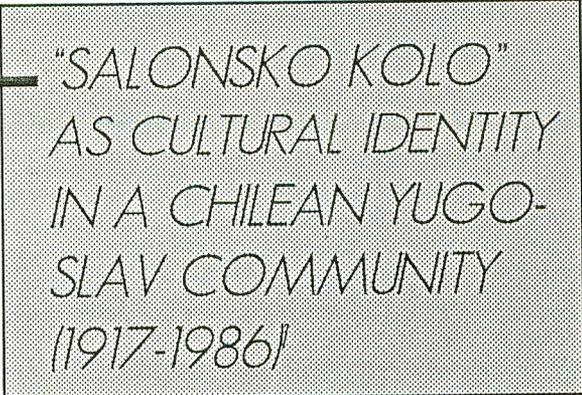


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"SALONSKO KOLO"
 AS CULTURAL IDENTITY
 IN A CHILEAN YUGO-
 SLAV COMMUNITY
 (1917-1986)

This article, informative and documentary in character, provides a detailed survey of the continuity and social function of the "Salonsko Kolo" from 19th century Croatia (according to old recordings) to present among emigrants of Croatian descent in Antofagasta, Chile. The structure of the dance has remained the same in spite of the altered geographic, temporal and cultural context. Its original purpose has also persisted: for the last three generations of Croatian emigrants the "Salonsko Kolo" has facilitated confirmation and presentation of national identity, particularly important during periods of political unrest in the homeland of their ancestors and in situations in which the community has used their cultural legacy in order to distinguish and confirm their own values in a multinational social environment.

Dancing is an ephemeral activity, until it is captured into a tangible product, such as a film, a video, a notation, or an ethnographic description. Then we can identify the structure and movement characteristics that permit tracing a dance geographically and temporally. We can also compare the historic and contemporary settings to assess the continuities and

¹ The first version of this paper was presented at the 29th World Conference of the International Council of Traditional Music (ICTM), held in East Berlin, August 1987.

change in the dance product and in the cultural context.

This paper is about an urban Croatian ballroom dance, notated by a music composer in 1864 (Kuhač 1872).² The availability of Franjo Kuhač's description has made it possible to identify a survival of this dance (called "Davi Ćiro") in South America, to trace it temporally from the mid-nineteenth century to 1986, and to trace the cultural purpose of this dance over at least three generations. The study reveals several points 1/ a particular dance structure can tenaciously survive differing geographical, temporal, and cultural circumstances; 2/ the transference of Salonsko Kolo (as a product) from Croatia to Chile was due to a single individual, although the present continuity of the dance is a collective effort; 3/ the underlying common purpose for dancing Slavonsko Kolo has been and continues to be to assert national identity.

The Tracing³

There are very few descriptions (tangible products) of South Slavic dances before this century.⁴ One of these rare notations was published by Franjo Kuhač (1872) in a Croatian magazine that catered to nationalist consciousness during the Austro-Hungarian rule. I happened to come across his article in 1972 while doing other research in the University of California Los Angeles Research Library. The memory of this description surfaced thirteen years later while seeing a video tape of Daleki Akordi's performance of their Davi Ćiro dance in 1985.⁵

Kuhač provides some interesting background on the dance, stating that "Slavonsko Kolo" was introduced in Zagreb in 1841 by Marko Bogunović, a young army officer. The dance is not a peasant dance but a ballroom dance with figures that are based on a Slavonian "folk dance". Thus this dance provides a regional cultural identity for the Croatians in contrast with other nineteenth century national dances that were sweeping the Austro-Hungarian Empire (such as the Viennese waltz, the Hungarian csardas, the Polish mazurka). Kuhač makes a point of calling the dance "Dvoransko Kolo" instead of "Slavonsko Kolo" to differentiate it from the peasant version (Kuhač 1887: 169). (Since 1841 there have been several references with differing dance names which appear to be the same dance.⁶ In this

² The article describing "Dvoransko Kolo" was published in 1872, but the dance was originally notated by Kuhač at least by 1864 (Kuhač 1872: 60).

³ The tracing of dance information and cultural circumstances took the piecing together of data in many different sites: in Santiago, Chile the newspaper archive in the Biblioteca Nacional; in Yugoslavia the Gradski Historijski Arhiv and Naučna Biblioteka in Split, the libraries of the Zavod za Migracije located at Matica Iseljenika Hrvatske and Zavod za Istraživanje Folkloru in Zagreb, and the Historijski Arhiv in Dubrovnik.

