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THE STAGE AS A PLACE OF CHALLENGING INTEGRATION

The stage is a unique public space where a number of messages are performed and produced in different ways and where social and cultural differences may be made visible. Through the examples of music and dance, the musical and/or political stage are discussed, different mechanisms of integration are presented and the stage is interpreted as a space where certain fields of tension are visibly encountered as binary oppositions: collective – individual; global – local; great tradition – little tradition. Multiple strategies of performers are examined and performance as a type of communication that involves the performer shouldering a special responsibility before the audience, not only for what is to be communicated, but also how. Using a three case studies, it is explored how the (un)conscious mixing of forms, styles and expressions builds on and presupposes a preceding process of standardisation, purification and homogenisation, and what is visible on the stage as well as what is beyond it.

Key words: stage; dance; ethnography; integration; global/local

Introduction

This text is an expansion and supplementation of the papers delivered in panel form at the international conference held to mark the Institute's 60th anniversary. It discusses about a few case studies integrated with the stage, or with a scene.

What is a performance? What do we consider as stage? Each event means that something is happening in time and space, that a particular body is producing energy and communicating with the public. Each event is a performance, while we can consider the space of such performance to be a stage, independently of whether it is actually physically prepared as such, in a theatre, in the street or on a square, or in a particular space, at a studio during a television transmission or a rehearsal.

Symposium "*Dance event: A Complex Cultural Phenomenon*" of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), Study Group on Ethnochoreology held in Copenhagen in 1988 (see Torp 1989), was a turning-point in dance research since it brought together European ethnochoreologists and American dance ethnologists and anthropologists of structured movement. Within the framework of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology of the ICTM, methods in dance research that had previously employed vastly different approaches have become more intensively unified and increasingly well permeated as dance ethnography. These trends could be followed through the last twenty years (see Giurchescu, Torp 1991; Kaeppler 1991; Buckland 1999; Buckland 2006). Dance event has been taken as the best way of contextual research in dance and performance. On the other hand authors from different disciplines of anthropology, sociology or theatrology would define the performance on different ways as they put the accents on different aspects of the performance (see Radman 2008:96).

We consider a stage as a unique public space where one can receive a host of messages communicated in various ways, in which cultural and social differences become evident. Our discussions are orientated to the music and/or dance and/or political scene. Various means of integration through the stage are mentioned: integration of a local community – the people of Lastovo – over the festival stage through interpretations and different scholarly reading of messages about the community; integration of particular dance – polka – which was considered as a foreign one for a long period of time through expert paradigms of public presentation of "traditional" and national dances; and integration of the huge dancesport community on national and international levels.

We interpret the stage as a place in which fields of tension become evident in the form of binary opposites: different – homogenous; collective – individual; global – local; large tradition – small tradition; live – mediated; and, emic – etic (see Lundberg, Malm, Ronström 2003:62-65). Thanks just to those opposites in interpretation, or because of them, we try to uncover in our interpretations what is visible and obvious on the stage and what remains hidden to the eye of the public. How much this hidden meanings are important to the performers themselves to the extent that they necessarily resort to certain strategies in order to satisfy diverse criteria of representativeness, and to adapt their views to standards imposed "from outside". We emphasise both the liminal and ritual nature of the scene as a space of public expression of the identity of the individual, couple, group or community in whom/which a transformation comes about in the performers during the moments of the performance – moments in which those performers are displaced from everyday life, and consequently feel and behave differently. Therefore, one can monitor integration at various levels – from integration of the individual and the group to local, regional, national, transnational (European) or international integra-

tion, from the direct to the media-mediated, from that achieved in spontaneous performances with unlimited possibilities of improvisation and variations to realisation in standardised and unified performances subjected to strict and universal appraisive criteria. The level of integration thus depends on the particular contexts of performance – they are as multiple and complex as the strategies of the performers, while the performers themselves are always accountable to the public, both for *what* they transmit as the message and for *how* they do so.

We show certain fields of our interest in concrete examples. We make efforts to discover how forms, styles and expressions (un)consciously mix and are created after music and dance are encompassed by processes of standardisation, purification and homogenisation, and what is visible on the stage, and what remains hidden. In that process, we show how we experience and interpret these elements as researchers in an effort to be simultaneously critical and reflexive.

We begin with a classical example of research into the chain dance from the island of Lastovo. In her ethnographic analysis, thanks to her own female research perspective, Iva Niemčić has uncovered and emphasised the female chain dance as being unique among circle dances of that type in Croatia and, as far as we know to date, also in Europe. Namely, until recently, largely male researchers dealt with research into the Lastovo *poklad* – Carnival custom, so that women and the female chain dance were often barely mentioned or even hidden and invisible, as Niemčić says. The *poklad* is shown here as the island community presents it on stage, and how it uses various strategies in order to achieve balance between the set canons of the profession and their own assessments of representativeness. This can be seen in the diverse concepts in costumes and selection of dance repertoire.

Efforts are made in the text by Tvrtko Zebec about the *potresujka* dance to show the processes of integration of the polka into Croatian dance culture, from its acceptance at the mid-19th century in keeping with Europe, the public and professionally expressed resistance to its stage presentation as a non-national tradition in Croatia, along with resistance prompted by reference to morality in accordance with the Roman Catholic worldview, and, on the other hand, its popularisation at informal dance events throughout Croatia. On the example of a local variant of the polka – the *potresujka* – we could see its renewed popularity in contemporary times and the possibility of its utilisation on stage, in the theatre (as was the case more than one hundred years ago), as an ideal universal mode of communication between the genders, as a mediator in expressions of love and as a mediator which, in a theatre play, integrates globally known literature of "high culture" with local popular culture and the broad public. The perceptions of the local inhabitants regarding the symbols of dance and music culture at the local and regional level broadened – once more by way of the polka – to the transnational and international level.

The third example, presented by Ivana Katarinčić, is the show broadcast on television in Croatia, which contributed to the sudden popularisation of sport and ballroom dances. Those dances shown to a million-strong audience, popularised in a superficial manner, nonetheless opened the door to public acknowledgement of the community of dancers that had long been marginalised and enclosed in the dance halls. Now, thanks to the broadcasting, those same dance halls have become too small for all those who wish to learn to dance that type of dances, experiencing them as social dances. For their part, the community of sport dancers live their intensive life from the inside, preparing themselves for international competitions full of ritual moments. They perform standardised dances of various origins at those competitions, integrating professional sport dancers at a global level and enabling them to start dancing at any time with an unknown partner from some other corner of the world, doing so in the same manner thanks to standardised embodied practices.

Through broadcasts by Eurovision, the Eurovision Song Contest has been known for decades throughout Europe. Irena Miholić, who deals with popular music, revealed on the examples in her presentation on Croatian participation at that contest – with its brilliant stage effects and lusty singing and often intricate dancing on the part of the competitors – that the real competitors, along with the singers whom we all see, are the songwriters and composers, and the entire teams who realise their ideas. The political image of society and the current juncture are reflected in each performance, so that it is interesting to monitor the dynamics of social relations, interests and cultural policy precisely through the challenges of that European stage.¹

Along with the entrenched field research methods and ethnological-anthropological observation with participation, the historical search for augmentation of diachronic data, and additional examination from the discourse of the female experience of living and interpreting cultural practice, this research has relied to a considerable extent on the media, particularly on use of the Internet. And, for better understanding of this text, we would direct you to surf the Internet pages, among which it would be very informative to watch video clips on YouTube's pages. The examples spoken of can be virtually integrated in that way into this text, making it possible for us to confer multi-dimensionality on this one-dimensional manner of communication.

Tvrtko Zebec

¹ Irena Miholić is working on the project as an ethnomusicologist, and her presentation was a part of a joint panel but is absent in this written form. It is the first time in Croatia that ethnochoreology as a discipline has effectuated an independent project: "Dance Ethnography and Multiple Identities" (<http://www.ief.hr/page.php?id=315&lang=en>), nevertheless our discipline have been present since the beginning of the Institute.

