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VILLAGE "FOLKLOR" [DANCE] INTEGRATED AS A TOURISTIC COMMODITY IN THE DUBROVNIK AREA: AN OVERVIEW 1948-1977-2008

Dance is viewed through a lens of tourism in the Dubrovnik area. The study notes Dubrovnik-area villagers (from Konavle and Dubrovnik Primorje) performing their own dances out of their village context in Dubrovnik during the 1940s and 1950s, traces the changes in village lifestyle and its dancing contexts due to the thrust of tourism infrastructure in the 1960s, and shows a later introduction of an authored staged version of a Primorje dance, *lindo*, into a city amateur dance ensemble established in 1965. The study uncovers integrated layers of kinetic relationships influenced by changing lifestyles brought on by an economic base of tourism and adaptation of local dances as a touristic commodity.

Key words: Dubrovnik; Čilipi; Konavle; Dubrovnik Primorje; tourism; dance contexts; *lindo*; Lindo Folk Ensemble; Zvonimir Ljevaković; Sulejman Muratović; Jadran film 1948

The view of dance through a lens of tourism in the Dubrovnik area fits into a thematic focus on integration for the conference hosted by the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research celebrating its sixtieth year.¹ Another auspicious commemoration of sixty years is a documentary produced in 1948 by Jadran Film,² which happens to include dancing examples from two villages on either side of Dubrovnik (Konavle and Primorje). The film

¹ A beginning version of this paper was presented to the Study Group on Ethnochoreology of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), held in Kuala Lumpur, August 2008.

² Film title and credits: *Jugoslavenski narodni plesovi*, directed by Rudolf Sremec, assisted by Milan Luks and Marijana Turkalj; director of photography by Sergije Tagač, assisted by Juraj Junger and Milivoj Majnarić; sound editing by Tea Brunšmid. See Appendix for YouTube website addresses.

conveniently provides a tangible record of dancing that becomes a base point from which to make a longitudinal study of dancing into the present. In the same two areas, Croatia's pioneer ethnochoreologist Ivan Ivančan recorded dances in 1950s and early 1960s.³ My own dance research during the 1970s of the Konavle and Primorje diasporas in California brought me into contact with the dancing culture of these two source areas, and whose contact continues into 2008. From an ethnochoreographic perspective and against a backdrop of developing tourism this study notes the introduction of Dubrovnik-area villagers performing in the city of Dubrovnik, shows the introduction of an authored staged version of *lindō* (one of these village dances) in the city, and traces the changes in village lifestyle and its dancing contexts brought on by the thrust of tourism in the 1960s. The study has uncovered integrated layers of kinetic relationships influenced by changing lifestyles brought on by a changing economic base into tourism.

My personal context was a project in the 1970s that into put me into contact with the Dubrovnik area as a primary emigrant source into the state of California.⁴ Pursuing this study of communal dancing in the Diaspora comparatively with its source area, I noted a clear difference of dancing repertoire between the two regions near Dubrovnik. Although dancing integrated socialization between the genders and ages at village events, what was danced in these two regions differed. In Konavle's Čilipi village, participatory dancing during their patron saint's day holiday (Sv. Nikola, December 6) was similar to the social dancing and music fashion of western European tourists in nearby hotels (Dunin 1984). Their communal dancing was in contrast to the organized village performance group, which on Sunday mornings demonstrated a repertoire of dances advertised as Čilipi's traditional dances in a traditional village. In Primorje villages, in the mid-1970s, there were no organized performance groups, and there was only one dance (known as *lindō*) in the dancing repertoire during village holidays.

The visual record of dances in these two areas produced by Jadran Film in 1948 happens to evidence a pre-tourism period, when there were no paved roads, only loose stone serpentine roads or footpath trails. Travel between the

³ Ivančan's research of dances in Konavle is published first in 1966, and of dances in Dubrovnik's Primorje in 1973. Both areas are reproduced in 1985 in *Narodni plesni običaji južne Dalmacije*. Of particular note is a more recent article "Social and political context of dancing in the twentieth-century Konavle" by Jakša Primorac (2001), who uses Ivančan's ethnochoreological research in 1961 as a base to note that each political change during the twentieth century has used the "traditional dance" for its own purposes.

