje o detaljima ili tehnici plesa ili plesnog oblika. Njihova je prepoznatljivost sadržana u svojstvenim motivima. Kaeppler motive definira kao kulturno strukturirane dijelove pokreta vezane uz određenu plesnu tradiciju ili žanr. Pohranjeni su u memoriji koreografa, obično izvođača, često i publika (2008:81–82). Mogu biti različito koreografirani, ali će biti prepoznati primjerice, kao havajski, korejski ili baletni.

Ukrajina ili Danska. Sve su to područja velikog utjecaja na balet kakav je danas. I sva se smatraju zapadnjačkom kulturom.

Isticanjem nacionalnih stilova ili karakternih plesova u klasičnim baletima, koji su i danas prisutni, samo u manjoj mjeri, želim istaknuti etničke elemente neustaljeno vezane uz klasična baletna djela. Ne želim pritom tvrditi da se isključivo kroz njih odražava svojevrsna baletna etničnost koja se baletu odriče ili barem (i nadalje) prešućuje. Ostali elementi baletnog oblika koji mogu navoditi na njegovu etničnost ogledaju se u dugotrajnosti tradicije i, kako je već istaknula Kealiinohomoku, tematskim fabulama na kojima se zasnivaju. Iako se ne smatra tradicijskim plesom i ne prati ga takva karakterizacija, dugotrajnost baletne tradicije ne može se poricati. Baletna se tradicionalnost očituje u višestoljetnome kontinuitetu, a njegova elitnost u međunarodnom ugledu i sofisticiranoj estetici za samo odabrana tijela. Balet naime posjeduje uobičajenije pridjeve urbanoga “elitnog” plesa i plesa “visoke” kulture. Te je pridjeve baletu donijela osmišljena i zahtjevna plesna tehnika. Elitnost plesača odnosno njihovih tijela čak se i intenzivirala i još se više distancirala uvođenjem preciznijih kriterija i povećanom selekcijom.¹⁷ Balet se drži plesnim oblikom najvišeg stupnja kodifikacije i najelitnijim europskim teatarskim plesom.¹⁸ Dakle, balet je tradicijsko elitni ali i elitno tradicionalan.

Balet posjeduje i (relativno dominantne) elemente koji se ne smatraju klasično/tradicionalno etničcima, ponajprije dominantan standardizirani oblik.

¹⁷ Na ovome bi se mjestu mogao usmjeriti novi rukavac komparacije *world musica* s *world danceom* odnosno njihovih tek potencijalno analognih Drugih (zapadnoeuropske umjetničke glazbe i klasičnoga bijelog baleta) osvrtnjem na rasne imaginacije i asocijacije kojima su potencijalno opterećeni, iako na ovome mjestu nema prostora za detaljniju analizu toga segmenta.

¹⁸ Novack (1993:46) drži da je balet na svojoj profesionalnoj razini, koncipiran i organiziran kao zatvorena tradicija otporna na promjene. Međutim, čak i klasični balet kao zadana forma plesnog predstavljanja “u nizu transformacija osvježen je transfuzijama novih utjecaja” (Tarle 2009:59). Podvrgnut je promjenama koje neki znanstvenici povezuju s estetskim vrijednostima (Desmond 1997:38). Estetske se vrijednosti s novim generacijama u novim kontekstima, društvenim, političkim i kulturnim novostvorenim uvjetima također mijenjaju i redefinišu, povlačeći neminovno u posljedične promjene pojave na koje se odnose.

Međutim, upravo jedna izabrana verzija omogućuje dugovječnost i očuvanje, a time i tradiciju. Standardizacija, stvorena baletnom plesnom tehnikom i njezinim promišljanjima, ne nalazi se u opoziciji tradiciji.¹⁹ Plesna uniformiranost nije nužno polaritetna plesnoj tradiciji i ne bi joj trebala proturječiti. Ako se i nađe na suprotnome polu, ne nosi nužno drugačiji (suprotan) predznak. Priznato (uvriježeno) tradicijski ili etnički plesovi ponekad su također prinuđeni pronalaziti verzije za očuvanje koje postaju verzije standarda da bi ostale verzije tradicije. Standard ne znači nepromjenjivost nego determiniranost. Standard je određen i zadan, ali nije nepromjenjiv.

Primjerice, današnja *hula* (ples Havajaca) odraz je tristogodišnjega kulturnog preplitanja, te istodobno kao tradicijski, narodni, etnički ples pod utjecajem novih očekivanja publika (turista/turizma) postaje tehnički sve kompleksniji i uniformiraniji (usp. Rowe 2008:36). Peter Burke kao paradokse tradicije izdvaja inovaciju koja može zastrti ustrajnost tradicije ali i obrnuto, izvanjski “znakovi” tradicije mogu zastrti inovaciju. Dakle, “ono što se prenosi – mijenja se – zaista se mora promijeniti – tijekom predaje novom naraštaju” (Burke 2006:37). Neminovne promjene ne utječu na prepoznatljivost standarda. Promatranjem baleta otprije sto godina i danas, bez obzira na modifikacije koje su vremenom uvjetovane, balet još uvijek čine prepoznatljivim. Tek kad promjene zahvaćaju plesni oblik u mjeri do njegove neprepoznatljivosti, gubi se standard, ali i sam plesni oblik.

Jedinstvenom formom u svim svojim stilski, vremenski i prostorno zadanim obličjima, i danas se prepoznaje baletom. Osim tradicionalnih elemenata koje njeguje, balet je istodobno postao rasprostranjen plesni oblik. Razlike u stilovima unutar istoga plesnog oblika ne umanjuju jedinstvenost i cjelinu plesnog oblika ni njihovu jedinstvenu primjenjivost i internacionalnu raspoznatljivost. Baletna se internacionalnost ogleda u školovanim tijelima plesača, oblikovanim baletnom tehnikom.²⁰

¹⁹ Tradiciju na ovome mjestu ne nastojim ni definirati ni redefinirati. Koristim je kao pojam koji jednim oblicima donosi legitimitet tradicionalnog, a drugima ga odriče, često upravo zbog njihova standardizirana oblika.