Iva Niemčić

The Lastovo *poklad*

I present the people of Lastovo and their staging of their Carnival customs and dances – the Lastovo *poklad* – at the 34th International Folklore Festival in Zagreb. In this example, the stage is the place where the people of Lastovo (residents of the village of Lastovo on the southern Adriatic island of the same name) present themselves to the broad public with their Carnival custom – the *poklad* – as a unique identifying marker. It is that stage in Zagreb that allows a small local community to integrate itself in the broader community. For the Lastovans, as well as for all other participants from Croatia, the invitation to participate, their arrival in Zagreb and, finally, the stage appearance itself at the International Folklore Festival is the climax of their presentation and is regarded as a great honour. This is because the Festival is international and the media coverage of the event plays a huge role. The stage presentations are broadcast on national television at prime time.

I am discussing the use of knowledge in ethnochoreology in creating an artistic expression – in creating a dance choreography based on the chain dance – the *pokladno kolo* [the Carnival circle dance] from Lastovo. My focus is on the impact and the reception of that artistic choreography in the field, and its restitution through the staging by Lastovo people themselves.

A choreography entitled the *Lastovski poklad* (Carnival in Lastovo) signed by Ivan Ivančan, the respected and most productive Croatian ethnochoreologist, is mentioned as well. This text is about local inhabitants from Lastovo, about their Carnival and about the Carnival Dance, as well as about its staging at the 34th International Folklore Festival held in Zagreb in 2000 (see Niemčić 2005a).

The traditional setting

The *poklad kolo* dance and the *lijepa maskare kolo* dance are performed on Lastovo each year, but solely on Shrove Tuesday. The main characteristic of the chain dances performed by the local inhabitants is that groups of female and of male dancers move slowly using a simple *trokorak* [three steps in a row] and creates different geometrical figures. The male dancers – the *pokladari* – dance with wooden swords, so that one dancer holds the handle of his sword in the right hand while the other dancer holds the tip of the same sword in his left hand. This dance is called the *pokladarsko kolo* and it includes up to ten repeated figures. The female dancers, – the *lijepa maskare* [the beautiful masks] – are linked with handkerchiefs so that one dancer holds one end, and the next dancer the other end of a handkerchief.

During the Carnival events that last in Lastovo for several days, they perform three dances. The first one is the *balo pod liru* [dance accompanied by the *lira* – a lute-type long-necked three-stringed instrument played with a bow]. That is a dance in which both male and female dancers are linked with handkerchiefs while dancing around an imaginary circle. It is performed, as its name suggests, accompanied by the *lira*. They dance the *balo pod liru* on Sunday, in the hall of the Society Centre where the last dance evening before Lent is organized, after a small group of the male *pokladari* returns from the *halekanje*.² The female and male dancers are dressed in their everyday clothes. The *balo pod liru* is never danced on Shrove Tuesday.

The second dance is the *pokladarsko kolo* – a chain sword dance performed in its short version only by the male *pokladari* on the terraces of their neighbours' houses. The *pokladari* visit them on the Shrove Tuesday while walking around the whole village. They perform a complete version of the same dance on the same evening at the square called Dolac, between the church and the school, waiting for the women, the *lijepi maškare*, to join them at the end.

The third dance is the *kolo lijepih maškara* – the female chain dance with handkerchiefs, which they call "our dance" – *naše kolo*. They also dance on the terraces of their fellow local inhabitants only on Shrove Tuesday, just as the *pokladari* do.³ At the end, there is the final dance where the male *pokladari* and the female *lijepi maškare* dance together with handkerchiefs and swords. This dance is performed only at the climax of the Carnival events on the main square of Dolac. I would not distinguish it as a separate and different dance because it in fact entails a combination of props – handkerchiefs and swords – and selected common figures of the second dance, the *pokladarsko kolo*, and the third dance, the *kolo lijepih maškara*.

Staged choreography

The Ivančan choreography of the Lastovo Carnival has been on the repertoire of the *Lado* professional ensemble for many years. Due to its attractiveness, it

² *Halekanje* is a part of the Carnival custom in which a smallish group of *pokladari* on *pretilu* [or Fat] Sunday (the Sunday before Shrove Tuesday) leave to go to a dance event around 23:00 hrs to the accompaniment of the *lira*, singing the song "Podiglo se, podiglo se malo četovanje" [A Small Troop Has Been Raised] at a specific spot at the bottom of the village, where they shout "Uvo!" [Ear]. The dance and the entertainment continue on their return and the *kapo sale* [the Master of Ceremonies] announces the *balo pod liru* dance (Niemčić 2002:42-43). See website: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WZwDIBc6fXo>; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HcPLY_Umn0s&feature=related; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T5LuH7n6jh4&feature=related>

³ It is a rule that the male and female dancers must not meet in their processions through the village and, therefore, the female *lijepi maškare* always lag one house behind the male *pokladari*.

is considered to be one of his best artistic achievements. I am commenting on the performance that was given on the stage of the Croatian National Theatre on 11th November 2002 at the traditional annual *Lado* Concert.

The most visible deviation from the researched field pattern in this choreography is that women appear on stage in their traditional costumes, while the men dance their chain dance with swords. One does not see the women in their traditional costumes on Shrove Tuesday in Lastovo. Instead, they wear their *beautiful masks* costumes.

In this choreography, the women also join the men in singing, and the performers dance in pairs (the *balo pod liru* [a dance accompanied by a *lira*, a lute-type long-necked three-string instrument]), which is also not characteristic for that day of the year in the local community setting.

In the choreographed presentations, it is possible to show fragments of a certain event or parts of events. However, in this example from Lastovo, the same model is being repeatedly presented in the same way, following Ivančan's artistic idea.

The logical possibilities of the stage performance are as follows:

- only the *balo pod liru* (male-female pairs, danced on Sunday, only with handkerchiefs);
- only the *pokladarsko kolo* (only male dancers, danced solely on the Shrove Tuesday, with wooden swords);
- only the *kolo lijepih maskara* (female dancers + four male officers, danced solely on Shrove Tuesday, with handkerchiefs), or
- the final dance of the *pokladari* and *lijepe maskare* (males and females together, danced only at the climax of Shrove Tuesday, with both swords and handkerchiefs, and the *Poklad* (the Carnival puppet).

As regards the props (the swords, handkerchiefs, the Carnival puppet), Ivančan's choreography corresponds to the final dance performed at the climax of the events on Shrove Tuesday. At that time, the two processions, male and female, meet at the Dolac Square, mix together and dance while waiting for the Carnival puppet to be lowered down the hill and burnt. However, according to the dance itself in his choreography, it is a combination of the male *pokladarsko kolo* and the *balo pod liru* as couple dance with a lot of artistic interventions (faster tempo, new figures, and different combinations of the basic step).

There is no doubt that Ivančan's approach in his choreography is in accordance with his research in Lastovo (Ivančan 1972; 1973; 1985) or, to be more precise, in keeping with his material, in which the female *lijepe maskare* are merely mentioned or even omitted altogether.

Self-presentation by the people of Lastovo

As mentioned at the beginning of the text, the Carnival Society from the island of Lastovo presented its own tradition at the 34th International Folk Festival (I.F.F.) in Zagreb, held in 2000.

As we have said, when dancing for themselves and for their fellow local inhabitants, they perform all three dances mentioned during the Carnival events. On Shrove Tuesday itself, when the events are coming to their culmination, both the male *pokladari* and the female *lijepa maskare* dance their respective dances and then perform the final dance together at the end. However, they presented their dances on stage exclusively with the male *pokladarsko kolo* circle dance. In the Festival catalogue, the folk custom is described in full, also mentioning the female *beautiful masks*, which form the other procession and make their rounds of the village following just after the male *pokladari* to meet finally at the Dolac Square and dance the final dance together (Vitez 2000:17). But the local inhabitants of Lastovo came on to the stage in pairs with the girls dressed in their traditional female costumes, which were used only for the sake of the choreography. They stood upstage and watched the performance of the male chain sword dance, and then left the stage in pairs with the *pokladari* (to reiterate, the *lijepa maskare* are customarily dressed in their Carnival costumes).