⁴ See Introduction in Dunin and Ruyter (1982) for a survey of dance literature in Yugoslavia.

⁵ Two months were spent in South America in 1985 to make contact with Yugoslav immigrant communities. While in Antofagasta, the leaders of the community dance group very generously shared information about their group and dance repertoire. My first viewing of "Davi Ćiro" was on a video tape of one of their recent performances. Upon return to the United States Nancy Ruyter shared with me her recent inquiries into "Dvoransko Kolo" and a video tape of Hrvatsko "Salonsko Kolo" (1984) reconstructed by Richard Crum who had learned the dance in 1954 from Elvira Coronelli, the daughter of Petar Coronelli, a nineteenth century ballroom dance teacher in Zagreb.

⁶ In Croatia, "Hrvatsko Kolo" (1841), "Slavonsko Kolo" (1841), "Dvoransko Kolo" (1864) 1872), "Salonsko Kolo" (1890s to 1930s), "Hrvatsko Salonsko Kolo" (1936; 1957). In Chile, "Salonsko Kolo" is mentioned

paper I use "Salonsko" as the generic term, and "Ćiro" as the Yugoslav/Chilean version.)

To my knowledge, only three full descriptions exist, "Dvoransko Kolo" by Kuhač (1872), "Hrvatsko Salonsko Kolo" by Petar Ortolani (1936)⁷ and by Petar Stojić (1957)⁸. Ortolani complained that one of the loveliest Slavic folk dances was no longer frequently danced; his description was to be a lasting record, so that the dance would not be entirely forgotten (Ortolani 1936: 2). Stojić's description of "Hrvatsko Salonsko Kolo" is included in a book about historical and contemporary social and folk dances. His description is placed in a sub-section entitled "Figuralne Društvene Igre" (Figural social dances) within a chapter devoted to "Yugoslav Folk Dances". Comments are made about two or three dances in this sub-section, but unfortunately no additional information is given beyond the description for "Salonsko".

Kuhač's version of "Dvoransko Kolo", Ortolani's and Stojić's notation of "Hrvatsko Salonsko Kolo" are ample enough descriptions for contemporary researchers of Yugoslav dances to state that the dance is no longer danced in Yugoslavia as a participatory social form nor as a reconstructed performed form. The dance has essentially dropped out of living repertoire within contemporary Yugoslavia. Why and what are the circumstances then of its survival in Chile on another continent?

Antofagasta, Chile

South Slavic immigration to Antofagasta had its earliest beginnings in the 1860s while the town was still under Bolivian rule. After the War of the Pacific in 1879 involving Chile, Peru and Bolivia, Chile acquired the northern sea desert area. The exact numbers of immigrant "Austriacos" (South Slavs from the Austrian Empire) are unknown, but by 1900 nearly a thousand had come to and through the city to the nitrate mining factories in the adjacent desert. Most of these immigrants were from the islands of Brač, Hvar, Vis, Korčula and other small islands in the southern Adriatic, the Pelješac Peninsula and villages in the area of Omiš and the Dubrovnik Littoral. Although almost all of these immigrants from Austria prior to World War One were Croatian language speakers, they did not identify their nationalities consistently - varying Dalmatian, Croatian, Serb, Slav, Austrian.⁹ Antofagasta prospered due to its strategic port location for the mining industry in the adjacent desert. The majority of the first generation Croatian immigrants established themselves as merchants,

for the first time in Punta Arenas, taught by Ivan Lokmer (1916); it appears one year later (1917) in Antofagasta; then as "Jugoslovensko Salonsko Kolo" (1941), "Kolo" (1940s-1950s) and "Davi Ćiro" (1980s). Ruyter also notes that there are different names for what is presumably the same dance (Ruyter 1984: 5).

⁷ The Ortolani unpublished typewritten manuscript is located at the Institute of Folklore Research (Zavod za Istraživanje Folkloru) in Zagreb.

⁸ A late-nineteenth century dance teacher, Petar Coronelli, actively taught a version of Salonsko Kolo in Zagreb and in other Pannonian Croatian towns. He reportedly wrote a brochure entitled "Hrvatsko Kolo" in Osijek in 1898 (K.K. 1971). I have not yet seen a copy of this brochure to know whether or not a dance description is included.

