

DANCE RESEARCH IN CROATIA

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The author writes about the methodology of research, and about the interests and aspirations of Croatian dance researchers. He takes a critical look at the development of ethnochoreology and the ethnology of dance in Croatia, and compares them with European and American achievements in the professions.

Ongoing re-examination of their own disciplines, their theories, methods and subjects of research are valuable features of Croatian ethnology, folkloristics, ethnomusicology, and also of ethnochoreology. The past of these disciplines and their mutual relations are written about, there is discussion on various scientific approaches, the identities of the professions and scholars is researched, and new themes of research are promoted. Efforts are made to determine the position of these small national scientific disciplines in relation to worldwide achievements in these professions.

The objective of this text is to augment reviews made to date of dance research among the Croats. Two such reviews have already been compiled. One was made in the United States of America when a bibliography of ethnochoreological texts available in American libraries was being drawn up. That review mentioned fundamental trends in dance research covering the entire region of what was then Yugoslavia (Dunin

1981). The second review was completed somewhat later and spoke of the aspirations of Croatian ethnochoreology in the period from 1945 to 1983 (Sremac 1983a). Along with the two studies mentioned, there also exists an unusually valuable chronological review of sources for research into the history and origins of dance (Ivančan 1985). It provides a sound insight into Croatian dance culture through the centuries, and speaks in one part of the reach and interest of Croatian ethnochoreology up until the mid-Eighties of this century.

From today's perspectives, it is necessary to re-evaluate research to date and to supplement existing reviews.

Sources

Short descriptions of dances, the situations in which they were danced, or the reasons for which dancing was prohibited, can be found in old court records, chronicles and travelogues throughout the Croatian regions. The texts differ greatly, this depending primarily on the completely contrary starting-points of the authors. Sources from the 13th and 14th centuries are very rare, they are somewhat more numerous for the 15th and 16th centuries, when they relate mainly to the Dalmatian cities and Istria. Sources on dancing in the continental part of Croatia are of somewhat more recent date (see Ivančan 1985).

References to certain sources can be found in ethnochoreological studies on origin, age and dissemination of individual dances (Sremac 1983b; 1988a, b; 1991), as well as in collections of dance material from the individual Croatian regions (Ivančan 1987; 1989).

Older sources are usually rather scant, but are very valuable because of the temporal dimension for historical or iconographic research.¹ *The Dance of the Dead*, a fresco in the Church of Saint Mary in Škriline near Beram in Istria was painted in 1474 by Vincent of Kastav and is mentioned as a valuable achievement of mediaeval art, while Ivančan (1985:13) assumes on the basis of that visual presentation that the *kolo smrti*,² or round-dance of death, was performed in Istria during the Middle

¹ The iconography of dance is the discipline situated between choreology and history of art. Seebass establishes that, in principle, there are two approaches to the matter. Iconography can be understood as a sub-discipline of choreology or as a sub-discipline of history of art (see Seebass 1991). Just recently Seebass has emphasised iconography as a separate type of dance research.

² *Danse macabre* (in French) and/or *Totentanz* (in German) is known as a motif of the mediaeval idea of the universal law of death by which all people are made equal. The earliest representation of it was noted in Paris in 1424, and the motif spread through France, Germany, Switzerland, northern Italy, Burgenland and Istria. The spread of the motif was contributed to by graphics (wood engravings). Ideas differ about the reasons

Ages. There is a similar example in the water-colours from the Dubrovnik Martecchini family archive, dating from the 19th century. These are pictorial documents which are confirmed by other, much older, written sources on performance of chain-dances with swords and bows in the Dubrovnik Republic during the 15th century (Ivančan 1967:149).

There are particularly valuable articles to be found in the journal, *Review of Popular Life and Customs*, now more than one hundred years old. On the basis of Antun Radić's questionnaire, his associates in the field - literate peasants, teachers, and priests - collected material which was later partially published in the *Review*.³ Dance, games and entertainment are mentioned in brief articles, but also as part of more detailed monographic descriptions of individual villages, people and customs. In all this, Radić suggested that *the person* should be observed - how he is *among people* (Radić 1936:58). The emotions of the individual take precedence over the social role of the entertainment, and thus differentiate entertainment from custom.⁴ Radić's interest in entertainment stretches from the broad context towards the specific. His questionnaire asks questions to which answers describing social situations, gatherings, and then the participants - by age and gender - are expected first; only then is there something about concrete forms - games, skills, jokes, dramas, dance, music-making and singing. The majority of the *Review's* associates adhered to Radić's recommendations to make their notes in the local dialect. They noted down events from their own living practice and Radić's questionnaire was in fact only a reminder and guide in systematisation of their own knowledge (Rajković 1974). The recorders were thus most frequently *insiders*, participants, and only occasionally outside observers. In written form, they transmitted what was mainly their own experience. According to Radić's concepts, what was written by the associates of the *Review* corresponds in many aspects to the demands of postmodern anthropology (Čapo Žmegač 1993).⁵

underlying the iconographic formation of this motif (Badurina, ed. 1990:538), and that is one of the reasons that researchers of dance, too, will be dealing with this theme more in the future.