²⁰ Bez obzira na to što su plesnim obrazovanjem i radom u jednoj instituciji usvojili određeni institucionalni i koreografski habitus, plešuci i gostujući svugdje u svijetu, plesači kroz neko vrijeme mogu usvojiti specifičan stil nekoga drugog baletnog ansambla (usp. Wainwright, Williams, Turner 2006:549).

Nacionalna su kazališta usvojila poznate koreografije, ugostila priznate koreografe i plesače te obogatila vlastite repertoare djelima suvremenih koreografa. Publike ne moraju putovati u London da bi vidjele Ashtonove koreografije, ni u New York da bi vidjele Balanchineove, primjerice.²¹ Njihove su koreografije postavljene u njihovim nacionalnim i/ili gradskim kazalištima. Wainwright, Williams i Turner pišu o globalnom protoku uspješnih baleta koji je rezultirao njihovim usvajanjem u gotovo svim repertoarima nacionalnih ili većih baletnih ansambala. Koreografije tih baleta postale su sastavni dio repertoara velikih baletnih kompanija u Europi, Sjevernoj Americi i drugdje (Wainwright, Williams, Turner 2007:316), ali se, zbog sve intenzivnijih mobilnosti, izmijenio način prijenosa.²² Utjelovljeni je plesač postao nositeljem, prvo nacionalnog osjećaja, a odnedavno i globalnih kulturnih sila. U svojim oblicima visoke kulture, ples je postao konstitutivan nacionalizmu (Grau i Jordan 1996; prema Wainwright, Williams, Turner 2007:322), ali dijelom i globalizmu.

Balet je, osim široke prepoznatljivosti, i plesni oblik značajnih utjecaja na druge plesne oblike. Primjerice, gotovo svaka škola suvremenog plesa u svome programu sadrži i satove baleta kao svojevrsnog temelja za daljnju nadogradnju plesnog tijela. Nadalje, mnogi profesionalni plesači primjerice sportskih plesova, pa čak i sportaši (primjerice klizači, gimnastičari) nadopunjuju vlastite tjelesne tehnike posuđivanjem ili nadogradnjom baletnih. Prepoznajem u takvom utjecaju svojevrsno *prelijevanje* (prenošenje i prelaženje okvira) baleta u druge plesne izričaje odnosno nadogradnje pojedinih plesnih oblika nekim drugima.

Ples sam po sebi zahtijeva (i uvijek posjeduje) kontekst o kojem god obliku bila riječ. Razlike su u većoj ili manjoj stvarnosti toga konteksta, odnosno, kako je Andrèe Grau (2008) primijetila, neki su plesovi bogati,

²¹ Frederick Ashton vrlo je popularan britanski plesač i koreograf (1904. – 1988.), a George Balanchine (1904. – 1983.) američki, iako gruzijskog podrijetla. Balanchine je 1934. otišao u SAD i radio u *Metropolitanu*, a 1948. osnovao *New York City Ballet*, kojemu je bio umjetničkim ravnateljem.

²² Balet može ilustrirati ubrzan proces kulturne globalizacije ili preplitanje nacionalnih i globalnih oblika plesa (glokalizacija) (usp. Wainwright, Williams, Turner 2007:320).

a neki siromašni kontekstom.²³ Graue razlog postojanju “ne-umjetničkih” plesova (ili onih kojima se epitet umjetnost popularno ne priznaje) pronalazi u ukorijenjenosti njihova specifična konteksta. Sposobnost egzistencije pojedinih plesova udaljenih od konteksta kreacije i reprezentacije jedan je od faktora koji će ljude navesti da promišljaju o njima kao “umjetnosti” (Graue 2008:204–205). Međutim, baletni se kontekst promijenio, kao i onaj svakog drugog plesa i plesnog oblika, ali se nije izgubio. Standardizirao se i stoga je danas i publikama i plesačima prepoznatljiv. Balet se od svojih ranih oblika, već od dvorskog baleta,²⁴ nalazi na pozornicama, a takva se praksa u kasnijim razdobljima standardizirala. Baletni se etnički elementi zakrivaju simboličnošću i zahtjevnom plesnom tehnikom kojom je (navodno) moguće stvarati umjetnost. Upravo plesači baleta ističu umjetnost kao element klasičnog baleta koji se drži kontrastnim elementom etničkog u plesu. Dixie Durr unutar baletne plesne zajednice uočava strah od prepoznavanja baleta etničkim oblikom u svojevrsnom gubitku njegove svojstvene “čarobnosti” iako, kako napominje, “razumijevanje pravila i značenja može promicati drugačiju ali podjednako neodoljivu ‘čaroliju’ – temeljenu na razumijevanju” (1986:10). Stoga, ako sama zajednica svoje prakse ne prepoznaje kao etničke, pitanje je valja li nametati takve konstrukcije izvana? Odnosno, valja li pojam proizlaziti iz plesne prakse ili iz znanstvenog diskursa?

²³ Američki antropolog Edward Hall predložio je koncepcije o bogatstvu i siromaštvu konteksta u svojoj knjizi *Beyond Culture* iz 1976. (prema Graue 2005:159, bilj. 11). Oslanjajući se na Hallove koncepte, Andrée Graue (2008) ističe primjerice bogatstvo konteksta narodnih ili tradicijskih plesova te siromaštvo konteksta umjetničkih pretpostavljajući u drugih gubitak “izvornog” konteksta njihovim postavljanjem na scenu.

²⁴ Na naslijeđu se plesnih koraka razvijenih u renesansi i baroku razvio novi i zahtjevniji stil plesanja, *ballet de cour* ili dvorski balet. S podjednakim koracima ali tehnički zahtjevnijim i atraktivnijim, plesovi su se iz dvorskih dvorana preselili na pozornice u virtuoznijem obliku (usp. Nordera 2007:24, 27).