⁴ First generation Croatian immigration to California appears in the second half of the nineteenth century, with most emigrating from the southern Adriatic coast. Most every village in the Dubrovnik area has families with descendants in California. That project revealed the continuity of "poskocica-lindjo" dancing in California by at least three generations of dancers with family ties from the Dubrovačko Primorje area.

mountain side villages and Dubrovnik was by boat transfer from coastal villages, or by land with walking and pack animals. Upon further recall, there was no electricity to charge large batteries for filmic and audio recording equipment. Drinking water was from rain collection cisterns, and there were no hotels outside of immediate Dubrovnik. Making this 35mm film in color necessitated masterful preplanning with already known village dance groups, an important point. The Jadran Film provides the earliest tangible record of body (kinetic) movement.

Historically the regions on either side of Dubrovnik have serviced the city with agricultural and pastoral needs since their territorial incorporation in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. In the 21st century, the city continues to be the governance and economic center for these regions. Dubrovnik is featured as a touristic jewel on Croatia's Adriatic coast and boasts its listing as a UNESCO World Heritage site (1979); the city was a fortified port with protective walls since at least the ninth century. These massive stonewalls kept outsiders away for centuries, but after a thousand years, the walls became a feature and each week thousands of "outsiders" (that is, tourists) walk the walls two kilometers around the city.

The first grand hotel was constructed just outside the entry gate and opened for occupancy in 1897.⁵ By 1914, seven more hotels were built outside the walls.⁶ The major thrust establishing Dubrovnik as a touristic center was not felt until the 1960s with World Bank funding (Cullen 1979): in 1962, an international level airport near Čilipi village; in 1964 electricity to rural areas; in 1965, completion of a paved Adriatic highway⁷; during the 1960s decade, twenty large-capacity hotels constructed in close proximity to the city (Kobašić 2001:142-143); and a new Dubrovnik-based travel agency, Atlas. The infrastructure of transportation and hotel accommodations provided employment, at least for the villagers who lived alongside the highway, near the airport, and near new hotel complexes.

In 1964, the enterprising leaders, Čičo Petričić and Vedran Živoje, of the newly formed Atlas Travel Agency approached both the city of Dubrovnik and the village of Čilipi to support organized performances of "traditional" dance to show to visitors.⁸ This was not a brand new concept, for

⁵ During the 19th century, small hotels or homes provided accommodations. See history of tourism in Dubrovnik by Nikola Šubić and Lukša Lucijanović. The grand Hotel Imperial was open only during the winter months and featured a room arrangement with a steamship travel ticket [Čučić 2006:82].

⁶ Among the hotels of this period was Hotel Odak, now Hotel Excelsior with the famous picture card view of the city [Kobašić 2006:245].

⁷ The highway had been under construction along the Adriatic coast, but segments north and south of Dubrovnik with bridges were finally completed by 1965.

⁸ Muratović personal communication, September 19, 2008.

earlier there were already instances of "folklor" performances in Dubrovnik and Čilipi. The first Dubrovnik Summer Festival in September 1950, included an "evening of folk dances" with six groups: Lastovsko kolo from Lastovo, Moreška from Korčula, Bokeljsko kolo from Kotor, Kumpanija from Blato village on Korčula, and from the Dubrovnik area, Poskočnica-Linđo from the village of Doli (of Jadran film), and Podkolo from Čilipi (also seen in the 1948 Jadran film). See Figure 1.⁹

