DANCE, STYLE,
YOUTH, IDENTITIES

edited by

Theresa Buckland
and
Georgiana Gore

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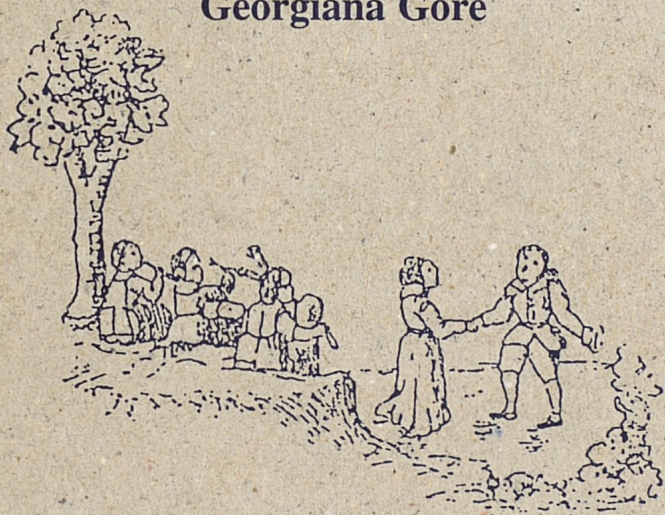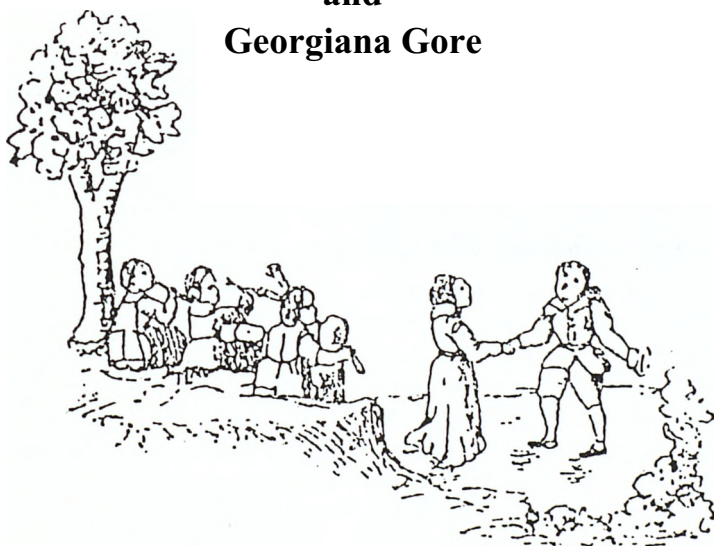**Theresa Buckland
and
Georgiana Gore**

Institute of Folk Culture, Strážnice, Czech Republic

International Council for Traditional Music

DANCE, STYLE, YOUTH, IDENTITIES

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**Theresa Buckland
and
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19th Symposium of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology 1996 Proceedings

Strážnice, 1998

FOREWORD

The papers in this volume constitute the edited proceedings of the nineteenth meeting of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) Symposium of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology which was held in the picturesque setting of the Castle Hotel, Třešť, in the Czech Republic from 5-11 August 1996. Over forty delegates from some eighteen countries gathered to hear and debate selected papers on the topics of *Children and Traditional Dancing,* a theme chosen by the local committee, and *Dance and Style,* the recommendation of the Study Group, following discussions at the symposium held two years earlier in Skierniewice, Poland.

Grateful thanks are extended to the primary sponsors of the event: the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic, the Czech Secretariat of UNESCO and the Danish Research Council for the Humanities. The symposium was prepared in co-operation with the Association of Children's Dance Activities and the programme committee was chaired by Theresa Buckland (England), working in conjunction with Egil Bakka (Norway), Daniela Stavělová, the local organiser and the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.

Twenty-four of the papers presented at the symposium are published here which, for the most part, follow the original order of hearing in Třešť. In order that readers might appreciate the fuller context of the event, the programme is also re-printed. The principal language of these proceedings is English, although two papers, those by Monika Fink (Austria) and Stanislav Dúžek (Slovakia) are presented in German, one of the official languages of the symposium. As editors of the papers submitted, Georgiana Gore (France) and I have occasionally deviated from the original programme in order to tighten the coherence of their thematic focus. The volume follows the order of proceedings in its division into the two themes of *Children and Traditional Dancing* and *Dance and Style,* each headed by its keynote paper, given respectively by Lisbet Torp (Denmark) and Adrienne Kaeppler (USA). Following these themes is Roderyk Lange's (Poland/Great Britain) response to the paper given by Jan Stęszewski (Poland) on music and dance relationships, which was a theme of the Skierniewice symposium.

During the symposium, a number of sessions were devoted to the work of the sub-study groups: Structural Analysis, Iconography, Fieldwork, Revival, and the newly constituted European Ritual Complexes in Comparative Perspectives. New members of the organisation were invited to make a brief presentation of their research early in the programme to inform and accelerate integration into the community of international dance scholars. In more relaxed mode, an excursion to the open air folklife museum at Veselý Kopec in the Moravian hills provided opportunity for informal discussion and the occasion to watch a performance of dances, rituals and games performed by a children's group for entertainment which focused on the first theme of the symposium.

This first theme was introduced by Lisbet Torp via a film, *Kindertänze aus den südlichen Niedersachsen* [Children's Dances from Lower Saxony] by the late Helmut Segler,

which, in addition to providing a visual stimulus to the opening of the session, raised interesting issues for later debate and discussion. Subsequent papers focused on children's traditional movement repertoires as evidence of earlier cosmologies, as examples and issues of pedagogy and socialisation, and as material to be represented in a revivalist context.

The second theme was initiated by Adrienne Kaeppler whose keynote paper addressed conceptual issues of what constitutes dance and style, illustrated through amusing reference to the North American television show *Star Trek* to demonstrate the cultural specificity of dance and through examples of the performance of Polynesian dance to underline style as a differentiating factor. This theme of style to mark identity recurs throughout the following papers, ranging across notions of cultural, personal, ethnic, national, regional, ethnic, gender, generational, musical, religious, secular, traditional, revivalist and theatrical. No consensus regarding the relation of dance to style was achieved in the concluding summary and discussion at the symposium, but the papers and debate highlighted both the richness of the theme and the ongoing necessity to define and clarify terminology in relation to its source and application.

Most of those papers heard at Třešť are presented here for the reader's more leisurely consumption; indeed, there is a bonus of two additional papers, since those by Emma Petrossian and Genja Khachatrjan (Armenia), unfortunately detained from attending the symposium through travel restrictions, are available to members of the Study Group for the first time. International exchange is essential to the developing work of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology and it remains crucial to maintain contact across all borders and generations of dance scholarship, through publication if live interaction cannot take place.

As editors, we have been allowed the luxury of mostly editing in our first language: our apologies to colleagues if there have been occasional misunderstandings or misrepresentations of the authors' intentions, but we hope that, in the interest of circulating the findings of our Study Group, we have not betrayed their trust in our editorial decisions.

Theresa Buckland
Department of Dance Studies
School of Performing Arts
University of Surrey
England
June 1998

PROGRAMME
of the 19th Symposium of the International Council for Traditional Music Study Group on Ethnochoreology, 5-11 August, 1996, Třešť, Czech Republic

SUNDAY 4 AUGUST
Sub-Study Group: Structural Analysis

MONDAY 5 AUGUST
10.00   Registration
14.00-15.30   Sub-Study Group: Iconography
15.30   TEA
16.00-17.30   Sub-Study Group: Fieldwork
17.30-19.00   DINNER
19.00-21.00   Sub-Study Group: European Ritual Com-
plexes   in Comparative Perspectives

TUESDAY 6 AUGUST
9.30   OPENING OF SYMPOSIUM IN
                                           LECTUREHALL

THEME 1: CHILDREN AND TRADITIONAL DANCING

10.00-11.30   <u>Keynote Film and Discussion</u>
                                           Chair: Anca Giurchescu
                                           Children's Dances from Lower Saxony
                                           introduced by Lisbet Torp

                                           COFFEE

12.00-13.00   <u>Ritual Origins and Traditional Repertoires</u>
                                           Chair: Egil Bakka

1. Anna Ilieva   The Ritual Origin of some Children's
                                           Games in Bulgaria

2.Grazyna Dabrowska   The Child and Traditional Dancing.
                                           The Repertoire, a Comparative Study

13.00-14.00   LUNCH

14.00-15.00	<u>Education/Socialisation</u> Chair: William Reynolds
1. Monika Fink	Der Kinderbäll - oder die Tradition des Gesellschaftstanzes im 18 und 19 Jahrundert (Arbeitstitel)
2. Georgiana Gore	Learning Language through Dance: Rhythm, Rhyme, Song and Dance in French Nursery Education
15.00	TEA
15.30-16.30	<u>New members/New Research Presentation</u> Chair: Theresa Buckland
16.30-17.30	<u>Film presentation</u> Chair: Yvonne Hunt
17.30-19.00	DINNER
Andriy Nahachewsky	Removing the Bride's Veil: Stylistic Variation in a Ukrainian Wedding Ceremony

THEME 2: DANCE AND STYLE

<u>WEDNESDAY 7 AUGUST</u>

9.30-10.30	<u>Keynote Lecture</u> Chair : Irene Loutzaki
Adrienne Kaeppler	Dance and Style
10.30	Coffee
11.00-11.30	<u>Theories of Styles</u> Chair: Grazyna Dąbrowska
1. Roderyk Lange	The Muses and the Dance (read by Theresa Buckland)
2. Zhou Bing	Bagua and Dance. On "Dance Style from a Chinese Ancient Philosophical Angle"

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3. Hannah Laudová	Style in Folk Dance Tradition
12.30-14.00	LUNCH
14.00-15.30	Individual/Group Style 1 Chair:
1. Stanislav Dúžek	Zu den Stiländerungen im Volkstanz in der Slovakei
2. Dariusz Kubinowski	Interpretations of Cultural Patterns of Dance Behaviour, the case of *Oberek*
3. Andriy Nahachewsky	"Honour" and Style at a Wedding in Toporivtsi
15.30	TEA
16.00-17.30	Individual/Group Style 2 Chair: Arzu Öztürkmen
1. Anca Giurchescu	Gypsy Dancing: Markers of an Ethnic Dance Style as expressed by the Dance Performers Themselves
2. Martina Pavlicová	The Style of Folk Dance and its Development: on the Example of Exceptional dancers from south and east Moravia
17.30	DINNER

THURSDAY 8 AUGUST

9.30-11.00	Variety of Styles 1 Chair:Elsie Dunin
1. Yvonne Hunt	One Dance, Many Styles
2. Maria Koutsouba	Dance Style as an Indicator of Regional Identity: *lemonia* dance of Lefkada versus *kontoula lemonia* dance of Epirus, Greece

3. Mohd Anis Md Mor	Blurring Images, Glowing Likeness: A Dichotomy of Styles in the Traditional Dances of Malaysia
11.00	COFFEE
11.30-13.00	Variety of Styles 2 Chair: Jan Peter Blom
1. Arzu Öztürkmen	Different Generations, Different Styles: Alevi Semah Performances in their Changing Context
2. Tvrtko Zebec	Differences and Changes in Style: the Example of Croatian Dance Research
3. Larissa Saban	Ritual Dance in Western Ukrainian Territories
13.00-14.00	LUNCH
14.00-15.00	Reconstruction/New Styles Chair:
1. Kari Margrete Okstad	How to broaden the stylistic profile of a dance group's repertoire
2. Anna Starbanova	"Fine Dancing": From Sacred to Style Characteristics
3. Maria Susana Azzi	The Tango
15.30	TEA
16.00-17.30	Traditional Dance and New Styles Chair: Anna Ilieva
1. Dalia Urbanavičiene	The Influence of Stage Dance on Authentic Styles of Folk Dance
2. Naira Kilichian	The Formation of New Elements in the Armenian Folk Dance Style

3. Jiang Dong	Feng Xian Gong: a new Classical dance from the old tradition
17.30-19.00	DINNER
19.00-20.30	Discussion Group for new Sub-Study Group on Revivals

FRIDAY 9 AUGUST

9.30-11.00	Dance and Music 1 Chair: Adrienne Kaeppler
1. Daniela Stavělová	The Influence of Musical Accompaniment on Dance Style Formation and Transformation
2. Jörgen Torp	Relation between Music and Dance Styles (Tango)
3. Jan-Peter Blom	A Comparative Phenomenology of Rhythms: Problems in the Study of Music-Dance Interface
11.00	COFFEE
11.30-12.30 Discussion	Towards Discussion of Theory Chair: Larissa Saban "Incorporating Style": Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Stylistic Analysis led by Colin Quigley
12.00-13.00	LUNCH
13.00	EXCURSION
19.00-20.30	Film Presentation Chair: Dalia Urbanavičiene
Larissa Saban	The "Tanok" in Western Ukraine

SATURDAY 10 AUGUST

9.30-10.30	Report on Theme 1 and Discussion
10.30	COFFEE
11.00-12.30	Report on Theme 2 and Discussion
12.30-14.00	LUNCH
14.00-15.30	Business Meeting
15.30	TEA
16.00-17.30	Report from Sub-Study Groups
19.00	DINNER AND PARTY

SUNDAY 11 AUGUST   DEPARTURE

I

Children and Traditional Dancing

CHILDREN'S DANCES FROM LOWER SAXONY

Helmut Segler and Dora Kleindienst-Andrée

An Introduction to Keynote Film and Discussion
Lisbet Torp
Musikhistorisk Museum
Copenhagen

From 1983 - 1988, I was in regular contact with the German musicologist, pedagogue and specialist on children's dances, Helmut Segler. At that time I was teaching music and dance to school teachers attending in-service-training at the Danish Academy for Educational Studies. In this capacity, I had already carried out some investigations among teachers attending my classes regarding their personal knowledge and experience of dance games as well as their knowledge of such games being performed among their pupils in school.