S obzirom na to da je ova analiza proistekla kao odgovor svojevrsnoj potrebi definiranja sintagme *world dance*, osvrnut ću se zaključno na problem naručenog odnosno naknadnog definiranja. Naime, definiranje fenomena uglavnom je opravdano i potrebno ponajprije da bismo mogli razgovarati o istom fenomenu odnosno da bismo se mogli razumjeti (usp. i Kealiinohomoku 1969/1970:28). Predodžbe i stereotipi (katkad preslikani iz srodnih područja) konstruiraju uvriježenost, a time i svojevrsnu prepoznatljivost, često prije definiranja određena fenomena. Neka pojava ili fenomen tako se nastoji razlučiti, istražiti, a potom i definirati tek nakon šire usvojenoga uvriježenog poimanja. Upravo prepoznatljivost (konceptije) može se pojavljivati kao svojevrsan indikator potrebi potencijalnog definiranja. Međutim, tada izostaje sloboda cjelovitog i nesputanog dogovora o definiciji. Ona nužno zahvaća već nastale konstrukcije dodajući eventualno samo jasnije konture. Pojave poput umjetnosti ili plesa općenito, vrlo je teško definirati ili odrediti jasne granice, iako se takve konceptije mogu odavati prepoznatljivima. Definicija može biti vodilja k općenitom poimanju plesa i pojma *world dance*. Međutim, definicije su specijalizirano, često nedostupno, a potom i nepoznato područje za šire publike. Definicijama i definiranjem se bave specijalizirani znanstvenici, a prepoznatljivost pojedinih koncepata i konceptija proizlazi iz šireg zahvaćanja prijemčivosti, popularnosti, percepcija i recepcija publika. Postoji dakle nezanemariva nepovezanost plesača i znanstvenika osim u slučajevima kada se oni nalaze u jednoj osobi (kada osoba objedinjuje oba interesa i obje prakse). Nužnost promišljanja konceptije *world dance* ne dovodi odmah do suglasja ovih dviju domena. Također, opstojnost konstrukta u različitim sredinama i krugovima različito kotira ili se u različitim dijelovima svijeta ili među određenom populacijom može različito, ponekad i potpuno oprečno, shvaćati.²⁵

²⁵ Slično su primijetili Connell i Gibson za *world music*: “U Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, u kojima živi brojna hispanska populacija, salsa se obično ne smatra *world musicom*, dok to u Velikoj Britaniji jest. U Singapuru se ‘tradicijska’ azijska glazba u world music odjeljcima pojavljuje tek ukoliko je za zapadnu publiku kao stranu ili egzotičnu prodaju i pakiraju zapadne kompanije. S druge strane, canto-pop, J-pop, kineska opera i drugi azijski stilovi prodaju se zasebno, u vlastitim kategorijama mainstream odjeljaka singapurskih prodavaonica diskografskih izdanja, a produciraju ih i distribuiraju velike

Definicije jasnih obrisa u društvenim i humanističkim znanostima vrlo su rijetke. One rijetko (s obzirom na to da je i definicija definicije da budu kratke i sažete) mogu zahvatiti sve dimenzije i, još važnije, sve fluidnosti pojedinih pojava da bi trajale i opstale. One se nužno neprestano nanovo propituju, kritiziraju, proširuju. Pojave koje se same određuju (ne nužno i definiraju) “iznutra”, iz zajednica, mjesta ili prostora djelovanja pojedinih procesa ili aktivnosti, s obzirom na njihovu (dovoljnu) prepoznatljivost i prijemčivost, obično se potom nastoje definirati i “izvana”. Dakle, legitimnost i opravdanost uporabe koncepcije *world dance* mogla bi se postići dogovorom ili ustaljenošću uporabe. Pritom, nijedna od tih (procesualnih) akcija nije nepodložna modifikacijama, osporavanjima ili kritici apsolutiziranja.

Na kraju, uistinu vrijedno znanstveno bavljenje nekim fenomenom, kako je istaknula Piškor, prije svega ovisi o neprekidnom dijalogu više autora, te sučeljavanju različitih stavova i interpretacija (2005:169), a s na to obzirom da je svaka definicija (terminološka) na kraju krajeva stvar (manje ili više uspješnog) dogovara, ovaj prilog donosi tek jedan od prijedloga i možda upozorenja koja se širim kontekstom zahvaćanja nekog pojma definicijom potencijalno mogu propustiti. Iz perspektive pak pojedinih plesača, a s obzirom na konstrukt *world dance*, plesovi mogu predstavljati svojevrсно blago pripadno svima na svijetu čije elemente oni mogu posuđivati, prisvajati i plesati na jedinstveni način. Stoga je svaki ples koliko svjetski toliko i posve individualan u krajnjoj izvedbi.

azijske diskografske kuće. Australaska aboridžinska glazba može biti world music ukoliko se smatra ‘tradicijском’ ili pak isključena iz te kategorije ukoliko se smatra ‘modernom’. Kategorije ‘tradicijскоg’ i ‘modernog’ neizbježno se različito tumače u različitim kontekstima. U Italiji se country and western obično nalazi na ‘world music’ polici. Čak i krajnje jednostavna tumačenja world musica kao ‘glazbe koja se prodaje u world music odjeljcima prodavaonica širom zapadnog (i dijelom nezapadnog) kapitalističkog svijeta’ ne predstavlja world music kao stabilnu kategoriju. Štoviše, većina ‘nezapadnih’ glazbi jednostavno nikada nije postala ‘world music’” (Connell i Gibson 2004:350; prema Piškor 2005:105).

WORLD DANCE: A (NEW) EUPHEMISM IN DANCE TERMINOLOGY?

(Translation)

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The term world dance has different meanings for dancers, various dance practitioners and amongst the wider public where it inconsistently denotes various dances or dance forms. There is no uniformity in its use or even agreement regarding connotations connected with how the term is used. This article will attempt to explore the possible meanings covered by the term and offer theoretical deliberations on it through the example of classical ballet. The controversial hypothesis of whether a ballet dance form could also be considered world dance will also be explored.

Keywords: *dance, world dance, world music, ballet*

The concept of the phrase *world dance* is used differently by dancers; various dance practitioners and the wide public and thus does not include all the various dances and/or dance forms. There is no agreement on the use of the term or on the concepts of the term.¹

In view of all scientific studies and analyses, it is a fairly new concept, although several attempts of scientific analysis have been made.² One of

¹ At the UCLA University in the USA (University of California, Los Angeles) the word *world* is used to replace the word *ethno* in order to make distance from the colonial past and associations related to racial and class hierarchy. *World dance* thus indicates a neutral comparative area where all dances are equally different and of equal importance (cf. Foster 2009:1–2). *World dance* is also used to name or describe dance groups, dance events, dance gatherings, dance festivals, etc. However, it is not determined when and where the term was first used and how it become widespread. It is used today to define many dance forms and dances.

