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SHIFTING ORIENTATIONS IN DANCE REVIVALS: FROM "NATIONAL" TO "SPECTACULAR" IN UKRAINIAN CANADIAN DANCE

Folk and ethnic dance revival movements can be defined as "any dance tradition in which the participants are actively conscious of a connection with past performances". Dance revival movements can be subdivided into "national", "recreational", "spectacular", "spiritual", and other orientations, depending on the motivations of the participants. The Ukrainian dance movement in Canada had a national orientation from 1925 to about 1960, and has shifted to a more spectacular orientation since that time. The orientation of the revival movement has important ramifications for the values and priorities of the community, the decisions they make, and the forms of the dances. Thinking about revival orientations may reveal interesting patterns cross-culturally.

Keywords: dance, revival, folk, ethnic, national dance, spectacular dance, comparative, Ukrainian, Canadian

I grew up in the Ukrainian community in western Canada in the 1960s and 1970s, where a staged dance tradition had become very popular as a vehicle for ethnic expression. From my insider perspective, it was important for us to perform Ukrainian dances as a means of expressing our Ukrainian identity, because the dances were beautiful, and because we had fun. I was a third generation Canadian, and neither my parents nor I had ever been in a village in Ukraine. Still, thousands of us had no doubt that our dances were true, authentic, valuable and natural. We dedicated a great deal of our time, energy and love to this tradition.

As I became older, I saw different groups perform, spoke with my grandparents, traveled to Ukraine, struggled to make new choreographies, became exposed to a greater variety of dance traditions, and generally developed a historical and critical perspective. It became obvious to me that

the context, meaning and form of the dances had changed considerably since the time we emulated in our concerts (cf. Crum 1961). I grew in understanding that our activity was a "dance revival". However, many other Ukrainian Canadian dancers would not have wanted to use that term or acknowledge any differentiation between their activity and the dances performed in Ukrainian villages which they idealized.

In my community's case, like many others, the emic (insider) perspective was quite different than the etic (comparative, analyst-based) view. In this article, I propose to explore the concept of revival dance from an etic perspective. I argue that dance revivals can be understood and differentiated in a useful way when thought of in terms of their "orientation", the main motivation that inspires the participants. Furthermore, traditions of dance revival sometimes shift from one orientation to another. Ukrainian Canadian dance, for example, is associated with two different revival orientations – shifting from a national revival tradition that started in the 1920s to a more spectacular revival tradition since the 1960s. This change is reflected in the judgments made by the leaders of the tradition, the values expressed, and the form of the dances as well.¹

Definitions

A dance revival is defined here as any dance tradition in which the participants are actively conscious of a connection with past performances. Dance revivals are "reflective" and the participants are somewhat self-conscious (Nahachewsky 2001a). As illustrated above, the word revival can be contentious because the relationship with the past is often perceived differently from emic as opposed to etic perspectives.² Revival may be controversial for several other reasons as well. Many different words have been used to identify somewhat similar phenomena: adaptation, appropriation, arrangement, cultivation, invention, invocation, preservation, reconstruction, recontextualization, remembering, representation, revitalization, theatricalization. Revival dance movements have been called dancing in a second existence, folklore, fakelore and folklorism. Each term in this list can be thought of as positive, negative or neutral in different peoples' perspectives (see Dunin and Zebec 2001:268-271). I propose to use "revival" and "revival movement" as broad umbrella terms to embrace this large constellation of activities.

¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music in Sheffield, England, July 2005.

² Revival here is an etic category. I acknowledge that the concern with the past is not necessarily foremost in the mind of every participant at every moment of the dance. Rather this interest in the past (and its several variant orientations) is clearest when observing the overall character of the community's tradition.

I further propose the term "vival" dance as a complementary counterpart for revival dance. The old English adjective vival is used to communicate a sense that the dance tradition "lives" when performed. Dance has been recognized for being a powerful holistic experience that engages a rich flow of human consciousness. Participants are focused on the dance experience "here and now". The dance they are engaged in may well have a history, but it is not important for them at the moment. The term's etymological connection with revival is also attractive. We are reminded that "re-vival" suggests a dance tradition that "lives again" as its participants try to invoke it from the past.

