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## THE "KLAPA MOVEMENT" – MULTIPART SINGING AS A POPULAR TRADITION

Over the last 30 years, *klapa* singing, the well-known multipart singing tradition of the coastal and island part of Dalmatia (Southern Croatia), has simply outgrown the local traditional contexts and has become an interesting music phenomenon – a "movement". Over time, the character, music content, and style of the *klapa* have been dynamically modified, freely adopting new changes; the phenomenon that started as occasional and informal exclusively older male singing transformed into organized, all age, non-gendered singing. Nowadays, this organized form of singing, because of its manner of presentation, is perceived as a style of popular rather than traditional music. The *klapa's* popularity is a crucial factor for the endurance and development of the *klapa* multipart singing style. Popularity, in this case, is the recognition of the specific vocal style of a genre within the local or broader community, in which a particular multipart singing style exists. As seems to be common throughout the Mediterranean basin, one of the multipart singing styles became a synonym for the singing of particular region, island or country. Notions such as *popularity*, *modernity*, and *movement*, as well as the *klapa movement*, *klapa community*, *klapa world*, *klapa population*, *klapa scene* – terminology that has not had much in common with the purely sonic musical characteristics of multipart singing – helped to explain the present context and status of *klapa* singing, the traditional multipart singing that ranges from a singing style to the particular musical movement.

Keywords: *klapa* singing, Mediterranean multipart singing, Croatian traditional multipart singing, singing movement.

### Introductory overview

Found throughout the country, multipart singing is the most common traditional vocal way of performing in Croatia. The Northern regions of Međimurje and Podravina were the only regions where multipart singing was dominated in the past by one-part singing. Over time, the practice of multipart

singing became increasingly dominant. There are many reasons for the perseverance of multipart singing in Croatia. Croatia is an area where the tradition of archaic, untempered multipart singing interweaves with multipart diatonic singing. The area where Mediterranean, Alpine and Balkan cultural circles meet is an excellent example of the coexistence of various cultural (musical) influences that safeguard their differences through traditional vocal expressions. Complex layers of vocal traditions interweave and complement each other in all respects; in most cases vocal musical phenomena represent recognizable identifying markers of broader communities and are an integral part of their cultural and social identity. Multipart singing represents a lively, creative, complex and above all changeable cultural expression created by talented musicians – individuals and groups. Earlier research on vocal musical traditions in Croatia was mainly focused on archaic layers of multipart or single-part vocal genres and styles of the sacral and secular repertoires of local communities. Extensive collecting of the tunes and melodies was also a common practice among researchers nearly to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, comparative studies of local aspects of vocal music in the context and frame of a broader region were, as a rule, avoided.<sup>1</sup>

### **The "popular" in traditional vocal music**

Generally, many researchers of traditional musics tend to be interested in the most prevalent (or "popular") musical phenomenon. While writing about music and musical phenomena, I attempt to focus on the present: the time we live in and the musical phenomenon in which I am personally involved as an active participant (as observer or performer), and am able to investigate. Music, to me, is never exclusively a musical phenomenon. I always try to observe music within its living contexts. In my opinion, music, including multipart singing (styles and genres), is an important part of the living mosaic that supplements the social, political and cultural segments of contemporary societies. Their relation is complementary; these segments actively participate in the creation, development and continuity of the particular musical styles or genres. This broader anthropological view is the reason that most of this article is oriented to notions such as popularity, modernity, and movement, as well as the *klapa* movement, *klapa* community, *klapa* world, *klapa* population, *klapa* scene – terminology that has not had much in common with the purely sonic musical characteristics of multipart singing. The terms above

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<sup>1</sup> This is just a short introductory overview of multipart singing in Croatia. There is an extensive bibliography on the traditional vocal music in Croatia included in the international research project on European multipart singing (<http://www.mdw.ac.at/ive/emm/index.htm>). For more information on *klapa* singing see works of Bezić (1976, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1989, 1990, 1996), Bombardelli (1970, 1980, 1986), Buble (1980, 1987ab, 1991, 1999), Čaleta (1997ab, 1999, 2003, 2005) and Povržanović (1989, 1991).

help me explain the present context and status of *klapa* singing, the traditional multipart singing that ranges from a singing style to the particular musical movement.

While looking for the proper terminology to determine socio-musical phenomena, I examined various approaches. I started by reconsidering revival as a term that would explain a notion. In literature, revival has been approached from a number of perspectives: historical, functionalist, structuralist, symbolical. The studies deal with revival and musical change, identity, nationalism, ethnicity and many other topics. A problem is that a major part of the literature, theoretical and empirical, deals with the revival of folk traditions only (Ronström 1996). On the other hand, I found common factors with the emergence of alternative and artistic societies built around common interest throughout the United States (Slobin 2000; Levin 2006). Instead of the term movement or artistic society Mirjana Laušević used the term affinity groups while describing the "Balkan music and dance scene" in the United States (Laušević 2007). Her descriptions of a remarkable phenomenon that includes Americans who actively participate in "Balkan cultural practices to which they have no familial or ethnic connection" (Laušević 2007:17) encouraged me freely to select various terms while depicting the musical, cultural, political and social ties among the members of the *klapa* community.

The *klapa's* popularity is a crucial factor for the endurance and development of the *klapa* multipart singing style. Popularity, in this case, is the recognition of the specific vocal style of a genre within the local or broader community, in which a particular multipart singing style exists.

The same reasoning could be applied to the development of archaic multipart singing styles, both in the past and in the present. One can perceive the degree of popularity of a particular singing style or genre as an important precondition for the endurance of the particular traditional musical phenomenon. The best example of this is the *ganga*, the most popular archaic multipart singing style of Western Herzegovina, Central Bosnia and Imotska Krajina. As the most performed vocal musical style, the *ganga* becomes a synonym for all archaic singing styles of the rural Dalmatian region and the wider Dinaric region. Nowadays, terms like *treskavica*, *vojkavica*, *ojkanje*, *orzenje*, *u ravno* are regularly substituted by the term *starovinsko*, *starinsko* (old, older), referring to the known but neither performed nor popular singing styles.<sup>2</sup> Most of the older, archaic vocal styles mentioned above are performed only on rare occasions. On the other hand, *ganga* singing has become a popular vocal tradition throughout the Dinaric region of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Ganga* has also become a generic term for the various singing styles and ways of performing of the Dinaric multipart (guttural) singing styles. All over the