From spring 1982, the film *Children's Dances from Lower Saxony* by Helmut Segler and Dora Kleindienst-Andrée became obligatory viewing in my classes on dance and on music education after Anca Giurchescu and I had seen the film at the Institute for Scientific Films in Göttingen[3] in March 1982, a few months after its release.

With this film as an eye-opener and starting point for discussions, I hoped to make the teachers observe possible dance and song games activities among their pupils, activities the existence of which many teachers were actually not aware. As an experiment, we practised some of the children's dance and clapping games published by the Danish Folklore Archives, only to realise how complex some of these games are and how much skill is needed to perform the often polyrhythmic interplay between text and movement.

I, however, also advocated that the teachers should avoid the temptation of including this and other material from the children's own repertoire as part of their pedagogical teaching material. If at all included in educational situations organized by the teacher, it would have to be the other way around, that is, that the children, if willing, could teach the teacher. My reason for stressing this point is that I strongly believe in the right of children to have songs and dances of their own, created and recreated *by* children, not *for* children.

In the spring of 1984, Helmut Segler came to Denmark to document children's dances and song games among school children in the Copenhagen area. I was the go-between for establishing contacts to selected schools and, as such, also accompanied Segler on his visits to these schools. He filmed groups of children, who themselves decided what to present to him. Among other things, Segler filmed hip hop dances, a dance type which, apparently, was quite new to him. Only when they had finished showing him what came to mind would he ask if they knew dances or games with specific features like clapping or counting out. In this way he tried to cover the full range of their repertoire.

In his working with the children, Segler was open, curious and receptive. It seemed as if they understood that he liked what they were doing and they were indeed very gen-

erous and happy to share their repertoire with him.

After observing and filming the children, Segler left a set of questionnaires in English with the teacher who would then help his or her pupils fill in the questionnaire individually and pass them on to me when ready.

Helmut Segler's visit to Copenhagen in 1984 also included a lecture at the Academy for Educational Studies followed by a discussion with the audience of some thirty teachers of music. Segler, by then seventy years old, not only stimulated these music teachers, he also impressed them by his open mind and evident respect for children, their abilities and creative thinking. To those present, Segler clearly offered a dimension to their way of seeing things and as a follow-up, several of these teachers later asked me to pass on information and observations to Helmut Segler.

In his work, Segler focused on comparative studies of the kinetic, melodic, rhythmic and textual make-up of children's repertoire based on his documentation of children's dances in various parts of Europe over many years. His thorough work resulted in numerous articles, the book *Tänze der Kinder in Europa* [Dances of the Children in Europe] (Segler, 1990) and altogether four films.[4]

Based on comparative analyses of the comprehensive and varied material at hand, Segler developed the following typology (see Segler 1990:9)

I introductory counting-out stanzas
II dances: solo or two together/clapping games
III simple round dances
IV dances in which the circle is dissolved
V line dances with one child facing the line

VI dances performed in two lines facing
VII dances with one or more participants in excess - 'too many' so to speak
VIII dances with imitations
IX dances with pantomime
X winding chain
XI rope - jumping with verses

As examples of new forms, Segler mentions dances such as break dance and electric boogie performed to music cassettes and with no texts.

Introduction to the film
Children's Dances from Lower Saxony

In his introduction to the film (Segler 1982), Helmut Segler specifically excludes dances **made up** for children by pedagogues, as well as those recreated or selected by pedagogues on the basis of aesthetic and/or moral-pedagogical grounds.

Segler notes that children's dances are the traditional property of the children and that besides a varied melodic material, the dance forms in all their variety remain limited to only a few types. In some children's dances he recognises traditional dances from an adult repertoire, however, no longer performed by adults. Segler does not see this as *gesunkenem Kulturgut,* but suggests that, instead of a chronological succession, it may be explained as proof of original contemporaneity, that is, adults have forgotten that which children as the better preservers have nourished and handed down/transmitted. He, however, notes that there are cultures in Europe in which this is probably not the case, an example being regions in which children dance the same as the adults from an early age.

Segler found that, generally speaking, those who participate in children's dances are children of 8-12 years of age, that girls usually outnumber the boys, and that some girls continue to perform these dance games even at the age of 13 and 14. According to Segler, children's dance and song games are mainly found in school playgrounds which serve as physical and vocal relief after sitting still in the classroom. In the material collected among children performing spontaneously on such locations, Segler found a great number of variants which to him was the sign of a living tradition.

Some of the observations Segler made when working with this material are that children modify the dances imaginatively, they currently invent new stanzas and play with linguistic formulas (including absurd ones), they frequently parody subjects of adult life, and they find inspiration in texts and melodies heard in mass media or seen on TV. Through comparison of material collected from 1960 and onwards, he also observed an increasing amount of clapping games in the children's repertoire.

After viewing of the film which lasted thirty-seven minutes, the following list of questions and topics formulated by Lisbet Torp were presented as a starting point for discussions throughout those sessions dealing with the first main theme of the symposium, namely **Children and Dance.**

A)
To Helmut Segler what we have seen are children's dances. To others such activities might be known as song-dances or dance-games. In Denmark, we call them song-games; however, in Medieval times dance, play, and the playing of an instrument could all be captured in one and the same word *leik*

which today survives in the word *at lege* - meaning to play.

How would this musical action be called within your cultural area?
When does a dance become a game and vice versa ?

B)
How are children's dance games perceived in different cultures ?
Can children be the creators of traditional dance and music ?
Are children transmitters of traditional dance and music ?
Are children transformers ?
Are children consumers of traditional dance and music?

I know that Segler was eagerly trying to collect information from various European countries, however, he seemed to have problems getting a response to his search from scholars and institutions in some Eastern European countries. Could this be explained by different concepts or definitions of the material in question or does it maybe reflect a lack of existence of such material in this area ?

Helmut Segler concluded that, within children's dances, the dance forms in all their variety remain limited to only a few types. He suggested that one reason for this might be the not yet developed abilities of the children, or that it might be due to a not yet fully comprehensible relationship between music and movement. I believe that Segler's suggestions should be discussed further. As I see it, the dances of adults also remain limited to a confined number of types and I suggest that dancing hip hop dances require much greater ability, dexterity and under-

standing of music-movement relationships, than that of performing a polka.

Other questions of relevance for discussion would be:
Do children have a dance tradition of their own ?
If yes,
Is it gender specific ?
Does this tradition unfold within a specific age group ?
Do types of dances/games differ according to age ?
What is the visual/kinetic transmission of dance/games ?
What is the role of adults in the transmission of children's material ?
What are the underlying motifs when and if adults mingle ?
- And what happens to a given material if they do so ?

Notes

1. Teacher at the Pedagogical Academy in Braunschweig from 1958. Later Professor at Braunsweig Technical University. Helmut Segler died recently.

2. Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film (IWF), Nonnenstieg 72, D-37073 Göttingen, Germany

3. *Kindertänze aus den südlichen Niedersachsen* (Children's Dances from Lower Saxony), IWF C 1468. *Kindertänze türkischer Kinder in Deutschland* (Children's Dances of Turkish Children in Germany), IWF C 1826. *Kindertänze in den Niederlanden* (Children's Dances in the Netherlands), IWF C 1879. *Kindertänze in Belgien*

(Children's Dances in Belgium), IWF C1880. Can be ordered as film and video from the Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film (IWF), Nonnenstieg 72, D-37073 Göttingen, Germany.

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CHILDREN'S TRADITIONAL DANCES

Grazyna Władysława Dąbrowska

Warsaw
Poland

For centuries, under different historical conditions, the lives of various social classes and nations have been changing. In front of our eyes, old traditions of folk customs are being replaced by entirely different elements, previously unknown in the village. Frequently economic development contributes to the loss of tradition. Traditional culture has been replaced by new forms recently unknown there. Dance in the village today means disco-dance, very often a version inferior to that of the city discotheque.

For nearly half a century of totalitarianism in Eastern and Central Europe, there have been numerous 'song and dance groups' cultivating the so-called 'folkloristic' repertoire in the form of schematically prepared programmes, with a purely instrumental treatment of dance. Many groups' ambition was to elaborate 'multi-regional' programmes with 'inter-regional transmission', which in fact was an imitation of the patterns passed from group to group. Children's groups were modelled according to the pattern of the adult groups and the repertoire did not avoid this either. The traditional context, treated superficially, has been lost completely in favour of an emphasis on the 'skill-and-show' elements which most often collide with the original. Thus, the 'folklore' life under the new conditions is changing its course. Reviews, festivals, shows of 'song and dance' held within one's own country and internationally, overshadow more and more of the real sources of traditional folklore. The old tradition is disappearing in the authentic environment. It is being replaced by the common fascination with a 'mass murmur' of foreign rhythms and sounds. Schematised dance movements, loud rhythms and a quick pace cause the younger generation to grow up with the idea that foreign rhythms and movement are sometimes better than one's own.

The reason for this is the insufficient number of teachers who would be able to pass on the native heritage in an attractive way. When there is no possibility, from the earliest years of the child's development, to learn things that are one's own, cultural activities that represent undeniable evidence of national identity and the presence of various nationalities in a united Europe, one cannot expect to have a future richness of European diversity.

Children's groups and 'soloists' guided by adults do not think about what they perform. Children trust the adults. The adults often try to turn children into 'stars' who perform equal unified dance movements and gestures in multi-person groups, without understanding the meaning of the patterns performed usually to tape-recorded music. Sometimes foreign songs, played from a tape, are imitated by young performers without understanding the meaning of the text of the song.

This is my short introduction from the point of view of current reality.

Earlier, children in their own world, whether in the village or in the city, had their own repertoire inherited in the customary way. They created their own dance-games, and other games. They traditionally learnt from each other. Older children passed on their abilities and knowledge to the younger children by gradually including them into their company. Or, younger children observing the older ones at play assimilated their repertoire, course of actions and similar dance components. Today it is rare to see children playing spontaneously anywhere outdoors, in the courtyard or on a village green, or at school during breaks between lessons or after lessons. To avoid the disappearance of one's heritage, this should be instilled in children so that in their grown-up life it is not unfamiliar to them. Today it is necessary to have the help of an educated, well-prepared teacher, with proper predispositions and passions, who is aware of the importance of his/her task; a teacher who would be able to search for proper artistic sources of traditional folk dance specifically for children.

When speaking about strictly traditional dance we mean the repertoire for adult performers. A child was a witness and observer of the life, customs and habits of the adult generation, and their environment. He or she did not participate actively in such events, but always witnessed them all, including dance events. The child saw them 'willy-nilly'. Only when grown up was he or she finally allowed to join the event, observed for so many years, and become part of the 'magic circle of dance' in the village. He or she could, of course, much earlier in the company of peers and far from adult eyes, make attempts to imitate their dances. In general, children like to play at being adults.

Quite a substantial influence, both positive and negative, on the formation of a child's personality was exercised by friends, mainly when animal tending in the pastures. There, ordinary play allowed children to gain independence, freedom, and recognition of their abilities. Among the various games there were numerous motor-skills, some without the traits of dance, and unconnected with singing, such as wrestling, running, chasing, target hitting and other similar 'competitions', but there were also 'dance attempts'.

Children usually grouped together according to age or sex, selected the repertoire of games or created games according to their common interests and psycho-physical abilities. They enjoyed it very much, because play exceeds the borders of purely physical activities. Every game means something. In this case imitation is a form of reproduction which has a cultural function, but the freedom and unconstraint of the children must be preserved. Play is not 'ordinary' or 'proper' life, rather it is a temporary exclusion from such life into the sphere of an entirely different activity. A child knows that it 'only pretends thus', that it 'is only a game', but this is not a hindrance to treating play seriously with full commitment. Each game can engross its participants completely.

The essence and the meaning of a game, its definition, are the subjects of psychology and biology. Play, however, has a close connection with dance, therefore it is a subject of interest to ethnochoreology. For this reason also and in relation to the subject taken up here, I dare to tackle this wide interdisciplinary topic.

There are numerous children's dance groups, more of which are located in the city than in the village and always where there is

someone who, for better or worse, is able to teach folk dance. Here, many questions arise: do all adults who lead groups, teach children folk dances and do they know what they should know about the traditional dances? Do they realise what role they play, and what their purpose is in the traditional environment? Do they know who danced them? Was everybody allowed to participate in all dances? What was their meaning in a ceremony? Do they wonder to what extent traditional dances, their content and form, their meaning, choreotechnics, character and style correspond to the psycho-physical abilities of children? Does the choreographic spatial construction, which diverges from the traditional one that is proposed to children, correspond to the criteria of play and folk dances and to their character of freedom and unconstraint?

The teacher must be able to answer these questions before he or she starts preparing any traditional customs and dances with the children, and this is even more important in the case of wedding dances, and ceremonial and ritual dances.

The same is the case with non-ceremonial dances which consist of a wide variety of dance types, diverse internal structures and spatial constructions. There are some performed exclusively with *a capella* singing, there are others which require instrumental music. Some are dances in a procession, in a half-circle, in lines, in a closed circle, with a selection of partners or with the person dancing inside a circle. There are dances with changes of partners, danced exclusively in pairs according to a specific order in an open and closed version with different forms of contact between partners.