² The book *A World History of the Dance* written by a German musicologist Curt Sachs from 1937 can be considered as one of the first scientific and significant attempts of observing dance from a global perspective. It is a radical attempt of collecting and comparing dances from almost the whole world and in different time periods, starting from the stone age and “oriental civilizations”, through Greek and Roman classical period, the renaissance, 18th century, the “waltz period” (19th century) and “tango period” (20th century). Sach’s history of dance, however, includes only the history of the dances of Western Europe.

them is the never published theme issue of the American magazine *Journal for the Anthropological Study of Human Movement* (JASHM) that in 2011 issued an invitation for texts that would analyse the use of the concept of the *world dance*. Editors never prepared the issue so the texts were never published. The collection of papers *Worlding Dance*, edited by Susan Leigh Foster, which analyses world dance from different perspectives, has been more successful. It is one of the questions asked in the invitation of the American magazine that has, however, inspired this paper – “Does the *world dance* include all dances, except from ballet and modern dance?” This text will thus try to analyse possible connotations and current theoretical analysis of the phrase *world dance* on the example of classical ballet and question the controversial assumption that the phrase can include the dance form of classical ballet as well. The complexity of the construction and some of the related issues result from the way it has been used and, especially, from a possibly implicit copying of the segments of the meaning of the phrase *world music*, which has been analysed carefully and has imposed a contemporary and historical context of the terminology of ethnic in dance.

The complexity of the phrase *world dance* appears on several levels if our attention is directed to the meaning of the two words that make it. The first part of the phrase *world* at the same time implies heterogeneity and homogeneity of the category. It signifies *everything* of the world and the *unique* and *monolithic* of the world. The common denominator – *world* – creates an impression that it is really possible to talk about one, unique and representative dance, as well as the idea of a culture as a heterogeneous dance unity. The word *world* also includes a specific connotation of property in the sense that the world dance belongs to (the whole) world, and not necessarily (only) to a specific geographic destination or a dance community. This results with a question of whether the communities that identify themselves with specific dances or dance forms can or want to agree with the inclusiveness of the phrase. The other part of the phrase – *dance* – might refer to a single dance or a dance form, with the possibility to classify it according to its location, historical and contextual differences. Considering the first word *world*, the singular form of *dance* definitely signifies a potential plurality of representative world dances. The adjective *world* is associated with the term global, thus indicating one or several dance forms that are globally widespread, applied or recognised. Bringing different dances under

a common denominator reflects the effort devoted in making the category follow the trends of something global, intercultural, multicultural, and other similar trends. This inevitably results in ignoring the *internal* laws and qualities of each individual form. Marta Elena Savigliano believes that *world dance* is a representation, one of the new ways of combining, conceptualizing and evaluating “other” dances. (2009:164). *World dance* does not actually stand for new or emerging dances, but a selection of the existing forms that should be included in the concept, depending on the process of creating a new category. If the concept aims to identify a new dance category, however, it unavoidably interferes with the existing categories and their boundaries (which are also very flexible and imprecise) although, as Veit Erlmann noticed, the invasion of foreign elements can be defined as a destructive process only if we assume that any culture is *a priori* a coherent unity (cf. 1993:5). Potential intrusion into other dance categories or inclusion of several dance forms creates new problems, mostly in the attempts to qualify or apply aesthetic standards that belong to one category to another category. When a critic, for example, evaluates works according to their own aesthetic criteria, regardless of the fact that they have different aesthetic criteria (cf. Gottschild 1997:169–171). It is important to take into consideration the phenomena and standards that are crucial to the researched and be aware of the limitations (aesthetic and other) of understanding and evaluating, but also those of the observed or researched because “[o]ne of the easiest ways to disempower others is to measure them by a standard which ignores their chosen aesthetic frame of reference and its particular demands” (Gotschild 1997:171). On the other hand, giving equal value to all dances (or dance forms) in the world and emphasizing their equality leads to the loss of unique referential aesthetic frameworks that often influence the boundaries between specific dance forms, their definition and understanding. Creating a new category, within which some seemingly very diverse dance forms would appear (e.g. according to the structure of the steps and techniques that influence their performance), can result in decontextualisation (of understanding and then the performance). Decontextualisation often leads to transformation or even the loss of meaning since, as Georgina Gore said, the meaning is often not in the dance movements, but in the interaction of all elements of the performance, including the expectations of the audience and the turnout (Gore 1986:55).

WORLD DANCE AND WORLD MUSIC

The most complex problem of the phrase *world dance* is the association with the phrase *world music*. The perception of specific (dance) communities, groups or organizations of the *world dance* as dance or dances of “diversity” is quite widespread. Diversity is thus first seen as ethnic with the note of exotic, faraway and traditional. In light of the practice and tendencies of specific dance groups, organizations and even institutions³ that took over some perceptions of the phrase *world music* that can be applied to *world dance* so that *world dance* should or could refer to the dances with the elements of traditional and ethnic in modernity, the term ethno/folk appears to be problematic, i.e. evading unambiguity with the phrase *world dance*. Ethno refers to original and authentic, and when the same thing happens with the phrase *world dance*, there arise problems of the characteristics of the term and their boundaries.⁴

Comparison with music as a similar phenomenon seems necessary, considering the same part of the phrase – *world*, as well as the area of research of these two phenomena (music and dance). Some practices and discourses where the phrase *world dance* is already used might result from the perceptions and ideas copied from the ones related to *world music*.⁵

³ On the widespread use of the phrase *world dance*, especially at American universities, see Foster (2009:1–3).

⁴ Pure ethnographies and ethnologies or pure, original, authentic forms cannot be determined. Temporal and spatial framework of their perception is disputable since spaces are not necessarily the same and the first time they were used cannot be precisely defined (not only the oldest known, available or definable). Naila Ceribašić (2003:261) believes that originality is a “modern aesthetic concept and modern practice that relies on the imagined past practice. The real connection with the actual practice of the past (if it can be defined), is pretty irrelevant, although it is the core of the concept of originality”. Anca Giurchescu (2001:117), on the other hand says that “authenticity is a romantic construction. If authenticity has the connotation of ‘truth’, then every performance which makes sense for the people is implicitly authentic”.