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<sup>2</sup> For more information on Dalmatian Hinterland multipart singing see Čaleta 2002.

area where *ganga* is sung, there are numerous festivals organized as competitions or as presentations of this style of singing.<sup>3</sup>

At the end of the last century, the Croatian ethnomusicologist Nikola Buble recognized the *ganga* as a "cultural symbol, crucial for the formation of (the Hinterlanders) musical identity" (Buble 1993:125). Although aware of the fact that the *ganga* is not a dominant vocal style over all the above-mentioned territory, Buble considered the *ganga* to be the dominant vocal style in the context of the entire autochthonous folk music of rural Dalmatian and Western Herzegovina. Outside of the local comprehension, where the *ganga* has an absolutely positive connotation, the term *ganga* usually carries a negative connotation referring to the "wild, primitive, uneducated, undeveloped world" – the way of life imagined related to people of *ganga* origin. The strongest notion of negativity was emphasized during and after the Homeland War (1991-1995), when people from Herzegovina, who had come to Croatia, were regularly associated as a population responsible for the wrong-doings in the politics and economy of the destroyed countries (Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina).<sup>4</sup> This group was often mentioned and described in a discriminatory manner through the movements that characterize the stylized manner of *ganga* singing (Ljuban 2005).<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, *klapa* singing, the well-known multipart singing tradition of the coastal and island part of Dalmatia (Southern Croatia), is completely different. Over the last 30 years, the *klapa* has simply outgrown the local traditional contexts and has become an interesting music phenomenon – a "movement".<sup>6</sup> Nowadays, this organized form of singing, because

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<sup>3</sup> Rather than in libraries, research for general information about any subject starts online nowadays with the Internet search providers. A good beginning to research the *ganga* would be on the [www.ganga.hr](http://www.ganga.hr) web site. The founder of the site is Tomislav Matković, a radio broadcaster from Imotski. Matković works for *Radio Grude*, where he regularly broadcast features on the *ganga* (singing, interviews, news). Besides the *ganga* field recordings, archive recordings (all in MP3 format), this web site presents various articles about the *ganga* (Petrović, Buble, Mijatović, Marijić, Vuković, Čaleta, and others). While the sites on *klapa* singing are regularly bilingual (Croatian and English), the *ganga* sites are (for now) only in Croatian.

<sup>4</sup> There is extensive literature inspired by the problem of demonizing the Hercegovinians. A good example is Boris Budan's essay "Agrameri lete u nebo" (1996), where the author speaks about "agramer fasizm" (*agramer* – inhabitant of Zagreb, capital of Croatia) that stands for demonizing certain ethnic group (Jews in the past, then Serbians and, finally, Hercegovinians) as a "symbolic symptom of totalitarian social decadency". See also Flajnik 2000.

<sup>5</sup> During the singing performance, due to acoustic reasons, *ganga* singers usually cover one of their ears (Petrović 1995:70, Čaleta 2002).

<sup>6</sup> *Klapski pokret* is a term that denotes the recent alterations in the social and musical features of *klapa* singing. I employ the term *klapski pokret* (*klapa* movement) for lack of better words to describe such a network of people, locations, concerts, meetings, and real and virtual activity, but also because the *klapa* singers and members of *klapa* scene used the term.

of its manner of presentation, is perceived as a style of popular rather than traditional music. As seems to be common throughout the Mediterranean basin, one of the multipart singing styles became a synonym for the singing of particular region, island or country. In this regard, *klapa* singing is not unlike the leading vocal (multipart) styles of Corsica (Bithell 1996, 2001, 2003), Sardinia (Lortat-Jakob 1995) or Georgia (Jordania 1984, 1989). As an ethnomusicologist whose research has been focused mainly on the research of local traditional musical phenomena, I am interested in the relation between global music phenomena and local musical tradition.<sup>7</sup> I thus join the many within popular music studies, and cultural studies more generally, who have shifted "from the study of the global to the local, and from work on production to consideration of consumption, subjectivity and identity in the context of everyday life" (Cohen 1993:127).

### ***Klapa* singing – traditional and festival *klapa***

If one could select a single music-making phenomenon as being the most representative of the *Mediterranean* as far as Croats are concerned, it would definitely be the phenomenon of *klapa* singing – "a coming together of the traditional and the popular with a positive tendency of spreading outside the imagined borders of the Mediterranean" (Čaleta 1999:193). Over time, the character, music content, and style of the *klapa* have been dynamically modified, freely adopting new changes; the phenomenon that started as occasional and informal exclusively older male singing transformed into organized, all age, non-gendered singing. This is one of the reasons for the present day popularity of the *klapa*, especially among the younger generation, and a sign of its future. Considering all the musical and social circumstances, several models of the historical expansion of *klapa* singing can be recognized – *traditional klapa*, *festival klapa* and *modern klapa* (Čaleta 2003:248). Although the last model, *modern klapa*, is the one that corresponds to the term popular, popularity helped the expansion of *klapa* singing through all the models of its historical development. Moreover, popularity helped all three *klapa* models to survive to the present day. The *klapa*'s popularity began in the 1960s, as recognition of and growing interest in this type of singing led to the establishment of the first festivals of *klapa* singing, the network of various *klapa* festivals and performing activities, and establishment of the new *klapa* model – festival *klapa*. After 40 years of existence, *Festival dalmatinskih klapa* in Omiš, is still "the Mecca of *klapa* singing" and the ultimate goal of every *klapa* group.

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<sup>7</sup> The greatest amount of "global music" (genres of popular music such as *pop*, *rock*, *rock and roll*, *techno*, *rap*) performed and broadcast in Croatia, which comes from the English-speaking musical cultures (mostly the USA and Great Britain), is largely recognized as *popularna glazba* (popular music) throughout the entire society.