According to another classification, there are dances imitating various activities and movements related to work; there are dances in which gestures result from the content of the song and so on. There are show-and-skill dances which are relics of the ancient magic dances of which we know nothing. Some of these occur in relation to static objects and others with objects in movement. These dances, which are today understood as show-and-skill dances, have the character of games.

Detailed analysis of each dance will allow teachers to perceive which degree of difficulty they constitute and what their contents are, thus enabling them to teach them to children according to their mental, physical and artistic abilities, as I mentioned earlier. The choice belongs to the teacher. Whereas the principle and the key to success is an attractive, non-amateur method of teaching, the final result is that children feel that the dances, which they learn, are their own, and that they are not devoid of their own natural expression of freedom and of play. Whether these are play-games with dances, or dances with clear features of play-games, they are finally traditional common social dances and the children participating in them should remain children with their pure grace and joy. This is the most important message, but such an attempt is possible as a result of the teacher and his or her work alone.

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THE CREATION MYTH IN ARMENIAN CHILDREN'S GAMES

Emma Petrossian

Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography
Armenia

The creation myth is a fundamental theme in Indo-European mythology. It relates to the concepts of boundaries: the passage from chaos to cosmos in creating the world's order. According to the Armenian world view, time is a cyclical process. A crisis occurs at the end of each year when the cosmos changes to chaos. In order to restate the world's order it is necessary in ritual terms to repeat the act of creation. The Armenian people believe that they can personify God through the ritual act of creation through dramatic games and dances.

The result is a New Year which takes place from 22 December to 6 January at the winter solstice. The purpose of the ritual was to establish light and warmth following the cold and darkness when days become shorter and the sun appeared to die.

The 22nd of December was observed as the day of the Sun's death when chaos was deemed to win a victory over the cosmos. Many different rites took place at that time: verbal competitions, games, dances and duets. The rites were perceived to help win the victory over chaos in re-establishing the world's order. Such ritual activity has many versions within the different Indo-European traditions and I recommend Kuiper's 1970 text on the subject. This scheme is significant for Armenian mythology and consists of the following motifs:

1. The whipping of the Ocean and the dance of God.

2. The birth of the Sun God. In Armenian mythology, he is called Vahagn and was born from red reeds. One of his images is that of a goat.

3. The Sun God's battle with a monster (for example a snake or a dragon) and the release of water. The cosmic order wins a victory over chaos and chaos dies.

4. The thunder God punishes his wife and children.

In New Year rituals, children and young people take the part of adults. Over the course of time, some of these rituals have been forgotten and others have lost their religious significance, becoming included in the repertoire of children's games and dances. Consequently the corpus of children's repertoire affords an opportunity to reconstruct very archaic models of the world. Many children's games, dances, songs, countings, riddles, patterns, verbal and musical texts are transpositions of ancient rites to a lower level. Some of the texts are impossible to understand, as they now appear strange or absurd. For example the counting: ala, bala, nitza, duz kaba nitza....or akla-dukla, mishki-khambri. Such texts no longer connect with

the rite and exist independently within the society of children. Many of them can be found as formulae in children's folklore. When we try to analyse and reconstruct the ritual, it is possible to understand the texts and restore its place in the myth.

From the dramatic repertoire of Armenian rites in which children took part until the twentieth century, it is possible to identify the following topics:

1. The dual between chaos and the cosmos
   a) children's dance procession
   b) boy's dance in a goat's mask
   c) boy's dance, boy kills dog
   d) game-competition, *Long Ohannes*

2. The Thunder gods win a victory over a monster.
   a) children's procession
   b) congratulations bestowed on the New Year and Christmas

3. The regulation and harmony of the world
   a) children's torch procession
   b) requests for a good and fruitful year

There is no longer a successive order of the rite. I have collected and correlated the data from different Armenian regions (Sudnik and Civian, 1980; Petrossian, 1985).

At the nativity children meet together in the morning and move from house to house. All of them in the dancing procession are aged between ten and fifteen. One of the boys wears a long goat skin, a goat's mask and holds in his hand a scythe with little bells. This 'goat' dances, jumps and turns. At the head of the procession is the dog-killer. He is in an old dress and carries a stick in his right hand. The dog-killer jumps and frightens children. The third boy's name is the 'meal carrier' and he bears a sack on his back. The fourth boy has a bolter (an instrument for sifting flour) on his head. The procession stops to sing and dance in front of each house; 'Kalandos comes! He is in a wool skirt and red girdle'. Children ask the mistress of the house to give them a portion of food for the deceased. The end of the song has a ritualistic form: 'who gives us the presents (eggs, meal, cake) will be healthy; who doesn't will be cursed' (it is a fertility curse). The mistress invites the children into the house where the goat begins to dance and falls down. The children begin to cry and ask for presents for the goat. When the mistress and others give many presents, the goat arises (Lalajan, 1898).

If this action is analysed from a mythological perspective, it is possible to reconstruct the motif of the creation myth. The killer of the dog (or dragon, snake, wolf devil or monster in the other versions) is Kandavl, the image of the Thunder god, the Sun god, the Cosmos. The goat is the opponent of the Thunder god. He is the god of death, the Lord of the dungeon (the underground), the death and resurrection is the motif of the death and resurrection of the god of fertility.

The next game is the *Long Ohannes*. This is a version of the struggle between the old year *(Long Ohannes)* and the New Year *(Patanes)*. The game consists of a dialogue, a contest through dancing, singing songs and verbal formulae. It has many versions in Armenian regions but the fundamental theme is the same. Ten to twenty boys take part in this game; they stand side by side and hold little fingers. The first on the right side is the taller boy who takes the role of *Long Ohannes;* a short boy takes the role of *Patanes.* The following dialogue takes place between them:

Patanes: Long Ohannes!
Ohannes: What do you want *Patanes?*
Patanes: How can I come to you? Can I
　　　　　play the *zurna* or a drum?
　　　　　(Patanes beats on the belly as on
　　　　　a drum and sings metrically)
　　　　　Dambta-dimba, damta-dimba.
　　　　　Tarna-nina, tarna-nina!

Patanes walks with variable steps to *Long Ohannes.* The line of boys move with him. All the boys join in the rhythmic singing and reach *Ohannes.* He and the next in line raise their hands and the group passes under an arch made by their hands. That row now turns towards the boy on the left of *Ohannes* and he stands back to player. *Patanes* returns to his place and the dialogue continues with *Ohannes* offering to come with the *zurna.* All the row of boys repeats a variable step-song. The boys near to *Ohannes* raise their hands as an arch and the file moves through. Such moves and turns are repeated until the time when all the players have turned back with the exception of *Patanes. Patanes* and *Ohannes* join hands and all begin to dance. The boys jump up, kick their feet and sing rhythmically:

Grandfather has an onion but nobody can pound!

After singing, *Ohannes* and *Patanes* begin to pull in different directions. As a rule in this game, *Patanes* as the New year gains a victory over the old year, *Ohannes.* The ritual motif of onion and garlic pounding is very widely spread in Armenian games and dances. The idea of grinding and pounding is connected with the idea of competition between chaos and the cosmos. The Old Year is the image of chaos.

Let us now consider another game. At the beginning of Lent, Armenian children bring fruits, a lash and a rope for their father. The father in return gives them some coins. If the father fails to give them money, the children revolt, tie the father's arms and legs and begin to whip him (Bodjan, 1983; Petrossian, 1991). It is possible to interpret this ritual game as a version of the motif in Indo-European mythology whereby the Thunder god (the father) is punished by his children (compare with the version or motif of Cronos and his children). We may note the old mythological elements of corporal punishment and exchange-ransom. The time of the game is during the period of fasting and the corporal punishment is administered by the lash.

The game ‚Grandmother and children competition' is a very interesting ritual game which takes place at Nativity. In the morning, the grandfather goes to church. The grandmother lays the table and puts candles lit by family members on the table. One candle is different from the others. The grandmother wears a pinafore which holds many presents for the children in it and carries a stick in her hand. She watches her lighted candle. The children are positioned at some distance from the table and aim to blow out the candle and throw handfuls of wheat at it. The grandmother pursues them, telling them not to be naughty and tries to hit them with her stick. The children run away but soon return to continue throwing wheat. The grandmother promises a present. When the grandfather returns home, the scuffle intensifies. Senior members of the family do not interfere in the game. The grandfather makes no sign and wishes everyone a Happy New Year. The grandmother stands by her husband with the stick; the children are afraid of her. The grandfather takes away the stick,

breaks it into pieces and then the children may take away the grandmother's presents (Arsharuni, 1961). This game is only played at Nativity. It is difficult to explain its origin, but I suggest that it may signify that after competition, the harmony of the world is returned.

Torch processions and games take place at Nativity. Children make house-to-house visitations, dance, sing and make invocations which include many verbal formulae. During the singing, the children continue to sing and bless the child. In such a case, the young son personifies the New Sun, Cosmos. The celebrations for the New Year and Christmas include prayers for a good harvest.

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RITUAL DOLLS IN ARMENIAN TRADITION

Genja Khachactrjan

Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography
Armenia

In the collections of the Armenian State Historical Museum and Ethnographic Museum we can find various dolls. The majority of them are used for demonstrating the folk costumes of different ethnographic regions, but in my opinion, all of these dolls have a special function and content which is rooted in Armenian ritual mentality. The ritual dolls and dolls for play were made by young girls under the direction and with the assistance of old women. They had special functions during holidays, rituals and ceremonies. Using the magic power of dolls, women tried to provide good luck, health and fertility for the family. The dolls have a traditional decorative image. To make them, the girls use wood, shreds of cloth, thread, clay, metal, skin, hair, dough, wax, and the like.

If we try to classify these dolls, we may distinguish the following groups:

1. Dolls as a dowry were made by the grandmother of the fiancée to protect her in her new family. These dolls are decorative and well-dressed. If the dolls have eyes and eye-brows, they appear quite life-like. They are all female and are sometimes pregnant women. The owners hide their dolls from the devil and wicked eyes. The fiancée keeps her doll for all her life and later gives it to her eldest daughter as an inheritance. These sorts of dolls act like a mother-goddess to provide constant protection for the new family.

2. Dolls as a remedy to prevent people from becoming ill. These dolls are necessary element of rituals, where they have human qualities and are substituted for people during the dangerous period.

3. Theatrical-ritual dolls perform the role of honouring the good spirits. The Karagöz performances played with shadow dolls were held traditionally at weddings and at Shrovetide in Armenia.

4. Dolls named 'Khipilik', 'Khlvlik' in Armenian are to scare away the animals which might destroy crops in gardens and fields. They are made from big pieces of cane bound in crossed form, dressed as a male figure, with a necklace of empty jars. Sometimes a jug or a dust-bin is placed on the top of the cane. They are all male figures, representing good spirits, who protect the crops and fruits from the devil's eyes.

5. Dolls, made of dough, baked for children at New Year. They are called 'Khrtzik', 'Vasil', 'Vasil-Basil' and 'Tikin' and can occur both in male and female images. The female dolls wear a woman's dress

and the male figures wear a belt to indicate their sex. The baby dolls appear in swaddling-cloth. Some of these figures are decorated with raisins and nuts. By means of these New Year dough-figures, people can foretell children's fortunes. If the baking of the figure is not a failure, the coming year will be successful. If the figure turns to biscuit or is burnt, it will be a hard year for the children. Children must eat the well-baked dolls. Sometimes these dolls are named after the child in the family to whom it is devoted.

6. The ritual dolls named 'Aklatiz' were made at Lent. According to recent informants, these dolls were used to frighten children, but really they are the symbol of a dying and reviving God, or sometimes can represent the blossom of nature. 'Aklatiz' were male figures. They 'came' early in the morning on the first day of Lent and brought prosperity, health and fertility through their sexual power. 'Aklatiz' were made by the eldest women in the family. The basic element of the construction was a wooden cross which was dressed with furs. It is worth noting the use of the dolls, that is the playing activity of children in the rites.

7. On Ascension Day dolls were made by young girls. They were called 'Vichki arus' (vichak - fortune, Arus - a woman's name), or 'Vichki hars' (a fiancée of fortune), or 'Tzakhkamer' (mother of flowers). Until the end of the nineteenth century, on the Tuesday of Ascension week girls usually made dolls using two crosswise sticks, dressed for festivity. Girls surrounded the Arus doll with yellow flowers and put it in a jug. Before

ARMENIAN DOLLS

Tikin

Koragöz

Khrtzik

Aklatiz

the ceremony, they collected water from seven brooks and seven little stones representing their fate. The doll was the symbol of the Mother God of Fortune who foretold the fate of each girl. Before having their fortunes told, girls carefully passed the doll from hand to hand, kissed her and put her in a place of honour. These magic actions with the patron figure of young girls are becoming rarer and rarer nowadays and have changed their form. Originally, this doll must have had connections with the planet Arusjak (Venus), because the jug must be put on the roof of the house for the whole night, so that the planet could be reflected in the water in the jug.

1. Sometimes Armenians prepared dolls for preventing drought as well. In different regions they used different names for them. The most widespread name was 'Nuri' or 'Andzrevi hars' (the fiancée of rain). The figure was made of a broom dressed as a woman and children carried it from house to house in procession. Girls dressed in old shabby costumes danced and sang in front of every house and asked for presents. They were given eggs, flour, and so on while the master of the house splashed water on them. After this procession children organised a feast where they ate the food they had been given. Obviously Nuri represents the Mother God of Earth.