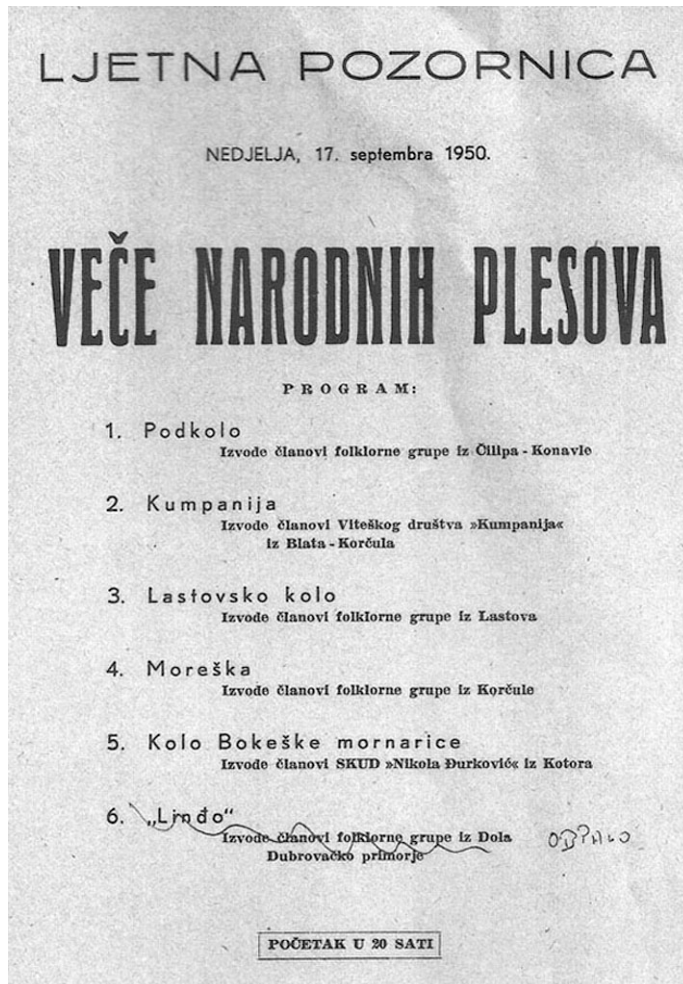


Figure 1. Folk dance program in Dubrovnik, 1950

⁹ Acknowledgement to the staff of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival Archive for locating this program. Note that although Linđo was scheduled in the program, the Doli group from Primorje is crossed out with "odpalo" [dropped], and apparently did not perform.

And each year from 1953, one or more of the professional folk dance and music ensembles from Zagreb, Skopje, or Beograd performed in the Dubrovnik Summer Festival. Also prior to 1964, in Čilipi village, amateur tamburica musicians had replaced the bagpipe accompaniment (seen in the 1948 Jadran Film) and were playing informally for village dancing in Čilipi and other villages (Novak 2008 personal communication).

Within the city of Dubrovnik, during the early 1960s a youth group (mostly females) was active in the Pedagoška Gimnazija and led by Marjan Udek, who had been a dancer with the Vladimir Nazor group in Zagreb. Another young man, Sulejman Muratović, also with dance experience in Zagreb, was finishing his compulsory army service in Dubrovnik; he was quickly engaged to dance and asked to draft other soldiers to be partners with the Pedagoška females for an upcoming program. While an economics university student in Zagreb, Muratović's experiences were as a dancer in the LADO training group (1959-1962) under the leadership of Zvonimir Ljevaković (1908-1981).¹⁰ For about a year, prior to his being sent to Dubrovnik to continue his military service, Muratović experienced co-organizing with Dragutin Križanec a new amateur dance group KOLEDA in Zagreb. Muratović's kinetic knowledge of LADO performance pieces was initially part of Zagreb's KOLEDA program, and then successfully applied to young dancers in Dubrovnik. Upon finishing army service in late 1964, the Atlas Agency arranged to have him hired as an experienced director of an amateur ensemble in Dubrovnik. Their first performance in October 1965 consisted of performance pieces that were originally choreographed by Ljevaković: Posavina, Prigorje, Bunjevac, Valpovo, Šopski (Trno mome dances) and Poskočica-Linđo.¹¹