³ Radić's questionnaire was printed in the *Review* (1897 Vol. 2:1–88) as the *Foundation for Collection and Study of Material on Folk Life*.

⁴ "Your heart and people compel [you to observe] custom, but only your heart to entertainment... Unless your heart pulls you into the *kolo* dance, your mother will be sad and mournful that you are withering so young, but neither she nor anybody else can ask that of you, nor will it offend anyone" (Radić 1936:58).

⁵ The centennial this year is a stimulus that the texts in the *Review* referring to dance and dance entertainment be analysed from the contemporary aspect as a separate theme.

The records of ethnomusicologists

Another type of record was left by ethnomusicologists. As a field of folkloristics,⁶ ethnomusicology, too, has historical roots in the cultural policy of Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries. Endeavours were made to reveal the hidden spiritual roots in the music and dance of peasants. Music was researched "as it disappeared". The collectors of the material were intellectuals, writers, composers and painters. Their intention was to save and preserve the artistic expressions known as folklore, and, on the basis of that folklore, to create national art (Marošević 1989). Searching for "authentic" folklore, they excluded new styles and everything which was assessed as not being national, according to the model of rural culture. The influence of urban life was declared to be destructive, because it imperiled the basic values on which natural cultural identity was to be built (see Dunin 1981; Marošević 1992). Such an ethnocentrically conceived value approach ignored the development process (Marošević 1992:116). Methods were also adapted to the subject of research and the purpose of collecting the material. The history and structure of music and dance was researched, they were compared, but Humankind, as the creator of culture was ignored.

Like other folklorists, ethnomusicologists have published a host of collections which are the basis of folklore music archives, and, in general, of European folklore research (see Giurchescu & Torp 1991). Those who were intensively engaged in field research and the notation of music would often add a description of some other data about the dance, along with the notation of the music which accompanied it (Sremac 1983a).

Franjo Ksaver (Šaver) Kuhač published some two hundred tunes and instrumental melodies for dance and dance games (Kuhač 1880). Apart from the vocal, he also noted down the instrumental or combined accompaniment to the dance. Kuhač established and described the methodology of field research and thus facilitated subsequent evaluation of his starting-points and the material collected (see Sremac 1984). According to the criteria of form and function, he divided up in his collections the dances of adults, youth, the *kolo* or round dance, dances or the *tanac* dance, and children's games (Ibid.:205). He devoted great attention to the *kolo*, or round-dance, the characteristic and most highly disseminated dance form in these regions. His remarks on the individual *kolo* types are extremely valuable. These are small studies presented in the *Review...*, by which he announces individual groups of published tunes for

⁶ Here the reference is to the European, broader concept of the discipline, which encompasses ethnomusicology, ethnochoreology, ethnotheatrology and oral literature, and not only oral literature as it is understood in America.

the *kolo* (Kuhač 1880). Along with data on the choreographic, stylistic and other elements of the dance itself, he also provides information on the functioning of the *kolo* dance, its social role, terminology, place and time of performance, and behaviour within and around the *kolo* dance. In this way, he also succeeds in conjuring up the context of the performance (Sremac 1984). Although he sometimes erred in evaluation e.g. about the possibilities for improvisation in the dance, he was well acquainted with the basic choreographic forms. He was successful in comparing the dances of western Croatia with neighbouring Slovenian and Austrian dances, or Dalmatian with Italian dances. Here he utilised both historical sources and works by the writers who were the European authorities on dance at that time - Rudolf Voss and Alfred Waldau (Sremac 1984:209).

Kuhač was aware of the multiple power of dance. For him, dance was a unification of all the human senses, "the entire nature of the people". Therefore, he valued the expressive power of dance more highly than the power of language or song (Kuhač 1893). Expressed more simply, in the spirit of his time - similarly to Radić in ethnology - Kuhač perceived the multi-channeled nature of communication which was only to be written about much later by the world's anthropologists and communicologists (see Leach 1983). Living during an era when the ideas of the Croatian National (Illyrian) Revival were still strong, he also perceived the influence of politics on dance. He monitored the process of creating and perfecting *Illyrian* dances (Kuhač 1893). Recognising the difference between the national and the popular, he did not limit himself to research of exclusively village dances. And because of that interest, Kuhač strode ahead of his time.