Discussions of revival movements appear somewhat rarely in the academic literature on dance, except perhaps as reconstruction, where it is central to the work of many specialists in historical dance. It is likely that the connections between dance and reflecting the past are more common and more significant than the dance literature suggests (cf. Lowenthal 1985).³ A few publications actively compare differing orientations in revival movements (cf. Murillo 1983, Nahachewsky 1991, Greenhill 1994, Nahachewsky 2005). Central and eastern Europe produced an earlier body of academic literature on revival movements with practical connections to their staged folk dance industry (cf. Ivančan 1971, Dúzek 1973, Nosál' 1983, Vasylenko 1983, Smirnov 1986:152-165). English language studies include Dunin and Visinski (1995), Dunin and Zebec (2001:133-271) and Shay (2002). Lange (1974) and Phillips (1987) each compare the dances as performed in different contexts that match our vival/revival concepts quite closely. Both authors make the point that the dance experience can be rich and interesting in either setting. They also both make the point that the dances are quite different entities in each context; revival of a dance necessarily changes the tradition in certain ways. Revival movements can never bring back an original exactly, but rather are partially new creations in each case. In many cases, revival dances are strikingly different than the vival dances they purport to emulate.

On the other hand, it is also important to avoid imagining an absolute split between vival and revival movements (Buckland 1994:47, Dunin and Zebec 2001:268-269). Indeed, consciousness of the past is experienced as a matter of degree. Specific communities and dance events can correspond to various points along a vival/revival continuum: concern with the past may be quite irrelevant in some settings, may be an acknowledged background idea for another group, one of several key themes in a third situation, and perhaps the main explicit focus for a fourth community's event. Furthermore, vival and revival dance traditions do not necessarily constitute a fixed sequential

³ This statement may be particularly true of Western culture, in which the heritage of romanticism and its related complex of ideas have been so very influential.

dichotomy, but can sometimes be seen as alternating tendencies occurring in subtle cycles (Nahachewsky 2001a:21-26). Almost any dance tradition may lean more towards vival or to revival through the progressive stages of its history.⁴ Again, the key difference is that the revival mode involves a more active and conscious connection with the past. Though the boundary between vival and revival is not absolute, I argue the concepts can have significant implications.

I think it is important to describe dance revival movements as traditions in their own right, transmitted through generations, somewhat stable, normalized, yet fluid and responsive to their context. Both vival and revival dance can be traditional activities that are richly expressive, profoundly reflecting the inner life of the people who dance. Both are the rightful subjects of ethnochoreological study.

The act of retrospection, of thinking about an earlier performance when dancing, suggests that the participants might associate the dancing with two contexts at once: the "actual setting" in which the dance is presently being performed, and the "imputed setting" which is referred to by the performance. The imputed setting is where the dancers are pretending to be.



ЗАПОРІЖСЬКИЙ ГЕРЦЬ.

Figure 1. *Zaporozhs'kyi herts'* performed in a Ukrainian community hall in North America, circa 1930, choreography by Vasile Avramenko (Avramenko 1947:52)

⁴ This observation comes part way to responding to the call to see revival phenomena more as process than a fixed category (Dunin and Zebec 2001:268).

The actual setting for the dance in figure 1 is a local Ukrainian community hall in North America circa 1930. The backdrop and wings of this small stage were painted with trees, thatch-roofed houses and a church. The dancers wore imitations of historical cossack dress in central Ukraine. The imputed setting, then, is near a Ukrainian village several hundred years ago.⁵ The imputed setting can be communicated through the backdrop or other scenic effects, by the movements themselves, the music, the costumes, the lighting, the props, the name of the dance, through printed program notes, announcements or other means. In some cases, the organizers try hard to intensify the illusion. In other cases, the imputed setting is only vaguely suggested.