The *pokladari* on stage followed more or less the same sequence of figures as they do on Shrove Tuesday in Lastovo. The difference was that one of the more demanding figures was left out, which would not represent a flaw or a sharp deviation from the original event. However, omitting the female procession and their chain dance is – in my opinion – a significant deviation from the original. Namely, I think its onstage performance would give a fuller and even more attractive presentation of the Carnival events. And I see the choreographic solution with the *pokladari* entering in pairs with the women dressed in traditional costumes – I cannot call them dancers because they are nothing but walk-ons in this presentation – as a presentation of the Carnival events, which significantly deviates from the performance during the Carnival on the island. The women of Lastovo are never dressed in their traditional costumes on Shrove Tuesday. In fact, as we saw, the women in the traditional costumes in the presentation of the Lastovo Carnival exist only in Ivančan's choreography. The only female participants in the events at Lastovo are the *beautiful masks*, dressed for that occasion in carefully-made costumes, and other women in everyday clothes, these being either onlookers or participants in the preparations and organization of the events.

Echoes of the choreography, or about professional authority

From the mentioned descriptions, one can see major differences in interpretation and presentation of the Carnival events on the stage. Leaving aside artistic evaluations of the choreography, I am commenting on its authenticity, that is, on its relation with the pattern and on mutual influences.

Since there is no school in Croatia that trains and educates young choreographers, the choreographers who adapt traditional dances and present them on the stage are all self-taught. According to the classification of the Croatian Society of Folklore Choreographers and Leaders that was founded in 2001, the term choreographer is used for those of its members who have had at least six choreographies registered by ZAMP, the copyright agency (Ceribašić 2003:257). One of the main long-lasting paradigms of our profession in Croatia is that the stage choreographies of traditional dances should correspond as much as possible to the pattern from which they derive. Choreographers may use different geometric solutions on the stage but the recommendation is that the dance steps and figures should be as close as possible in structure and style to those in the field. The usual maximum duration of a dance presentation from a particular area on stage is from six to fifteen minutes. In contrast to the Russian school with the Moiseyev Dance Company at its head, based on a high level of stylisation in which the choreographers, inspired by traditional dances, create new steps and spectacular choreographies, the Croatian national ensemble, the *Lado* – and as a consequence, the amateur domestic folklore groups – propagates dance steps that are as original as possible, which the choreographers then convert into stage choreographies. Ivančan emphasises the following basic conditions that have to be met if we want to present a part of the artistic folklore tradition on the stage:

- a) knowledge of the authentic material;
- b) the impression that the folk art invoked in the field;
- c) conveyance of one's own experience to the stage;
- d) knowledge of the laws of the stage and composition;
- e) creation, training and maintenance of a choreography, and,
- f) the necessary personal artistic stamp of the author (Ivančan 1971:93).

According to Ivančan, a choreographer is expected to, that is, a folklore choreography is considered successful: "if the authors (choreographers, composers, costumiers and scenographers) have managed to offer the viewer the experience which they had had watching the dance in its authentic ambience (at weddings and similar), then we have a grounding to which we can add our thoughts, observations and analyses" (Ivančan 1971:108-109). However, Ivančan based most of his field research on conversations with older interlocutors, examining their memories of how they once had danced.

He encouraged them to demonstrate the dance steps for him, in the way they had performed them. He more rarely based his research on observation and participation in particular traditional events. Therefore, it is not clear what he meant by the above quotation. Was he thinking of the earliest dance patterns that he had managed to revive in the memories of his oldest interlocutors, or, for their part, on contemporary performances of dance customs? In his pondering on the applied work connected with the International Folklore Festival, Jerko Bezić, the ethnomusicologist, expressed his view very clearly:

In efforts to preserve traditional phenomena in their original form, I see more success in stimulating relatively newer, but also traditional phenomena (Bezić in [S.n.] 1973:no pagination).

Following Bezić's thoughts, which even today are "more proposals than having been practice" (Ceribašić 2003:270), one could also classify the *lijepa maškare* and their chain dance with handkerchiefs within the choreography of the Lastovo *poklad* custom.

Studying this Ivančan choreography, my personal impression was completely different from the one I had gained in the field. According to his choreography and his conveyance of his personal experience to the stage, there is only one procession in the Lastovo Carnival, the male procession of the *pokladari* dancing the chain sword dance. Women in traditional costumes join them at the end of the dance in pairs, and then together they see the *Poklad* puppet. However, the two processions and the chain dances, with swords and handkerchiefs respectively, are exclusively characteristic to the Lastovo Carnival and Shrove Tuesday.

We saw that the Ivančan choreography varies from the original pattern, which we may attribute to artistic freedom, that is, to the personal artistic stamp of the author. If we decide to categorize the choreography as a work of art that is inspired by the pattern in one part only, with the rest of the choreography depending on the creativity of the author, then would not present a problem. One arises, however, with different impressions; for instance, some consider the Ivančan choreography to be an authentic presentation of the Lastovo Carnival dance customs, thus giving the local inhabitants of Lastovo, that is, the *pokladari* procession, the legitimacy of a representative part of the custom. That is not at all surprising since Ivančan was a leading authority in our small profession, a scholar who based all his scholarly papers on numerous field research projects. On the other hand, he was also very active in the application of that knowledge as ensemble leader, choreographer, as well as director of the *Lado* national ensemble. Finally, he was a model to almost all the creators of choreographies for the stage. The example of the *Lastovo poklad* choreography confirms numerous other examples in domestic stage folklore. In other words, when a particular choreography receives certification from the profession – this being signed by

an authority in the profession – and enters into public practice and is accepted by the broad public, it becomes a standard of sorts for a particular dance tradition. In its way, this almost imposes itself as an obligation that the local community follows this way of performance or a similar one on stage (see Ceribašić 2003:279).

Although the male *pokladari* on the stage follow more or less the same sequence of figures as they do on Shrove Tuesday in Lastovo, their performance has more in common at first glance with the Ivančan choreography than with the dance in their local community. Finding in the literature and in the Ivančan choreography that the male *pokladari* procession is the sole representative part of the custom, the local people present themselves only with the male procession.

However, unlike the Ivančan choreography where the women sing and dance, in their own performance women are only a part of the scenography; they do not dance but simply observe the performance of the male *pokladarsko kolo*. So, the invisible female dancers from literature (largely written by male researchers) do come on to the stage. They become visible, but only as extras. That has nothing in common with their way of dressing during the Carnival, or with their role as dancers of the female chain dance with handkerchiefs.

Conclusion

Artistic choreographies as well as ethnographic texts are a way of presentation of tradition which can be authentic, but also shaped by the choreographer as the author who decides on the presentation of someone's local tradition before an audience. Depending on the authority of the researcher, his/her perception may significantly influence a local community, even in such a way that its members change their common traditional models for the purpose of public presentation.

In their wish to present themselves and fit into the context of the International Folklore Festival, the people from Lastovo chose the formula that worked: the presentation confirmed and acknowledged by the profession itself. In other words, they adhered to the standard canons as the way to show folklore at festivals and the traditional costume as the only possible way of presenting folklore on the stage, accepted by both the experts and the audience. Ossifying certain performance schemes and persisting with dance forms that have actually become their trademark through public practice, the Lastovo dancers reinforce their regional identity but also, because of the unique nature of the dance custom in question, their local identity (Ceribašić 2003:262). Since the *lijepa maškare* have not been recognised by the profession as yet as a unique phenomenon in female chain dancing, the Lastovans have not utilised them in their presentation. And it would be through

them particularly that they could underscore their particularity both in the local community, and also in the global community of chain dances in Europe. Authenticity is insisted upon at major, significant festivals. They are often accompanied by television broadcasts, thus ensuring a numerous and diverse audience. Experts maintain a firm grip on the baton of organisation and selection. In addition, power relations are firmly entrenched in the life of folklore and thus in its stage presentation. That is why the *lijepe maškare* cannot come into their own at a higher level, that is, present themselves on stage. Moreover, their strategy has followed their tradition; they do not sing with the men, and do not dance the couple dance *bal pod liru* – used by Ivančan in his choreography – because it does not fit into the perception of Shrove Tuesday and the climax of the Carnival. In keeping with the notion of authenticity at the time of the emergence of that term during the 1960s, which then "became the basic feature and value of folklore overall", and which "sums up within itself the characteristics of traditional culture from the second half of the 1930s" (Ceribašić 2003:258), perhaps there really is no justification for giving the *lijepe maškare* a place in the choreography of the Lastovo *poklad* custom – although we do not know with certainty. Still, according to contemporary scholarly comprehension, authenticity is "a contemporary aesthetic conception and contemporary practice that rests upon conceived former practice" (Ceribašić 2003:261). As an outcome of that thesis and Bezić's above-mentioned line of thought, one could also expect to see the *lijepe maškare* on the stage of the International Folklore Festival in Zagreb.