⁵ Discourses within the disciplines that study music (musicology and ethnomusicology, i.e. anthropology of music as most representative) and dance(s) (dance studies, anthropology of structured movement, dance ethnology, ethnocoreology and dance ethnography) can be completed by researches of potentially related issues. In order to explain the potential area

World music is the result of the need of finding a new category where music with which “no one knew what to do” could have been put into. Interested distributors of music agreed to “create” it as a separate branch of the music industry (Connell and Gibson 2004:349).⁶ It thus became an imagined “genre” created by the West with the goal of placing within it all the music that satisfied their desire for the “new”, “essentially different” and “exotic” Other (Piškor 2005:33). Western record companies tried to launch something new, distant, exotic and authentic under one name by creating a new, artificially created category from the selected pieces of music launched for the needs of the modern media and with the goal of securing a good position on the market and making profit.

Mojca Piškor emphasizes that, in the beginning, *world music* included types of music that could have been connected with the so called tropical countries or the music of the countries partly connected with the countries of the so called Third World. Gradually the category began to include the music of the minorities of the Western world and only recently it has become possible to find Western music in the category as well, provided that it is not popular mainstream music or the art music of the Western Europe. Whether a type of music is labelled as *world music* or not depends on its connection with the specific location on the map of the world, social position or the position in the often disputable and unsuitable (nevertheless accepted in record industry) division of music into art music, traditional music and popular music (Piškor 2005:32–33). Above all, *world music* is a

of the copying (of the meaning of *world music* to *world dance*), it is necessary to shortly present some analyses of the *world music* as the area of research of music although the constructs cannot be compared in more detail nor it is possible to deal with the whole issue of *world music* in this paper. *World music* has been scientifically analysed within ethno(musicology) and humanistic studies and these analyses can be used to study *world dance*. The aspects that are already known, like racial imagination, (post)colonialism and globalization (cf. Piškor 2005:19–31) can be used as a guideline of reference point.

⁶ After the meeting of some record companies and journalists in London in 1987, “*world music* emerged in Britain as a formal commercial category” (Connell and Gibson 2004:349). According to the words of Ian Anderson, one of the participants of the meeting, different names were discussed and *world music* was agreed to be the one that includes the most and leaves out the least. (ibid. 349–350).

construct that is changing considering the time and place of its origin (ibid. 4) and the positions it is observed from.

Ethnomusicologists and scientists that study related disciplines approach *world music* from different points of view, but they agree that the phrase does not have a unique and clear definition and that it is not possible to observe it as a separate genre (cf. Guilbault 1997:31; Connell and Gibson 2004:350). Nevertheless, it is created as a genre – it has its own shelves in shops, specialised magazines, TV and radio shows (Piškor 2005:11). Emphasis on the differences or the otherness of the music it includes into its boundaries is in the core of discursive strategies that isolate *world music* as a separate category (ibid. 34). The principle of inclusiveness or exclusiveness is apparent here.

It is precisely the problem of inclusiveness or exclusiveness that proved to be crucial in creating the phrase *world dance*. If we do not use the word *world* only symbolically, the phrase *world dance* might include almost all dances since all dances are danced, perceived, interpreted, observed, created or appear somewhere in the world. The phrase that evokes something similar (*world music* in this case), even if it has a completely different meaning, cannot avoid perceptions that will identify it or associate it with the aforementioned one, regardless of the name. As Mojca Piškor says, despite its global characteristic, the music covered by the category *world music* does not include music from *all over the world* (2005:33; emphasized by I. K.). In case of real or potential copying, every dance or a dance form that is left out of the terminological framework of the powerful name *world dance* is either subordinate or superior to the others. Elimination of the dances that have western roots from the potential world heritage (that the name itself refers to) leads to their degradation or, on the contrary, their removal (whatever the reasons are) makes them superior to all the others. Does the *world* in the name refer to its exclusiveness or, quite the opposite, to its all-inclusiveness, as it is with *world music*? Should the new construct (again) separate *dance* from *world dance*?⁷

⁷ Piškor noticed that the use of the category *world music* created a terminological dualism that separated music from the music of the world, although the idea was to pluralise music studies within university programmes in Croatia. It actually created a deeper division according to which the music perceived as non-western and ethnically diverse remains separated from the music of the West (2005:18–19).

BALLET AS AN ETHNIC DANCE?

It might be good to remember a similar case of exclusion within a category of ethnic dances that was mentioned by Joann Kealiinohomoku, by referring to the justification of including classical ballet within the category of ethnic dances, i.e. within the framework of ethnological research.⁸ She says that each dance might be seen as ethnic or that all dances are ethnic since, according to the generally accepted anthropological view that the ethnic dance represents “a dance form of a given group of people who share common genetic, linguistic and cultural ties” (Kealiinohomoku 1969/1970:31), which places a special emphasis on cultural tradition. Therefore, if *world dance* are all dances and if all dances can be perceived as ethnic, all dances might be world dances or ethnic dances and, in this aspect, the terms *world* and *ethnic* seem rather synonymous. This interesting concept, although presented far back in 1969, has only remained on the level of a sensational idea of the time. It has definitely provoked interest and resulted in new editions of the text, as well as frequent citations. The text has expanded horizons and made an influence, although unparallel to the idea itself. Jennifer Fisher also noticed some of the issues raised by Kealiinohomoku’s text and invited cultural anthropologists to adjust their methods of research so that they would include ballet as well:

“If ethnography as it is rooted in cultural anthropology is to survive its colonialist roots, more methods that move toward collaboration need to emerge. Who better to develop them than scholars who know that elite form of ballet evolved from folk dance; and who better to call for collaboration than people who do and watch ballet, because they are the folk who are involved now?” (Fisher 2011:60)

However, Adrienne L. Kaeppler (2008:80–81) believes that what Kealiinohomoku sees as ethnic in ballet refers to the “western” interpretation of dance. Kealiinohomoku (1969/1970:30–31) identifies specific ethnicity in the scene performances of ballet in the symbolic presentation of traditional

⁸ Savigliano believes that there are two archives of dances. One is the archive of “Dance”, i.e. art dance and the other is the “archive of dancing” in anthropology (cf. 2009:170).