Orientations in revival dance movements

Folk dance⁶ and ethnic dance⁷ revival traditions are often characterized by a relatively clear orientation to national, recreational, spectacular, spiritual or other interests. Each of these orientations for the dance tradition affects the organization of the tradition and the form of the dances themselves in somewhat predictable ways.

National dance in revival contexts includes dance performed primarily as an expression of allegiance to a state (or potential state). More broadly, national dance is dance performed as a positive symbol of "a people". Most national dance is associated with revival contexts. National dance traditions have a long and significant history in Western culture.

Recreational revival dance traditions are those in which participants are primarily oriented to social aspects of the activity, having fun, engaging in good physical exercise, relaxing, being with other good people. Revival dance with recreational orientation is sometimes performed on stage, but perhaps more often in participatory settings. Educational dance is closely related, taught to school children for the various social, cultural and physical benefits that it can bring them.

In spectacular dance traditions, the dancers and spectators are focused primarily on aesthetics and beauty. This is art dance. In general, spectacular dance traditions involve a stage and expectations of special skill on the part of the performers. Novelty, creativity and virtuosity are very much appreciated

⁵ Imputed settings are integral to revival folk dance movements. However, imputed settings for dance are not restricted to peasant villages, and the idea is frequently relevant in other types of presentational dance as well. The imputed setting for ballet and contemporary dance compositions has included a magical lake with swans, an ancient Greek temple, a dark coal mine, a corporate boardroom, a spaceship on Mars and myriad others.

⁶ Folk dance for me means "peasant dancing and revivals imputing peasant settings".

⁷ Ethnic dance for me means "dance in cross-cultural situations" – any dance associated with one specific culture in a context that engages cultural boundaries. Folk dance and ethnic dance often overlap as categories, but not always.

in Western aesthetics at the present, and revival dance traditions with a spectacular orientation are often strongly affected by these values.

Some revival dance is performed primarily as a spiritual activity. The intent of these revival movements is to use traditional forms of movement to bring on a heightened or paranormal experience, to come closer to the supernatural. Dancers within many religions, including Christianity, Judaism and Islam, engage in this activity as a religious artifact, facilitating some connection with the mystical power of God. Neopagan and aboriginal cultures involve revivals of dance with this goal as well. Another orientation is suggested by Middle Eastern dance revival movements: some people participate in belly dancing as a vehicle for erotic arousal. Each community may have one clearly dominant orientation or may express a combination of primary and secondary orientations.

From national to spectacular in Ukrainian Canadian dance

Several hundred thousand Ukrainians immigrated to Canada in three large waves: before 1914, in the interwar period, and again after 1945 (Pawliczko 1994:327-356). Especially in the earlier period, many were peasants who settled in western Canada's fertile prairies for farming. They brought their cultural inheritance with them, including their vival dance traditions (Nahachewsky 1985, Nahachewsky 2000, Nahachewsky 2001b). Vasile Avramenko imported a national dance tradition from Europe in 1925 (Knysh 1966, Pritz 1977:151-205, Pihuliak 1979, Pritz 1984:87-101, Zerebecky 1986:26-29). This tradition was based on stage performances, and was quite different from the dancing with which the people had been familiar (Nahachewsky 1985:71-74, Nahachewsky 1995). By the end of 1927, he had organized some 120 concerts in dozens of communities across Canada. He moved to the United States soon thereafter, but by then he and his followers had set up a popular movement which continued to gain momentum across the continent for decades. The nationally oriented dance movement found fertile soil in Canada at that time. Immigration was quite recent, and community leaders tended to be strongly connected with the land of their birth and concerned for its political and cultural fate (Subtelny 1988:339-379).

Avramenko returned to Canada numerous times over the next fifty years, but the dance phenomenon he had started had taken on a life of its own. Indeed, his dances have rarely been performed since the 1960s, replaced by new choreographies by scores of younger dance leaders across the country. Ukrainian dance remains very popular with thousands of participants in hundreds of groups across the country. Though Ukrainians constitute barely 3% of the current Canadian populace, Ukrainian dance is widely recognized by the general population.