The competitive aura of the festival has led to the creation of various rules and standards of performance and singing behavior. The *Omiš Festival* established the role of the first tenor as the most appreciated of all the *klapa* singers' voices, and fixed both the number of singers (4-8) and number of voices (four-part singing). Over the years, the *Omiš Festival* introduced various repertoires of traditional and newly-composed *klapa* songs, promoted leaders of *klapa* groups, created well-known composers and arrangers for the *klapa* group singing, and launched prominent singers. All in all, the establishment of the competitive *klapa* festival had a significant impact upon the history of *klapa* singing. Over the years, *klapa* groups, singers, leaders, composers, and repertoire have become increasingly well-known, not only in the Dalmatian urban coastal and islands communities, where the musical phenomena emerged, but also outside of the borders of the local and regional communities. At the same time, *klapa* groups started to accompany the singers of *zabavna glazba* (*pop entertainment music*) during their festivals and started to sing arrangements of their successful songs.<sup>8</sup>

### Modern *klapa*

The last and most recent model, the *modern klapa*, also follows the same model – preserving itself by accepting and incorporating various foreign styles and genres. The term *modern* in this case denotes something advanced and innovative, exactly in keeping with the aspirations of the new *klapa* singers. For the singers, the *klapa* is not only a traditional multipart singing form but also an advanced musical form that widens their musical horizons. *Modern* connotes experimental; a characteristic of the contemporary *klapa* that is capable of incorporating various vocal styles of the traditional, classical, and especially popular music. *Modern* also connotes popular and this is what the *klapa* of the 1990s accomplished – from the popularization of the *klapa* movement to the widening of the circle of interest among audiences of all ages, outside their local and regional limits. *Modern klapa* started in the 1990s, with the beginning of the newly-established Croatian State, when a great number of social, cultural and political changes occurred. Due to the spread of *klapa* singing, the center is no longer Dalmatia where this particular vocal style originated. Despite the fact that most of the singers in the new *klapa* centers are not of Dalmatian origin, many of *klapas* outside Dalmatia

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<sup>8</sup> Modeled on the famous *San Remo* festival of Italian *canzone* (1951), the most important festivals of *zabavna glazba* – *Zagreb festival* (1954), *Opatija festival* (1958) and *Melodije Jadrana, Split* (1960) – started about the same time as the *Omiš Festival*. The process continued with the founding of many other popular music festivals, whose output formed a large part of the music broadcast by radio stations throughout the country and their presentation in TV clips.

are named as Dalmatian *klapa* singing groups. In most of the media, Dalmatia is still referred as a main area of *klapa* activity.

Urban centers such as Zagreb and Rijeka are the present sites of *klapa* singing activity. There is a difference in the activities of the Zagreb and Rijeka-based *klapas*. Besides organizing several *klapa* festivals (Senj, Rijeka, Grobnik, Crikvenica), the Rijeka *klapa* scene has been characterized by more individual *klapa* initiatives that can be recognized in the results of several well-known *klapas* (*Fortunal*, *Crikvenica*, *Luka*). At the same time, the Zagreb *klapa* scene is known for its common thematic projects and concerts that helped more *klapas* reach their goals of attaining higher quality (*Nostalgija*, *Jelsa*, *Cesarice*, *Dišpet*, *Korjandul*, *Sagena*, *Grdelin*, *Ćakulone*).

An increasing number of *klapas* are also forming in the Croatian Diaspora – in Argentina, Australia, Austria, Canada, Germany, New Zealand, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, and the U.S.A. – among Croatian descendants and their offspring, but also among non-Croatians fond of part-singing.

For years, the state organization that culturally links the Diaspora and Croatia – *Hrvatska matica iseljenika* (*Croatian Heritage Foundation*) – primarily promoted and supported folklore groups and *tamburitza* music. The growing interest in *klapa* singing among Croatians outside the country provoked changes in the cultural policies towards them. At the same time, the Croatian Ministry of Culture recognized *klapa* singing as an important "Croatian cultural product" and initiated an official promotion drive, together with the Ministry of Tourism.<sup>9</sup> *Klapa* singing (CD and video production, live performances, organized concerts) became an almost exclusive part of presentations abroad (cultural, economic, tourism fairs). The first step towards recognition of Diaspora *klapa* singing for the Croatians was the "First Encounter of Klapas from the Diaspora" (26 June – 3 July 2006). *Hrvatska matica iseljenika* organized eight concerts (Zagreb, Crikvenica, Zadar, Sinj, Vela Luka, Podgora, Kaštel Stari, Omiš) for nine *klapas* from outside Croatia (the U.S.A., Argentina, New Zealand, South Africa, Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, Montenegro) to promote their singing to Croatians and, at the same time, to encourage *klapa* singing among Croatian emigrants (on *klapa* singing in the Diaspora, see Čaleta 1997b).

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<sup>9</sup> The action of the Ministry of Culture provoked many reactions. For more information see "Ministar Biskupic: 'Nenad Bach i hrvatski kulturni proizvod'" (<http://www.croatia.org/crown/articles/5375/1/H-Ministar-Biskupic-Nenad-Bach-i-hrvatski-kulturni-proizvod.html>). The main reason for negative reactions was the official engagement of Nenad Bach as the promoter of Croatian cultural products worldwide. Nenad Bach, musician and composer (<http://www.nenadbach.com>), is a founder of the informative web site (<http://www.croatia.org>) as well as the promoter of *klapa* singing. His record company (Nenad Bach Music Ltd.) heads up the project. "Mediterranean Sounds: Mystic Voices of Croatia" presents prominent *klapas* for the American market for the first time.

Besides among Croatian emigrants and their descendents, there is growing popularity of *klapa* singing among singers from other ethnic backgrounds. While living in Canada from 1989 to 1996, I participated in *klapa* singing workshops on numerous occasions. One of the workshops was part of the Balkan Music and Dance Workshops organized by the East European Folklife Center (<http://www.eefc.org/site/>) held every summer in Mendocino Woodlands State Park (Mendocino, California). A large number of people attended these workshops, people who simply enjoyed learning and performing the traditional vocal music of various nations. Although the singers are not Dalmatians – *Mediterraneans* – the audience perceives their performances as being Dalmatian/Mediterranean performances, because of the lyrics (*Čakavian*), the enchanting melodies, and the temperament that they display while performing.

While most *klapa* leaders and singers in the 1980s measured their work based upon their success at the *Omiš Festival*, in the 1990s, media exposure was increasingly becoming an important measure of success. The best example of media promotion as the reason for a *klapa*'s success during 1990s was the *klapa Cambi*.<sup>10</sup> Their success and media popularity was largely helped by their cooperation with the famous Croatian rock musician, Zlatan Stipišić Gibonni.<sup>11</sup> Although Gibonni musically blends elements of rock, blues, funk and soul, his lyrics are written in the *Čakavian* dialect. In his projects, Gibonni treated the *klapa* as an equal partner and not as a chorus accompaniment. From the time of their cooperation, the concerts of the *klapa Cambi* have been organized like *rock* concerts – in sport halls, open-air venues, and on concert tours. Their private lives are not as exposed to the media as the lives of singers of popular music, their individual names (maybe with the exception of the first tenor) are not remembered, only their appearance, which is identified with the name of the *klapa*.