western customs and values, like e.g. the Christian holiday of Christmas. Kaeppler also believes that ballet was a local and “ethnic” tradition for a very short time (in the 16th century in Italy), and since “[a]ny story can be set to ballet movement”, it removes ballet from its local Italian origins. When ballet crossed the borders, says the author, it became “European” and, at the end of the 20th century, almost “universal”, i.e. widely known. Although it is not practised in some social communities, they are familiar with it. A person who has never performed in a ballet can understand the structure of the ballet system of movements (cf. Kaeppler 2008:80–81).⁹

The arguments presented by Kealiinohomoku, however, cannot be considered only as values and symbols of the local 16th-century Italy. They extend until today, although in different and adapted forms. Some western values, like the interest in flora and fauna mentioned by Kealiinohomoku, still reflect the symbolic values of the West. Kealiinohomoku thus mentions the phenomenon of “honoured” animals like swans, and not e.g. pigs, bulls or crocodiles that are respected in other, “non-western” parts of the world. Moreover, a rose is more likely to appear in a ballet story than e.g. coconut (cf. 1969/1970:31). Dixie Durr, relying on Kealiinohomoku’s arguments, recognizes ballet as an ethnic form

“not only because it is an example of an idiom of body language that encodes the customs and mores that were generated by the cultural traditions of a specific group of people, but that those common cultural and linguistic ties have persisted through time and can be seen in the body language of ballet dancers today.” (1986:3)

Ethnic elements identified by Kealiinohomoku can be found in white classical ballets¹⁰ (i.e. those written mostly in the 19th century). Modern neoclassical works (still recognized as ballet works) created by modern choreographers using dance vocabulary on the basis of the ballet technique, still reflect social values (in the new conditions) and interpretations through

⁹ There are, of course, different levels of understanding the structure of ballet movements, depending on the level of involvement. My aim here was to emphasize their recognisability.

¹⁰ *Ballet blanc*, T. N.

new stories, regardless of what they say. Familiar structures of movement they use to achieve it are their standardised language (dance technique), way of expression, but not the whole content. They create the content of meaning by each new performance and performances may reflect some modern values. The physical virtuosity of ballet can thus express the modern imperative of the West for the “progress”.¹¹ Ballet is definitely widely known today and it is this recognisability that attributes it with various *world* adjectives, starting from the *world* famous technique, *world* famous ballet body (formed by the technique) to institutionalised practices of its performances. The recognisability thus does not eliminate specific ethnicity of ballet performances.

Ballet can be considered as a very complex form. The complexity makes it fit into several categories; the category of standard, traditional, ethnic, global or a world dance form. As Andr e Grau noticed, the most dominant part of the complexity today may be in its existence within the neutral, transnational area (2008:205). Ballet is an international product of a standardised dance form. Transnational area of its existence denies it its fixed location. It is confirmed by the uniqueness or specific features of a dance form and not by the location, as it used to be. Today ballet is not made by the locations of its performance that always takes place at an area or by the stories whose topics cover diverse ideas of modern choreographers. It is made by a universally applicable technique and all the complexity of its heritage that are carried and transferred by dance bodies in movement.

Through the history ballet was unpretentious and reflected the social issues of its time although it was created as a distant art form of an airy and untouchable beauty. During the period of its development it was conditioned by social, political and cultural circumstances. However, it is still not perceived as rooted in the society although it revolves around the topics of love, betrayal and jealousy, which are all part of the life and

¹¹ “Progress” is the tendency and construct of the western world, which expects the body to develop in order to become stronger, technically more fit (for dancing) and acquire a masterly skill. The progress is welcome, but not necessarily realistic nor always useful for the body or the human being.

experience of individuals. The references to fairytales, kings and queens and mythical creatures do not increase its connection with the daily life of ordinary people (cf. Grau 2005:148–149).¹² In relation with the social structures, values and norms, ballet themes follow the patterns of European legends and folklore. Arkin i Smith (1997) analyse the popularity of the national dance on the scene and social stages, as well as the character of romantic naivety of ballet and character dances within the ballet form of dancing.¹³ Narrative characteristics of ballet, contained in ballet stories and expressed in the performances, were partly carried by national, i.e. character dances.¹⁴ With the dominance of the ballet technique (presented through more demanding virtuosity of ballet performances) modern ballet performances are “freed” from the great part of narrative elements. National or character dances, however, still speak of the neglected, although an including part of each classical ballet.¹⁵

The entirety of the ballet form consists of specific styles inherited through the course of history (like the English, Italian, French or Russian) and united under the unique outlines of the ballet technique. Some of the styles are connected with specific national characteristics and thus express national traditions of some of the styles of the ballet dance form. Arkin and

¹² At the time when “white ballets” were written there were kings and queens. They exist today as well (their role in the world is most often merely symbolic or far from the power they used to have), although the structure of their activity and influence is significantly different than the one they had in the past.

¹³ “Character dances” are a constant terminological definition among dancers and choreographers that refers to specific national or traditional dances within a classical ballet repertoire.

¹⁴ Authors of the 19th century alternately use the terms “national” and “character” for dances integrated in classical white ballets (Arkin and Smith 1997:13).

¹⁵ The audience at the Paris Opéra saw Polish, Italian, Hungarian and Spanish national (character) dances in a pre-romantic ballet (Arkin and Smith 1997:20). Like Herder, many dance theoreticians of the late 18th and 19th century, e.g. Andre Gallini, Gennaro Magri, Carlo Blasis, showed interest for the authentic, “true” and “natural” ethnic expressions of different nations (ibid. 30–32). Libretto of the *Swan Lake*, most popular classical ballet until this day, is based on the elements of a German folk story (cf. Wulff 2008:530), and the third act is actually an overview of national dances (Hungarian, Spanish, Russian ...).

Smith reveal that the iconography of the period of romantic ballet shows characteristic positions of hands, feet, torso or head that was used “to mark national origin” (1997:42).¹⁶ Ballet tradition might be claimed by Italy, Spain, England, France, Russia, Ukraine or Denmark. All of these areas greatly influenced the ballet of today. And they are all considered to belong to the western culture.