The fading of the national orientation in Ukrainian Canadian dance was related to changes in the larger cultural context. Relations with the homeland tended to become weaker over time because of the Iron Curtain. Third, fourth and fifth generations born in Canada were well integrated into Canadian culture, while often also retaining a symbolic Ukrainian identity (Klymasz 1980; cf. Gans 1979, Fleras and Elliott 1996 [1992]:177-180).

The spectacular orientation increased as Ukrainian Canadians were exposed to the wide variety of more theatrical performing arts activities in their broader environment. A number of Ukrainian dance choreographers immigrated to North America after the Second World War (Pritz 1977:178-194, 1983:133-137, 1984:88-89). Thirdly, Soviet Ukrainian staged dance reached the Canadian community increasingly after 1961.⁸ Whereas the form of Avramenko's dances were quite satisfactory in the context of European staged dance traditions in the 1920s, international standards had changed quite significantly by the 1960s and the earlier forms could not compete successfully. Today's dances are much more complex and densely structured (Nahachewsky 1991:270-271).⁹

I propose to describe a number of characteristics of the Ukrainian Canadian national dance revival from the earlier period and compare them with the more recent spectacular dance orientation.¹⁰ National and spectacular revival movements share numerous features in contrast to vival dance traditions. The dances tend to be perceived as products more than processes, as they were in vival settings. Revival dances come to serve as representative symbols of the culture, separated from their specific locality and context, very portable and embedded in a new context. They are consciously valued and formally transmitted. On the other hand, national and spectacular revival

⁸ Soviet Ukrainian staged dance has historically had quite a different orientation than its Canadian counterpart. Whereas the national orientation was fundamental for Ukrainian staged dance in Canada for many decades, this same national orientation was suppressed in Soviet Ukraine by the 1930s. Vasyli Verkhovynets', for example, a strong leader of the Ukrainian dance movement and one of Avramenko's teachers, was executed by the Soviets in 1938 for nationalist tendencies. Instead, a spectacular orientation developed and dominated since 1937 through the highly balleticized work of Igor Moiseyev based in Moscow, Mykola Bolotov and Pavlo Virs'kyi in Kyiv, and many others (cf. Borims'ka 1974:16-31, Lutskaia 1968:3-20, Nahachewsky 1998). Significant shifts towards the spectacular orientation in Ukrainian Canadian dance correspond with periods of increased contact with Soviet dance during the Cold War thaw in the 1960s, and with the lowering of the Iron Curtain since the mid-1980s (Pritz 1983:149-150, 1984:96-98; Zerebecky 1986:34-37, Nahachewsky 2002a:293-295).

⁹ National *kolomyika* choreographies averaged 12 different motifs each, and 12 choreographic phrases each. Children's *kolomyiky* from the 1980s averaged 18 motifs in 31 choreographic phrases each. Spectacular staged *kolomyiky* for older dancers averaged 62 motifs in 47 phrases.

¹⁰ I acknowledge the influence of Robert B. Klymasz (1972) and Alexandra Pritz (1983) for the following points. I have explored some of these ideas in Nahachewsky (2005).

movements also differ from each other in important ways. Our discussion can proceed through observations of two themes: symbolism and purity.

Symbolism

National dance traditions are symbolic. In semiotic terms, the signifiers are the prescribed dance compositions, the signified is "Ukrainianness". This focused symbolic meaning is a new quality for the dances, and does not apply in the same way to vival dances. Revival dances with spectacular orientation are also usually potent symbols of Ukrainianness. In spectacular traditions however, the dances also tend to focus symbolically on the specific choreographer or group which performs them. This tendency towards emphasis on individual creativity is strongly modeled on professional art in Western culture. Copyright laws institutionalize the existence of a work of art as a legal entity that can be owned, bought and sold by an individual or corporation. One can imagine a continuum with communally shared folk traditions on one extreme and copyrightable professional Western art on the other. Vival dance traditions can be located near the communal end of this axis. National dance traditions operate somewhere near the midpoint, while spectacular dance traditions tend much more towards the individualistic end. The tension between the two extremes is clear in Avramenko's work. He regularly emphasized the significance of the genius of the nation in the creation of the dances, and wanted most everyone to copy his works. On the other hand, he was also very eager for personal credit for these dances and, ideally, royalties.