In so doing, he also stimulated later researchers to think about the possible transformations and mutual permeation of traditional village dances with the urban, artistically choreographed and/or stylised national dances, such as, for example, the *dance-hall* or *salonsko kolo* dance (Sremac 1984:211).

Kuhač can justifiably be regarded as the first Croatian ethnochoreologist (see Sremac 1984), and it is a great shame that his work was followed by a break in dance research lasting almost half of century, right up until Vinko Žganec engaged in something more in research of music, apart from notation of the notes of the vocal or instrumental dance accompaniment, and the noting down of the dance itself.

Žganec conceived a dance script with the aid of notes by which the basic data on the structure of the dance - the step - can be noted down. What is lacking, however, is the possibility to note down the style and deportment of the dancers. Despite its limitation, notations in that script can serve very well in comparison of the dance of individual localities in

near proximity to each other, where the people dance in similar style. The experience of individual ethnochoreologists has shown that these notations are practical in fieldwork (Ivančan 1991:121).

In keeping with the trend in European folkloristics, Žganec noted down the older stratum of musical folklore. Writing down tunes, he inescapably also encountered songs sung along with the *kolo* and some other dances. He noted down the tunes and steps of the *kolo* dance which are not performed any more, and even older collocutors have difficulty in remembering them (Žganec 1950; 1971; 1990). He was interested "primarily in dances which are connected with traditional songs, because they are much more interesting from the aspects of history and musicology" (Žganec 1962:121). Žganec monitored numerous folklore festivals and commented on the songs and dances performed (Žganec 1951). He also took an active part in the creation of stage presentations of folklore, advising village choreographers how to conceive the performances of their folklore groups (Novak 1980; 1991a). Because of his concerns about encroaching Hungarianisation among the villagers in Međimurje, he stimulated village choreographers to create new dances to the existing traditional melodies on the model of traditional dance patterns.

So as to record the dance more qualitatively and systematically, in 1948 Žganec engaged Ana Maletić, an expert on dance (Sremac 1983a).⁷ And this took place thirty years prior to a similar attempt in the United States.⁸ Similarly to G. Kurath in the United States, Ana Maletić was engaged in the theory, practice and methodics of modern dance art and movement (Maletić 1983). Recognised as a leading dance teacher, she was concerned with the history of dance and its universal nature (Maletić 1986).

Thus, Žganec took care that the Institute for Folk Art became an institution - the only one of its kind in Croatia - where, with short breaks,

⁷ Žganec was then head of the Musicological Sector of the Ethnographic Museum. In 1948, the Sector broke away into the independent Institute for Folk Art (from 1977, the Institute of Folklore Research, and since 1991, the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research).

⁸ There the anthropologist, William Fenton, after publication of the ethnographic research on the Native Americans, engaged Gertrude Prokosch Kurath to carry out choreological analysis of movement/dance as an important part the ritual activities in the life of the Iroquois tribe (Kaepler 1991). Kurath is otherwise regarded as the pioneer of empirical dance research in America (Kaepler 1991) and a founder of dance ethnology (see Kurath 1960; Dunin 1992).

at least one ethnochoreologist was employed, there being two - Ivančan and Rajković - in the period from 1966 to 1968.⁹

Until the Fifties of this century, exclusively ethnomusicologist-choreologists like Kuhač and Žganec did research into dance in Croatia. Only then did ethnochoreology become an independent field of research. Therefore, it can be confirmed that in Croatia as in the majority of European countries, ethnochoreology grew out of ethnomusicology (see Giurchescu & Torp 1991).

The activity of the ethnochoreologists

Parallel to Žganec's work, primarily ethnomusicological activities coupled with a desire to enable high-quality research into dance in Croatia, the sisters, Danica and Ljubica Janković from Belgrade were also engaged in notation of dance in the region of what was then the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. They tried to note down as much as possible in the fear that the folk dances, dramas and *kolo* dances would be forgotten. They emphasised particularly the edifying role of dance and supported the practice of perfecting dance in cultural organisations. In all their eight collections, they keep to a uniform manner of notation which they themselves invented, convinced that they could preserve folklore from extinction in that way (Dunin 1981). In one part, their interest stretched as far as the Croatian dances on the island of Pag, and dances from the areas surrounding Vrlika, Knin, Sinj and Split (Janković 1952), the dances of Croatian Dubica and Jasenovac (Janković 1964), as well as those of the Croatian living in Ljubuški, Široki Brijeg and Neum-Klek in Herzegovina (Janković 1952).¹⁰ This data can be of interest to us because it was collected prior to World War II, and with attentive evaluation it could perhaps serve as an augmentation of sources, and, even more, could stimulate more detailed research.