Until the 1990s, the number of female singers and female *klapas* was marginal. Traditionally, female singing was not known as organized, either

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<sup>10</sup> Like all famous *klapas*, *Cambi* began their journey to success at the *Omiš Festival*, where they were, for several years, winners of all the prestigious festival awards (1997-2001). Their singing was also recognized by the Croatian Musician Association where *klapa Cambi* was awarded several *Porin* awards (the Croatian equivalent of the American *Grammy* or the British *Brit Awards*) for their projects (CD *Vrime od nedije*).

<sup>11</sup> Zlatan Stipišić Gibonni is a musician who began his musical career as a singer of the hard rock group *Osmi putnik*, and continued with a very successful solo career as a composer, lyricist and singer of *zabavna glazba*. Gibonni grew up in the *klapa* environment of his father Ljubo Stipišić, one of the most highly respected *klapa* leaders, song collectors and especially composers of newly-composed *klapa* songs. When performed by him or by the most popular Croatian pop singers, Oliver Dragojević or Tedi Spalato, Gibonni's songs have won numerous popular music festivals. The leader of the *klapa Cambi*, Rajmir Kraljević, has arranged most of Gibonni's hits for *klapa* performance, using an emphasized syncopation as a base, unknown in *klapa* performing before.



formal or informal, multipart singing. In the 1970s, female singers started to join some of the male groups as a leading voice. During the same time, several mixed *klapas* as well as female *klapas* were founded. The first female *klapas* at the *Omiš Festival* sang local female two-part tunes: *Žetalice* from Blato, the island of Korčula (1973), and *Bodulice* from Murter, the island of Murter (1977). Female *klapas* modeled after male festival *klapas* were established in the Dalmatian cities of Split and Zadar (Stermšek 1994:198). The number of female *klapas* increased during the 1990s and their growing popularity forced the organizers of the *Omiš Festival* to respond to these changes – the *Omiš Festival* dedicated one festival concert exclusively to female *klapas* in 1991, and that grew into a whole parallel festival in 1994. From that time, the female *klapas* have been competing between each other according to the same rules as the male *klapas*. The process of recognizing the quantity and quality of female *klapa* singing was the most significant influence that the *Omiš Festival* had on the *klapas* in the 1990s.

Changes have also occurred in the formal organization of the *klapas* themselves. Although the leader of the *klapa* (a role established during the *festival klapa* period) is still very crucial for the quality of performance and accomplishments, there is an increasing number of *klapas* without a permanent leader. Several successful *klapa* leaders share their knowledge and experience with the *klapas* through various short-term programs that result in festival performances, studio recordings or individual concerts. What causes a change in the relationship of the leader and the *klapa*? Most singers of the *festival klapa* type have had direct contact with the tradition of *klapa* singing, gained by listening to older singers and imitating their manner of singing. In the modern *klapa*, the singers are young, educated people who have acquired their experience through listening to the performances by particular *klapas*, but largely to numerous recordings by various *klapas*. The singers of a modern *klapa* are more aware that dedicated and serious rehearsals are a certain way to success, as well as the choice of repertoire and the way of singing that is available through the recorded media. Instead of the *klapa* leader, a certain member of the *klapa*, slowly but certainly, takes on public relations and the media promotion of the *klapa*. At the same time, that person is often the one who contracts the *klapas* concerts. Particular characteristics are typical for the role of a professional manager, and that will soon be an indispensable part of every successful *klapa*. One of the tasks of a professional manager is to ensure successful audio and video production, a requirement that soon emerged during the 1990s because of the affordability and simplicity of new recording and production technology.

On several occasions during rehearsals and spontaneous singing on informal occasions, I have listened to conversations of the newer generation of *klapa* singers. Comments such as "This performance is like the one of the 'Trogir' *klapa* at the 1989 concert in *Lisinski*" or "Why don't we sing as openly

as 'Ošjak' on their second album?", speaking of the modern *klapa* singers and their concepts and approaches towards *klapa* singing. They are able to imitate various styles of singing and, by doing this, find their own mode of expression. Their models are chosen from the best *klapas* and singers and are not limited by the locality from which they come. With the new way of thinking and presenting their music, modern *klapas* have won over a new audience. Their audience is a relatively young (student population) and middle-aged (educated) audience that enjoys listening to music with complete attention during the performance. Although the concerts in Zagreb (which are usually sold out in advance) are attended by a great number of young people, especially students, there is a quiet, real concert atmosphere during the performance, just as during classical music concerts. The seated audience listens carefully to the performance; they know exactly when to applaud the performer and they call the *klapas* to perform an encore.

As in the previous festival *klapa* period, the *klapa* movement owes its popularity and media exposure to the positive relations between governing cultural policies and society as a whole towards *klapa* singing. Social and political changes at the beginning of the 1990s have changed the repertoire and created new occasions for the performance of *klapas*. Songs from World War II or workers song of the socialist period, which were a common part of the repertoire during the socialistic period, are not found in modern *klapa* repertoire.<sup>12</sup> For the modern *klapa*, an entirely new, additional, repertoire has been created, consisting of Croatian patriotic songs ranging from nationalist songs from the time of the Illyrian Movement (the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century), performance of which, under the previous (socialist) political system, during communism (1945-1990), would have resulted in imprisonment (*Vila Velebita*, *Još Hrvatska ni propala*, *Marjane, Marjane*), to patriotic songs composed during the Homeland War (e.g. *Bože, čuvaj Hrvatsku*, *Na Omiškoj stini*, *Vjerujem u te*). The *klapas* keep performing at all the local cultural and political manifestations,<sup>13</sup> and also during election campaigns. With the new social and political system, the attitude towards religion has changed, so that a modern *klapa* now has a number of compositions with sacred themes within

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<sup>12</sup> As a singer and leader of *klapa Trogir* (1979-1989), I have sung during numerous official performances (*svečana akademija*). Beside *klapa* songs *klapa Trogir* used to perform known partisan and revolutionary songs (*Komandant Sava*, *Sivi sokole*, *Bilećanka*, *Na vrelu bratstva*) as well as the traditional songs of other Yugoslav nations (*Eleno kerko* – Macedonia, *Ario bre* – Vojvodina, *Po jezeru bliz Triglava* – Slovenia).