National dance revival movements tend to constitute a severely restricted selection of the vival dance repertoire from which they draw their inspiration. Tens of thousands of vival village dance forms existed at the time that Avramenko was establishing his national repertoire. It is striking then, that Avramenko's corpus included some 18 dances in total (Avramenko 1928, 1947). As such, 99 percent of the vival repertoire remained unused by his national dance movement. In spite of what they may claim, the object for the builders of the national dance tradition is not to save the entire corpus of traditional dances, but rather to promote a selected few of them to serve as symbols of the rest. In this respect, national dances act somewhat like commercial logos.¹¹

¹¹ McDonalds, Coca Cola, Nike and countless other companies carefully select one or two graphic symbols among many possibilities to signify their identity to their audiences. Corporations benefit when these logos become well known because they can quickly and inexpensively re-project themselves into the minds of their potential consumers. This works most effectively when a unique logo is repeated consistently and frequently. National dance traditions function in much the same way, but somewhat less explicitly and legalistically.

National dances are standardized so that they can most effectively serve as symbols. Avramenko purposely taught the same dances everywhere he went, from Europe to North America, South America to Australia. He insisted his students reproduce these same dances as accurately and consistently as possible. His most popular dances were performed thousands of times in a more or less standard manner (Nahachewsky 1991:164-165). Avramenko dreamed that a Ukrainian from Canada or Brazil who met a Ukrainian from Ukraine itself should be able to dance the same dances together; Ukrainians are one people and Ukrainian culture should be one.

In the spectacular dance orientation, the ideal of standardization across all Ukrainian communities does not apply consistently. Each group aspires to carve out a unique style and reputation in contrast to its intra-national peers. Choreographers and dancers wish to conform to Ukrainian dance standards enough to be recognized as participating in the genre, but work against the idea of performing the same dances. Differentiation between one Ukrainian Canadian group and another becomes noticeable and even celebrated. Since the 1970s, groups competing for audience support in the same city tended to polarize and shift towards opposing stylistic niches. Accusations of one dance group "stealing" steps or choreographic ideas of another group have not been uncommon. These complaints are treated quite seriously. This situation implies that the steps or choreographic ideas are conceived as belonging to the choreographer or the specific group, rather than to the nation as a whole.

In Ukrainian Canadian communities, the national orientation is primarily associated with dance forms based on the Poltava region in east-central Ukraine. The Hutsul region in the Carpathian mountains constituted an important alternate style.¹² Presenting more than one region could potentially be considered an asset to the national dance repertoire because it explicitly includes the various geographic areas within the umbrella of the country. However, too much diversity dilutes the potency of the main symbol as a logo. In all cases, the regional diversity is presented as strictly subordinate to national unity, and it is often explicitly stressed that the regional differences constitute only surface variations to the essentially cohesive national normalform (Knysh 1966:47-48; cf. Torp 1993:276, 283-284).¹³ In the spectacular orientation, the colourful regional costumes, musical forms,

¹² In fact, Avramenko's original repertoire had its origins in four or five areas of Ukraine, but the dances quickly became amalgamated in Canada so that they represented only the Poltava and Hutsul styles.

¹³ Soviet Ukrainian staged-folk dance included a number of popular compositions which presented performers dressed in costumes of many republics/regions on stage together, each showing off their own unique style, then inevitably finishing in a happy shared climax with the leading national/Soviet symbol front and centre (cf. Borims'ka 1974:67, Virs'kyi 1978:7-126). In this respect, Soviet staged-folk dance shared in a "national" (or Soviet "super-national") orientation. Otherwise, it tended more towards a spectacular orientation.

footwork and formations are seen as very attractive are therefore adopted eagerly. There is less concern with national unity or any single cohesive style. In the 1980s and 1990s, Ukrainian Canadian dances representing Volyn', Transcarpathia, Pokuttia, Bukovyna, Podillia, the Lemko area, Kuban' and other areas have become ubiquitous.