2. Armenian children use dolls as toys as well. They are generally made by grandmothers. If a doll has a face and body, according to Armenian tradition, it might become alive and have evil magic power. Thus grandmothers, in order to pre-

vent this, do not complete the dolls, that is, they miss out some part of the body. The toy-dolls play a great role in children's lives, in the process of their socialisation.

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KINDERBÄLLE ALS REFLEXION DES EUROPÄISCHEN GESELLSCHAFTSTANZES

Monika Fink
Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Universität Innsbruck
Austria

Der Tanz von Kindern kann eine Vielfalt von Funktionen erfüllen, wie etwa Spiel und Zeitvertreib darstellen oder auch pädagogische Ziele verfolgen. Wenn Kinder tanzen, muß es sich jedoch nicht in jedem Fall auch um Kindertänze handeln, wie in diesem Aufsatz gezeigt werden wird. Die vorliegende Studie befaßt sich mit einer speziellen Art der tänzerischen Tätigkeit von Kindern, und zwar mit dem Kinderball.

Die Voraussetzung für die Etablierung von Kinderbällen bildet der Tanzunterricht für Kinder, der im frühen 18. Jahrhundert im deutschsprachigen Raum weit verbreitet gewesen ist. In seiner 1713 erschienenen Schrift Von der Nutzbarkeit des Tanzens bemerkt Meleaton hiezu:

Das Tantzen lernen / ist ein sonderlich gut Mittel / die Kinder freymüthig und geschicklich zu machen / und zur Conversation mit denen / die älter sind / anzureitzen; darum bib ich der Meynung / man sollte sie es / so bald sie es zu lernen fähig sind / lehren lassen.[1]

Aus diesem Grunde empfiehlt Meleaton, bereits im Alter von sechs Jahren mit dem Tanzunterricht zu beginnen.[2] Die Erteilung von Kindertanzunterricht gehörte auch für Gottfried Taubert zu den selbstverständlichen Gepflogenheiten.[3] Die Verbreitung des Tanzunterrichtes für Kinder und die daraus resultierenden Veranstaltungen von Kinderbällen gehen weiter aus dem Universal-Lexicon von Johann Heinrich Zedler hervor. Für Zedler gehört es zu den Pflichten der Tanzmeister, daß sie 'mit honetter Leute Kindern einen Ball anstellen'.[4] Die Einrichtung von Kinderbällen wird auch von Valentin Trichter als eine der Aufgaben der Tanzmeister bezeichnet.[5] In seinem *Essay towards an history of dancing* hebt John Weaver 1712 unter Berufung auf einen Traktat von John Locke[6] die Bedeutung der Kinderbälle hervor, da sie den Kindern den Tanz vor Zuschauern ermöglichen:

And by dancing in Company, or singly before many Spectators, Children wear off that Diffidence, Fear and Awkwardness,... which is very visible in Children, that are not us'd to Company, and want those Advantages; as it plain from these we find in the Country, and retir'd Places; where at the Appearance of a Gentleman, or Lady welldress'd, with a good Equipage, the Bashful Rusticks all aghast run away either asham'd or afraid.[7]

Spezielle Tanzanweisungen waren 'für diejenigen Aeltern bestimmt, die ihren Kindern keinen Tanzmeister halten können', wie etwa die vom Lausanner Tanzmeister Martinet herausgegebenen 'Anfangsgründe der Tanzkunst'.[8]

Trotz ihrer Verbreitung boten Kinderbälle, insbesondere wenn sie maskiert waren, auch Anlaß zu Kritik und zu behördlichen Verboten. So wurden beispielsweise die renom-

mierten und auf eine bis in das frühe 18. Jahrhundert zurückreichende Tradition verweisenden Kinderbälle in der 'Mehlgrube' in Wien im beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert geschlossen.[9] Der Grund hiefür lag in den Zusammenhängen dieser Bälle mit dem gräflich Palffy'schen Kinderballett im Wiedener Theater, das zur gleichen Zeit 'wegen verschiedener Unzukömmlichkeiten auf ausdrücklichen Befehl des Kaisers Franz I' aufgelöst werden mußte.[10] Ebenso wurden die um 1780 'bei der Kaiserin Elisabeth auf der Wieden' veranstalteten Kinderbälle behördlich verboten und Bälle für Jugendliche nur im Rahmen von Tanzschulen erlaubt.[11] Noch im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert untersagte die Bezirkshauptmannschaft Korneuburg in einem 'an sämmtliche Bürgermeister = Aemter, Oberschulräthe und Schulleitungen' gerichteten Erlaß die Beteiligung von Kindern an Tanzmusiken.[12] Zuwiderhandelnde Eltern wurden angezeigt und den Besitzern der Tanzlokalitäten die 'Tanzmusik = Licenzen' entzogen.[13]

In einer 1857 in Boston erschienenen Schrift über die Gefahren von 'Balls and Dancing Parties' heißt es: 'Parents ought to hinder their children from going to dances.'[14] Maskierte Kinderbälle wurden jedoch nicht nur von behördlicher oder kirchlicher Seite, sondern sogar von manchen Tanzmeistern selbst kritisiert, wie etwa von Franz Anton Roller.[15] Auch in den sich ausführlich mit dem Tanz sowie mit der Veranstaltung von Bällen befassenden als 'Toiletten = Geschenke' betitelten Jahrbüchern für Damen wird nachdrücklich vor maskierten Kinderbällen gewarnt.[16]

Die Abhaltung von Kinderbällen an Höfen hing nicht nur von der gesellschaftspolitischen, sondern auch von der persönlichen Ausrichtung der jeweiligen Herrscher ab.

Während beispielsweise am preußischen Königshof erst um 1800 Bälle für Kinder veranstaltet wurden, waren diese am Hofe von Kaiserin Maria Theresia im Carneval ein gängiger Usus. Fürst Khevenhüller-Metsch berichtet in seinem Tagebuch von zahlreichen Kinderbällen und bemerkt in einer Eintragung vom 9. Februar 1749:

...Abends war wiederumen, und zwar das lezte masquirte Kinderfest bei Hoff und wurde wegen mehreren Platzes in der Rathstuben gedanzt...[17]

Da Khevenhüller-Metsch trotz der häufigen Erwähnung von Kinderbällen keine Hinweise auf ein spezielles Tanzprogramm gibt, ist zu vermuten, daß sich die Tänze bei den Kinderbällen nicht von denen der Erwachsenen unterschieden.

Bälle von Kindern des Adels wie des Bürgertums fanden vorwiegend in privaten Kreisen entweder in den Wohnungen oder in für geschlossene Gesellschaften gemieteten Ball-Lokalitäten statt. Öffentliche Kinderbälle waren im deutschsprachigen Raum selten. So findet sich beispielsweise in den Auflistungen der öffentlichen Lustbarkeiten von München lediglich im Jahr 1802 der Hinweis auf die Abhaltung eines Kinderballes.[18]

In Wien galt die 'Mehlgrube' als bevorzugter Ort für Kinderbälle, wobei diese Lokalität von Adeligen für Privatgesellschaften gemietet wurde. Initiiert hatte die dortigen Kinderbälle im Jahr 1728 der bei Prinz Eugen in Diensten stehende Tanzmeister Accriboni, von dessen Kinderbällen Johann B. Küchelbecker in der 'Allerneuesten Nachricht vom Römisch Kaiserl. Hofeöberichtet.[19]

Die Kinderbälle in der 'Mehlgrube' stellten für Accriboni einen nicht unbedeutenden Nebenverdienst dar. Gegen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts nahm im 'sterreichischen Raum die Anzahl der im privaten Kreis abgehaltenen Kinderbälle zu. Im 'Neuesten Sittengemälde von Wien' liest man hiezu, daß 'Französische Quadrillen, Straßbourgois, Cosaques, Menuets ... la Reine' nur mehr selten auf Hausbällen und da nur von Kindern getanzt werden.[20] Ebenso wie die Hausbälle Erwachsener zeigen sich Kinderbälle somit als Bewahrer von Tanzformen, die in der Öffentlichkeit an Interesse zu verlieren begannen.

Insbesondere die Adeligen waren darauf bedacht, daß die Kinder bei ihren Bällen mit allen Attributen und allem Prunk der Erwachsenen versehen waren, und die Kinderbälle somit eine Nachbildung der Erwachsenenbälle darstellten. Zwischen dem Tanz der Kinder und dem der Erwachsenen wurde kaum ein Unterschied gemacht.[21] Zu den erfolgreichsten Veranstaltungen dieser Art zählten die maskierten Kinderbälle, die in den dreißiger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts in Wien von der russischen Botschaft beziehungsweise von Lord Cowley gegeben wurden.[22]

1839 begannen Johann Strauß Vater und Haslinger die spezielle Kinder-Serie 'Die junge Tänzerin', eine Sammlung von Walzern in insgesamt neunundachtzig Heften.[23] 1841 folgte die entsprechende Reihe 'Quadrillen' für Pianoforte mit dreißig Heften. Lanner und Mecchetti schlossen sich 1840 mit der Reihe 'Kinderball für Pianoforte leicht' an, die Haslinger ab 1842 unter der Bezeichnung 'Tanzsalon' fortsetzte.[24]

Mit beginnendem 19. Jahrhundert waren neben der Veranstaltung von eigenständigen Kinderbällen diese auch in Erwachsenen-

bälle integriert worden. Diese 'Kinderbälle en miniature' dienten quasi als 'Balleinlage' und waren eine zusätzliche Attraktion für Besucher, wie etwa bei einer derartigen Veranstaltung im Jahr 1810 in Paris, die der 'sterreichische Gesandte für Napoleon gab.[25] Französische Sammlungen für Kinderbälle enthalten die letzten Nachklänge der Volksweisen, die dem Contre zugrundegelegt werden: Menace als Tanz mit Drohgebärden, Carillon als Hand- und Fußschlagtanz sowie der immer wieder neu inszenierte 'Großvater' mit dem 'changement des dames'.[26]

Hinweise für das Arrangement von Kinderbällen in Tanz- oder Anstandsbüchern finden sich erst im spüten 19. Jahrhundert, wo es beispielsweise hieß, Kinderb"lle seien 'so wie andere Bälle' zu arrangieren, 'je ernsthafter umso drolliger'.[27] W. K. Jolizza schlügt in seiner 'Schule des Tanzes' für Kinderbälle folgende Abfolge der Tänze vor:

Reigen
Walzer
Quadrille
Polka
Kotillon.[28]

Die Musik solle von einem Klavierspieler besorgt werden. Weiters führt Jolizza Text und Melodie sowie Anweisungen zur Ausführung einiger Reigen an, die er als Eröffnungstanz für Kinderbälle am geeignetsten hält.[29] Somit entsprach - vom einleitenden Reigen abgesehen - die Tanzordnung des Kinderballes derjenigen der Erwachsenenbälle. Dies wird auch durch andere zeitgenössische Quellen bestätigt. Bei einer in den 'Wiener Faschingsbildern 1814-1914' enthaltenen Darstellung eines Kinderballes tanzen die Kinder im Vordergrund Reigen und im Hintergrund Rundtänze; die Musik wird von einem Geiger, einem Kontrabassisten und einem Klavierspieler besorgt.[30]

Auf einer Abbildung eines Kinderballes der Naßwalder am 26. Jänner 1878 in Wien wird unter der Leitung eines Tanzordners - um den sich der immer enger werdende Kinderkreis dreht - und unter der Mithilfe einer Mutter ein Kotillon arrangiert.[31] Auf einem Kinderball am 21. Februar 1887 im städtischen Waisenhaus von Wien wurden 'Walzer, Polka, Mazurka und Ländler' sowie Quadrille getanzt.[32]

In einem Bericht über einen maskierten Kinderball des Jahres 1890 in Wien wurde hervorgehoben, daß 'die kleinen Mädchen und Knaben in schmucken Kostümen ... eine Quadrille in bester Ordnung tanzen'.[33] Ebenso wie bei Erwachsenenbällen dienten auch bei Kinderbällen Konzertdarbietungen oder auch Theateraufführungen als Balleinlage. Dies war beispielsweise der Fall bei einem Kinderball der Sanetti=Stiftung in Wien im Februar 1892, wo durch das Hausorchester 'in auffallend exacter Weise einige Concertpiecen' zu Gehör gebracht wurden. Nach der 'trefflich arrangirten Quadrille' wurde eine Komödie aufgeführt und anschließend Walzer und Polka getanzt.[34]

Eine andere Rolle als im deutschsprachigen Raum sowie in Frankreich kam dem Kinderball in England und Schottland zu. Hier waren im Unterschied zu den Gepflogenheiten auf dem Kontinent öffentliche Kinderbälle bereits im 18. Jahrhundert anzutreffen. Diese unter der Leitung eines Tanzmeisters stehenden Kinderbälle fanden meist in den Assembly Rooms statt. Als Beispiel sei die berühmte George Square Assembly von Edinburgh genannt:

The managers not only carried on the ordinary dancing and card assemblies, but also catered for the children of the subscribers. For instance, on 15th April 1789,

a ball was arranged, beginning at six o'clock, to which not only these young people but others Jiving in family with them' were admitted.[35]