<sup>13</sup> Local communities in Croatia (villages, towns, cities) have a custom of celebrating certain dates, important for the history of the community. While community celebration dates in socialist period were related to the WWII liberation days, the present system usually celebrates local Patron Saint days. In both systems, political leaders are organizers of the manifestations that present the cultural (or sport) activities of the community. *Klapa* groups, sponsored by the local community, take part in the cultural programs.

its repertoire (some of them composed for a *klapa*), which they perform during mass or at concerts at religious venues.

The repertoire of the *klapa* now consists not only of *klapa* songs and has gone through the most perceptible changes. While the cooperation with pop singers was the main characteristic of a festival *klapa*, cooperation with rock musicians and even alternative musicians, experimenting with new forms and new sounds, is characteristic of a modern *klapa*. The challenge they have seen in rock, soul and even rap, have been the foregrounding of a steady rhythm that encourages dance as opposed to the typical *klapa* song pulse (rhythm) – large and slow, not suitable for dancing because of its free *parlando-rubato* rhythm.

### **The *klapa* and the Internet**

Technological development and new ways of communication available to the present generation of singers has led to new ways of communication. Over the last few years, most of the *klapas* have organized personal websites with information about the singers, future and past performances, recorded albums, and individual and group aspirations. The purpose of the website is to be in contact with the world, especially with the people who sing (and not exclusively *klapa* songs). During the same time, a few of the common fan sites about *klapa* in general were founded at the beginning of the 2000s. The most popular one, [www.naklapskinacin.hr](http://www.naklapskinacin.hr), receives more than a 100,000 visits a year. A female student and *klapa* fan established it and in this way expressed her dedication to the *klapa* movement. The fact that she is not a singer or member of any *klapa* led to her work being accepted as unbiased and neutral among the *klapa* community. Beside regular information about *klapas* and news from the *klapa* world about the work, and information about future concerts supplied by the *klapas*, there are very interesting online forum discussions about a variety of topics. The *klapa* singers are not the only visitors to the forum. The Internet *klapa* forum is also the usual site for encounters between the *klapa* admirers and *klapa* opponents. Some of the discussions, as I have noticed on some other Internet forums, are typically biased; the discussions are meant to provoke an ordinary *klapa* forum population. The topics on the *klapa* Internet forums varies from topics such as "my favorite *klapa* singers" and "sympathies among the *klapa* singers" to discussions about preserving "true" *klapa* singing or comments on the festival jurors' opinions. In 2006, forum fans started an open chat line, where more than forty people joined in conversation every Thursday night with *klapa* singing as the common topic. In the Autumn of 2007 they started with regular *forum fan meetings* at coffee bars in several cities (Split, Zadar, Crikvenica).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> More about forum fan meetings on <http://www.naklapskinacin.com/interakcija/2.html>.

It seems to me that there are more and more interested people, especially from the younger (student) population, which *klapa* singing is bringing together all the time. They want more contact with people with similar interests – *klapa* singing in this case – outside the virtual world. Public *klapa* events (festivals and concerts) were the only formal occasions for the meeting of the *klapa* community. Forum discussions resulted in organizing casual get-togethers held in local cafés or pubs. The *klapa* scene in Split (winter 2005, 2006) started organizing casual singing encounters at the local disco club (*Thursday klapa night*), for example. Beside the formal festivals and concerts, the other way of current communication among the *klapa* singers is casual meetings where *klapa* singers, directors and organizers of the *klapa* events and festivals exchange their ideas on the future of the *klapa* movement. It all started as an ordinary 2005 New Year's celebration (without formal singing obligations) and became a sort of informal tradition.

### ***The Hedonistic Klapa Weekend***

I attended one of the first formal (organized) *klapa* gatherings. It was organized in Bol, on the island of Brač, from 6 to 10 January 2005 under the name *Hedonistic Klapa Weekend*. The event was formally under the auspices of the *Omiš Festival*, although the organizer was a local *klapa* activist, Jurica Bošković. In fact, he is a typical example of the contemporary leader-organizer – the modern type of *klapa* leader. He is the founder and leader of several successful, *Omiš Festival* award-winning, *klapas* from Zagreb (*Dišpet*, *Čakulone*), Split (*Mirakul*) and Bol (*Braciera*).<sup>15</sup> Additionally, Bošković is also a successful organizer of prominent *klapa* concerts in Zagreb (given at the *Lisinski Concert Hall*, *Mimara Museum*, and the *Hrvatski glazbeni zavod* [Croatian Music Institute]). The biggest *klapa* event ever organized was also his work. It was an *Open-air Klapa Concert* at the Šalata Stadium in Zagreb in 2004 that was attended by more than 5000 *klapa* fans. He engaged well-known Croatian pop singers (Oliver, Tedi Spalato)<sup>16</sup> for that occasion, and they were then joined by *klapas* during some of their songs.

For the Bol event, Jurica used the *klapa* common site [www.naklapski.nacin.hr](http://www.naklapski.nacin.hr); where all the information and registrations for more than 200 people were done through the *klapa* community website, the site all the *klapas* visit

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<sup>15</sup> During his student years in Zagreb, Jurica Bošković started as a *klapa* singer before founding his first female *klapa*. As a young leader without experience, he realized that the best way to learn would be to hire the various *klapa* leaders for the different *klapa* styles (Fio, Rogošić, Čaleta, Čačija). For him, it was a great opportunity to experience several approaches to *klapa* singing while forming a *klapa* style of his own.

<sup>16</sup> Oliver Dragojević and Tedi Spalato, originally from Dalmatia, are among well-known Croatian pop singers. Their music, greatly appreciated by *klapa* singers, is regularly a standard part of the repertoires of most of the *klapa* singing groups.

the most. The Tourist Association of Bol, also known as the organizer of the annual festival of the newborn *klapas*,<sup>17</sup> re-opened the hotel exclusively for the *klapa* singers. There were workshops and lectures during the day and concerts by the same singers for the community and for themselves at night.