During the Fifties of this century, the Institute of Folk Art through the efforts of Ljelja Taš started systematically to note down dances in Croatia. Unfortunately, her activities were concentrated on recording

⁹ The detailed material on dance which Zorica Rajković collected in the Makarska coastal region, on the islands of Šolta and Brač and in villages inhabited by Croats in Slovakia are kept at the Institute.

¹⁰ The way in which the dances were classified by national and/or confessional categories, because of suppression or mere mention of certain data, already evinces doubt at first glance in the exactness of the data and reflects the political circumstances and the Serbian starting-points of the author. The dances from Dubica and Jasenovac, and the dances from the Dalmatian hinterland, are marked as being exclusively Serbian (as dances of the Orthodox Christian population), there being no mention that they are danced by Croats, too, who are in the majority in that Croatian region.

dances with Žganec's notation, with accompanying photo documentation (Sremac 1983a).¹¹ Lj. Taš's notations are useful as the starting-point for further research. Ivan Ivančan is one of the scholars who often refers to them in his collections of dance, particularly from Istria (see Ivančan 1963).¹²

A new chapter commences in Croatian ethnochoreology with the work done by Ivan Ivančan. He went on to the Institute from his earlier engagement on stage presentation of folklore in the Zagreb *Joža Vlahović* amateur folklore ensemble, where he worked on research projects, doing systematic and intensive research and collecting dance material on a regional basis throughout Croatia.

At that time, European ethnochoreologists were introducing a system and classifying dances, according to their coming into being, type and function. They did comparative research of regional dance "dialectics" and thus observed inter-ethnic relations (Giurchescu & Torp 1991:3). After they had classified the individual dance types, the researchers would determine the dance dialectics of specific regions and establish the characteristics of the individual dance styles. In the same way, Ivančan had very soon determined the dance zones, according to style and structure of the dances, and he was the first to do so in the former Yugoslavia (Ivančan 1964a). With minor departures, his division into dance zones corresponds to the division of ethnographic zones set by Milovan Gavazzi (1978 [1956]).¹³

¹¹ Lj. Taš's manuscript and photo material, which she collected between 1952 and 1955, is kept in the archives of the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research. Lj. Taš was a ballerina, a close associate of Ana Maletić, and therefore her marked interest in dance is not surprising. She was just about to carry on the work which A. Maletić had commenced with Žganec. However, Taš soon left Croatia, and with her departure, Ivančan took up his post at the Institute.

¹² A number of ballet artists tried their hand at creating choreography for folk dances. One of the first was Vatroslav Krčelić. The choreography of Zvonimir Reljić, ballet master at the Croatian National Theatre, was definitely the highest achievement in this orientation. Under the influence of the "Zagreb folklore school" (see note 19), he closely adhered to the *style* of the folklore region from which the dances were chosen for stage presentation.

¹³ In his ethnological studies, Gavazzi tried to establish the origins of specific cultural elements. Thus he was also interested in the dissemination and origins of the *kolo* dances. Although he was aware of the general dissemination of the *kolo* dances "in the distant past of European nations", he assumed that the Southern Slavs had taken this dance form with them as heritage from their Proto-Slavic homeland (Gavazzi 1991 [1959]). Discussing the *kolo* dance as a widely spread ethnographic and ethnochoreological phenomenon among the Southern Slavs, referring as well as Ivančan's data and that of other Croatian ethnochoreologists, the Serbian ethnochoreologist, Olivera Mladenović (1973). This is the most comprehensive study done on the history, structure and social significance of the *kolo* dances of the Southern Slavs (Dunin 1981).

The members of the Study Group for the Terminology of Folk Dances, part of the Folk Dance Commission,¹⁴ tried to create a universal terminology and common analytical methods (see Lange 1980). After publication of the system for analysis of the structure and form of dance (the 1974 *Syllabus*), in keeping with the major initial élan of the Study Group, Ivančan analysed the *drmeš* dance on the basis of a large number of examples from Slavonia and Baranja. Stemming from his analyses, he proposed the concept *taktmotiv* for the smallest unit of dance structure and/or "factors which it will not be possible to interpret ambiguously" (Ivančan 1981b). He thus participated in the terminological discourse of ethnochoreologists.