⁹ Population registration in Antofagasta did not officially begin until 1919, which was after the establishment of the Yugoslav state. Even during the first decade of registration (1919-1929), national identity and country of birth were stated very inconsistently. These registration records are located in the Historical Archive of the Universidad del Norte in Antofagasta.

a small number becoming extremely wealthy and economically powerful within the city. Prior to 1919, some 50% of the city consisted of European immigrants, and one of the largest groups were the "Austriacos" (the Yugoslavs). In the 1980s the city numbers about 200,000, and the Yugoslav/Chilean population continues to be an important presence in the economic and professional life of Antofagasta. (See Figure 1.)

The Dance

Although "Salonsko Kolo" is supposedly based on "folk dance elements" from Croatia and Slavonia (Kuhač 1872: 60-61), the dance structure is closely related to the urban figure dances popular in the nineteenth century, such as the quadrille. In all four versions - Kuhač 1864/1872, Ortolani 1936, Stojić 1957, Daleki Akordi 1986 - the structure is clearly related. (See Chart) The whole dance is performed by couples, who interact with each other in various figures. Each figure is preceded by a "chorus" (my term): Kuhač calls this the *Kolo Adagio*; Ortolani refers to it as *kolo lijevo* and *kolo desno* (circle to the left and circle to the right); Stojić refers to it as *kolo ulevo* and *kolo udesno*; Daleki Akordi call this part the *descanso* (rest). Although the Daleki Akordi version does not have precise names for the six figures, their Spanish terms for the parts of the dance are clearly parallel (especially to the Ortolani version).

It is not possible to learn this dance simply by watching. It is necessary to learn the terms, the positions, and to practice the dance with others before one can participate comfortably. The Kuhač, Ortolani, Stojić descriptions include commands for a *kolovoda* (dance leader/prompter). However, the Yugoslav/Chilean dancers perform the dance strictly by memory; there is no verbal prompting. Their terms listed on the Chart are used to distinguish the figures when they rehearse the dance.

Music

The earliest music version for "Slavonsko Kolo/Horvatsko Kolo" (by Bogunović) was arranged by Vatroslav Lisinski in 1841 (Kuhač 1887: 29). It appears that his composition continued to be used for many years.

Ortolani unfortunately says nothing about the music itself, except that the dance can be performed to tamburica music, an orchestra, or at the very least to piano. Stojić writes nothing about the musical context.

Daleki Akordi dance to a phonograph recording homemade during the 1960s. An accordionist (Silvio Del Lago) and solo singer (Raúl Depolo) provide the music (M. Kutulas



Figure 1.

1986). There is a sung introductory passage, "Ciro" while the dancers enter and form a circle. The first five figures are danced only to accordion music. Preceding the last figure (as in the Ortolani version of Salonsko), the male singer sings a short song, and then resumes "Ciro" verses for the last figure of the dancing. The written notation for the music is hand-copied from a version in Santiago. It is entitled "Kolo" and gives some prompt words in Croatian and Spanish - *kolo desno*, *kolo lijevo* (the choral figure); *osmica chiko* (the small eight); *descanso* (rest); *karika* (ring); *estrella* (star); *posjet* and *visita* (visitation); *davi ciro* (name of the song).

"Ciro" in Antofagasta

"Our" dance in Antofagasta is referred to as "Davi Ciro", or "Ciro", or simply as "Kolo". The terms "Slavonsko Kolo", "Slavonsko Kolo", "Horvatsko Kolo" or "Dvoransko Kolo" (all names found in earlier literature) are completely unknown to them. In the memory of the current dancers¹⁰ this dance is known to have been done by older members of the Yugoslav/Chilean community. Some of the performers state that this "Kolo" was danced by their parents; others remember seeing it performed at community events. At least in the recent past the dance was performed one or two times a year for annual community holidays and/or special events. None of the dancers (in 1986 - the period of this study) knew of the origins of the dance, how it first appeared in Antofagasta, except that the music and steps "may have come" from Santiago (the capital of Chile). Therefore all the information on the origins of the dance into Chile in this paper is extracted from reports of dancing events in Croatian language newspapers published in Antofagasta and in Santiago.¹¹

Newspaper Tracing

Sloboda (Freedom) published in Antofagasta, 1902-1906, is the earliest Croatian language newspaper published in Chile. Articles show that organized participatory social dancing activity seems to have been non-existent in the late nineteenth century in Antofagasta among the early immigrants. Not until 1904 on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Slavjanska Pripomoćno Društvo (Slavic Benevolent Society) was there a formally organized social gathering, and this event apparently did not include dancing (at least as reported by the newspaper editor, Krstulović 1904: 1). Also there were no orchestras or bands in the South Slavic community until early 1905, when the first tamburica orchestra was being organized, with instruments ordered from the Sisak tamburica factory in Croatia (Krstulović 1905: 1-2).