It all started with the Christmas concert of *Faroski kantaduri*. These traditional singers from Stari Grad on the island of Hvar are typical representatives of traditional sacral singing that is considered as the predecessor of *klapa* singing.<sup>18</sup> They started performing regularly ten years ago, singing parts of their Lent and Holy Week rituals. Audience interest in their selective repertoire and specific singing style enables them to perform their local customs all over the world. The singing style of *Faroski kantaduri* is open guttural singing of homophonic four-part tunes that in many instances reminds the audience of the traditional *klapa* sound. The role of first tenor (*prvi tenor*) and powerful bass singers (*profondo*) are also dominant parts of their performance, the same as in *klapa* singing. For the Bol audience, *Faroski kantaduri* prepared a selection of their traditional Christmas tunes – church songs and *koleda* (for more information about *koleda* see Čaleta 2005). It was a rare opportunity for most of the *klapa* singers to hear some of the traditional repertoire and to meet the predecessors of the traditional *klapa* singers. At the same time, the Christmas repertoire of *Faroski kantaduri* certainly inspires *klapa* singers to include some of the songs in their own *klapa* (Christmas) repertoire.

After the concert, all the participants continued assembling and singing in smaller groups throughout the night. *Klapa* gatherings like the one in Bol provide singers with a great opportunity to experiment with singing in various voice combinations. It is a situation when the main feature of traditional *klapa* – the possibility of singing freely, without help from notated tunes and their harmonization – is practiced. This style of singing, known as *pjevanje na uho* ("singing by ear") is also known to present day *klapa* singers. As in any performing situation, singers gather around the leading voice – *prvi tenor* (first tenor, the leader of the group), who leads the melody and lyrics of the song. He initiates the singing by singing the first part of the verse. The second voice, *šekondo* (second tenor), immediately joins in at a parallel third below. The third voice, the *bariton*, *daje ulja pismi* ("gives oil to the song" – synonym for the soul), and completes the triad. The fourth voice, *bas* or *basso profundo* (bass), defines the harmonic functions of the tonic, dominant, and subdominant. He challenges himself with low and strong singing (*profondo*).

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<sup>17</sup> The spreading of Omiš *Festival* events started in 2000 with relocation of the newborn *klapas* event (the *klapas* who had their debut performance at the *Omiš Festival*) to Bol. Jurica Bošković was also the primary liaison between the local organizer – the Tourist Association of Bol – and the Omiš Festival.

<sup>18</sup> For more information on Croatian traditional sacral (Glagolitic) singing see the works of Jerko Bezić (Bezić 1973, 1998, 1999).

The song unfolds with the harmonious ringing of chords, as if all the singers were well acquainted with the melody and lyrics of the song. In these new configurations, the eye contact among the singers is crucial. The main goal of all the singers is to reach the perfect chord, especially the final, harmonized chord. The typical final *klapa* chord is the chord on the first degree of the major scale (tonic) followed by a fifth (dominant), octave (tonic) and major third above.

Musical examples of traditional singing would help create a better understanding of the spontaneous *klapa* singing. The first two examples represent two different ways of spontaneous harmonizing. Example 1, *Kruška stablo moje* ("My pear tree") is a transcription of a traditional song from Stari Grad, the island of Hvar, sung by the *Faroski kantaduri*.

Kruška stablo moje  
Stari Grad, otok Hvar

Example 1: *Kruška stablo moje* (My pear tree), transcription by Joško Čaleta

This is an example of typical *klapa* spontaneous harmonizing – a song is initialized by the singing of the first tenor, the second tenor joins in the parallel third, and the lower voices sing in the formulas (bass – tonic-dominant, baritone – parallel movements, finishing on the dominant).

Ponistra je drivo  
Trogir

The image shows a musical score for the song "Ponistra je drivo" from Trogir. It consists of two systems of music, each with a vocal line and a bass line. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "Po - ni - stra je dri - - - vo, po - ni - stra je dri - vo, a pra - zi su sti - ne." The vocal line features parallel motion between the two staves, with the upper staff representing a higher voice and the lower staff representing a lower voice. The bass line provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines.

Example 2: *Ponistra je drivo* (A window, made of wood),  
transcription by Joško Čaleta

Example 2, *Ponistra je drivo* ("A window, made of wood") is a transcription of a traditional song from Trogir, sung by *klapa Trogir*. The main characteristic of this performance, started by a lower voice, is parallel movement of all four singing voices. Typical cadence movement and the last "klapa" chord are also present in this performance. Another difference, not visible in this transcription, is the way of singing. While singers from Stari Grad sing in a serenade-like (*sotto voce*) nasal style, this open guttural singing is the main characteristic of the singers from Trogir. Performed in this manner, the harsh parallel movements sound even stronger.

Zapisao Nikola Buble 1975. g. u Arbaniji kod Trogira na kazivanje Fave Uljevića i Karla Belasa.

### PONISTRA JE DRIVO

Obradio: DINKO FIO

**Scherzoso**



123. Po-ni-stra je dri-vo a prazi su sti-ne.

1. S tobom san se ru-ga i pa-sa san vri-me. vri-me.

2. Ponistra je drivo, a prazi su stine, zbogon, draga moja, za cetiri zime!

3. Ponistra je drivo, a prazi si stine, jopet cu se vratit, da te zeja mine.

3 strofu dopisao M. S. Š.

Example 3: An arrangement of the *klapa* song *Ponistra je drivo* (A window, made of wood), arrangement by Dinko Fio



Example 3, an arrangement of the *klapa* song (*Ponistra je drivo*), is an example of arranger and composer interventions into the traditional style of singing. In the first part, this particular arrangement presents simple polyphonic movement (imitation in the various voices) as a dialogue between the upper and lower voices. The song starts with the lower (bass) voice, an opening that is not frequent in the traditional *klapa* style; the usual opening of the song is the first voice or baritone role. Upper voices maintain the traditional form – singing in parallel thirds. The second part of the arrangement brings strong homophonic structure, typical for the *klapa* style. The melody of the lower voice starts uncommonly from the upper *tonic* and progresses downward to the *subdominant*. The rest of the interventions are typical for the *klapa* style – parallel thirds in upper voices, cadenzas on the *tonic* with the third in upper voice, baritone cadenza formula VII-V. The author of the arrangement (Dinko Fio) is only suggesting a tempo (mood) of the song, leaving considerable opportunities to the musical leader and *klapa* singers for numerous performance variants. Performances of this example characterize a change of the tempo in the repetition of the second part (bar 6-9), usually slower towards a faster pace in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> verse and the opposite in the 3<sup>rd</sup> verse. The slower 2<sup>nd</sup> repetition of the 3<sup>rd</sup> verse usually ends in slow *ritardando* with a large *corona* (3rd beat of the 8th bar). The leader of the *klapa* – the first tenor – is holding the highest note for the longest time that usually results in the frenetic applause on the part of the audience.