The Čilipi village-based performance group that Atlas encouraged in 1964 gave its first presentation three years later, in 1967.¹² Čilipi village is only two kilometers from the airport, and conveniently intersected by the Adriatic highway that joins the airport with the city and with hotel complexes. In the 1960s, the first organizer of the group, Stijepo Vezalić Mijovov (born 1907), with experience as a tamburica musician for many dance events in

¹⁰ See Shay (2002) for a descriptive and historical account of the LADO Ensemble, and website description: <http://www.lado.hr/en/naslovna.asp>.

¹¹ Dance list noted by Muratović in informal interview 2008 September. These were the same dances as performed by KOLEDA in Zagreb, and costumes were borrowed from KOLEDA for the first performances in Dubrovnik.

¹² Čilipi villagers had already performed in Dubrovnik for the First Summer Festival, September 1950 [Matković 1979]. And by 1954, the predecessor of the Kulturno Umjetničko Društvo [Cultural Artistic Group] KUD Čilipi had been formed under the name of "Vladimir Nazor." The earlier group consisted of tamburica musicians and enthusiasts that gathered to hold meetings, socialize and dance [Skurić speech 2004]. KUD Čilipi-TD (Turističko Društvo) as a tourist group began to function as a village performing group in 1967.

Konavle, expanded the dance repertoire, beyond Podkolo that was already performed in Seljačka Sloga sponsored programs in 1938, 1946, 1947 and 1950 (Ceribašić 2003:346), in the 1948 Jadran Film, and in 1950 for Dubrovnik's First Summer Festival. The additional dances came from late nineteenth century kinetic memory of Vezelić's mother and dances that were known in his earliest childhood.

Čilipi's dance program:

Podkolo, Poskočica, Čičak, Namiguša, Seljančica, Valcer.

The dances that were popularly danced when Vezelić was an adult in the 1930s ("tango," "sving," "step," and "raspa") were not included in the program for they were considered to be "modern" dances and did not represent local "traditional" forms.¹³ In the interest of continuities and changes, I compared my filmic recordings of the Čilipi program in 1977, with their 2007 program. The dances that were originally reconstructed from a body/kinetic memory had continued over the years in a performance context in what I call a "fossilized" form.

My contact with dancing events in the Konavle region happened during the decade after the development of transportation and hotel services, but my observations and participation in events on the other side of Dubrovnik, the Primorje region, preceded the same development.

Primorje

There are two chains of villages, the lower "civilni" ("town-like") villages along the seacoast that intersects with the Adriatic highway (completed in 1965), and the other "upper villages" along a mountain side, below the border with Bosnia and Hercegovina.

By 1967 only two hotels had been built on the Primorje seacoast at Slano, but there were no paved roads connecting the upper villages with the Adriatic highway until 1974. When I observed and participated in the dance events in Primorje villages, beginning 1975, the dancing repertoire consisted of only one dance, *linđo*, in pairs, and accompanied by a single instrument, *lijerica*. The dance had several patterns commanded by a dancer/caller, and was rarely led in the same way twice. Although there is a standard structure to the dance, the sequence is improvised by the dancer/caller, and each male

¹³ Ivan Ivančan in his collection of dances in Konavle 1966 also does not mention these "modern" dances, and with one exception, Namiguša, lists all the other Čilipi dances in his collection of coastal dance research.

dances differently, while the female (of any age)¹⁴ is expected to follow his lead, in dancing that might last from fifteen minutes to two hours.