By the emphasis on national styles or character dances in classical ballet, which can be seen today as well, although to a lesser extent, I want to point out to ethnic elements, sporadically connected with classical ballet works. However, I do not want to claim that only these elements reflect a specific ballet ethnicity that is denied to ballet or at least (still) ignored. Other forms of ballet that can indicate its ethnicity are the duration of the tradition and, as it was already stated by Kealiinohomoku, stories on which they are based. Although ballet is not considered to be a traditional dance and is not characterised as such, the duration of the ballet tradition cannot be disputed. Ballet tradition is reflected in its century-long continuity and its elitist characteristics in the international reputation and sophisticated aesthetics intended only for the chosen bodies. Ballet is commonly described as an urban “elite” dance and a dance of “high” culture. Such adjectives are the result of a designed and demanding dance technique. Introduction of more

¹⁶ There are specific national characteristics which can be seen in some dances. Almost every observer of the so called Western world will recognise tango, flamenco or *czárdás*, even if they had no previous knowledge of the structure of the steps or the historical development of the dances. They have a distinct way of shaping the movements and are easily connected with some nations or localities, regardless of the way the performers of the dance identify themselves. Tango can be recognised at first sight, even on a painting or a photograph. Adrienne L. Kaeppler (2008) says that ballet, Hawaiian dance hula or the *Cats* musical is easily recognised and understood even if the observers are not too involved. Some dance forms are recognised instantly, regardless of the fact whether the observer had any knowledge of the details, dance technique or a dance form. Their recognisability lies in certain motives. Kaeppler defines the motives as culturally structured parts of the movement connected with specific dance tradition or genre. They are stored in the memory of choreographers, usually of the performers and often of the audience (2008:81–82). Their choreography might vary, but they will be recognised as, e.g. a Hawaiian, Korean or ballet dance.

precise criteria and the increased selection has intensified the elitist criteria for the dancers, i.e. their bodies, and made them more distanced.¹⁷ Ballet is considered to be a dance form of the highest degree of codification and the most elitist European theatre dance.¹⁸ Ballet is traditionally elitist, but elitist and traditional as well.

Ballet also has (relatively dominant) elements that are not considered classically or traditionally ethnic, like the dominant standardised form. It is precisely one chosen variant, however, that allows longevity and preservation, and thus tradition as well. Standardization, achieved by the ballet technique and its reflections, is not opposed to tradition.¹⁹ Dance uniformity is not necessarily opposite to the dance tradition and it should not contradict it. If it happens to be on the opposite pole, it is not necessarily opposite. Acknowledged (accepted) traditional or ethnic dances are sometimes also forced to find versions in order to be preserved that become the versions of the standard to remain the versions of the tradition. Standard does not mean unchangeability, but being defined. Standard is determined and set, but not unchangeable.

The Hawaiian dance hula, e.g. is a reflection of cultural combinations that are three-hundred years old and, at the same time, under the influence of the new expectations of the audience (tourists/tourism) it becomes more complex and uniform as a traditional, national, ethnic dance (cf. Rowe

¹⁷ We could raise another point of the comparison of *world music* and *world dance*, i.e. their potentially analogue Others (Western European art music and classical white ballet) by reflecting on racial imaginations and associations they are potentially burdened with, although we cannot carry out a more detailed analysis of this segment here.

¹⁸ Novack (1993:46) believes that, at the professional level, ballet is designed and organised as a closed tradition resistant to change. But, even as a set form of dance presentation, classical ballet is “refreshed by transfusions of new influences in series of transformations” (Tarle 2009:59). It is subjected to changes that some scientists connect with aesthetic values (Desmond 1997:38). With new generations and in new contexts – social, political and cultural – aesthetic values are also changed and redefined, thus inevitably changing the phenomena they are related with as well.

¹⁹ I do not aim to define or redefine tradition here, but use it as a term that gives legitimacy to some forms of the traditional and declines it to the other forms, often precisely because of their standardised form.

2008:36). As paradoxes of tradition Peter Burke singles out innovation that can eliminate the perseverance of tradition, but it can be the other way around as well – the outer “signs” of tradition can eliminate innovation. Therefore, what is changed is changed and really needs to be changed during its transmission to a new generation (Burke 2006:37). Inevitable changes do not affect the recognisability of the standard. If we compare ballet from one hundred years ago with the one performed today it is still recognisable, regardless of the time conditioned modifications. It is only when the dance form is changed so that it cannot be recognised anymore that the standard, but the dance form as well, is lost.

The unique form of ballet, in all its stylistic and predetermined forms, which depend on the time and location, is still recognisable. Next to the traditional elements it cherishes, it has also become a widespread dance form. Stylistic differences within the same dance form do not diminish the uniqueness and comprehensiveness of the dance form or their unique applicability and international recognisability. The international quality of ballet is reflected in the trained bodies of the dancers, shaped by the ballet technique.²⁰ National theatres have accepted well known choreographies, welcomed distinguished choreographers and dancers and added the works of modern choreographers to their repertoires. You do not have to travel to London to see Ashton’s choreographies or New York to see Balanchine’s choreographies²¹ anymore – you can see them in national and/or city theatres. Wainwright, Williams and Turner write about the global flow of successful ballets that resulted with their inclusion in almost all repertoires of national or large ballet ensembles. The choreographies have become part of the repertoire of big ballet companies in Europe, North America, etc. (Wainwright, Williams, Turner 2007:316) but, due to increasingly

²⁰ Regardless of the fact that dancers have acquired specific institutional and choreographic characteristics during their education and work in an institution, as well as their experiences and travels throughout the world, with time they can adopt a specific style of another dance ensemble (cf. Wainwright, Williams, Turner 2006:549).

²¹ Frederick Ashton is a very popular British dancer and choreographer (1904 – 1988), and George Balanchine (1904 – 1983) an American of Georgian ancestry. In 1934 Balanchine went to USA and worked at the *Metropolitan*. In 1948 he founded the *New York City Ballet* and worked as its art director.

intensified mobility, the method of transfer has changed.²² The body of the dancer has become the carrier of the national feeling and, since recently, of global cultural powers. In the forms of high culture, dance has become constitutive to nationalism (Grau and Jordan 1996; as cited in Wainwright, Williams, Turner 2007:322), but partly globalism as well.