Based upon reported activities in the *Sloboda* newspaper, the communities' organizations were exclusively men's domains.¹² There is no report of any female based activity nor any organization with female participation, until World War One.¹³ This point is stressed,

¹⁰ These dancers are third and fourth generation descendants from the islands of Brač, Hvar and Vis.

¹¹ These newspapers no longer exist in Antofagasta, but are located in National Library (Biblioteca Nacional) newspaper archive in Santiago, Chile. Some issues are available in the Zavod za Migracije Biblioteka (Migration Bureau Library) at the Matica Iseljenika building in Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

¹² Volunteer Fire Brigade #3 (1892), Slavic Benevolent Society (1894). There is no mention of women's organizational activities in the newspapers until 1916, with Comité de Damas Croatas and Kosovska Devojka.

¹³ Kosovska Devojka was promoted as the women's contribution to assist the war effort. This organization was

since the Salonsko Kolo was a male/female dance that took at least equal participation/cooperation in the learning and performing (unlike other dances from the coastal area of Yugoslavia, where the men have very dominant roles in the dancing and women follow passively).

Three Croatian language newspapers were published in Antofagasta during the war years from 1914-1918 (*Pokret* (The Movement), 1914-1915; *Jugoslovenska Država* (The Yugoslav State), 1916-1917; *Jugoslovensko Oslobodjenje* (Yugoslav Liberation), 1918). Two of these papers were sponsored by the Yugoslav National Defense League (Jugoslovenska Narodna Obrana - J.N.O.), a political organization centered in London to support the liberation movement of South Slavic lands under Austrian control. The J.N.O. sponsored several newspapers in American cities with sizeable South Slavic populations - in South America: Antofagasta and Punta Arenas (Chile), Buenos Aires (Argentina), and Oruro (Bolivia). Antofagasta was a pivotal center for South American J.N.O. activities through most of the War.

In one of these J.N.O. papers in June of 1917, we see the first mention of "Salonsko Kolo". The introduction of "Salonsko Kolo" into Antofagasta was by Gjuro Roić, who had emigrated from the Adriatic coast to Chile at least by 1914.¹⁴ During the War (1917), it appears that he introduced Salonsko Kolo first to the pupils of the newly established Croatian language elementary school and then to young adults. I have no way of tracing who danced the Salonsko Kolo in 1917-1918, but most likely they were participants with the new Sokol organization.

In Antofagasta from 1918 until 1950 there is no mention of "Salonsko Kolo" neither in newspaper accounts nor in oral interviews with local residents socially active during this period. Memories of "Ciro" or "Kolo" begin during the 1950s (Dunin 1986). However, Salonsko "Kolo" appears in a Santiago published Yugoslav and Spanish language newspaper (*Jugoslavenski Glasnik* (Yugoslav Herald) twenty-four years later, during the next world war. "Jugoslavensko Salonsko Kolo" was taught by Gjuro Roić in 1941 for a Yugoslav/Chilean fund-raising event to assist the war effort in Yugoslavia (Roić 1942a).¹⁵ The dance is not mentioned after 1942. However, interview information and printed program notes, reveal that "Kolo" was danced repeatedly in the Santiago community for special events during the remainder of the war years and at least into the 1950s.

In the post-war time period (1947-1950s), "Kolo" was learned by second generation Antofagasta students, who were attending schools in Santiago.¹⁶ It was some of these young people who brought this Kolo back with them to Antofagasta, where it was performed sporadically during the 1950s and 1960s for special Yugoslav-community events.

Social/Political Contexts

Interestingly the dance was taught both in Croatia (nineteenth century) and in Chile

inspired by leaders of the South American Yugoslav National Defense League (J.N.O.) to raise funds for the Red Cross to assist soldiers and families in Serbia.

¹⁴ Although I have tried to find more information on Mr. Roić, the information has not been located at the writing of this paper.

¹⁵ After 1918, Roić had moved south to Santiago, the capital of Chile.