During the thrust into a touristic infrastructure the Primorje youth of the 1960s had to choose whether to continue to live a village-based lifestyle, or to move away from family into Dubrovnik to work in the new touristic-based economy. With paved roads in the second half of the 1970s, it had become economical to continue to live in the village and commute to Dubrovnik to work, and by the mid-1980s most every village household had its own automobile.¹⁵ By the 1980s, the *lindŕo* music and dancing was being replaced with the music and dancing of the Dubrovnik hotels and night life, where the younger generation was employed; the young men organized their "modern" music and dance experiences into their village holiday dance events. Furthermore the commute facilitated the meeting and intermarriage of non-Primorje females into the villages, the females who did not grow up with the implicitly understood role of the female in *lindŕo* dancing.¹⁶

The 1990s: War years (1991-1995)¹⁷

Although Dubrovnik was shelled and damaged, its walls again protected the city. However, some ninety percent of pre-war hotels were either completely destroyed, or devastated enough not to warrant touristic use until reconstruction that continues into 2008.¹⁸ Inside the city, the LINDŐ Ensemble did not curtail its rehearsals, gave humanitarian performances, and commenced with a program in the Dubrovnik Summer Festival in 1994.

¹⁴ Any female from the teens to senior ages may be asked to dance. The females might be a sister, a cousin, a mother, a grandmother, an aunt, a neighbor, or a potential girl friend.

¹⁵ Life style changes, such as cooking on butane gas stoves (instead of open fire cooking). Although electricity had been introduced into these Primorje villages by 1964, electric appliances did not appear until automobile and small trucks could transport them, bringing electric pumps to draw water out of rainwater cisterns, appliances such as refrigerators, freezers, automatic wash machines, television sets. Employment statistics from 1961 to 1991 in the Dubrovnik area show a strong decline of agricultural workers (Table 2 in Đukić 1995:57), and an increase to 27% of tourism workers commuting daily to Dubrovnik (Table 3 in Đukić 1995:58).

¹⁶ See article by Dunin "*Lindŕo* in the context of village life in the Dubrovnik area of Yugoslavia" in ICTM's *Yearbook* (1987).

¹⁷ A brutal civil war that did not accept the secession of Croatia and Bosnia and Hercegovina from Communist ruled Yugoslavia was fought in the two republics. During the war, Dubrovnik city was shelled, and the outlying village areas were plundered and occupied by Serbian and Montenegrin armies.

¹⁸ The destroyed Dubrovnik/Ćilipi airport served domestic flights by 1996, and showed increasing international service by 1998 (see Bukvić 2003:129, table 3).

Post-war Čilipi

The Čilipi group resumed their Sunday performances in spring of 1993, even before the end of Croatia's armed conflict.¹⁹ The new leader, Luko Novak, made one change to the six dance program, substituting an open circle dance, *Seljančica*, with *Lindō*, that was learned from a dancer in Dubrovnik's LINDO Ensemble,²⁰ therefore the staged version.

Post-war Primorje villages

In the Primorje region one group in the coastal town of Slano (with two hotels), had been active only for five years when the group (KPD Sloboda) had learned a repertoire from the Dubrovnik-based LINDO Ensemble to perform to hotel guests. Post-war (1996) the Slano-based group was reestablished as KUD Lijerica (Perušina 2006), and returned to dancing only *lindō*, in Primorje style, that is, not the city ensemble authored version.

During post-war village reconstruction, there was support for two new dance groups organized 1998 in Primorje's upper villages, "Lindō" in Ošlje-Stupa villages (Perković 2006), and "Žutopas" in Smokovljani-Visočani villages (Milošević; Katičić 2006). But in contrast to the Čilipi performance group with multiple dances, the two groups dance only *lindō*, which was revived from elders with a body/kinetic memory of the dance. These two groups in the upper villages do not have touristic visitors in their own villages, but the groups are invited to perform in hotel-hosted entertainment programs and local holiday events. See Figure 2, Žutopas performing in Dubrovnik.

¹⁹ Stjepo Vezalić Mijovov, the first teacher-director, died shortly after the end of the war. Luko Novak, as a principal dancer and one of the original performers in KUD Čilipi in 1967, took on the leadership of the group [personal communication with Novak September 2008].