Edward Topham berichtet, daß die Kinder bei ihren Bällen in Edinburgh vorwiegend Menuette sowie einige Hornpipes tanzten.[36] Im 19. Jahrhundert schließlich gab es in England

keine große Stadt, in der nicht officiell ein Kinderball von der Stadtvertretung und dem Lordmayor veranstaltet wird, und zwar sind diese Kinderbälle stets Kostümfeste... Die Art der Einladung ist in den Städten eine verschiedene. In London werden die Kinder der Gemeindevertreter geladen, in einer anderen Stadt kommt alljährlich eine andere Schule daran, und wieder in einer dritten werden die Kinderbälle veranstaltet, um bei denselben für die armen Kinder zu sammeln.[37]

Ebenso verbreitet waren 'ffentliche Kinderbälle in Nordamerika;[38] sie fanden hier in denselben Lokalitäten wie andere Bälle statt und waren entweder in die Erwachsenenbälle integriert oder gingen diesen voran. Hiebei trugen die zehn bis elf Jahr alten Kinder Imitationen der Ballkleidung der Erwachsenen, die an den Kinderbällen tanzend teilnahmen. Dieses Mittanzen der Erwachsenen nahm mancherorten derart überhand, daß beispielsweise der Tanzmeister Baptiste Francisqui bei den Kinderbällen in New Orleans um 1800 festsetzte, Erwachsene dürften sich nur an zwei Kontertänzen der Kinder beteiligen.[39] Im Jahr 1813 wurde schließlich ein Tanzverbot für Erwachsene bei Kinderbällen erlassen.[40]

Die Tanzordnungen der Kinderbälle unterschieden sich auch in Nordamerika nicht von denjenigen der Erwachsenen, wie zwei Beispiele von derartigen Veranstaltungen in New York verdeutlichen mögen: Bei dem 'Sixth Annual Children's Carneval and Ball' der Academy of Music am 13. Februar 1882 wurden den Besuchern Tanzkarten überreicht, die folgende 'Order of Dancing' enthielten:

1. Waltz	Dolores	Waldteufel
2. Lanciers	Patience	Sullivan
3. Galop	Passe-Partout	Strauss
4. Waltz	By the sea	R. Hoffman
5. Galop	Dash	Wiegand
6. Lanciers	Mascot	Audran
7. Waltz	Bachelors	Bial
8. Galop	Hectograph	Strauss
9. Waltz	Golden Myrtle	Fahrbach
10. Galop	Patience	Sullivan
11. Lanciers	Billee Taylor	Solomon
12. Waltz	Southern Roses	Strauss
13. Galop	Argonauta	F. Schilling
14. Waltz	Mon Reve	Waldteufel
15. Galop	Liebe Tanz	Strauss
16. Waltz	Myrthenblüthen	Strauss.[41]

Am 20. Juli 1889 wurde der Kinderball 'The Sinclair' mit folgender Tanzordnung abgehalten:

Waltz	Waltz
Lanciers	Lanciers
Galop	Galop
Waltz	Schottische-Militaire
York	Lanciers
Virginia Reel	Waltz.[42]

Reflexe auf Kinderbälle stellten schließlich die an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert beliebten 'Kinderbälle für Erwachsene' dar. Mit diesem Titel wurden mit Kinder-Utensilien ausgestattete Spieltouren des Cotillon bezeichnet.[43]

Zusammenfassend läßt sich somit feststellen, daß Kinderbälle im 18. wie auch im 19. Jahrhundert als Kopie von 'Erwachsenenbällen' zu sehen sind. Entsprechend der Einstellung gegenüber der Kindheit, in der Kinder nicht als Kinder, sondern als 'kleine' Erwachsene gesehen wurden, arrangierte man auch die Kinderbälle entsprechend denen der Erwachsenenwelt. Diese Kinderbälle sind somit in ihrer Ausrichtung, ihrem Ablauf und in ihren Tanzordnungen als Reflexionen des europäischen Gesellschaftstanzes zu sehen und weisen keinerlei Verbindung zum Kindertanz auf.

Anmerkungen

[1] Meleaton [d.i. J. L. Rost], *Von der Nutzbarkeit des Tanzens,* Leipzig 1713, S. 11.

[2] Ebda., S. 80.

[3] A. R. Gerbes, *Gottfried Taubert on social and theatrical dance of the early eighteenth century,* Diss., Ohio State University 1972, S. 25.

[4] J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste,* Halle/Leipzig 1754, S. 1763.

[5] V. Trichter, *Curiöses Reit= Jagd= Fecht= Tantz-oder Exercitien-Lexicon,* Leipzig 1742, S. 2191.

[6] Weaver bezieht sich hiebei vermutlich auf J. Lockes Traktat *'Some Thoughts Concerning Education',* London 1693.

[7] J. Weaver, *An essay towards an history of dancing,* London 1712, S. 22 - 23.

[8] J. F. Martinet, *Anfangsgründe der Tanzkunst, mit vorzüglicher Rücksicht auf die Menuet und die Françaisen. Theils zu nützlichen Wiederholung, theils für diejenigen Aeltern bestimmt, die ihren Kindern keinen Tanzmeister halten können,* Leipzig 1798.

[9] W. Kisch, *Die alten Straßen und Plätze von Wiens Vorstädten,* 3 Bde., Wien 1885 - 1888. Photomechanische Wiedergabe Wien 1967, S. 23.

[10] Ebda.

[11] A. Scherpe und J. Weich, *Wiener Faschingsbilder 1814 - 1914,* Wien 1920, S. 45.

[12] *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt,* Donnerstag, 5. Juni 1884, Nr. 154, S. 4.

[13] Ebda.

[14] *Balls and Dancing Parties condemned by the Scriptures, Holy Fathers, Holy Councils and ... theologians of the church,* Boston 1857, S. 148.

[15] F. A. Roller, *Systematisches Lehrbuch der bildenden Tanzkunst und körperlichen Ausbildung von der Geburt bis zum vollendeten Wachsthume des Menschen,* Weimar 1843, S. 72/73.

[16] Z. B. Anonym, Erstes Toiletten=Geschenk. *Ein Jahrbuch für Damen,* Leipzig 1805, S. 72.

[17] H. Wagner und M. Brennlich-Pawilek, *Tagebuch des Fürsten Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch,* Wien 1972, S. 87.

[18] Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Barar. 1400 VI, 38.

[19] J. B. Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserl.* Hofe. Beschreibung der Kaiserl. Residenz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Orten, Hannover 1730, zitiert bei H. Pemmer, *Die Mehlgrube - ein Alt-Wiener Vergnügungszentrum,* in: *Wiener Geschichtsblätter 3/4,* 1962, S. 77.

[20] A. Pichler, *Neuestes Sittengemälde von Wien,* Wien 1801, S. 123.

[21] Vgl. hiezu Ph. Aričs, *Geschichte der Kindheit,* München/Wien 1975, S. 149 und 154ff. Zur Einstellung zur Kindheit im 19. Jahrhundert allgemein vgl. S. 69ff.

[22] F. Pietznigg, *Mittheilungen aus Wien. Zeitgemälde des Neuesten und Wissenswürdigsten,* Wien 1832, S. 26ff.

[23] N. Linke, *Musik erobert die Welt oder Wie die Wiener Familie Strauß die 'Unterhaltungsmusik' revolutionierte,* Wien 1987, S. 115.

[24] Ebda.

[25] Au. A. Baron, *Lettres ... Sophie sur La Danse,* Paris 1825, S. 318.

[26] Vgl. hiezu O. Bie, *DerTanz,* Leipzig 1903, S. 212.

[27] N. Bruck-Aussenberg, *Die Frau - comme il faut,* Wien o.J., S. 225.

[28] W. K. Jolizza, *Die Schule des Tanzes,* Wien 1910, S. 359.

[29] Ebda., S. 371ff.

[30] A. Scherpe und J. Weich, wie Anmerkung 11, S. 42.

[31] *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt,* Samstag, 26. Jänner 1878, 7. Jg., Nr. 26, o.S.

[32] *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt,* Montag, 21. Februar 1887, 16. Jg., Nr. 51, o.S.

[33] *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt,* Sonntag, 16. Februar 1890, Nr. 46, S. 13.

[34] *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt,* Dienstag, 1. März 1892, Nr. 61, S. 4.

[35] J. H. Jamieson, 'Social Assemblies of the Eighteenth Century', in: *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club,* December 1933, Vol. 19, S. 82.

[36] E. Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh,* London 1776, Letter Xli.

[37] 'Ein Kinderball in England'. *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt,* wie Anmerkung 34.

[38] Siehe K. Bernhard, *Travels through North America,* Vol. II, Philadelphia 1828, S. 63.

[39] H. A. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years,* 1791 - 1841, Baton Rouge 1967, S. 43.

[40] Ebda.

[41] The New York Library for the Performing Arts, Lincoln Centre, Dance Collection, Balls-Programs * MGZB Res.

[42] Ebda.

[43] Carneval- und Cotillon Artikel, Inh. Otto Oeser, Berlin 1905,S. 5.

LEARNING LANGUAGE THROUGH DANCE.
RHYTHM, RHYME, SONG AND DANCE IN FRENCH NURSERY SCHOOL EDUCATION

Georgiana Gore

Blaise Pascal University, Clermont-Ferrand
France

Introduction

The impulse for this research began in 1994 when my daughter would come home from nursery school and everyday, without warning, break into a danced song or sung dance. The performance would change approximately twice a week. There were periods of ‚silence' when other, usually manual, activities took over. And then a new phase in what I assumed to be the development and refinement of verbal and motor skills would begin. These regular performances lasted for about a year and a half until between Christmas 1995 and Easter 1996, a period, which, I later realised, was marked by two events. On the one hand, she started enthusiastically rehearsing her class dance for the school's end-of-year party, and, on the other, she began the arduous task of learning cursive or joined writing.

The regularity of these outbursts of markedly rhythmic movement and song, and the fact that my daughter was clearly eager to present and repeat them, made me wonder what their purpose and significance might be, beyond the manifest joy of mastery and performance. Since these danced events were in part rhyming songs, it appeared that they were relevant to language acquisition. But why the emphasis on gesture and movement? At some time in the course of that first year, I began to make connections between these observations and Piagetian theories of child development, as well as with Lacanian psychoanalytic theories of the constitution of human subjectivity. In both discourses, a privileged position is assigned to the bodily, to movement and to physical exploration in the process of socialisation and language acquisition. It was against this background that I asked my daughter's teacher to assist as an informant in the research. I was caught unawares by the response. She revealed, in a series of rapidly fired and incisive examples, that the acquisition of movement skills and concepts was essential groundwork for the development of preliminary writing skills, which the French call *graphisme.*

British, and it would seem French, preschool parent discourse highlights the desirability of acquiring early reading skills, which for me meant an emphasis on looking, listening and speaking. It had not dawned on me therefore that this emphasis on movement might imply a concern with writing, a skill requiring fine motor coordination, amongst other things. In this context, I discovered that in a certain discourse of French nursery education (for example, Baron 1993; Grégoire and Hansmaennel 1993; and Lesage and Simonnet-Girault 1987) writing and *graphisme* are emphatically described as motor acts and are therefore conceived as logically connected to other forms of motor activity such as structured movement sessions, dance and the like.

The graphic gesture is of the order of move-ment. (....) It is through the experience of body movement in space that the child will be able to integrate her gesture and arrive at an authentic representation: what is dy-namic can only be learnt through move-ment[2] (Lesage and Simonnet-Girault 1987: 6).

It is this kind of reasoning that posits that a session on graphic representation should or may logically follow on from a movement session. The graphic activities aim to exploit the movement concepts which either emerge spontaneously or are programmed to emerge in the movement session. This approach does not deny however the validity of movement as an end in itself, nor that it may serve other purposes including an introduction to math-ematics, for example.

Because of the totally unexpected dimen-sion which the teacher revealed, this paper must be thought of as work in progress, and as a pilot study for a more ambitious project, which might explore through comparative fieldwork in the classroom situation some of the above mentioned propositions. What I had initially conceived of as research on the acquisition, through dance and song, of oral language skills has come to focus rather on an initiation, through the play forms of movement and sound, into the world of writ-ing. Literacy is privileged in most European cultures and I would say especially so in the French context. Is it not, however, a para-dox that in the constitution of the literate child, movement is a privileged means of access? Is this one further example of what Foucault describes as a biopolitics, where the regulation of life and the living body is at the heart of political technologies? And thus while education through movement was con-ceived by its innovators as liberatory prac-tice, in effect its contemporary practitioners are in a double movement constituting the body as a site of both representation and graphic inscription?

General context

It would appear, from a cursory reading, that movement education or education through movement has been amongst the well-springs of child-centred education in France. In the form of physical education it continues to occupy a position of some sig-nificance, if one accords any importance to the 1980 Ministry of Education official rec-ommendations (Lesage and Simonnet-Girault 1987: 4). These state that the aims of the physical education of nursery school children are threefold: to favour the psycho-physical development of the child, to encour-age the refinement and diversification of movement behaviour and to favour the blos-soming' of the child's personality. No men-tion is made here of specific skills, which may be acquired through movement, only of general benefits.

On the other hand official instructions, as reported in 1993, concerning the organisa-tion of primary schools into pedagogic cy-cles, stipulate that by the end of the first cy-cle, which, I understand to be the last year of nursery school, but may be the first year of primary school, children should already have acquired the first stage of writing skills. These include copying a short sentence in cursive, that is, joined writing, writing on the line then between two thin lines and recog-nising and comparing different kinds of script such as cursive, printed and so on. From the first nursery school class onwards, teachers are therefore under pressure to develop skills which will favour success in the final nurs-

ery year, while at the same time nurturing the ‚whole' child. For this dual process, they require methods; and structured movement and sound provide some of the materials.