Since the Lastovo Carnival is nurtured and actively performed in Lastovo every year, the local inhabitants of Lastovo have applied for protection of intangible cultural heritage according to UNESCO criteria on the safeguarding of intangible heritage. On issue of that document, it would be placed on the Protected Cultural Heritage List of the Republic of Croatia. This example has once again confirmed the difference between strictly scholarly and applied and/or professional work. According to Ceribašić "strictly scholarly work nevertheless exists in order to monitor reality, while applied work undoubtedly exists so as to create reality, in fact, so that a particular domain of human activity can be shaped and orientated in a particular direction" (Ceribašić 2003:284). I took part in preparing the above-mentioned UNESCO application by writing about the Carnival and I approached this from the perspective of a scholar, seizing the opportunity and emphasising precisely the existence of the "parallel" procession of the *lijepe maškare*. As a special asset and yet another reason for justifying the protection of the Lastovo Carnival as cultural heritage of special importance, I selected precisely the *kolo lijepih maškara* as a unique phenomenon of the female chain dance; the *kolo* that has been invisible until recently, both in literature and on stage.

Tvrtko Zebec

The *Potresujka*

The *polka* was adopted and accepted in Croatia – we could even say naturalised – very soon after its appearance in central European ballrooms and dance salons in the second part of the 19th century.⁴ The *polka* spread from Bohemia to Germany and France, and then was largely, as in England, transformed and refined by dancing masters into a vivacious closed-couple dance in 2/4 time, following the *waltz* and *galop* (Smigel 1996:197).⁵

It was accepted variously in different parts of Croatia. We can read between the lines about how popular the *polka* was from the strong criticism on the part of traditionalists, who wrote in the north-western part of Croatia at the mid-19th century that youngsters were becoming crazy about the *polka* and *waltz* – since these were danced in mixed pairs in which the partners danced very close to each other with a lot of crazy turns, also saying that we should fight against these new sorts of dances because we have our own traditional dances and national melodies (see Niemčić 2005).

Similarly, even stronger reaction came from the moralists of the Roman Catholic Church: the Blessed Ivan Mertz during the 1920s, followed by some Catholic priests even during the 1950s.⁶

We can further follow these tensions through integration of the *polka* into the Croatian dance scene. Continuing on from thoughts (by Iva Niemčić) in the first part of this text about publicly accepted perceptions, but also about expert paradigms of stage folklore production, we know that *polka*, *waltz* and

⁴ "The polka and *polkomanie* in Bohemia of the 1830s and 1840s was first a manifestation of the energy of the young dynamic bourgeoisie profiting from all features, which could help to build national identity and finally result in the creation of the national state" (Stavělová 2006:3).

⁵ "The polka's arrival in London occurred some time in 1844, just after the wedding of young Queen Victoria. The dance-loving queen was so enamoured of the polka that she immediately institutionalized it by substituting it for the old-fashioned country dance as the finale to court balls" (Smigel 1996:197).

⁶ The Blessed Ivan Merz, a layman, "a European-sized apostle of youth", a Croat from Banja Luka in Bosnia (1896-1928), who was beatified by Pope John Paul II in his birthplace in 2003, was a philosopher. He finished his studies in Vienna, Paris and Zagreb, and his thoughts and discussions are accepted in the Catholic Church as strong moral messages. He was generally for the promotion of traditional dances as they are mirrors of the people's spirit. He also accepted artistic dance, such as classical ballet. But he said, "Modern, mixed dances are something else. We still do not have formal bans against those kinds of dances from the pontiffs", but he ordered young people to abandon these types of dances. A parish priest named Jurca (1950) wrote a book in Istria largely following Ivan Merz's thoughts in his extended work about dance and morality. In the introduction, he proudly concluded that after 15 years of his work he had succeeded to exterminate such kind of dances in his parish, recommending the same to other priests in the neighbourhood.

other 19th century-derived western European dances were not accepted at the festivals of traditional culture during the 1930s, and then again on the stage of the International Folklore Festival in Zagreb at the end of 1960s and during the 1970s (see Sremac 1978:104-105).

At the same time, the *polka* was danced in very lively fashion all over Croatia, and we know, for example, that people from the mid-Croatian region of Lika used to use the word *polkati* – to dance (Ivančan 1996:48) – for dancing in general.

Comparing the *waltz* and the *polka*, we could also say that the general superficial urban perspective about these dances in Croatia was that the *waltz* was largely considered as an urban tradition (everybody knew it from Vienna as the *Wiener walzer*), while the *polka*, on the contrary, was regarded as a dance from the countryside (see Niemčić 2005b:85-86).

Simplicity and adaptability were substantial reasons for the forceful spreading of the *polka* – a polka step or refrain could be introduced into a quadrille (see Smigel 1996:198), but also into different traditional dances, even into circle dance formations.⁷ Egil Bakka (2000:5) also explains that the "two measure turning polka" type is a usual element in many West European folk dances, while it is a traditional dance by itself at the same time. On Norwegian examples in the countryside, he explains different names for the same dance – *hamborgar*, *skotsk*, *hoppvals* and *galopp* (Bakka 2000:7).

We can find a special style of polka dancing with strong trembling (shaking of the whole body with strong vertical movement and small steps) under its local name – the *potresuljka* or *potresujka*⁸ – in the region in the hinterland of the city of Rijeka (Croatia's major harbour city), a part around the small town of Kastav in the region known as *Kastavščina*, with Liburnija around the town of Opatija, and a little higher in the mountains, in Grobnik and the *Grobinščina* area – which they also call the "Grobnik Alps" for fun.

⁷ There are a lot of traditional dances in Croatia (the *drmeš*, and especially the *kolo* circle dance in Slavonia and all over Croatia) where the polka step replaced some other steps from the older traditional layer in the same 2/4 time, and, with different accenting, even changed the performance style of particular dances.

⁸ See example 1 "Potresujka potresaje" on YouTube: FA "Zora" Opatija-Potresujka: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rR-kaQXGWD0>

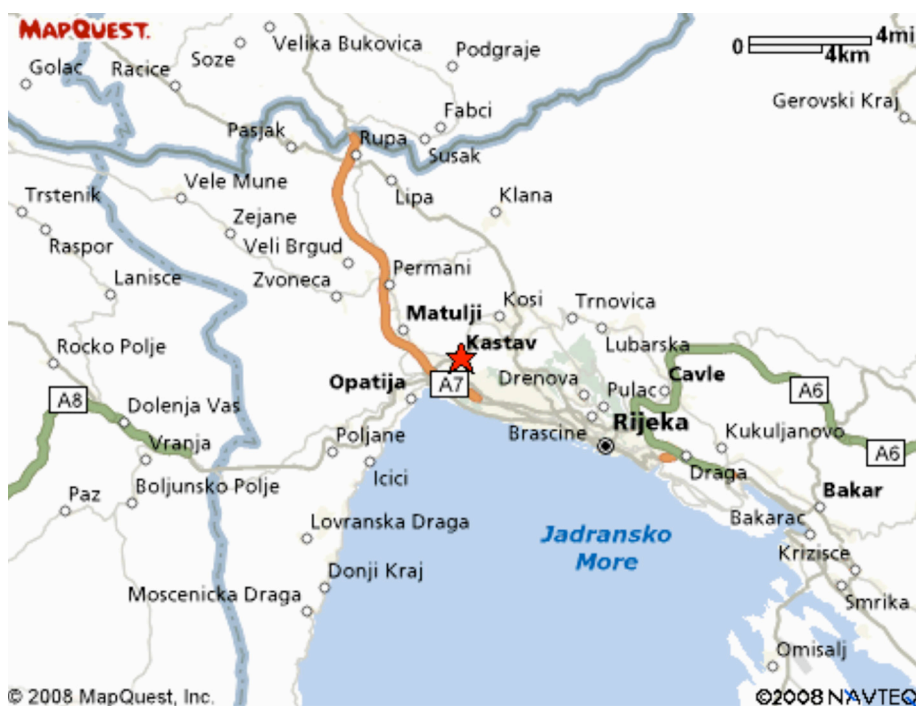


FIGURE 1: Opatija with the Liburnia region, Kastav and Grobnik (Čavle) regions

The *potresujka* became very popular during Carnivaltide and at weddings. One can even find headlines in newspapers during the last several years saying: *The Potresujka is "in" again!*