On the other hand, there is a whole repertoire of newly-composed songs that belong to the standard repertoire of most of the *klapas*. *Klapa* singers know the arrangements of these songs by heart. The goal of the singers (combined from the different *klapas*, at informal situations like the night gatherings at the Bol event) is to reach "ideal harmony" through common interpretation.

HENJUEKE (OTOČKA JUBAVNA PISMA) music by Gego  
arr. J. Čaleta

jamaica dir  $\text{♩} = 100$

Mo - lój, mo-lój, mo-lój ma mo-lo mo - lāj. mō-lā-me-ne mo - lój mo-lój mo-lo ma mo-lo mo-  
Mo - lāj mō-lā me-ne mo - lój mo-  
lāj. mō-lā me-ne mo - lój, mo-lój, ma mo-lo mo - lāj mō-lā me-ne mo - lāj  
lāj. mō-lā me-ne mo - lój. mo - lāj. mō-lā me-ne mo - lāj mo-  
he - nje - e - ke ma - i - ma he - nju - e - ke ma - i - ma  
lāj mo - lāj mo  
SOLO  
I je-dnogdā-na jo son vos-kon-tro ja vos-kon-tro sán je-dnu di - vojku i mi-sli sán mi - sli  
he-nju-e-ke ma-i-ma he, he-nju-e-ke ma-i-ma he-nju-e-ke ma-i-ma, he, he-nju-e-ke ma i-ma  
lāj. mo - lá me-ne mo - lāj mo - lá mo

Example 4: An arrangement for the (modern) *klapa* *Henjueke*, music and lyrics by Gego and Picigin Band, arrangement by Joško Čaleta

Example 4 is an excerpt from a modern *klapa* arrangement that is common to the present-day *klapa* repertoires. Originally, the song *Henjueke* was performed by a popular rock band from the island of Hvar, while the author of this article arranged the song for the *klapa Braciera*. Both variants of the song, the original rock version as well as the *klapa* arrangement, have a

recognizable feature – a common local island dialect, different from the rest of the country's dialects.<sup>19</sup> Unlike the traditional homophonic *klapa* arrangement, the features of the arrangement differ entirely in harmonic structure – more than four voices, unusual accompaniment of the leading voice, frequent polyphonic movements, and rhythmic structure – syncopation of the rhythm combined with the traditional *klapa* homophonic rhythmic movements. Passionate performance of the arrangement that reminds one most of the time of the sounds of the well-known South African traditional choir, globally featured on the famous Paul Simon album (*Graceland*), was truly convincing for both the audience and the competent judges: *klapa Braciera* won all the first prizes. Performing *Henjueke*, *klapa Braciera* from Bol was the absolute winner at the *Večeri dalmatinske pisme* [Evening of Dalmatian Songs], *Kaštel Kambelovac 2006. klapa festival*.

The second and third day of the Bol event (*Hedonistic Weekend*) contained a variety of *klapa* workshops, lectures, and discussions. Four workshops, lead by prominent *klapa* leaders, enabled *klapa* singers to select different approaches to contemporary *klapa* singing – from traditional to modern *klapa* styles. The topics of the workshops were particular *klapa* styles (*klapa* traditional singing of the Trogir area by Joško Čaleta); development of *klapa* singing (the interpretation of newly-composed *klapa* songs by Mojmir Čačija and Krešimir Magdić); female *klapa* singing (Duško Tambača); and harmonization and interpretation of modern *klapa* singing (Rajko Kraljević). Most of the *klapa* singers actively participated in the afternoon discussions. The topics of the discussions were inter-*klapa* cooperation, *Omiš Festival* re-organizations and concert organizations. The idea of a *klapa* alliance organization was discussed the most. Most of the discussants find the idea of a formal singers' society, a central *klapa* singers' organization, to be necessary for the future of the *klapa* movement. In their opinion, the formal organization would allow them better to promote *klapa* singing outside the borders of Croatia.

The nights were reserved for the concerts; the *klapa club scene*, the name of concert held on the first night was offered for the community of Bol.

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<sup>19</sup> The dialectal/regional musical trend that appears in the 1990s does not refer exclusively to pop music, but also prominently to *rock* and *alternative* music, whose audience is to be found mainly among the young population. The dialectal trend is a musical phenomenon in different parts of Croatia, especially in the regions where the *Kajkavian* dialect (*Dreletronic*, *Zadruga*, *Vještice*) or the *Čakavian* dialect (Alen Vitasović, *Gustafi*, *Šajeta*) are spoken. The most recognizable among dialectal trends in the 1990s was the wave of the Istrian and Quarner Bay bands that have become known as the *ča-val* (Čaleta 2003:248). At the present time, there is growing popularity in rock and alternative music bands that make music in island dialects: *Kvartet Gorgonzola* – the island of Korčula, *Šo Mazgoon*, *Stividen* – the island of Brač, *Gego i Picigin band* – the island of Hvar, *Kopito* – the island of Vis. Their music is more and more recognized under the common label – *otočki rock* (*island rock*). Beside media exposure (local and national radio and TV stations), all of the bands are performing frequently, especially on the islands and coastal locations during the summer.

It was conceived as a performance of various (imagined) combinations of singers, who improvised their performances. Combinations of all bass (alto) singers or all tenor (soprano) singers were followed by imitating the brass band *klapa*, foreign language *klapa* texts translating *klapa*, whistling *klapa* or rap *klapa*. All the invented combinations were combined on the spot, which clearly showed the singers' ability freely to adopt other influences using their "singing language" as a base for further improvisations. Despite the fact that the singing is the most important part of informal *klapa* gatherings, one must also mention the food and drink that are also quite an important element of communication among the singers.<sup>20</sup>

On the last evening, the closing concert was performed by workshop *klapas*. All of the singers joined a particular workshop *klapa* and then presented the results of the two-day workshops. After the formal performance and dinner, improvisatory singing *by ear* continued all night.