¹⁶ Interviews with three of these students - M. Kutulas Arzić danced "Ciro" in Santiago 1947; her sister, Rena danced "Ciro" in Santiago 1950; E. Petricio Obilinović says that she "saw Giro" in Santiago for the first time in 1950.

(1917, 1941) in the midst of extreme political/national turmoil. The mid-nineteenth century national awakening of the Croatian identity during the Austro-Hungarian rule (Kuhač's period) brought about conscious public and personal Croatian expressiveness in literature, music, dress and dance. In Chile, prior to World War One, there were already conflicts in the immigrant community - those who sympathized with maintaining a Croatian autonomy within Austria, and those separatists who wanted to form a South Slavic state, to be called Yugoslavia. The 1912 Balkan Wars in Europe strengthened these polarities in Antofagasta, so that by the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, the political views within the community were well established. It appears that the majority of the South Slavic/Chilean community were supportive of a break with Austria to form an independent Yugoslavia.¹⁷

Political activists of the Yugoslav Defense League (J.N.O.) traveled specifically to Antofagasta and other South American cities with large immigrant populations to organize the publication of Yugoslav newspapers and a J.N.O. network (eventually 56 South American J.N.O. branches were established). A mass meeting with J.N.O. delegates from throughout South America was held in Antofagasta, January 1916 to promote the idea of a unified Yugoslavia through a program of resolutions. Following this monumental 1916 meeting, a Croatian-language elementary school, a female branch of the J.N.O. - *Kosovka Devojka*, a tamburica orchestra, and a Sokol gymnastic organization were established in Antofagasta - all promoting a "Yugoslav" identity.

It is through the Sokol gymnastic organization's director, Gjuro Roić, who was one of these youthful pro-Yugoslavia political activists, that the "Salonsko Kolo" was taught in Antofagasta to be danced at fund-raising dance events. The dancing further promoted a Croatian (Slavic) identity for the young activists - both male and female. When the war ended, the Yugoslav state was established, and shortly afterward, Gjuro Roić left Antofagasta to live in Santiago (some 1400 km south). With the teacher gone and the rallying nationalistic fervor of war-time activities cooled, the Sokol organization was disbanded (until 1929), the *Kosovka Devojka* discontinued activities, the tamburica orchestra discontinued playing, and apparently "Salonsko Kolo" stopped being danced in Antofagasta until the 1950s.

At the outbreak of the 1941 war in Yugoslavia, a main concern for the Chilean/Yugoslav community was for their relatives in Yugoslavia. Again there was a re-energizing of Yugoslav national support with fund-raising events for the war effort in Santiago. The "Yugoslovensko Salonsko Kolo" was again taught by Gjuro Roić, but now to second and third generation youth for fund-raising events. During the late 1940s a number of second generation youth from Antofagasta happened to be attending school in Santiago where they also participated in Yugoslav/Chilean cultural events. Returning to Antofagasta by 1950, and preparing for a community event, three young women - Maria Kutulas Arzić, her sister Rena and a friend, Elena Petricio Obilinović organized and taught the dance (1986). From the 1950s until the 1970s, the dance was resurrected for eight or twelve couples on a more or less annual basis, rehearsed specially for an event. A group of eight to twelve pairs would cooperatively organize themselves, rehearse the dance for about a month before the event, perform the dance at the event. The music (accordion, piano, and/or tamburica instruments) was also supplied by whoever was available to practice. The three young women had

¹⁷ Ljubomir Antić prepared an excellent article that discusses the political infighting among the immigrants in Antofagasta (1984).

reintroduced the dance into Antofagasta, without realizing that the dance had been done in the community thirty-three years earlier.

In 1983, a spring Festival of Foreign Colonies (Festival de Colectividades Extranjeras) was initiated in Antofagasta with participation of some ten communities - Arab, Bolivian, Chinese, English, German, Greek, Italian, Spanish, United States and Yugoslav. The Yugoslav community is the second largest foreign community, after the Spanish. It was natural and necessary for the Yugoslav/Chilean community to represent themselves in the festival in an elaborate manner. The leadership of the community decided to demonstrate "their" dance and costume to the rest of Antofagasta. Therefore, eight couples of the Yugoslav community organized a dance group entitled Daleki Akordi, and with the assistance of the Kutulas sisters resurrected their "Ciro" dance.¹⁸ Since 1983, Daleki Akordi (an adult group), and since 1985, Rasadnik (a teen/young adult group) have continued to perform "Ciro" and newly acquired repertoire both for Yugoslav community events and for non-community Antofagasta public programs when the Yugoslav community is to be represented. Performers of the "Ciro" dance therefore continue to represent their Yugoslav roots to the Chilean population.