National dances are ideological. Avramenko's ideology was clearly Ukrainian nationalist. In his long speeches at nearly every concert and public event, he emphasized a pan-Ukrainianist stance. He also expressed clear anti-communist and anti-Polish attitudes (Knysh 1966:47-62). Spectacular dance activities tend to be less explicitly ideological than national traditions. In Canada, dancers have tended to distance themselves from issues in Ukrainian politics and identify a strong preference for only softer identity issues such as heritage, cultural expression and ethnic creativity (Shaw 1988:83-100). The reduced engagement with politics and ideology is also reflected in the reception of influences and individual artists from Ukraine. Until the beginning of the 1980s, Soviet choreographers and choreographies were regularly scrutinized for communist influences and Russification. Particular costume styles, dance steps and compositions were avoided and deemed inappropriate for true Ukrainian dance. Today, however, most Canadian-born instructors, dancers and parents have come to accept innovations arriving from Ukraine unquestioningly. The Soviet-born instructors who now direct the majority of senior groups in Canada are generally not aware of the standards and boundaries by which the Canadian Ukrainian dance community defined itself before their arrival. They remain committed to the spectacular aesthetic values and standards with which they themselves were trained. These instructors tend to be less concerned with separating Ukrainian-origin and Russian-origin dance steps and melodies, and sometimes see them both as naturalized into their spectacular stage dance heritage. Such changes are justified by emphasizing that they come directly from Ukraine. I find it ironic that Russian and Soviet elements which had long been taboo in Ukrainian Canadian dance are actually becoming more common since the Soviet propaganda machine stopped promoting them.

Purity

Leaders of national dance traditions aspire to national purity and avoid explicit commonalities or borrowings from other nations' cultures. One of the basic tenets of romantic nationalism is that all people on earth can be divided into races (peoples, nations). Originally, these nations were discrete and pure, each with their own national spirit, national characteristics and homeland. Clarity of these national differences is seen as desirable, and the intermixing of extra-national elements, often described as foreign intrusion or contamination, is undesirable. Purity of national symbols is particularly important

for nations whose political sovereignty is challenged. The Ukrainian national dance repertoire is therefore designed to be unique, contrasting with Russian, Polish, Hungarian and all other national repertoires. If any element of music, costume or movement is claimed by another nation, it is likely to be actively purged.

Spectacular dance traditions do not necessarily subscribe to the ideal of purity, but may actually foreground elements that contain international elements. Some Ukrainian groups in Canada now present occasional Moldavian, Gypsy and Tatar choreographies, as well as sailor dances with clear Russian influence. These dances are seen as attractive because of their varied striking costumes and movements. Their entry into the repertoire comes despite opposition from more nationally oriented members of the community.

Ukrainian Canadian dance has tended to incorporate many elements of classical ballet into its movement styles.¹⁴ The strategy of bringing ballet into Ukrainian dance is attractive to those people who aspire to connect the folk tradition with the high status of an elite art form. This strategy can be seen as useful to give the nation a more internationally respectable symbolic aura. Nationally oriented leaders would nonetheless wish to keep such ballet influence in check and avoid accusations of impurity. In the spectacular tradition, however, the ballet aesthetic has been allowed to influence Ukrainian Canadian dance very deeply and openly. This strong penchant for ballet styling is shared with Soviet Ukrainian staged folk dance. The characteristic pointed toes, turn-out, elongated lines, lifts of females, and many other features of Ukrainian Canadian dance are clearly and explicitly derived from ballet. Indeed, except for some programs for small children, most Ukrainian dance schools across Canada now start rehearsals with a classical ballet *barre*. Dancers are now more likely to refer to particular dance steps as *pas des basques* and *capriole* than to use the comparable Ukrainian terms *tynok* and *holubets*'. Many of the virtuosic solo steps in Ukrainian Canadian dance are identical or very close to classical ballet *pas*. The strategy of linking technical dance segments with pantomime to create two hour "folk-ballet" storylines is also directly adopted from the classical ballet tradition of a century ago. In other Ukrainian Canadian dance choreographies, explicit references are recently being made to contemporary dance technique, jazz aesthetics, Broadway, and other non-Ukrainian sources of inspiration. Fusion tends to be perceived as a positive approach.