Besides the fact that it is widely recognizable, ballet, as a dance form, has also significantly influenced other dance forms. Almost every school of modern dance includes ballet lessons as a basis for further training of the dance body. Many professional dancers, e.g. dance sport, and even athletes (skaters or gymnasts) complete their own techniques by borrowing from or upgrading ballet techniques. In this influence I see a certain *outflow* (transfer and crossing the boundaries) of ballet into other dance expressions or modifications of specific dance forms by other forms.

Regardless of the form, dance demands (and has always had) a context. There are differences in the degree of reality of the context or, as Andrée Grau (2008) noticed, some dances are rich and some are poor in context.²³ The reason for the appearance of “non-art” dances (or those that are not given the adjective *art*) Grau sees in the rootedness of their specific context. Their ability to survive far from the context of creation and representation is one of the factors that will make people think of them as “art” (Grau 2008:204–205). However, the context of ballet has changed, as well as the context of every other dance or dance form, but has not disappeared. It has become standardised and is thus recognisable to audiences and to dancers. From its early forms, since the court ballet,²⁴ it is performed on the stage

²² Ballet can illustrate the rapid process of cultural globalisation or the overlapping of national and global dance forms (glocalization) (cf. Wainwright, Williams, Turner 2007:320).

²³ American anthropologist Edward Hall suggested the concepts of the richness and scarcity of context in his book *Beyond Culture* from 1976 (as cited in Grau 2005:159, note 11). By relying on Hall’s concepts, Andrée Grau (2008) emphasizes the richness of context of national and traditional dances and the poverty of context of art dances, suggesting that the loss of the “original” context is the result of their staging.

²⁴ New and more demanding style of dancing has been created on the heritage of dance steps developed in the renaissance and baroque – *ballet de cour* or court ballet. With similar steps, but technically more advanced and more attractive, dances have moved from court rooms to the stage in a more advanced form. (cf. Nordera 2007:24, 27).

and such practice has become standardised in the later periods. Ethnic elements of ballet are hidden by symbolic characteristics and demanding dance technique with which it is (allegedly) possible to create art. It is ballet dancers who insist on art as the element of classical ballet that is considered to be contrast to ethnic in the dance. Dixie Durr sees the fear of recognizing ballet as an ethnic form within the dance community as a sign of the fear of the loss of its specific “magic” although, she says that “a comprehension of rules and meanings can promote a different, but equally irresistible ‘magic’ – one that is based on understanding” (1986:10). If the community does not see their practices as ethnic, it is questionable whether such constructions should be imposed from the outside. Should the term result from a dance practice or a scientific discourse?

Since this analysis has been done as an answer to the specific need of defining the phrase *world dance*, I will address the problem of ordered or subsequent definition in the conclusion.

The definition of a phenomenon is usually justified and necessary so that we could discuss the same phenomenon or understand each other (cf. and Kealiinohomoku 1969/1970:28). Ideas and stereotypes (sometimes copied from the related areas) create rootedness and specific recognisability, often before a specific phenomenon is defined. A phenomenon is thus attempted to be identified, researched, and then defined after a widely accepted understanding. It is recognisability (of the concept) that may appear as an indicator of a potentially necessary definition. However, the freedom of a complete and uninhibited agreement about the definition is thus eliminated. It necessarily includes already created constructs and maybe adds more precise contours. It is very difficult to define or determine clear boundaries of the phenomena like art or dance in general, although such concepts may seem recognisable. Definition can lead to a general idea of dance and the phrase *world dance*. However, definitions are specialised, often inaccessible and an unknown area to the wider audience. Specialised scientists deal with definitions and the process of defining, and the recognisability of certain concepts comes from the wide area of susceptibleness, popularity,

perception and receptions of the audience. There is a serious disconnection between dancers and scientists, unless when they are one person (when a person unites both interests and both practices). The necessity of reflecting on the concept of *world dance* does not necessarily result in the harmony of these two domains. The survival of the construct in different areas and circles has a different position or can be, in different parts of the world or among specific population, understood differently and sometimes even contradictory.²⁵

Clear definitions are very rare in social and humanistic studies. They can rarely (considering the fact that the definition of the definition is to be short and concise) cover all dimensions and, more importantly, include all the fluidity of certain phenomena so that they would last and survive. They are necessarily reanalysed, criticized and expanded. The phenomena that are determined by themselves (not necessarily defined as well), “from the inside”, from the communities, places or areas of activity of specific processes or activities, in light of their (sufficient) recognisability and acceptance, are then usually aimed to be defined “from the outside as well”. Legitimate and justified use of the concept “world dance” might be achieved by agreeing on the use or its stability. None of these (process) activities, however, is exempt from modifications, disputes or critics of absolutism.

²⁵ Connell and Gibson said for the *world music*: “In the USA, where lives a large Hispanic population, salsa is not usually considered to be *world music*, while it is in Great Britain. ‘Traditional’ Asian music in Singapore appears in the category of world music only if it is sold as foreign and exotic for the Western audience and by Western companies. On the other hand, canto-pop, J-pop, Chinese opera and other Asian styles, produced and distributed by big Asian record companies, are sold separately, in their own categories of mainstream sections of Singapore record shops. Australian Aborigine music can be world music if it is seen as ‘traditional’ but is eliminated from the category if it is considered to be ‘modern’. The categories of ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ are inevitably defined differently in different contexts. Country and western music in Italy is usually found on the ‘world music’ shelf. Even completely simplified interpretations of world music as a ‘music sold in world music sections of the stores throughout the western capitalist world (partly non-western world as well) does not make world music a stable category. Moreover, most of the ‘non-western’ types of music have never become ‘world music’” (Connell and Gibson 2004:350; as cited in Piškor 2005:105).

In the end, a truly valuable scientific analysis of a phenomenon, as Piškor said, depends on the continuous dialogue of several authors and the process of confronting different attitudes and interpretations (2005:169). Since every definition (terminological) is the result of a (more or less) successful agreement, this paper introduces one of the suggestions and maybe a warning that may be missed in the process of a wider context of defining a term. From the perspective of individual dancers and considering the construct of the *world dance*, dances can represent a specific treasure that belongs to everyone and which has elements that can be borrowed, taken and danced in a unique way. Each dance is, therefore, a world dance as much as a completely individual dance in the final performance.

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