²⁰ The *lijerica* musician, Đuro Radić, is originally from the Imotski area, but for years accompanied the Dubrovnik LINDO Ensemble's version of *Lindō*, retired during the 1990s, lives in Dubrovnik, and presently commutes each Sunday to Čilipi to accompany the *Lindō* performed on Sunday morning.



Figure 2. KU Žutopas performing *lindo* for tourists in Dubrovnik
(photo by Elsie Dunin, 2008)

Another post-war feature is "village tourism." Through travel agency arrangements, guests are gathered from the Dubrovnik hotels and are bussed into relatively near Adriatic Highway villages (Gromača and Ljubač in Primorje area). Meals are prepared and served in a traditional manner. As a plus, a local musician is hired to play the *lijerica* instrument, and if available one or two costumed pairs demonstrate some of the movements of *lindo* (see Figure 3).



Figure 3. Demonstration of *lijerica* playing and *lindo* dancing during village tourism in Ljubač village (photo by Elsie Dunin, 2008)

Summary

In the 1970s, I noted a difference in repertoire and dance contexts of two regions, but did not understand the underpinings of their differences, until viewing these two regions comparatively through the lens of tourism. Due to its convenient location to the touristic infrastructure, Čilipi in Konavle was engaged to perform its "traditional dances and music" regularly for an audience. In the Primorje region, the touristic economic thrust was felt a generation later, evidenced by diminished dancing of *lindo* in village events after the 1970s. The Primorje youth of the 1980s and 1990s did not communally dance *lindo*. Post-1990s war years, three village groups were organized in Primorje, led by earlier generations who have a kinetic knowledge of the dance. They are integrating village youth and adults into pan-Primorje *lindo* dancing, but with the intent to be seen and appreciated as a touristic commodity.

Dubrovnik's city ensemble initiated in the mid-1960s was intended to serve tourism. Sulejman Muratović, with his directorial organizational skills, kinetic experience of choreographies learned in Zagreb, along with a disciplined model of training were integrated into leading an amateur group that continues into its 43rd year. Muratović's mentor, Zvonimir Ljevaković, the first director of Croatia's professional LADO Ensemble, had been the first to choreograph a staged version of *Lindo*.²¹ His familiarity with the Dubrovnik Primorje area evolved after World War Two, when as a dance specialist member of the Seljačka Sloga organization, he was assigned to focus on lesser known dance cultures of "southern Dalmacija."²² One of the subsequent results is the inclusion of two Dubrovnik-area Sloga groups, from Čilipi and Doli, in the 1948 Jadran Film. Ljevaković had repeatedly observed (and absorbed) village dance forms with their movement characteristics, and he was among the first in post-war 1940s Croatia to apply the concept of integrating detailed kinetic characteristics of specific peasantry, into a theatrical presentation performed by "village outsiders." By the late 1950s, a well-established repertoire was being taught to potential LADO trainees, one of them, a university student, Sulejman Muratović, who in turn became the artistic director of Dubrovnik's LINDO Ensemble. LINDO's first

²¹ The original *Lindo* choreography was by Zvonimir Ljevaković, LADO's first artistic director, 1949. Ljevaković's authored version carefully selects characteristic body movements and sets the dance patterns in a sequence, but the dancing is stylized with synchronized spatial movements and gestures; his choreography became the basis for most later staged versions of *lindo*. Although the artistic director, Sulejman Muratović, of LINDO Ensemble is contemporarily credited as the choreographer of *Lindo* in their program, his version is not the form as danced in the Primorje area in the 1970s or of the recently organized Primorje dance groups, but closer in style to the Ljevaković choreography.

²² See Ljevaković's role in Seljačka Sloga, 1946 in Ceribašić 2003:219, footnote 162.

performances in Dubrovnik replicated LADO's repertoire, which included the staged "Dubrovačka poskočica 'Lindŏ'."