Are there, however, other reasons for what may be a new rationality for connecting movement education to the acquisition of writing skills? Is this rationality related to a number of factors extraneous to the direct workings of nursery school education and promoted through formal and informal pressure groups. These factors might include:

1. the decline perceived by the teaching profession in child literacy and the necessity to remedy this by laying early foundations

2. parental ideas that formal education is the gateway to socio-economic advancement especially in times of recession, and that the development of early reading and writing skills will ensure academic success

3. the advent of the media and information technology, and their relation to a general decline in literacy

Specific context

In France, children from age three are statutorily entitled to education at nursery school, called the ‚maternelle' (from ‚materner' meaning to mother). There are three years or levels (excluding a fourth for the ‚touts-petits' [very little ones] who enter at age two). The three levels are: 1. Petite Section (Little Section) of three to four year olds; 2. Moyenne Section (Middle Section) of four to five year olds; and 3. Grande Section (Big Section) of five to six year olds.

Nursery education is a matter of choice and schooling only becomes obligatory at age six when all children must enter the Cours Préparatoire (Preparatory Class), which is the first year of Primary school. The aim of the CP preparatory year is to teach children the basics of reading and writing, and children enter with trepidation after the relative cosiness of the maternelle. No longer is the classroom divided into different activity areas. All the desks are conventionally arranged in rows. The games room, if existent, is not adjacent, and there is neither space nor time for daily movement exploration. Gym is now a once- or twice-weekly interlude. The rupture is radical and it is, in part, to ease the transition that initiation to writing skills formally begins in the Grande Section, that is the last year of nursery school.

By then children are five years old. And, according to research done on the normal evolution of writing skills (Auzias et al 1977) as well as according to classroom experience, they are ready to begin the transition from graphisme to writing proper. The first three months of the school year are spent on developing graphic skills through movement and initiation to the alphabet and printed script. It is in the last six to three months of the school year, when a majority of children is reaching age five years and nine months, that cursive (that is, joined) writing can really be introduced. Children now have both sufficient motor skills and conceptual grasp to produce legible words and small sentences by copying material. According to French notions, this is not yet writing, since the latter implies creating a legible sentence from imagination without reference to an external model (Auzias et al 1977). The graphic and written work done in this year are not however the simulacra of writing done by four year olds.

To accede to the stage of ‚copying' and of simple word recognition, the children must

struggle hard to acquire basic notions which are applicable to both writing and graphic representation and to movement situations. These are spatio-temporal and include notions such as above/below, left/right, before/after as well as rhythmic principles of regularity and interval. They are said to be acquired and understood by the children from the lived experience of moving during, for example, dance games. A chart (Lesage and Simonnet-Girault 1987) which lists basic concepts to be developed in preparation for writing and associated movement activities demonstrates how these notions may be formulated. Here, they cluster around three conceptual axes, those of space, laterality and temporality. These concepts, like those more basic notions mentioned above, are recurrent in the discourse of nursery school teachers.

Examples and methods

Since the relationship between movement work and graphic work is not one of direct cause and effect, there is no single method for achieving results. The approaches are multiple, as are the stimuli for beginning a movement session. The starting point, however, often seems to be some form of song which is related to the movement and graphic idea to be developed.

Work on circle dances is especially common in the Petite Section, though they are used at all levels. They are designed to stimulate sociability and a sense of collective evolution and to introduce notions of the circle, of rotation, of direction, and later of such figures as the spiral. Graphic representations are within the grasp of the three year old and later in writing there is the obvious analogy with the letter o, as well as the circle being the basis for letters such as c,d, p and the like. In neither movement nor graphic con-

text, would the notion of the circle be introduced directly - as in the instructions ‚Dance in a circle' or ‚Draw a circle'. Rather the song and music would stimulate the initial movement, and further ideas such as changing direction and forming concentric circles would be derived from the context through discussion. Support materials such as hoops and balls can be introduced to reinforce ideas of circularity and rotation, or used as the starting point to stimulate exploration. If the graphic session follows immediately, the experience in the games room may be used as direct stimulus, with the children being asked to draw the dance that they have just done. It is also possible to proceed by analogy, and to work with circular objects with which the children have an affective relation of familiarity, such as balls, balloons, bubbles, the sun and sweets. The children in both contexts are thus led to enact circling, be it with their whole bodies in the games room, or on paper in the classroom. The process is designed on the one hand to develop gross and fine motor-coordination through practice and on the other to stimulate the children to ‚discover or locate, analyse and store', in the words of my daughter's teacher.

Conclusion

The spatial and temporal notions (such as above/below, left/right, in front/behind, before/after) deployed in the writing context may be first incorporated, developed and refined through the lived experience in three-dimensional space of the movement sessions. They must, however, pass through language, I am convinced, in order to be assimilated as notions which may be useful in the later contexts of *graphisme* and writing apprenticeship. For here, the teacher not only writes a model to be copied on the blackboard; she

guides the children using verbal stimuli. For example, to write the letter 'a' ,You start at the top; you move to the window side of the room; then down and to the door side; and now up. Don't forget the string' (personal communication 1996).

This anchoring of lived reality in speech may occur through the verbal responses of the children, but, as I have just indicated, it is more than likely to be the result of the teacher's repeated verbal interventions. The role of the teacher may be to devise, structure and supervise movement or graphic and writing sessions for example, but all this passes through language. Through speech, the teacher constitutes for the children the lived relations between different elements. It is the teacher's discourse, I believe, like that of the shaman for his ,patient', which creates embodied meaning for the child by producing for her the tenets of her social reality.

Cursive writing, the symbol of full literacy'is a social production with its restrictive norms' (Grégoire 1993:7). Because writing takes up a position on the page, we begin at top left and write from left to right. When we have finished a line, we return underneath the first one. We reposition ourselves at the same point of departure, but underneath and so on.

And do these not sound like the instructions for a dance?

Notes

1. I wish to thank Michèle Perrot-Minot, my daughter's teacher in Grande Section, without whose intelligence and spontaneous generosity this paper could not have been written.

2. I have taken the liberty of providing my own translations of French citations.

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II

Dance and Style

DANCE AND THE CONCEPT OF STYLE

Adrienne L. Kaeppler[1]
Smithsonian Institution
USA

Introduction

The daunting task of giving a keynote address on style in dance is an opportunity to attempt to clarify two concepts; what is dance and what is. style. These two slippery terms are used by all of us, as if we knew what they meant. I, for one, do not know what they mean, but I want to explore with you what they might, or could mean.

Understanding the term 'dance' is our first task. Let us begin by imagining an interaction of a non-human entity with a human from earth to illustrate that these terms are not transparent, giving up their meanings to the uninitiated. A revealing illustration of the difficulty in such intercultural understanding was explored in an episode of 'Star Trek, The Next Generation' in which the android (a human-like machine) Commander Data asked the chief medical officer Beverly Crusher to teach him to dance. The interaction takes place on the Holodeck, a computer-generated room that can reproduce whatever type of room or environment is requested. Dr Crusher requests the replication of a tap-dance studio where she learned the skill   as a child and proceeds to teach Mr Data to tap dance. In thanking her, Commander Data notes that he could now dance at an forthcoming wedding. Appalled, Dr Crusher explains that the kind of dance depends on the event during which it would be performed; one of the many inconsistencies in human classification systems that seem to Mr Data to have little logic. Dr Crusher is unable to explain the inconsistency and proceeds to teach Commander Data an entirely different movement system, a waltz, which she assures him will be appropriate to dance at a wedding.

The problem for Commander Data was what the term 'dance' referred to. Although Dr Crusher could easily teach Commander Data the structure and content of the two movement systems, this was only the beginning. Equally important was knowledge about the event, the performers, the beholders and the sociopolitical discourses enacted through the event, which were not so easy to explain. But, if both of these movement systems are called 'dance', how do they differ? Do dances differ in structure or, perhaps, in style? Are tap dancing and ballroom dancing two different styles of dancing? I do not think so. But if the differences are not stylistic, what are they? Do differences reside in structure, style, form, or something else?

The Star Trek example illustrates that although Commander Data knew intellectually that dancing was based on structured body movement, he did not fully realise that structured body movements differed radically according to the occasion or for the event when they would be embodied. The problems often seem to be those of categorising

and definition. In this case, two very different movement systems - tap dancing and ballroom dancing - were categorised by the same term, 'dance'. But Commander Data also seemed surprised by differences between the ballroom dancing of Beverly Crusher, a computer-generated partner and the bride. Are these differences stylistic?

One might say that 'style' deals with small differences. But how small and who decides? One might also say that style has to do with aesthetics, which brings us to another very slippery term. These are all words that we use every day, but we do not have any common understanding of what they mean.

How can we enlarge the scope of traditional terminology in order to make terms more useful cross-culturally. Terms such as 'dance' cannot be simply transferred from Western languages and concepts to languages and concepts in very different cultures and movement systems. Specific cultural values must be taken into account and applied to a specific range of cultural forms for a specific society. Understanding how such terms might be applicable depends on understanding an entire way of life and the systematic relationships among cultural forms and the social actions in which they are embedded. The cultural form that we call dance is far from being a universal concept. Dance, or structured movement systems, may be universal, but dance is not a universal language. Structured movement systems can only communicate to those who have 'communicative competence' in this cultural form for a specific society or group. Dance can be considered a 'cultural artifact' - a cognitive structure - that exists in dialectical relationship with the social order and that both are understandable. Relationships between dance and the social order are constantly model-

ling, modifying, and shaping each other over time. Dance has dynamic dimensions that help to move society along the roads of change.

Thus, my aim here is to explore not only style, but how style is related to structure, form, and social context. Other related terms such as 'fashion', 'taste', and 'trends' are often used interchangeably with style and should also be examined along with the slippery terms 'art' and 'aesthetics', but I will leave these for another time.[2]

Style

Style is one of the most slippery terms and some have advocated that we should not use the term at all. In his now classic article on style, Schapiro characterises style as 'the constant form - and sometimes the constant elements, qualities, and expression - in the art of an individual or a group' (1962:278). He then separates out ideas about style according to discipline, noting that the art historian looks at style as a 'system of forms with a quality and meaningful expression through which the personality of the artist and the broad outlook of a group are visible.' To the philosopher of history 'style is a manifestation of the culture as a whole, the visible signs of its unity...forms and qualities shared by all the arts of a culture during a significant span of time.' The critic and the artist, on the other hand, 'conceive of style as a value term' (1962:278). Thus, style can refer to form, quality, or expression of whole cultures, groups, or individuals. We know what we mean, but it is very elusive.

I find it useful to separate some of these concepts and propose some distinctions. In my view the largest conceptual dimension with which we should deal in dance is form (that is, the content entity) and that form con-

sists of <u>structure plus style</u>.[3] So, let us deal first with the form or content of a movement system, separated from its context. Of course, we all know that in reality you cannot separate content from context, but we can do so conceptually.

Structure

To begin, let me summarise the conceptual elements of structure.[4] Most importantly, structure is 'emic', that is, it is based on the movement concepts of the holders of a movement tradition. It is not based on outside observers' ideas about movement differences, which are 'etic'. Structure in dance consists of a specific system of knowledge of how kinemes combine into morphokines, which combine into motifs, which combine into dances-according to a specific group of people at a specific time.

Kinemes are minimal units of movement recognised as contrastive by people of a given dance tradition (analogous to phonemes in a spoken language). Although having no meaning in themselves, kinemes are the basic units from which the dance of a given tradition is built. Morphokines are the smallest units that have meaning as movement in the structure of a movement system (meaning here does not refer to narrative or pictorial meaning). Only certain combinations are meaningful and a number of kinemes often occur simultaneously to form a meaningful movement and are combined according to a movement grammar or syntax. Morphokines, which have meaning as movement (but do not have lexical or referential meaning) are organised into a relatively small number of motifs.

Motifs are culturally grammatical sequences of movement made up of kinemes and morphokines that produce short entities in themselves. They are movement pieces that combine certain morphokines in characteristic ways and are verbalised and recognised as motifs by the people themselves. [Motif Paradigm is a small set of related structures with one morphokine common to a set, together with all the morphokines with which it can occur.] Motifs choreographed in association with meaningful imagery form a choreme, that is, a culturally grammatical choreographic unit made up of a constellation of motifs that occur simultaneously and chronologically, of any length. For example, motifs of the upper body and motifs of the lower body together may form a choreme. Choremes are put together to form a dance, that is, a specific choreography which can be pre-set or improvised/spontaneous, according to a genre which has prescriptive structural elements from the lower three levels of dance organisation and elements external to dance movement; they are named according to ethno-semantic categories.

The Importance of Motifs and Choremes in Style

Motifs and choremes are the building blocks of dances and are implicated not only in structure but style. Motifs are culturally structured pieces of movement tied to a specific dance tradition or genre. They are not interchangeable from one dance tradition to another, although they may occur in more than one genre or dance tradition. Motifs are carried in memory as templates for reproduction to be used spontaneously or in a well-thought-out choreography. As frequently occurring combinations of smaller elements, movement motifs are similar to motifs in other visual arts and folklore. They are recalled and re-embodied in dances and through this embodiment they acquire meaning and be-

come images that take on cognitive status. When a new dance is produced, it is not only the motifs and their sequencing into a choreographic form that are of interest. In addition, who performs, how many performers there are, how the performers interact with each other and the audience (if there is one) and how they use vertical and horizontal space can tell us a great deal about the social and cultural context and the culture itself.