We can see how the *potresujka* has become a notable part of people's identity nowadays even through the work of 7th grade primary school pupils. Stella Paris (2008) from the school in Čavle wrote a poem "A Postcard from Grobnik" reciting in the Chakavian dialect about important images of her native place and, of course, mentioning the *potresujka* as one of the most important symbols of Carnival events:

Grobnička kartulina

Malo, lipo mesto kadi saki sakoga zna.
 Tu se dica igraju, none povedaju štoriju.
 Zdola Grada teče Ričina. Za nju saki čovik zna.
 Ona j kot nika dama fina. O, naša draga Ričina!
 Na vrhu crikva stoji, kraj nje kaštel zvezde broji.
 Škola j va sredini već odavna, to j naša grajska trojka slavna.
Maškare su vavik tu, tanca se i potresujka.
 Si su judi veseli, dobre voje i puni kuraja.
 Naš mići Grobnik Grad, mesto blaženoga mira.
 Gjedaš ga i va srce te dira.

A Grobnik Postcard

A small place where everyone knows everyone.
Where children play, and grandmamas tell stories.
Below the Town the Ričina flows. Everyone knows of it.
It's like some fine lady. Oh, our dear Ričina!
A church stands on the hill, beside it a fort counts the stars.
The school in the middle from times long past,
that is our town's famous trio.
The masks are always here, and the potresujka is danced.
All the people are merry, in good humour and full of courage.
Our tiny Grobnik Town, a place of blessed peace.
You look at it and it touches your heart.

There are workshops and courses teaching the *potresujka* not only in the above-mentioned *Liburnija*, *Kastavščina* or *Grobinščina* areas, but also in the broader region of the Croatian Littoral and Istria, even in towns in the more southern part of the Primorje coastal area such as Novi Vinodolski.

The *potresujka* has become as popular as the *salsa* or *tango* in the broader region around and in the city of Rijeka, and some dance teachers of the *potresujka* have become very popular, as well, through teaching these dance courses.⁹ The courses are usually announced and organised during the weekends in December, as preparation for the Carnival dance evenings. During these evenings and largely at the end of Carnival, on Shrove Tuesday, the participants have to complete certain assignments and publicly show their competence. One of these assignments is to make a paper flower, and the other is to dance the *potresujka* in front of a "jury", which selects the winners (*Hrvatski karnevalist* 2007:24).¹⁰

Together with a lot of positive comments and cordial invitations to dance the *potresujka*, as well as frequently expressed knowledge of the *potresujka* as one of the main conditions in choosing a boyfriend, some

⁹ In local online news we could read about the *potresujka* dance course (held at the *Hangar* Social Club in Matulji) organised by the Tourist Board, with 60 participants on the first Saturday of teaching and double that number during the second term. They came from different places in Istria and the Primorje, even from neighbouring Slovenia. Dance teachers stressed the significant possibilities for improvisation where "each dancer could give something of his/her own after learning the basic steps"; just as each village has developed something unique in its collective style of *potresujka* dancing. (<http://isite02> 2006; www.opatija.net 2008). At the end of the course each dancer could receive "a prestigious autochthonous dancer diploma"! The situation is similar in Viškovo and Kastav (www.opcina-viskovo.com 2007).

¹⁰ In a 2009 Carnival contest, *potresujka* dance ability became the most important condition in choosing "the best Carnival girl" in Matulji. She "should be more than 18 years old, she should dance the *potresujka*, drink a glass of wine, make a paper Carnival-flower, sing Carnival songs, corrupt the jury and drive a Carnival doll around in the wheelbarrow". And the award was 5 000 Kuna – c. € 650 (Opatija online added 28. 12. 2008. "Izbor za najpusnu divojku" <http://www.opatija.net/vijesti.asp?id=42>).

negative reactions on the Internet blogs also reveal the vital presence of the *potresujka* in the contemporary life of Rijeka and its surroundings. Young people who do not like this type of music and dance are very critical of this robust and intrusive way of amusement enjoyed by a huge part of the population, often popularised by the local media.

The performance by Ivana Marčelja and Tomi Krešević of the song *Potresujka* at the *Melodije Istre i Kvarnera* [Melodies of Istria and the Quarnero Bay] Festival in 2004 made this music and dance more popular (see the example on YouTube).¹¹ They were awarded second prize at that Festival, but also ranked high on the hit-parades of the local radio and TV programmes.

Two years later the same singer, Ivana Marčelja, "with a special voice and perfect local dialect has quickly become one of the favourites in and around the 'Chakavian capital (Rijeka)'" .¹² That time she performed at the *Melodije Istre i Kvarnera* Festival with another song *Boća i bulin*, again in a lively polka rhythm. *Potresujka* popularity continues and we could read about the festival in 2008: "... and to the delight of the audience, the *potresujka* came spontaneously into the program once again".¹³

The popularity of the *polka*, the local *potresujka*, continues to grow in the broader region of Istria and the Quarnero Bay.

¹¹ Ivana Marcelja i Tomi Krešević – Potresujka <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hZf2PdrfWG4>

¹² MIK 2006 – The Grand Finale <http://www.istraexperience.com/mik06/mik06-program.htm>

¹³ See www.istrianexperience.com 2008.

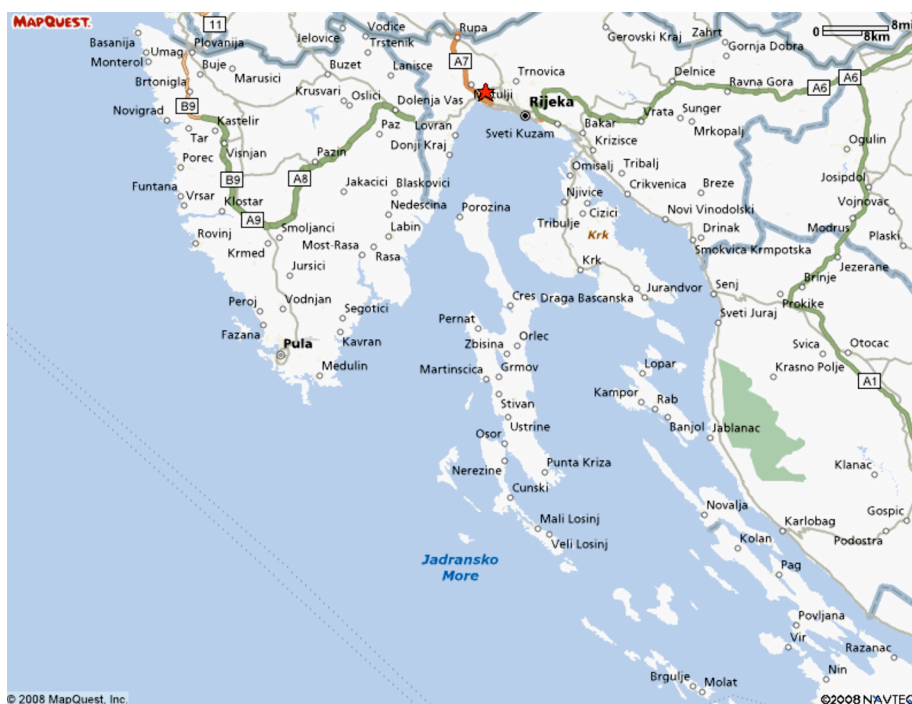


FIGURE 2: The Istrian Peninsula and the Kvarner (Quarnero Bay)