### Conclusion

The ethnographic description of the modern *klapa* singing group shows *klapa* as a complex socio-cultural product of the present. It is clear that musical communication is not exclusively limited to purely musical components, but that other life activities (and musical tastes) figure centrally in formation of contemporary *klapa* singing groups as well as the whole movement. On the other hand, I want to point out the diversity and stratification of the musical phenomena, in which, because of the extraordinary saturation, the limits between the popular and the traditional are not clearly drawn (coexistence of all *klapa* models and repertoires). The way the singers react, their affinities, thoughts (musical as well as social), improvised concerts, musical happenings, media exposure, discography production, contemporary ways of communications (*klapa* chat, *klapa* forum, Internet sites and pages), lead me to think of them as a modern musical movement with a traditional musical background – *klapa* singing – as the primary topic of communication.

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<sup>20</sup> Consumption of food and wine is typically associated with *klapa* activities. The food and drink appear to be a group "reward" for the mutual work; after rehearsals or performances, *klapa* groups can be found in a restaurant or *konoba* ("wine cellar"). *Pršut* ("smoked, salted and pressed ham"), *ovčji sir* ("sheep's cheese"), *gavuni* ("smelts") and *slane srdede* ("salted sardines") are typical dishes of Dalmatia. It is not usual for *klapa* singers to order individual meals – they like to share their food. Strong red wine makes *klapa* members more happy than getting drunk. The same behavior (food and drink consumption) is common for both male and female *klapas*. Here I can add one of my own experiences: during an audition for a female *klapa* (*Dišpet*) I noticed that potential new singers were regularly asked the question about food and drink preferences.

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## "KLAPSKI POKRET" – VIŠEGLASNO PJEVANJE KAO POPULARNA TRADICIJA

### SAŽETAK

Autor na početku prikazuje višeglasnu vokalnu glazbenu tradiciju u brojnim hrvatskim regijama, pokazujući da je etnografsko izučavanje u prošlosti bilo jednostrano u svojoj usredotočenosti na arhaične glazbene stilove, posebice na stil tijesnih intervala i različita *samačka*, jednoglasna, pjevanja. Premda su i drugi stilovi tradicijske glazbe u Hrvatskoj u novije doba postali popularni, postajući tako identificirajućim amblemima pojedinih regija, nijedan od njih nije doživio ono što se dogodilo s homofonim četveroglasnim višeglasjem – *klapskim* pjevanjem. Najveći dio rada opisuje vrlo zanimljive procese mijene i održanja (glazbene) tradicije *klapskog* glazbovanja.

Fenomen *klapskog* pjevanja kontinuiran je i relativno star i na njega su upozorili istraživači i muzikolozi još potkraj 19. st. (Kuba, Kuhač). Tradicija *klapa* i *klapske pjesme* kakvu poznajemo i danas oblikuje se sredinom 19. stoljeća, kada su se profilirali kulturni pa tako i glazbeni identiteti malih mediteranskih gradića na našoj obali i otocima, posebice u Dalmaciji. Riječ je o stilu tradicijskog homofonog pjevanja koji je evoluirao od tipično

tradicijskog oblika pjevanja (*klapsko pjesma*) i postojanja (*klapa*) do stručno postavljene, organiziranog oblika pjevanja, koje se u današnje vrijeme svojim načinom prezentacije više ubraja u stilove popularne nego tradicijske glazbe.

Razvoj i kontinuitet *klapskog* pjevanja, od nastanka do danas, autor nastoji sagledati u tri tipa/modela *klapskog* pjevanja. Iako nastali u povijesno različitim vremenima, potaknuti različitim razlozima, sva se tri modela u različitim varijantama i intenzitetima pojavljuju i danas.

Tradicionalno, pučko, *klapsko* pjevanje, djelomice vezano za crkvu i obred, karakterizira spontano *klapsko* pjevanje i neformalna izvedba skupine muških pjevača povezanih zajedničkim, najčešće prijateljskim, odnosima.

Klapsko pjevanje postaje "festivalsko" od 1960-ih godina, kada se utemeljuje omiški festival, svojevrsan "San Remo" *klapske* pjesme, središnje mjesto na kojem se očitava natjecateljska razina "uspješnosti", odnosno popularnosti pojedine pjevačke skupine. Karakterizira je formalna izvedba – nastup na pozornici, pred publikom i prije svega za publiku, karakterizira je i uloga voditelja, stručne, glazbeno-pismene osobe čiji se osobni glazbeni ukusi, sposobnost aranžiranja, ponekad i komponiranja, uvelike reflektiraju u izvedbi pojedine *klape* ili područja na kojem *klapa* djeluje (*klapski bazeni*).

Danas najprisutniji *klapski* model autor naziva "moderna" *klapa*, određujući ga epitetima koji označuju današnje *klapsko* pjevanje – ono je *inovativno, eksperimentalno*, ali i *popularno*. Njegova "modernost" predstavlja i popularizaciju *klapskog* pokreta reflektiranu u različitim aktivnostima *klapa* i *klapskih* pjevača, ali i širi krug zanimanja publike različitih (posebice mlađih) naraštaja izvan lokalnih i regionalnih granica *klapske* postojbine. Nastanak "modernog" *klapskog* pjevanja koincidira s nastankom samostalne hrvatske države na početku 1990-ih. Za razliku od prethodnih dvaju modela, gotovo isključivo vezanih uz Dalmaciju, predstavljajući je simbolički i identitetski, treći se model *klapskog* pjevanja širi i u druge hrvatske krajeve, i to ne samo u receptivnom nego i u emisivnom smislu, a transformacija što je pritom doživljava odnosi se i na sastav članova, repertoar i produkcijski proces i na samu zvukovnu teksturu. Konkretni primjer donosi peti dio članka, u kojem se autor osvrće na ulogu interneta u transformaciji lokalne i regionalne u svehrvatsku tradiciju. Posljednji dio članka opisuje novi oblik glazbovanja ("hedonistic *klapa* weekend"), karakterističan za "modernu" razdoblje *klapskog* glazbovanja, koje autor izrijeком naziva i "pokretom", sugerirajući njegovu intenzivnu prisutnost, različitu od prethodnih dvaju razdoblja, u kojima je *klapsko* pjevanje bilo ograničeno na lokalne zajednice ili pak na godišnje smotre ili festivalska okupljanja.

Autor zaključuje da je *klapa* na početku 21. st. dio pokreta popularne glazbe s kojom slobodno eksperimentira i koju integrira u svoj repertoar, šireći tako općeprihvatljiv pozitivni duh dalmatinskog/mediteranskog identiteta.

Ključne riječi: klapsko pjevanje, mediteransko višeglasno pjevanje, hrvatsko tradicijsko (folklorno) višeglasno pjevanje, pjevački (klapski) pokret