Similarly to the interest of his European colleagues (see Lange 1974), Ivančan broadened the basis postulate of earlier European folkloristics that exclusively village folk dances should be recorded. Ivančan went further and also recorded urban dances, particularly those from towns along the Adriatic coast.¹⁵

In his collections of dance material, Ivančan regularly provides data from older sources, along with the models of European ethnochoreology (e.g. Wolfram). He discussed dances comparatively, with their history, dissemination and mutual influences, and provides data on the situations in which the dances are performed. He interpreted in detail and analysed the phenomenon of *kumpanija* to dances with swords on the island of Korčula. In that study, he made a complex analysis of the context and role of dance in Korčula's village communities (Ivančan 1967).¹⁶ The objective of Ivančan's further research was justified, necessary, and exceptionally fruitful, and was directed towards collection of dance material throughout Croatia. The result was seen in collections in which he made detailed notation of the structure of dance along with notation of historical data. Collocutors responded to questions about dance and the circumstances under which they were danced *in the past*. They thus reconstructed and/or conjured up the context through memory. Ivančan calls this "dance customs". He does not write separately about his methods, but it is obvious that most of the material was collected through the *interview* method. The photographs of the collocutors presented in the material often show that they demonstrated the dances exclusively for the research projects. "The real" context would be reconstructed by talking, which Ivančan literally transmitted in the collections, in the local dialects. Such descriptions create

¹⁴ Later as part of the International Folk Music Council (IFCM), and then the Study Group on Ethnochoreology as part of the International Council for Traditional Music.

¹⁵ Almost all the Mediterranean towns (Ivančan 1973;1981a;1982), and the towns of continental Croatia e.g. Koprivnica (1989), Slavonska Požega (Ivančan 1988).

¹⁶ The book comprised Ivančan's doctoral thesis adapted for publication.

a partly abstract but not concrete review of the phenomena in culture.¹⁷ Consequently, Ivančan's studies reveal dance as it appeared in earlier generations, but not dance in contemporary life (Dunin 1981).

In the first collections he published, Ivančan noted down dances in Žganec's dance script and his pictorial notation system (Ivančan 1964b). For fifty years Croatian ethnochoreologists - Žganec and Ivančan - and choreographers - Škreblin 1958 - had concurred with their colleagues from the neighbouring, at that time Yugoslavian, republics that dance should be noted down using Knust-Laban notation (Dunin 1981:2). Subsequently, Ivančan introduced the principle of noting down dancing in three ways: by Knust-Laban notation (kinetographically), by Žganec's script, and by description (in words).¹⁸ Since then, later authors of dance collections in Croatia have on the whole adhered to this method of notation. As regards the amount of dance material collected and the number of collections published, Ivančan is definitely Croatia's most fruitful ethnochoreologist, and it would be impossible to conceive of further research continuing without consultation of his work.

Ivančan is also a successful artist, a choreographer. He creates the choreography for the Croatian *Lado* professional folklore ensemble, and for amateur folklore groups both in Croatia and abroad - for emigrant Croatians. In this activity - the stage presentation of folklore - he is one of the founders of the so-called "Zagreb folklore school".¹⁹

Folk songs and dances on stage are experienced as a means of establishing cultural identity, and as a moving force in many tourist drives

¹⁷ This has already been written about in world (see Levi-Strauss 1977 [1958]) and Croatian ethnology (Rajković 1974). The majority of Croatian ethnologists of the culturo-historical orientation confine themselves only to that single (abstract) level of analysis, so that data on actual life is always missing (Rajković 1974). Sometimes such texts are written in the *ethnographic present*. "Ethnographic present is an anthropological term that refers, roughly, to the cultural status quo of a society at the time an attempt was first made to write a systematic description of that society and its culture" (Kealiinohommoku 1985:20).

¹⁸ Probably because there are many amateur choreographers in Croatia, while few of them are acquainted with kinetography.

¹⁹ The initial founder of the main concept of the "Zagreb school of folklore" was Zvonimir Ljevaković. The view of that "orientation" of stage, choreographed presentation is that the "original" village of the folk dance be changed as little as possible. From the Thirties, Ljevaković was associated for many years with the folk festivals, particularly the International Folklore Festival in Zagreb (from its inception in 1966 until 1981). He founded the *Lado* Ensemble and was considered in professional circles to be a superb choreographer. His choreography led as top-flight achievements in stage art. Older members of folklore groups remember with respect his exceptionally skillful field work. His interpretations of research will be produced in public as long as the choreography he conceived continue to be performed (and, in his own way, committed to paper and copyrighted). For, unfortunately, Ljevaković did not leave any scholarly texts.