Another example of the interweaving of dance into the theatre play *Potresujkom po Čehovu* [Through Chekhov with the *Potresujka*] shows how the *potresujka* became the main connecting element in the dramaturgy linking four single-act dramas by Anton Pavlovich Chekhov. The director/producer Serđo Dlačić (from the city of Rijeka) together with the choreographer Đurđica Kunej (from Zagreb) linked this dance with the great Russian writer. They found it very appropriate and attractive to show some grotesque situations coloured by Chekhov's well-known irony and rhythm, integrating them with this lively local dance, popular during Carnival and at wedding parties. They merged the ironical context of famous, "global" and high culture literature and the universal wedding theme with the rural, local context of small places. Members of the amateur "JAK" theatre company performed these dramas.¹⁴ The director of Chekhov's plays in Mali Lošinj told me that, just as in other small places in Rijeka's surroundings, the *potresujka* "with its lively and frisky tempo can find a way to wake up the whole body" and, with

¹⁴ The acronym JAK was chosen in honour of the Croatian writer and collector of oral tradition, Josip Antun Kraljić (1877-1948), who was born on the island of Krk and died in Mali Lošinj. He was a well-known patriot who worked for many years as a teacher in Istria and at Mali Lošinj.

the love story often mentioned in discussions about that dance here, could take the partners into the bed just as in Chekhov's single-act plays. The *potresujka*, which has become well-known through the festivals and media in recent years, has been very well accepted in Mali Lošinj that belongs to the broader Quarnero Bay region.

In that way, the stage became a place where the *potresujka*, through its characteristic embodiment, could be used to express local experiences for better understanding of universal feelings written about and dramatised by Chekhov. Theatre audiences, largely in Mali Lošinj, have enjoyed watching this form of staged polka – the *potresujka* – known in their broader neighbourhood as something domestic and traditional. Just as in London a hundred and fifty years ago "the couple dance as a divertissement in larger works or, as an *entr'acte*, became a vehicle for exhibiting the virtuosity of local stars, so the polka was easily featured in this way" (Smigel 1996:199). And what seems the same for this kind of stage presentation of the polka as in the 1840s in London, where "the polka itself assured the theatres of attracting the throngs", in Mali Lošinj, "audiences responded, then, not so much to the virtuoso qualities of a theatricalized polka as to the recognizable signs of dance fashion onstage" (ibid.) in Mali Lošinj at the beginning of the 21st century. Exactly the same process happened again, this time in Mali Lošinj. Turning the polka's popularity to his own use, the playwright/director adopted the *potresujka* dance into scenes reflecting and making fun of contemporary, but also universal, social practices (see Smigel 1996:201).¹⁵

¹⁵ See YouTube: Potresujkom po Cehovu: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Xxd4bygisY&feature=channel_page<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Xxd4bygisY&feature=channel_page>



FIGURE 3: The poster of the *Potresujkom po Čehovu* play, 2008.

At the end we can turn to the musical accompaniment and the instrumental aspect. The accordion and trombone are the most important symbols of *potresujka* music and dance. This connects us again with the Alpine influences of brass bands but also with a perception about ourselves in

connection with our neighbours from the Northwest – the Slovenians and Austrians.¹⁶ What does this look like as a perception of Alpine culture in Grobnik – the highest part of Rijeka's hinterland mountains – also called "Grobničke Alpe [Grobnik Alps]" among the local inhabitants? *Polka/potresujka* music and dance, the *jodlanje* [yodelling] style of singing, *dinderl* costumes, accordions, trombones, sausages, strong and fat men...

So, integration progresses on another, not only local or regional, but higher, trans-national, and even international level.¹⁷

We can monitor the journey of the *polka* through the story of its local version – the *potresujka* – which shows us how some expressions in dance can progress from being local and national to being trans-national, and then be accepted once again as being local, but in a different, new and transformed context and form. Such expressions can exist somewhere for a long time as something that perseveres and then, at one moment, can explode again into a kind of mania – like the *polkomania* or the *potresujkomania* in the local, but also in the regional context. They can be accepted and presented as traditional, old and prestigious aspects of one's identity. They can also be accepted as one of the ways in which to interpret universal values, connecting local and global layers of art, "high" and "low" culture, dance and literature, and philosophy and fun. Through different kinds of stage production, the *polka* could really fulfil the role of integration on different layers.

¹⁶ See YouTube: Linda Gizdulic – Grobnicke Alpe: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sg1RFKgMxes>

¹⁷ See YouTube:
Global Kryner – Y Asi – Austria 2005 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9VdFY6vFiU0>
Singing about "musica Alpina" in the "Latino and Cubana rhythm", combining English and Spanish text with yodelling and brass band instruments, the accordion and some elements of Austrian traditional costumes, "an Austrian jazz-folk band", the Global Krayner group, produced a real mixture of cultures during their performance at the Eurovision Song Contest, when representing Austria in 2005 in "their first international success". Shall we try to find local, regional or national, Austrian-Kryner elements in their performance, or should we look at the mixture of different styles, genres, rhythms gathered together producing some kind of global musical fusion? This kind of tension is expressed firstly in their name, the stage could accept both, and integration could be constructed and interpreted from different points of view and discourses. This kind of "Cosmopolitan Karawanken beat" and their "unconventional, catchy Salsa-Polka-Pop tune 'Y Asi'" warrant much more space for investigation.

Ivana Katarinčić

Ballroom Dances, Sport Dances, Social Dances: Two Levels of Presentation

The third season of the TV show "Ples sa zvijezdama" [Dancing with the Stars] has now ended. The show is produced in Croatia under licence from the BBC, the original title having been *Strictly Come Dancing*. Its American ABC adaptation was called *Dancing with the Stars*, which is also the English translation of the Croatian version.

Dancesport, although masked in the show, along with all the consequences of show presentation,¹⁸ was thus given an opportunity to be shown in highly influential transmission on television. It was only when the show was completed that the media in Croatia began monitoring more intensively what was happening in dancesport. For example, the 2008 State Championships in Latin and Standard dancing, two style sectors in dancesport (explained in more detail in Footnote 3) were broadcast, while, since the show, there have been reports on various local and international tournaments in the newspapers.

Although previously virtually unknown to the broad public, the dancesport community has existed in Croatia since Croatia's independence,

¹⁸ The dancesport community is not represented in its authentic form. For example, if we refer merely to adjudicating, the viewers are called upon to decide with their phone calls on which couple is to be eliminated per episode, although these viewers do not possess the required knowledge and are not aware of the criteria represented in dancesport contests, where authorised judges decide on the contestants' order and the final result, on the basis of their own experience, their professionalism and their attained licences as judges, guided by criteria on the quality of performance and the couple's presentation. The judging system at formal sporting competitions – the so-called skating system – privileges majority opinion. In the Croatian version of the show, the "professional jury" has a "semi-professional" structure. Only 2 of the judges have dance and judging experience in adjudicating dancesport competitions. One of the judges is professional in the world of artistic skating, while another is a professional from the world of ballet. It is hardly likely that a person coming from the dancesport world would be called upon to judge skaters and ballerinas, if a representative show were to be in question. It is also unlikely that a similar show would be produced, presenting, for example, the world of ballet, dance that is officially rated as an art. Classifying Ballroom Dances in either the domain of sport or art is a dilemma, which cannot be dealt with in the scope of this text. Aside from the inevitably subjective nature of judging a dance performance, something that cannot be measured, adjudication in the show is left to the layperson and professional eye of the observers. Along with the host of differences between the show and formal dancesport competition performances, exactly defined dance technique givens are missing, and the couples are presented separately, while the couples in contests dance at the same time. In addition, there is no (systematic) co-ordination in the choreographies and the costumes.

and also earlier, although then as part of the structure of the dance community in the former Yugoslavia.¹⁹

Dancesport tournaments are held in cities and towns throughout Croatia, organised by each of the dance clubs, members of the *Croatian DanceSport Federation* (the HŠPS), at least once a year. The show in which the dance teachers are members of the *Croatian DanceSport Federation*, with the stars as their partners being "well-known personalities from public life", has to an extent touched upon and brought through the back door to the attention of the broad public, the hitherto unknown world of dancesport.