The ordering of motifs simultaneously and chronologically is the process of choreography and a dance can be analytically broken down or built up from its component parts. Genre is an analysis of local categories that examines the taxonomy of culturally recognised dances within a specific culture and how the categories differ from each other.

These structural elements are the building blocks; the essential elements that dictate how a specific dance is built and how dances differ according to genre. Style is the <u>way</u> of performing, realising or embodying the structure.

Let us look at a few examples. Consider three different speakers of English: someone from Great Britain, someone from America and someone from India. They probably all speak English with the same grammatical structure (or at least they can), yet there is something very different about them; their <u>way</u> of speaking, their accent, their style. Or consider a hornpipe dance - the important structural elements of a hornpipe derive from a rocking of the body. As I understand it, an Irish style hornpipe is performed by complex movements at the ankles (sometimes characterised as rocking) while an English style hornpipe is performed by a rocking of the hips. Early European visitors to Hawai'i described Hawaiian *hula* as a hornpipe be-

cause of the 'rocking' motion of the hips, as described by Englishmen.

Style is the way the structural elements, especially motifs or choremes, are executed or embodied that is not essential to their structure according to performers of the tradition. In some choreographies of the ballet *Swan Lake,* a series of movements in the first and third acts are (or can be) structurally the same, but the way in which they are performed in the first and third acts - the style - are very different. It is the structure plus the style that constitutes the form (or content entity) of the dance in each case. What the audience, or the beholder, observes is the form. The dancer performs the structure in a certain way which can be considered its style.

Perhaps we can equate 'form' to what is often referred to metaphorically as 'the language of'. For example, it is often said that the language of (Western) painting is structure, colour and design. 'Structure' in such a statement must refer to the organisation of paint on a particular kind of flat surface. Could, then, the way the paint is laid down, in specific colours in a specific design, be considered the style? What then is 'the language of' dance? The language of dance consists of one or more bodies that move in time and space according to a specific structured movement system. The way the bodies perform this movement language or structure is its style. These kinds of statements should arise from knowledge of the principles relevant to the structured movement systems in a specific dance tradition.

It is the structural difference that makes it possible to decide which genre something belongs to, for example, ballet or modern dance. It is the way the structure is realised, that is, the style, that enables us to under-

stand and delineate differences that are manifested in time and space, for example, differences between nineteenth and twentieth century ballet or differences between Russian, French or Danish ballet.

Structure and Style as Aspects of Competence and Performance

Structure and style can also be related to Chomsky's ideas of 'competence and performance' as well as Saussure's concepts of 'langue and parole.' Structure is important in langue or system, in this case a movement system in which one must have competence. Style is an important part of parole or 'acts', in this case movement acts or performances. In order to understand movement, the performer and observer must have 'competence.' Competence or knowledge about a specific dance language is acquired in much the same way as competence in a spoken language is acquired. Competence relates to the cognitive learning of the shared rules of a specific dance tradition, as Saussure's concept of langue is acquired. Competence enables the viewer to understand a grammatical movement sequence never seen before. 'Performance' refers to an actual rendering of a movement sequence, parole of Saussure, which assumes that the performer has a level of competence and the skill to carry it out. The concept of competence/performance has been refined by sociolinguists and discourse analysts. Dell Hymes posits rules for performance as well as grammar in what he calls 'communicative competence' and Mikhail Bakhtin, noting that both parole and langue are controlled by laws, takes the 'utterance' as a unit. Movement sequences are analogous to utterances and if one does not know the movement conventions, he or she will not have communicative competence and will be unable to understand what is being conveyed. In addition to movement meaning, meaning in a larger sense (such as symbolic, narrative, and so on.) is not inherent in movement itself; meaning is attributed to movement by people who are part of the larger activity and depends on knowledge of the cultural system, such as male and female roles in movement, social status, social structure and access to politics and power.

It is the system or structure that one needs to know if one is to decide if any particular 'act' (for example, performance of a dance) is one thing or another (for example, dance genre). With 'communicative competence' the form can be separated into structure and style - and the styles identified. With aesthetic knowledge, the form can be evaluated as to how well the underlying structure is realised stylistically.

Style in Polynesian Dance

Important structural elements of Polynesian dance are that (1) it is presentational, audience oriented, with performers facing the audience (2) it is based on poetry that is objectified, alluded to, or mimed by the arms and hands (3) the lower body is primarily a time-keeping device, and is conceptually separated from the upper body and (4) the upper body and especially the shoulders are relatively unmoving, and the back is usually upright and straight. These regional characteristics define Polynesian style. This complex can be differentiated from, for example, regional characteristics of African dances, or European dances, or Indonesian dances.

The most important movement dimensions in Polynesia are those of the hands and arms. The performer does not become a character in a dramatic interchange and gestures do not

correspond to words or ideas put together in a narrative sequence. Performances are usually by large or small groups in which all do the same sequence of choreographed movements, or occasionally the men and women do separate sets of movements simultaneously. Many dances are seated, further emphasising the arm movements. When standing, the legs and hips add a rhythmic and aesthetic dimension but do not usually advance a story. The rotation or turning of the lower arm, flexion and extension of the wrist, curling of the fingers, flexion at the knuckles and placement of the upper arm in space are the significant dimensions. The combination of two bodily complexes - the amount and velocity of hip movement, and the interplay of hand/wrist/arm movement and placement - give each Polynesian movement tradition its distinctive style. Dances may be separated by gender who dance different choreographies simultaneously (as in a Tongan *lakalaka)*. Women's movements are soft and graceful while men's movements are strong and virile. In Hawai'i, on the other hand, men and women perform the same movement motifs but the style varies by gender (men us less wrist flexion and extension, sharper elbows, and the like).

The Polynesian region can be separated into two major styles - West Polynesia and East Polynesia. The main movement differences centre on the use of the hips. In West Polynesia hip movement is not a significant dimension and derives from the stepping of the feet. In East Polynesia, hip movement adds a rhythmic and aesthetic dimension to the dance. Within these sub-areas, however, the various island groups (Samoa, Tonga, Uvea, Futuna, Tahiti, Hawai'i) manifest the movement or non-movement of the hips in specific ways. A second important differ-

ence is the use of the arms and especially the wrists. Whereas in Tonga the wrist movement depends on a complex interplay between flexion and extension of the wrist, the curling of the fingers and the rotation of the lower arm, in Samoa the movements are a wrist extension and bend of the fingers in conjunction with bending the elbow. In East Polynesia various combinations of wrist flexion and extension in conjunction with the rotation of the lower arm result in characteristic movements. Lower arm rotations in conjunction with a rather stiff wrist are characteristic for Tahiti, while a hand quiver with stiff wrist is characteristic of New Zealand. In Hawai'i, a flexion and extension of the wrist in conjunction with bending at the knuckles and curling the fingers are characteristic. It is a combination of these two main elements - the arm/wrist movements and the interplay of leg and hip movements -that gives to each Polynesian dance tradition its distinctive style.

In Polynesia, dance renders sung poetry into visual form by alluding to selected words of the text or by the performance of movements selected because of their beauty or rhythm. The dancer is essentially a storyteller and conveying the poetic text depends primarily on movements of the hands and arms. Movements of the torso and the legs add to the rhythmic and aesthetic qualities but are generally not essential to the storytelling function. Polynesian performers enhance a story by rendering poetry melodically, rhythmically and visually, alluding to selected words of the text with movements of the hands and arms.

In Hawai'i even more subtle differences characterise the styles of various schools of Hawaiian dance. These deal with how the named lower-body motifs are performed. For

example, the lower-body motif known as ,*uwehe* varies from a lift of the heels with knees together to a wide opening of the knees to the side in a bent-knee position. Although to an outside observer, this difference might appear to be structural, to an insider it is different stylistic ways of embodying an, *uwehe.* Other stylistic differences between schools are the placement of the arms in space and bending or not bending at the waist. Stylistic differences through time vary according to some of these same elements as well as the amount of flexion and extension at the wrists and the amount of curling of the fingers.

I will use four versions of a *hula pahu* called 'Kaulilua' to illustrate stylistic differences.[5] The four main considerations for style are (1) the placement of the arms in space, (2) in the characteristic bent-knee stance, how much the knees are bent, (3) whether the movements are performed symmetrically or asymmetrically, and (4) the division of the body at the waist reflecting the Hawaiian proverb, 'What goes above, should stay above; what goes below, should stay below.'

A. Patience Namaka Bacon embodies the motifs closest to the old ritual form of this structured movement system. She uses slightly bent knees, asymmetrical hand and arm movements usually placed above the waist, and the upper arms slope diagonally downward. Pat's movements embody the movement style of the Luahine school, as taught by Keahi Luahine, which can be characterised as soft, relaxed, and undramatic, and illustrate the rather informal and imprecise style of the non-competitive age of Hawaiian dance in the 1930s and 1940s.

B. 'Iolani Luahine embodied an artistic version of the old form. Her knees were only slightly bent, her movements were often asymmetrical, she kept the above/below dis-

tinction, and her upper arms were placed diagonally with imprecise placement in space. As part of the Luahine school, ,Iolani (Keahi's grandniece) used the same style as Pat, but she also added her own autographic quality of facial expression, that gave the dances her own dramatic and compelling quality. These facial expressions, and especially the eyebrow movements, are now emulated by some of her students and other younger dancers, eager to perform in the ,Iolani Luahine 'style.'

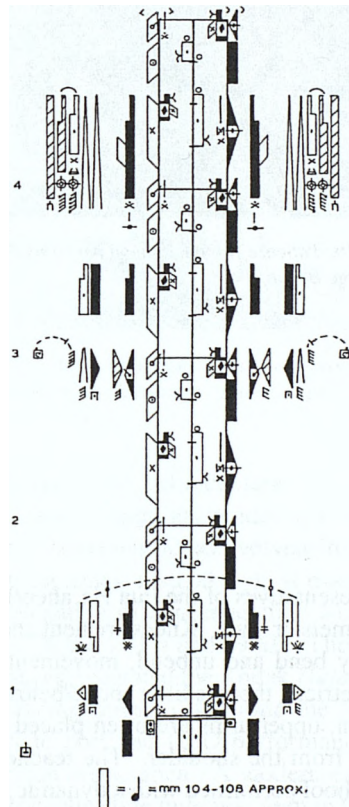C. Noenoelani and Hau,olionalani Lewis (mother and daughter) are contemporary

Figure 1a. First four measures of 'Kaulilua' as performed by Patience Namaka Bacon. Labanotation by Judy Van Zile, after Kaeppler 1993, page 93.

Figure 1b. Patience Namaka Bacon performs the first movement from 'Kaulilua'. Reproduced from a film made by George Bacon, 1943.

representatives of the Pua Ha,aheo/Kau'i Zuttermeister style. Knees are bent and frequently bend and unbend, movements are symmetrical, there is little above/below distinction, upper arms are often placed horizontal from the shoulder. The teachers of this school performed with a dynamic quality which was more 'masculine' and precise in regard to placement of the arms in space. The upper arms are raised to shoulder level and seldom slope downward and the arm movements have precise placement in space. Movements are elaborated by bending the torso at the waist and exploring the far reach space of the body's kinesphere by reaching higher and wider. The lower-body movement motifs, although based on the same leg gesture as the Luahine tradition (touching the ball of the foot forward and bringing it back to place), are more varied and dynamic.
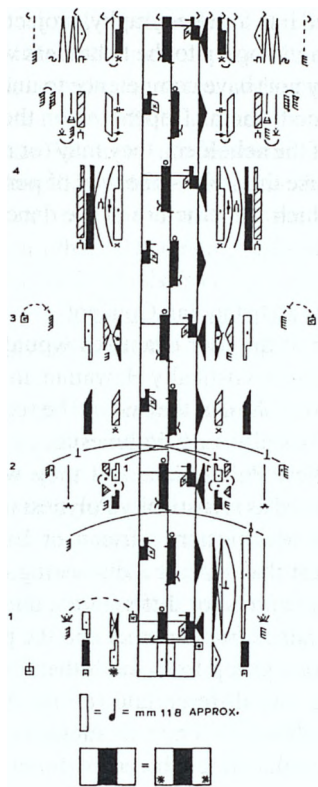
Figure 2a. First four measures of 'Kaulilua' as performed by Noenoelani Lewis. Labanotation by Judy Van Zile, after Kaeppler 1993, page 137.

Figure 2b. Hau,olionalani Lewis performs the first movement from 'Kaulilua'. Photograph Adrienne Kaeppler, 1984.

D. Modern group, or 'festival' style, was exemplified by the students of Aloha Delire in their performance of 'Kaulilua' at the Merrie Monarch Festival in 1992. Their knees often bent and unbent, the movements were symmetrical, there was no above/below distinction and they often bent at the waist, there was regimented use of the arms held horizontal from the shoulder with precise placement of the arms in space.

Festival performances are examples of what I call the Rockette Style of *hula* in which precision and technique are emphasised. In contemporary renderings of musical and movement ideas evolved from pre-European times, festival style is essentially a rejuvenation of dances as they were performed in the 1930s and 1940s. These performances generated the Kodak *Hula* Show, the dancing done to welcome the Matson Liners to port and USO performances for American servicemen. A modern example of a Rockette style *hula* was seen in the Hawaiian programme of the 5th Pacific Festival of Arts in Townsville, Australia (1988)

when a series of dances were performed by a single line of young women, all of whom were of the same height, build and colouring. It was a moment frozen in time as nine identical *hula* rockettes performed 'Sing me a Song of the Islands' in a sterile but romantic version that harkened back to Dorothy Lamour. This focus on technique, performed with complete accuracy as a group, is widespread in Hawaiian festivals. The emphasis on straight lines and performing movements together has further disseminated this trend beyond festivals and competitions.