(Ivančan 1971:7). This corresponds with the opinion of many European ethnochoreologists and choreographers who see stage presentation as a way of saving folklore from disappearance and oblivion.

Ivančan also writes about the problems associated with stage presentation of folk dances (1971). He shapes the basic laws of the stage and the principles of stage choreography. In so doing, he is of the opinion that prior field research is an essential for successful stage choreography. He establishes that such research "will not have the scope and depth of scientific ethnochoreological research but it will, nonetheless, encompass a certain number of problems which relate to the future stage presentation" (Ibid.:94). He adds a series of questions in the questionnaire adapted for this purpose, which he mentions as being of basic assistance to future choreographers.²⁰

Stjepan Sremac, who worked at the Institute from 1974 to 1988, also devoted his time to the problems and the history of the stage presentation of folk dances. He analysed the development of stage presentations monitoring the history of folklore festivals - from the first festival organised by the *Croatian Peasant Education and Charitable Society "Seljačka sloga"* ("The Peasant Union"), dating from the Thirties of this century, up to the *International Folklore Festival* in Zagreb (Sremac 1978). As part of the *Interaction Between Traditional and Contemporary Culture* project, he systematically monitored and filmed regional festivals and folklore performances, applying the *observation* method. He did field research in areas which had not been covered by ethnochoreographic research, and, similarly to Ivančan, tried to reconstruct the dance repertoire and customs from the end of the last and first half of this century by putting questions to collocutors. His objective is not to preserve folk dances from being lost, but rather to establish the continuity of their existence and the process of change.²¹ He has done research into the relationship between music and dance, professional terminology (1981), the intermediaries in the changes in dance repertoire (1982), and notably on the origins and dissemination of individual dances: the Croatian *tanac*,

²⁰ With the intention of training as many young choreographers as possible, Ivančan founded the *School of Folklore*. He conceived it a series of winter and summer courses which transmitted basic knowledge about dance zones, dance script, vocal techniques, traditional costumes of the individual regions, and folk dances. In recent years, the *School* has been given a very warm reception by young Croatian descendants abroad, because it offers a quick and pleasant way to learn something more about the culture of the homeland of their forebears.

²¹ Sremac did research in the Varaždin part of Podravina, in the Croatian Littoral, Gorski kotar, and in Cernik. His material and the manuscript collections are kept at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research.

the *čardaš*, *drmeš* (1983) and the *kolo*, (or round dances) called *skoči gori* [leap up] (1991) and the *karakača kolo* (1994).

Sremac researches dance in contemporary carnival customs (1988a, b.). Parallely to *traditional village* dance, he monitors the development and characteristics of *urban* dance. He sets the "organic connection between the dance and other carnival events" and "the fact that dance is an distinctly social phenomenon, firmly interwoven into the structure of social relationships and/or that is one of the more important forms of communication within narrow or broader social groups, or between more of such groups" (Sremac 1988a:138). But, nonetheless, the author does not enter into more detailed analysis of the structure of social relations, but primarily monitors *dance* in its "living and most frequently continuous tradition" and in "carnival manifestations with tourism [promotion] ambitions" (Ibid.:123). He experiences dance as a complex social phenomenon, and so he emphasises carnival in Pag as an important social event, in which the entire community takes part. He gives a similar interpretation to carnival in Novi Vinodolski, while with other examples he mainly keeps to the "dance content" of the carnival celebrations (Ibid.:160). He notices the interweaving of traditional village and urban dances, and the constant reduction in the diversity between dance repertoire from the villages and the towns. He uncovers that a "folklore level" exists in the city in the functioning of dance, and therefore supports equality in ethnochoreological research of contemporary urban dances. He applies the term *universal dance pattern* to the dance pattern which emerges as the link between urban and village dances, because he establishes that, with the unavoidable differences in the style of performance depending on cultural patterns, it is possible to find it in the most diverse dance cultures.²² Sremac also endeavours to uncover how the new dances - such as e.g. *disco dancing*, which are introduced with contemporary life - function (Sremac 1988b).

In accordance with the traditions of European ethnochoreology, Sremac concentrates more on dance as a phenomenon of movement, as a product, and less on the social relations during dance events. With his interest in diverse ethnochoreological themes, particularly in dance in contemporary life, and in more intensive application of methods of observation and participation along with the interview method, Sremac has palpably advanced dance research in Croatia.²³

²² From personal communication.