In this way, the channel of information to the dancesport community has been opened, but it has not brought a real knowledge of sport dances. This knowledge remains in the domain of the dancesport community, whose dancing practice differs considerably from the dancing of social dances. Knowledge that, unlike information, includes the *cognoscente*, is harder to transform, and requires understanding and dedication, and not mere memorisation. As in every specialised and dedicated community, the knowledge has remained within it, the property of the sport dancers and their communities (cf. Marion 2006:148-149).

Dancers demonstrate their knowledge on stage – at contests that are venues demonstrating "small" integrations – of the rituals of the dance community, dances and dancers. One such staging, presented in the form of the show, prompted popularisation of the dances, social dances and dance schools. The show that presented sport dances of limited technical performance also managed to popularise the social dances underlying sport dances, and vice versa. In other words, although this is a matter of dances of the same name, sport and social dances are not the same dances.

Internationally, sport dances are called Ballroom or International dances. The term *International Style* has been in use for the last twenty years or so and denotes the English style of competitive dancing. There is also an American Style of competitive ballroom dancing.²⁰ The basic differences lie in the details of technical performance and the manner of presentation. Therefore, I shall be using the term Ballroom or Sport dances to indicate the competitive dances under the auspices of the HŠPS. All of the sport dances also co-exist as social dances, although almost any dance could be called a social dance. Social dancing is variously classified by its proponents as a

¹⁹ In 1935, Yugoslavia was one of the nine co-founding countries (with Austria, Denmark, England, Germany, France, Switzerland and The Netherlands) of the first international amateur dance organisations, called the IDSF (the International Dance Sport Federation) today. (http://www.ples.hr/plugins/p2_news/printarticle.php?p2_articleid=74).

²⁰ The International and English styles are divided into Latin (the Samba, Cha Cha Cha, Rumba, Paso Doble, and Jive) and Standard (the English Waltz, Tango, Slowfox, Viennese Waltz, Quickstep) dances. The American Style is divided into Rhythm (Cha Cha Cha, Rumba, Swing, Bolero, Mambo) and Smooth (Waltz, Tango, Foxtrot, Viennese Waltz) dances.

hobby, leisure recreation or entertainment, an art form, or a sport. There is no established term in Croatia that would define very precisely that certain dances are social dances.²¹ I shall apply the term *social* in the text to indicate dances that are presented under that name in Zagreb dance schools and are more accessible in that way in relation to the enclosed dancesport community. Social dances are *social* to a certain degree, up until their entry into the dancesport community when they become sport dances. They are divided by specialised knowledge, and their performance and appurtenance to the community. The difference is found in the status of engagement and inclusion. When social dances stop being only recreational and become part of the everyday life of the dancer, then they are sport dances. It is interesting to note how the exposure of sport dances in the media has led to the popularisation of both sport dances but, primarily, of social dances. From conversations with the leaders of Zagreb dance schools, we know that there is obviously a greater interest in social dances.

Standardisation

"The meanings of the movement lexicons change when transported into the adopting group" (Desmond 1997:35). In the process of standardisation, dances that are danced today at dancesport contests have travelled and migrated, depending on their origins, usually through forcibly settled colonial groups, then to be reformed and arranged in America, then standardised in England, and disseminated over almost all the continents in a new form and with altered meaning. New, always artificial but equally standardised contexts were intentionally created.

Although not so intentionally agreed upon, the foundations of dance standardisation can be discerned as early as in the dances of the Renaissance and the Baroque and, later, in the 19th century, when dance manuals clearly laid down permissible and impermissible norms of behaviour and deportment during dancing. For example, dance manuals from the 19th century include sketches that show the *appropriate* and *inappropriate* ways of holding a partner during dancing, defining the position of the head, the arm and the upper part of the body, as well as the corresponding distance that had to be maintained between the male and female torso.²²

Ballroom dances have diverse origins, rhythms, tempos and aesthetics, and they come from different countries with different histories and physical

²¹ For example, Stjepan Sremac called social dances *urban* dances, as against village or folk dances. Hrvoje Kraševac, the multiple Croatian champion in Standard and Latin American dances, calls the standard division of sport dances *social*.

²² The *appropriate* deportment was regarded as a reflection of middle and upper class status, while the *inappropriate* was attributed to groups of lower social status (cf. Desmond 1997:32-33).

practices. The process of their standardisation took place at the beginning of the 20th century in Great Britain when, after the increasingly intensive debates among English dance teachers, standardisation of social dances and the production of *correct steps* was proposed in an effort to suppress "the spread of incorrect dancing and the increased liberalism on the dance floor" (Cresswell 2006:60). *Strange* and inappropriate dance steps and dances were regarded as being connected with American and Afro-American culture. The *Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing* (the ISTD) was at the core of the discussion on dance and its ostensible deterioration and degeneration. It was founded in 1904 with the objective of creating uniform methods of teaching and providing support for the advanced training of dance teachers. In 1924, a branch of the ISTD devoted to ballroom dancing was formed.

It was not long before a syllabus of ballroom dancing was set, which included knowledge of music, the position of the body and dance forms. The new rules on dances were published in the English *Dance Journal*. An alphabetical list of definitions of the technical expressions used in ballroom dances was published, while the *Dance Journal* started to publish pocket instruction cards for all the approved dances. The codification of the English style of ballroom dances was an almost ten-year project. It is interesting to note that the first dances that the ISTD adjudged to be acceptable such as, for example, the waltz or the foxtrot, were originally denoted as undesirable, dangerous and unacceptable in English society (Cresswell 2006:70).

Just as the ISTD ballroom dancing code emerged in opposition to Afro-American dances and, in fact, transformed the American forms of dancing, so did precise tempo find itself in opposition to imprecise and improvised rhythms such as the then exceptionally popular jazz music-making and its characteristic improvisation.

During the next few decades, ISTD i Victor Silvester²³ regulated the codification of social dancing in Britain, and further afield. The development of standard steps and the omission of unnecessary ones, the output of accepted terminology, pocket instruction cards, the production of syllabus (the teaching plan) for instructors, and the definition of the process of precise tempo production were all part of that process. Dance and its bodily mobility moved across the Atlantic to Great Britain, whence new forms of codified mobility were exported to the rest of the world.

The dancesport community

With the migration of dance forms, styles and traditions caught up in the global cultural torrent, new forms of expression were concocted. It could be

²³ Victor Silvester performed the duties of president of the *Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing* from 1945 until 1958.

said that, unlike social dances, sport dances were intentionally and artificially created on the models of several dances – folk-traditional or social. Although of the same name and basic steps, the difference in performance and way of presentation separated social dances from sport dances, and vice versa. For example, when performing the samba²⁴ in Brazil outside the dancesport community, the dancers do not apply the standardised rules of the sport samba, or apply dancesport techniques in dancing the most widely disseminated dance, the waltz. In addition, "the two styles of tango performed by ballroom dancers today, (...) is sufficiently distant from its Argentine roots to be considered an entirely different dance employing different movements, rhythms, and musical accompaniment" (Bosse 2008:45). In order to become sport dances, dances are separated from their original context, adapted and inserted into a completely new one. Notwithstanding the reason for their being standardised, through their transformation and mobility, the Ballroom dances group have become the standard-bearers today of different meaning and a part of the exceptionally enclosed dance community, and the culture and way of life of its members. Through standardisation, numerous corrections and refinement that was aimed at improved, more elite,²⁵ purer, and more correct dancing, these dances have been set apart from social dancing and have become the property of the enclosed dance community, inaccessible to those outside that community, for whom only the role of audience member and observer has remained.²⁶

The importance and even the meaning of the provenience of sport dances has been lost in the sport dancer community, and it exists only as an integrational element in the dance competition communities. For example, *jive* is not a Latin dance geographically, although it is designated in the Latin dances category. It is very difficult to determine the origins of hybrid music and dance forms since "the search for origins reveals many contradictory claims depending on where the observer thinks one dance ends and other begins" (Cresswell 2006:62). "Ballroom communities, as complex, hybrid

²⁴ The samba is a traditional dance in Brazil, although it has been popularised internationally as a social dance.