¹⁴ Avramenko studied ballet in Kyiv as a young man, at the same school as Serge Lifar, who eventually contributed so profoundly to the 20th century French ballet. Avramenko used the word "ballet" to describe his large concerts, but he did not use explicit ballet technique or terminology in his training of Ukrainian dancers.



Figure 2. "Over the years, Shumka has deliberately worked to acquire the techniques of ballet and other dance forms to enhance the presentation of traditional Ukrainian movements. The elegance of dancers like Terry Mucha demonstrate the impact of this development on a step from hopak" (Major 1991:75)

Connected with the concept of purity for national dances is the positive valuation of antiquity. Avramenko's program notes connect the *arkan* with the ancient Scythians several thousand years ago. This claim is consistent with the positive valuation of antiquity (though it may not be historically supportable).¹⁵ Similarly, Avramenko's publications make explicit connections between his *haivky*, pre-Christian and ancient classical culture. The

¹⁵ The Scythians were an Indo-European people who lived on the Eurasian steppes from approximately 900 to 300 BC. They were described as the first horse riders by ancient Greek historian Herodotus and left many archaeological treasures in their burial mounds. Unfortunately, we know practically nothing of their dancing, and the territories they occupied do not correspond with the geographic range of the *arkan* (cf. Rolle 1989). Lisbet Torp illustrates that the footwork pattern of the basic *arkan* step is widespread in the Balkans and other parts of Europe. She examines 1291 chain and round dances from many countries across Europe (but not Ukraine). Almost one quarter of them (310) share the same core step with the *arkan*, which she identifies as basic "Pattern B" (Torp 1990:v1:99-111, v2:62, 83-92).

hopak is a younger dance, perhaps only 500 years old, though the golden age of the Cossacks has been deemed respectably antique. Conversely, recognizably younger dance forms are actively avoided in the national dance repertoire. By Avramenko's time, polkas, waltzes, tango and other dances were becoming quite common in Ukrainian villages, though they were scrupulously absent in his national forms.¹⁶

In the national orientation, dances should not only be ancient, but they should be timeless and permanent. Avramenko preferred to speak of his national dances as firmly rooted in the collective Ukrainian past (Avramenko 1947:10, Herman 1961:16-18).¹⁷ Just as the Ukrainian nation is timeless, so should be its dances. Once the national dance tradition was established, it should remain unaltered forever.

On the other hand, spectacular dance traditions do not aspire to be timeless; they engage changing styles and trends. The pressure for novelty applies to choreographic style as well to the specific choreographic forms themselves. Of the 8000 estimated dances performed in 2005 in western Canada (perhaps 2000 unique choreographies performed on stage an average of four times each at dance competitions, festivals, year-end concerts, nursing homes, shopping malls, weddings, and many other occasions), the vast majority of compositions were newly created in that school year. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority were then abandoned after the year-end show in early summer. This brief life-span is reinforced by the fact that the enrolment in each Ukrainian dance school may change from year to year. It is also reinforced by the fear of boredom on the part of the dancers if they polish the same choreography for too long, and on the part of some spectators if they see the same dance more than once. Obviously, Ukrainian dance choreographers in Canada tend to be very prolific, creating many new compositions each year.