Conclusion

We see that "Salonsko/Ciro" was brought into activity by outside factors during critical periods (1917, 1941, 1983) to promote and establish a national identity. The 1917 war time period was to declare a Slavic-Croatian identity in the face of Austrianism; the 1941 wartime period was to display support of a community with a Yugoslav identity in the face of a Nazi invasion into Yugoslavia; the 1983 year was to display a Yugoslav identity as one of the multi-national/Chilean population in Antofagasta. Cultural expressiveness of roots is a clear underlying factor with each generation in three periods - the 1917 dancers were likely to be first generation immigrants, the 1941 dancers in Santiago were second generation descendants, and the 1983 dancers were mostly third generation descendants.¹⁹

This tracing of "Ciro" (alias "Kolo", "Salonsko Kolo", "Dvoransko Kolo") would not have been possible, had there not been a description of the dance by Kuhač in 1872. It would have been impossible to compare "Ciro" with the nineteenth century "Salonsko", since the dance had disappeared from living repertoire in Yugoslavia and origins were unknown by the Antofagasta population. Furthermore, the tracing shows that a single individual was actually responsible for teaching the dance first in Antofagasta, and then in Santiago. Gjuro Roić had been forgotten (until 1986), but the dance continues, perhaps not for the same reasons as in his time period, but the underlying purpose was for national identity with each succeeding generation.

¹⁸ This was the only dance that Daleki Akordi performed in 1983. The group added new dance repertoire and costumes in the next October Festivals 1984-1987. In 1987, Rasadnik (formed in 1985) has continued the tradition of performing "Ciro" in the October festival.

¹⁹ Family trees of 24 of the Daleki Akordi dancers reveal there was one second generation descendant; two fourth generation descendants; the rest were third generation, along with five non-Yugoslav Chilean participants, who were married to the Yugoslav/Chilean dancers.

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**CHART. FOUR VERSIONS OF "SALONSKO KOLO"
(1864/1872, 1936, 1957, 1986)**
Kuhač, "Dvoransko Kolo (1864/1872)

Kolo adagio (kolo lievo, kolo desno)
[slow circle (circle left, circle right)]

I. Osmica [eight]

Kolo adagio

II. Karika [ring]

Kolo adagio

III. Zvijezda [star]

Kolo adagio

IV. Tociljalka [slide/skate]

Kolo adagio

V. Okladija [rolling pin]

Kolo adagio

VI. Prolaz [archway]

Coda [additional ending]

Veliko kolo [large circle; snaking figure]

Ortolani. "Hrvatsko Salonsko Kolo" (1936)

Kolo lijevo, kolo desno [circle left, circle right]

I. Osmica [eight]

Kolo lijevo, kolo desno

II. Karika [ring]

Kolo lijevo, kolo desno

III. Zvijezda [star]

Kolo lijevo, kolo desno

IV. Posjet [visitation]

Kolo lijevo, kolo desno

V. Šetnja [stroll]

uvod [introduction - singing interlude]

VI. Zmija - Veliko Kolo [snake - large circle]

Stojić. "Hrvatsko Salonsko Kolo" (1957)

- I. osmica [eight]
(preceded by kolo ulevo, udesno)
- II. karika [ring]
- III. zvezda [star]
(preceded by kolo ulevo, udesno)
- IV. poseta [visitation]
(preceded by kolo ulevo, udesno)
- V. vijenac [wreath]
- VI. veselo [joyfulness]
(preceded by slow music introduction)
[figure includes a snaking movement]
(finishes with kolo ulevo, udesno)

Daleki Akordi. "Davi Ciro" (1986)

- "Davi Ciro" (entrance)
- Descanso [rest] (circle left and right)
- Ocho [eight]
- Descanso
- Karica [no translation in Spanish]
- Descanso
- Estralla [star]
- Descanso
- Visita [visitation]
- Descanso corto [short rest]
- Mujeres al centro [ladies to the center]
- "A coteve" [singing interlude]
- Culebra [snake]
- Enlace de hombres y mujeres [interweave men and women (in a circle)]
- "Davi Ciro" (exit)