²⁵ Without taking into account the social structure of Ballroom dancers, engaging in dancesport is very expensive. The dancers finance their equipment from their own funds, pay rental for the halls (although organised by the clubs whose members they are by way of monthly membership fees), themselves pay for their private instruction classes, travelling to tournaments, participation fees at contests, and the like. The Croatian dancesport community is one of the rare dance organisations in Croatia that is not supported by any State funding whatsoever, at least not by funding that would find its way directly to the dancers.

²⁶ In another way but with the same result, classical ballet is equally inaccessible to outsiders. The body of a ballet dancer is so highly trained that the most basic and simple ballet steps cannot be mastered by anyone who has not been subjected to the same process of attaining "a ballet body".

cultures exhibit elements of ritual, ceremony, leisure, performance, exhibition, pageant, and competition. They are social arenas in which community and identity are confirmed" (Marion 2006:55).

Each of the ten International dances is supplied with its own internationally applicable rules and technique that enable judging and competition. Apart from dance technique and music rhythm, the entire competition procedure is standardised, ritualised and identifiable only to insiders. They have "their own language" and terminology that is opaque to the outsider. Only members of the dance community are able to recognise and follow the customary standardised procedure of the ritual warm-up, the dancing, coming out onto the stage, the dressing, scoring the dances, the procedure for eliminating couples, declaration of the winners, and the like. Each dance gathering venue is different but recognisable, while the ritual implementations – within which creativity takes place simultaneously – are performative and possess a high degree of formality. Ignorance of the ritual content makes it incomprehensible to the outsider.

The competitive ballroom community is made up of dancers integrated into the multi-ethnic and multi-national dance community. The community possesses its own specific procedures and the rituals of its activity. Community members share the same "goals, purposes, understandings, aesthetics, and a wide range of embodied practices. Regardless of any ability to verbally communicate, dancers from all over the world can easily partner each other. Similarly, the same mental models shape the technique, teaching, performance, competition (...) and judging followed internationally" (Marion 2006:51). So it is that every judge, a holder of an internationally recognised licence, can competently adjudicate at any competition, in any country whatsoever. The coaches also act with ease internationally.²⁷ "Each member is an individual nexus of overlapping cultures. Each dancer is certainly a member of their national culture but, at the same time, is also a member of the ballroom culture" (Marion 2006:349). The community is thus geographically and ethnically undefined and unlimited.

On-stage competition is the objective of every dancer and dance community and the venue of final presentation of the skills attained.²⁸ The stage or the competition is what secures the dancer a place in contests and, thereby, status. In the absence of competition and the final presentation on

²⁷ If we omit the skills of which they avail and transmit through coaching, the difference in Croatia between "domestic" and foreign instructors lies in the price they charge for their lessons. The non-Croatian instructors command a higher price at the moment.

²⁸ "Ballroom dancing is not staged dance style" (Marion 2006:361). The stages upon which the contests take place are not classical or customary. Dancesport competitions in Croatia are held in sport halls, usually those belonging to schools or sport clubs. The public in the stands is wholeheartedly engaged in interaction with the dancers. They encourage them and give voice to their impressions by whistles, loud shouts and by cheering the dancers along.

stage, the organisation of the dance competition community would lose its sense. For example, when I had completed the beginners' course in social dances, I joined the "advanced" group and, still wanting to find out and learn more, I encountered an obstacle and the invisible border that divides recreational (social) dancing from sport dancing. If I wanted to learn more, they directed me to the dancesport group. At the social dancing courses, the participants are familiarised with the basic steps and individual figures, while the technical skills of performances are the domain of the sport dances and community. They do not want to teach these to the *recreational dancers*. When I did, however, join the dancesport group, wanting to learn new skills without wanting to take part in competition, the pointlessness of this became much clearer to me, due to the fact that the entire training procedure, having the same partner, the group and individual practice sessions and many other elements were gauged for presentation on stage, where the work and efforts of the couple will be evaluated, judged and ranked. Stage presentation is the final objective of many other dance forms, of a ballet performance,²⁹ for example. That competition is precisely the most sporting-like element of this community, although I cannot deal in more detail with that issue on this occasion.³⁰

Attending social dancing courses often serves the participants only as a means to the final objective – the performance – where they will have an opportunity to present their newly-acquired skills. This usually takes place at a wedding or at some evening dance outing, where there is a dance floor as one of the possible stage forms. In that way, the stage becomes an integrative space for diverse modes of presentation. Consequently, sport dances are not social dances. They are internationalised, standardised, and professional, targeted at and intended for performance exclusively at competitions. Apart from at competitions, they are also performed in various TV shows or at paid engagements, but not under informal circumstances. Even when one and the same dance is in question, with the same rhythm and same steps, its performance is visibly and significantly different. Their imprecise differentiation has led to the emphasis in the media on one form that has contributed to the popularisation of the other.

²⁹ The years of instruction and training of the body and the spirit are largely presented on theatre stages.

³⁰ Competitive Ballroom dancing is comprised of overlapping dynamics including those of spectacle, art, and sport (Marion 2006:8). There are frequent polemics about whether these dances should be classified as sport or as art. Dancesport was officially recognised as an Olympic sport in 1997, although it still has not appeared officially at the Olympic Games. The dancers usually feel themselves to be sportsmen/women and artists.

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POZORNICA KAO MJESTO IZAZOVA INTEGRACIJE

SAŽETAK

Pozornica je jedinstveno javno mjesto na kojem se prenose brojne različite poruke, mjesto na kojem su društvene i kulturne razlike očite. Na primjerima glazbe i plesa raspravlja se o glazbenoj i/ili političkoj sceni, o različitim načinima integracije, a pozornica se interpretira kao prostor na kojem su polja napetosti očita kao binarne opozicije (zajedničko – pojedinačno; globalno – lokalno; visoka tradicija – niska tradicija). Propituju se mnogostruke strategije izvođača i izvedba kao način komunikacije u kojoj su izvođači posebno odgovorni pred publikom, ne samo zbog sadržaja poruke nego i zbog načina na koji to čine. Usporedbom triju studija pokušavaju se otkriti rezultati (ne)svjesnih miješanja oblika, stilova i načina izražavanja kao posljedice procesa standardizacije, purifikacije i homogenizacije i usto se nastoje pokazati vidljivi i nevidljivi, odnosno, očiti i skriveni koraci tih akcija.

Kako se pojedina lokalna zajednica može predstavljati modelom koji je stvorio stručnjak – etnokoreolog kao autoritet, koliko taj model prati njihov način života i simboliku te kako odgovara modelima i kanonima scenskog prikazivanja folkloru; kako komunicira sa širom publikom na nacionalnoj ili međunarodnoj razini te kako danas interpretiramo njihov izbor? O tome Iva Niemčić raspravlja na primjeru pokladarskog kola s Lastova. Prikazujući kako je polka prihvaćena u nas kroz povijest, Tvrtko Zebec otkriva i kako je *potresujka*, kao tradicijski ples Kastavštine i lokalna inačica polke, postala popularna među mladima u Hrvatskom primorju i Istri kao širemu lokalnom prostoru te kako povezuje lokalni i globalni kontekst kazališnom predstavom *Potresujkom po Čehovu*. Ivana Katarinčić pak otkriva kako se plesovi različitih kultura i podrijetla mijenjaju i stapaju u standardizirane oblike na globalnoj razini, kako istodobno postaju sportski i natjecateljski te odnedavno mnogo popularniji zahvaljujući medijskoj prezentaciji u velikom televizijskom showu te kako se zajednica sportskih plesača snalazi u izazovima integracije sa širom zajednicom.

Ključne riječi: pozornica; ples; etnografija; integracija; globalno/lokalno