Though participants in national dance traditions emphasize the value of purity, their community and its dance production must be cosmopolitan to a certain extent to be effective. Since many of the audience members are also exposed to other national dance cultures, it is clear that the Ukrainian dances should not be less beautiful than those of other nations. In this sense, each

¹⁶ One exception to this rule is the *quadrille* (*kadryl'*). *Quadrille* variants became widespread in Ukrainian villages at the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th (Humeniuk 1969:24ff). Avramenko's published repertoire contains four dances with *quadrille* elements. It seems that Avramenko did not know the historical pedigree of these dance figures, but was attracted by their interesting formations.

¹⁷ Though he tried to emphasize their timelessness, Avramenko's own choreographic repertoire clearly coalesced in the 1920s. Dances such as *kolomyika u dvi pari* were based on vival village material as observed by others and described to Avramenko. Other dances such as *kateryna* and *chumak* were based on earlier choreographies from the generation of theatre artists before Avramenko, still others seem to have been original compositions that he created himself (Nahachewsky 1991:141).

nation competes and is judged in the arena of international theatre standards of the day. Avramenko was very keen to have his dance performances attended by non-Ukrainians, and took great pride in the positive assessments written by non-Ukrainian reviewers (Avramenko 1947:9, 67-69). Leaders of national dance traditions tend to observe other nations' dance performances and quietly incorporate the ideas they feel would improve their own project. In most cases in the national orientation, the cosmopolitan features of the dance tradition tend to be implicit, discrete and even covert. In communities with a spectacular orientation, this balance between purity and cosmopolitanism tends to shift markedly towards the cosmopolitan.

Each revival orientation tends to feature a number of other specific characteristics as well. For example, spectacular dance revival movements tend to feature very complex and difficult dance forms that are highly technical and virtuosic. Recreationally oriented traditions tend towards the opposite, simple dance structures that allow participants of any skill level to participate quite readily. Nationally oriented dance revival movements tend to be situated in an intermediate position in terms of dance complexity. The dances are typically complex enough to give the national symbol an air of respect and sophistication, but simple enough that they appear natural and are somewhat accessible to the whole population.

Coda

The Ukrainian Canadian dance revival tradition has clearly shifted from a national orientation to a spectacular one. It is also clear that this community has not developed a substantial recreational orientation nor a spiritual one.

Many features of folk dance revival movements seem to flow from the primary orientation of the community. Thus we should expect a certain degree of overlap for nationally oriented revival movements cross-culturally. The same should be true for recreational, spectacular and other orientations. On the other hand, it is also clear that the specific historic and cultural situations for each community affect its revival activity in important ways. On the surface, differences may well be easier to identify than commonalities. I believe that cross-cultural explorations of the of revival dance characteristics, using a set of landmark features such as those suggested above, may well be useful in helping us understand dance revival as a phenomenon.

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POMACI U USMJERENJIMA OŽIVLJAVANJA PLESA:
OD "NACIONALNOG" KA "SPEKTAKULARNOM"
U UKRAJINSKOM PLESU U KANADI

SAŽETAK

Pokreti oživljavanja narodnog i nacionalnog plesa mogu se definirati kao "bilo koje plesne tradicije u kojih su sudionici živo svjesni povezanosti s izvedbama iz prošlosti". Mogu se sagledati kao suprotnost pokretima oživljavanja plesa u "živom" obliku, gdje su plesači potpuno usmjereni na iskustvo plesa u sadašnjem trenutku. Pokreti oživljavanja plesa mogu se podijeliti na "nacionalno", "rekreativno", "spektakularno", "duhovno" i druga usmjerenja, ovisno o motivacijama sudionika. Popularan pokret ukrajinskog plesa u Kanadi bio je od 1925. do oko 1960. nacionalno usmjeren da bi se potom okrenuo više prema spektaklu. Pokret oživljavanja u bitnome se očituje i u vrijednostima i prioritetima zajednice, odlukama koje se donose i oblicima plesa. Promišljanje o usmjerenjima oživljavanja među različitim kulturama moglo bi otkriti zanimljive obrasce.

Ključne riječi: ples, oživljavanje, nacionalni ples, spektakularni ples, Ukrajinci, Kanada