Conclusion

Since 1948 both Podkolo and Lindŏ continue to be danced in 2008 but in differing venues. In Čilipi a village performance group with communal dances were kinetically remembered from the late 19th century and are performed weekly in its own village. In Primorje, three village groups perform only *lindŏ*, which is based on kinetic memory of Primorje's upper village dancers of the 1970s and is danced frequently in hotels and festival programs. Village tourism in Primorje with demonstrations of *lindŏ* offered to tourists visiting village homes happen two and three times a week, and Dubrovnik's amateur city ensemble continues a performance repertoire that is based on a late 1940s concept of integrating village movement characteristics into a theatrical context, performed to full audiences at least two times a week.

These "folklor" (dance) contexts: Čilipi, Primorje, village tourism, and the city's ensemble LINĐO integrated dancing into touristic attractions. Hundreds of thousands of visitors to Dubrovnik and its immediate areas have watched this dancing, but as an aside, very recent literature books (2007 and 2008) covering over a century of tourism in Dubrovnik, do not even mention these dancing contexts (Šubić 2008; Lucijanović 2008). Regardless, thousands of tourists not only walk Dubrovnik's walls, but see and have contact with dancers dancing *lindŏ* in at least four touristic contexts.

APPENDIX

Čilipi photograph

The following photograph is a newspaper clipping from an unknown source with an unknown year. It was clipped and saved by a Čilipi senior who simply recognized that the persons were the performers in the 1950 Summer Festival program in Dubrovnik. During October 2008, Marija Kalačić Primorac, born in Čilipi, now living in Dubrovnik, assisted in tracing the names of the dancers in the photograph.

Both 1948 JADRAN FILM clips may be seen on the following YouTube websites:

POTKOLO Čilipi - Dubrovnik

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jhne3kPre3E>

POSKOČICA Doli - Dubrovnik

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mrCkXL3vLWc>

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SEOSKI "FOLKLOR" [PLES] INTEGRIRAN U TURISTIČKI
PROIZVOD U PODRUČJU DUBROVNIKA:
PREGLED 1948.-1977.-2008.

SAŽETAK

Studija otkriva integrirane slojeve kinetičkih odnosa pod utjecajem promjena načina života u Dubrovniku i okolici do kojih je došlo zbog turističke ekonomije. Selo Čilipi u Konavlima izvodi svoje „tradicionalne plesove i glazbu“ svakog tjedna još od 1967. godine. U poslijeratnim devedesetim godinama tri su seoske skupine osnovane u Primorju, s obnovljenim kinetičkim znanjem *linđa*. Dubrovački gradski amaterski ansambl osnovan 1965. godine od samoga je početka bio usmjeren turizmu, a skupina nastupa već 43 godine.

Do 2008. godine u području Dubrovnika su se razvila četiri turistička konteksta. U Čilipima mjesna seoska skupina nastupa svakog tjedna s programom plesova kinetički zapamćenih pri kraju 19. stoljeća. U Primorju tri seoske skupine izvode samo *linđo*, zasnovan na kinetičkom sjećanju iz 70-ih godina dvadesetoga stoljeća, te često plešu u hotelima i na festivalima. U primorskom seoskom turizmu *linđo* se prikazuje dva do tri puta tjedno, a dubrovački amaterski gradski ansambl izvodi barem dvaput tjedno, u teatralnom okruženju, repertoar zasnovan na autorskom konceptu integriranja karakterističnih pokreta sela. Stotine tisuća posjetitelja Dubrovnika i neposredne okolice promatraju tako plesove u najmanje četiri turistička konteksta.

Ključne riječi: Dubrovnik; Čilipi; Konavle; Dubrovnik Primorje; turizam; plesni konteksti; *linđo*; Folklorni ansambl Linđo; Zvonimir Ljevaković; Sulejman Muratović; Jadran Film 1948.