²³ Since 1988, he has been general manager of the *Lado* Folk Dances and Songs of Croatia Ensemble.

From the founding of the Institute for Folk Art, with Žganec, and later with Ivančan, Zvonimir Lovrenčević collaborated with the Institute as an external associate. He noted down mainly the customs, songs and dances of the Bilogora region.²⁴

A few other authors, all amateurs with a great deal of enthusiasm, are engaged in the notation of dance. Branko Kostelac collects dances from the area surrounding Zagreb and Jastrebarsko, and partly publishes his material (1987). In order to provide as complete a notation as possible, Kostelac supplements Žganec's dance script. Josip Vinkešević notes down the dances of Slavonia and Baranja, particularly those in the Đakovo region (Vinkešević 1989; *Pjesmom na "Vezove"* 1994). Goran Knežević has been collecting children's folklore for a number of years and works on stage presentation of children's folklore creativity. He publishes collections of children's games and dances (Knežević 1988; 1993). Marija Novak researches the dances of Međimurje from various aspects, paying attention to the structure and origin of the dance, dancing in the past, the ritual role of dance in wedding customs, the role of gender in dance, the changed function of the *kolo* dances from the magical to the social, and to the stage presentation of Međimurean dances (Novak 1980; 1981; 1983; 1987; 1988; 1991b; 1994). Vladimir Salopek is the author of a review of costumes and dances of the former Yugoslavia, presented in the form of a tourism monograph illustrated with many photographs (Salopek 1987). The editing side of this publishing undertaking was handled by the *Culturo-Educational Sabor* of Croatia. He initiated the publication of a series of books in the form of two collections, *Folk Dances of Croatia* and *Folk Costumes of Croatia*. It was here, too, that the majority of Ivančan's regionally conceived dance collections were published, as well as the Kostelac and Knežević collections.

In both the Americas, research into dance among Croatian emigrants has been done by Elsie Ivancich Dunin. As a professor at the Department of Dance at the UCLA she is, along with Allegra Fuller Snyder, one of the founders of *dance ethnology*.²⁵ On the basis of anthropological achievements, she focuses on Humankind in her research, with the

²⁴ The manuscript collections are stored at the Institute; together with Ivančan, Lovrenčević also published a collection of dances from the Bilogora region (Ivančan & Lovrenčević 1969).

²⁵ *Dance ethnology* was conceived as a branch of anthropology by Gertrude P. Kurath (1960). Influenced by anthropological research tradition, it was more concretely defined by Snyder and Dunin. Unlike the almost exclusive research of dance itself, which was typical for European *ethnochoreology* (right up until the end of the Eighties), *dance events* are dance ethnology's subject of research. American researchers also differentiate between dance ethnology and *movement anthropology* (see Kaeppler 1991).

objective of interpreting human behaviour and social relations through dance and dance events.

In her research in the area around Dubrovnik, Dunin did not pay so much attention to structural analysis. She expressly states in her theoretical discourse that she observes dance in "the macro cultural context" (Dunin 1987a). She uncovers that dance is a significant link in the private and public life of the individual, family and community, because it makes possible social contacts which probably would not be established without dance. Dunin researches dance events *over a prolonged period* so as to obtain the most complex conception possible. She has also done research into dance among Croatians who emigrated to Chile and California. She monitors the changes in the nature of dancing which are caused by change in context and/or the transfer of dance from the place where it was initiated, to regions to which the Croatians migrated, maintaining their ethnic identity. She makes diachronic comparisons between the communities on the three continents, and synchronic comparison of dance events. In this way, she attains a better understanding of the social dynamics of dancing. She *observes* and *participates* in dance events and in this way obtains a better insight into complex social interaction, which could not be achieved solely using the *interview* method (Dunin 1988; 1989a).²⁶

Nadine M. Dougan Krstić, also from the UCLA, does research into the dance repertoire of *Lovranština* [the Lovran area] participating in the dance events during contemporary carnival celebrations. She compares the dances which are performed by the people of Lovran during carnival with those at dance events in four villages near Lovran. Here she takes into account both differences in gender and role reversal in keeping with carnival customs (Dougan-Krstić 1989). She researches and compares dance events during the *zvončari* carnival customs in the Kastav region in Istria and the Lenten festivities of the Yaqui Native Americans in Tuscon, Arizona (Dougan-Krstić 1992). In the context of performance, she monitors the structure of dance which is not firmly structured, and more appropriately describes it as an improvised body movement. She finds similarity and posits a thesis which is hard to accept on the common

²⁶ Dunin modernised dance ethnology by the use of computers and electronic aids. She has written a programme for writing Labanotation (kinetograms) on Apple Macintosh computers - Lcs LN (Dunin 1987b). She is also compiling an extensive data base on dance research throughout the world. Together with Candi Harrington de Alaiza, she has compiled rules for bibliographic notation of data (Dunin & de Alaiza 1989). In the same year, she published the first bibliography drawn up in that manner (Dunin 1989b), and this is being gradually supplemented by new editions (Dunin 1991a, 1995). Dunin does dance research in Macedonia (Dunin 1971; 1991b).

origins of Shamanistic characteristics in the rituals of two cultures located so very far apart.

The author of this article also does research into dance in carnival events (Zebec 1991).²⁷ He observed and participated in carnival events in 1991 and 1994, interpreting them from the general, global context towards the micro-context. He uncovers the ritual role of the *tanac* dance in relation to other dance repertoire. Dance events are interpreted with the help of van Gennep's analysis of rites of passage. According to the manner of participation of the individual and the group, he observes the complex social relations and enduring traditional models which are perfectly adapted to the contemporary life of the community being observed (Zebec 1995a). The role of dance in the contemporary life of Croatian communities is also found in a specific dance event which took place in Croatia in 1992, during the war, and this is analysed as a political ritual (Zebec 1995b). The symbolics of the *kolo* dances are interpreted as an expression of regional and national identity, and as an expression of local, regional and national unity, but also of diversities. As a continuance of historical development of stage presentation of folklore in Croatia (Sremac 1978; Zebec 1992), expression of multiplicity, nested identity and change of identity through stage productions, are theme which impose themselves on contemporary research projects (Zebec 1995c). As a consequence of displacement of the population, such research seems essential, particularly after the recent war in Croatia.

Computerised processing and the compilation of data bases on dance is a current assignment for contemporary research which is unfolding in the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb.

Conclusion

Changes in the manner of researching dance are the consequences of changes in socio-political life in this part of the world. The national idea supported and promoted the accumulation of material in the 19th century collections, during the period between the two world wars collections were meant to preserve folklore from foreign influences, while the post-war collections were intended to save folklore from disappearance under the influence of sudden social change (Dunin 1981:5). More recent research is trying to establish a continuity in the existence and dynamics of the process of change in dance culture, which is longer studied exclusively in the villages, but also in the towns.

²⁷ Employed since 1990 at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb in the Sector for Folk Music and Dance.

The methodological differences in the research done by Croatian *ethnochoreologists* and two American *dance ethnologists*, who also deal with dance among the Croatians, are due to diverse starting-points and/or the historically conditioned differences in research traditions in Europe and America. Croatian *ethnochoreologists* do research primarily into dance, dance itself, dance as the product of dancing. One of the basic orientations has been systematic regional field research and notation of folklore traditions. Here, mainly the interview method was used, and then later, also the participation method (Sremac 1983). In the dilemma between the primary assignment to set the older, and the newer traditional forms of dance in Croatia, and the lack of personnel, *ethnochoreology* in Croatia started relatively late to study the dance forms of village and town (see Sremac 1988). Although the exceptional importance of the context in which the music and dance are performed was recognised during the Eighties, while the way of life itself and the specificity of the performance were declared to be the fundamental term of reference and the essential feature of folk music and dance, neither context nor the performance itself have become, in sufficient measure, the subject of study. Unlike the majority of their colleagues in Croatia, American *dance ethnologists* interpret dance events on the basis of contextual research. The emphasis here is on the participants in the dance events, their gender, manner of participation and their role in society. Identity and changes in culture, together with analyses of the event and performance are the subject of research of *dance ethnologists*, who along with their efforts to understand communications and symbolisation, unavoidably question their own starting-points and/or experience as researchers. Just as many dance researchers in both America and Europe have been promoting the idea over the last few years that research be done from similar starting-points, so more recent dance research among the Croatians shows that efforts are being made to reduce these differences in the methods and subjects of research. Along with historical research of the dance and the desire to reconstruct the context of its performance in the past, the focus of interest is increasingly on the research of dance events. Efforts are being made to achieve unity between diachronic and synchronic dance research.

Croatian *ethnochoreologists* have monitored dance research being done worldwide and in European science, and have participated in it as individuals. The Study Group on *Ethnochoreology* attached to the International Council for Traditional Music has been acting in a very stimulating way since its inception. Under its auspices, Croatian researchers, too, are trying to get in step with dance research throughout the world.

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