Although 'etically' different, these performances are 'emically' the same and constitute the recognisable differences in style. The stylistic differences lie in how the motifs and choremes are performed. Choremes in the structure of a Hawaiian dance are made up of constellation of lower-body motifs and upper-body motifs. How the choremes are performed constitute the style. For example, the opening choreme of 'Kaulilua' is made up of the lower body movement motif generally known today as *hela,* and an upper-body movement motif that focusses on a grasping fist that circles from one side of the body to the front of the body. In Pat's rendition of the 'Luahine style' the legs bend only slightly and the <u>hela</u> is asymmetrical (resulting in little side-to-side movement of the hips); the grasping movement is done asymmetrically only to one side of the body (Figure 1). In the 'Zuttermeister style' the legs remain bent throughout and the *hela* is symmetrical (resulting in more side-to-side movement of the hips); the grasping movement is done symmetrically to both sides of the body (Figure 2). According to an emic Hawaiian view, this constitutes only stylistic differences. Through their embodiment by performers, the motifs/choremes are sequenced into a choreography, projecting their meaning/imagery to the beholders who may (or may not) have competence to understand and decode them. Depending on the knowledge of the beholders, they may (or may not) recognise the style - the way of performing - in which the structure of the dance is embodied.

Style as a Distancing Concept

Each of the four examples would be recognised as stylistically Hawaiian, in contrast with say, Tahitian; they would be recognised as stylistically East Polynesian in contrast with West Polynesian; and they would be recognised as stylistically Polynesian in contrast to Melanesian, African or European. I suggest that style is a distancing concept, used to contrast or differentiate one type of performance from another and the performers of one group from the 'other.' The distancing can differentiate the most minute small differences (such as allokinemic or allomorphokinemic) characteristic of individuals, schools, or subgroups, of cultural or ethnic groups, of regional groups, of extensive area groups. Or style can differentiate in the opposite direction - from large areas, to regions, to cultural or ethnic groups, to subgroups, schools, and finally to individuals.

Distancing operates in both time and space. Distancing can differentiate the present from the past. Differences between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be said to be stylistic; differences known by such categories as impressionism, expressionism, dadaism, modernism, post-modernism; or differences in Hawai'i categorised as *kahiko* ('ancient') and *auana* ('modern'). Distancing can also differentiate contemporaneously across space; separating one area or culture from

another can all be thought of as stylistic. Besides differentiating Polynesian from other Pacific Island dance styles, distancing differentiates West Polynesian from East Polynesian, Tahitian from Hawaiian, and different Hawaiian schools (such as the Luahine school and the Suttermeister school) from each other. Distancing differentiates groups and individuals from the 'other'.

The Meaning of Style: Is There Order in Chaos?

What does style mean and how should this term be used in the study of dance? Style seems to refer to persistent patternings in ways of performing structure - from subtle qualities of energy to the use of body parts. These persistent patterns make it possible to differentiate by region, ethnic or cultural group, old and new, 'ritual' or 'festival,' participatory or presentational, gender, age, or other differences considered to be relevant to the performers and knowledgeable viewers of dance and movement systems. These persistent patterns of differentiation are not part of structure, but studying style may help to uncover structure. Discovering and recognising style may reside in differentiating something as small as the (free variant) allokines of the kinemes that make up the structure of a movement system. Style is the way of performing and embodying structure. The resulting form is understood by an observer through communicative competence in a specific system of movement knowledge. This has become especially important today with the emphasis on cultural and ethnic identity. Competence derives from knowing the principles and concepts that differentiate or distance movement systems over time and space that enable one to navigate the slippery slope of style.

Notes

2. For complementary views on these slippery terms see Feld's exegesis of Kaluli concepts in 'Aesthetics as Iconicity of Style' (1988) and Gibbons work on western theatrical dance in 'A Prismatic Approach to the Analysis of Style in Dance' (1997).

3. I realise that in some European languages, and especially musical analyses in European languages, the term 'form' or the translation of this term means, or can mean, other things; but in this essay, form refers to the content entity, that consists of structure plus style.

4. This summary is based on my doctoral dissertation (1967) which developed a methodology to analyse the structure of any movement system and to analyse the structure of Tongan dance according to this method. Part of it was published in 1972 in Ethnomusi-

cology. At that time I was unaware of the discussions of the IFMC Study Group on Ethnochoreology and they were unaware of my research. We did not meet until the IFMC meeting in Bayonne in 1973. The syllabus with similar concepts was published in 1974.

5. There are also other styles of performing 'Kaulilua.' Performances of Hālau o Kekuhi are especially relevant here. The choreographic structure derives from Agnes Kanahele, a student of Pua Ha,aheo, while the style derives from Edith Kanaka, ole - a more dynamic, bent-knee style characteristic of the Hilo area of Hawai,i.

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STYLE IN FOLK DANCE

Hannah Laudová

Praha
Czech Republic

Style in folk dance is a form of symbolic expression through movement elements. It is not, however, a category of natural movement, but rather its abstraction or a contrastive reaction to it. It is not an ephemeral phenomenon, but is directly related to the semantic character of certain groups of dances, the forms of which have, of course, a different social function. These may be seen, for example, in ceremonial dances or in the so-called artisans' dances, some of which went through variations from dances of chivalry, through ceremonial guild dances to entertainment social dances, such as sword-dances or dances with other implements. Also early Moravian and Slovak prestige men's dances such as *odzemek* (parody) a vigorous Moravian dance), and *verbunk* (recruitment) have a concrete style and some of the Czech men's and later pair dances such as *mateník* (confusing dance) (a dance of variable rhythm), and *oklepák* (shaking dance) have preserved their distinctive expression to a certain extent. Different types of dances have different relationships to certain ethnic or social groups. Modern ethnological studies deal with semiotic aspects of folk dance. They comprise a number of important definitions of the dancing style as a symbolic way of human expression. Modern ethnochoreological methods also study the style in terms of formally apprehensible aspects of the expression. At the same time,

the style is taken for a repeated unity of basic and typical features of dance expression, which are characteristic of an individual or a certain community. We can thus, consider the style to be a certain dimension of a particular kind of dancing structure, which also tend towards a direct delimitation of types of dances, such as round dances, whirling dances, jumps, figurative dances and so on.

Standardisation is a very important device in following the folk tradition and, at the same time, it makes it possible for an ordinary inhabitant to participate in dancing. On the other hand, further new interpretations of a certain dance are a great opportunity for improvisation within the framework of a certain type of dance. In doing this, the motifs of basic steps and their nuances are permanently enriched. The results of standardisation in relation to improvisation are principally treated for example in works by Professor Dušan Holý *Probleme der Entwicklung und des Stils* and *Folklórní hudba a styl* [Folklore Music and Style]. In this context, Czech ethnomusicologists speak about the so-called *music* dialects as the regionally stabilised forms of folk songs and music. The same can be said as regards dances in different regions of Bohemia and Moravia which above all concern the so-called *pair round dances* in Western and Southern Bohemia, called *do kolečka,* (go-round or join the dance), and Moravian types of the so-

called *starodávné,* (old-time dances) dances from the region of Český les near the town of Domažlice are characteristic with their combined individuality of singing and dancing. This extended music substance allows dancers to express their inner feelings, evoked by beautiful texts of songs. The eurhythmies of bagpipe music accompaniment are less expressive, but its inspiring melodic richness contributes to the emotional dimension of dance expression. A similar inherent tension between dance and music accompaniment or so-called *krakováčci* (little cracovians) accompanied with four line texts. Their prosodic proportion allows for impromptu dancing. On the other hand, a strict form of dances with variable time makes it possible for dancers to express their pleasure from managing complicated dancing linkage and step combination models. Such dance ornamentation is one of the main elements of the so-called regional dialects mentioned as above.

The typical character of dances consists in their incessant adaptation to life situations in a given locality or region, which is repeated in variations. Gifted "authors" of dance steps draw their inspiration for their anonymous (but actually the authors') creation from progressive interpretations of a certain model of dancing. Their contribution is nowadays, carefully watched, as for example, in the competition of *officers of a press-gang* during the International Folklore Festival in Strážnice, or by organising skilled training when bearers of the tradition are invited to teach. A long existing idea of the collective process of folk creation as the only possible means has thus been broken. The best dancers are well-known in each particular region. Their merit is, above all, their exact idea of how each dance expression, or step and its

combination should look like. The step combination is called a *cifra, figure,* in Moravia. It is very impressive to watch such a skilled *dance master* dancing for himself. At present, there are not many opportunities such as that mentioned above. However, it has been proved that the best dancers of a region transmit their individual forms of dancing to the young. Young dancers now continue with further modelling of the forms in accordance with their right to the uniqueness of dance expression. These forms could be called *the style* only if they also compromise a sufficient number of emotional motives.

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ZU DEN STILÄNDERUNGEN IM VOLKSTANZ IN DER SLOWAKEI

Stanislav Dúžek
Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
Bratislava

Die bis heute relativ lebhafte Volkstanztradition in der Slowakei - im nördlichen Karpatenbogen und in den naheliegenden Täler und Ebenen - ist ziemlich eigenartig. Sie überragt durch ihr umfangreiches Tanzrepertoir, durch die regionale Vielfältigkeit der Tänze und der choreographisch-stilistischen Merkmale. Auf die langfristige Gestaltung dieser Tanzkultur hatten verschiedene Erscheinungen ihren Einfluss: gewisse geschichtliche Ereignisse, Änderungen der Lebensverhältnisse und der Lebensart der Bevölkerung, wie z. B. langfristiges Zusammenleben verschiedener Ethniken im ehemaligen Ungarischen Königreich, Kolonisierung von Hirten, sog. Walachen (valach = Schafhirt) und Deutschen, Türkenkriege.

Ihre eigene Bedeutung hatte in dieser Rich tung die Zeitperiode des sog. Nationalromantismus, bzw. Wiederbe lebung oder das Aufwachen im 19. Jh. Es wird durch eine ungewöhnliche Verbreitung, fast Expansion der neuzeitlichen europäischen Tanzströmen begleitet - bei uns repräsentiert vor Allem durch den Auftritt des österreichisch-deutschen Walzer, der polnischen Mazurka, tschechischen Polka und des ungarischen Tschardasch. In diesen ursprünglich volkstümlichen Tänzen setzen sich in aktuell ausgeführten Formen solche Prinzipien durch, wie Individualisierung der sich umarmenden Paare, einfache und lebhafte Bewegung und Unifizierung. Aus diesen Tänzen nur der Tschardasch - dominierend in der breiteren Karpatenregion - schliesst auf die heimischen und regionalen Quellen an. Ich meine damit die sog. Neuungarische Werbungsmusik und vielfältige Paardrehtänze alten Stils, die verschiedenen Ethniken dieser Region leiblich sind. Deshalb setzt sich auch im Tschardasch z. B. das charakteristische Drehen des sich umarmenden Paares, grössere Motivbreite und Improvisieren durch; sowie regionale Tanzmerkmale, das heisst charakteristische Plastizität, Motive, Halten, usw. Fast allgemeine Verbreitung und Beliebtheit des Tschardasch, der Polka und Walzer noch in der 2. Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts beeinflussen das allmähliche Untergehen der Frauen-, Männer- und Drehtänze alten Stils. Es handelt sich um ihre Deformierung, Simplifizierung, „das Minderwerden" von Stilelementen, z. B. kennzeichende Motive, das Singen der Tänzer, usw., aber auch die Übertragung mancher Elemente der Neuzeittänze - vor allem der Motive - in die alten Tänze.

Die letzte Zeitperiode, die alle Bereiche unseres Lebens massgebend beeinflusst hat, ist die Nachkriegszeit - charakteristisch bei uns durch den Aufbau eines neuen, osteuropäischen sozialistischen Gesellschaftssystems. Solche Faktoren wie die Industrialisierung, daraus folgende Urbanisierung und Migration der Bevölkerung, Kollektivierung der Landwirtschaft, die Einwirkung der Kulturveranstaltungen, usw., bringen wider-

sprüchliche Ausfolgerungen auch im Gebiet des Volkstanzes mit. Auf dem Lande kommt es allmählich und immer intensiver zu Änderungen in der Hierarchie der Volkstänze (z. B. zum Kern wurden die volkstümlich gewordenen Polka und Walzer, Tschardasch al eine Ergänzung und selten auch Drehtänze alten Stils). Das Repertoir wird enger, die Stilmerkmale schwächer und es kommt zum Untergang vieler Tänze. Die offizielle Kulturpolitik während des Sozialismus unterstützt die fachmännische Forschung der Tänze, aber gibt auch - und das vor allem aus propagandistisch-repräsentativen Gründen - den Akzent auf die Kunstgestaltung, szenische Stilisation der Tänze, unterstützt die Folklorgruppen, Auftritte, Festivals. Einerseits haben sich die Tanzgruppen um die Vergegenwärtigung der weniger bekannten Volkstänze und deren Vermittlung an die breite Öffentlichkeit verdient gemacht, andererseits haben dieselben erwähnten Ensembles diese Tänze durch unadequate, fremdartige Methoden oft verstellt und diesen Tänzen ihre Identität entnommen. Der volkstümliche Stil wird mit Konvenzion der Folklorgruppen verwechselt (die sog. Stilisierung des Stilisierten) oder der Stil wird durch nicht folkloristische tanz-szenische Schrittweisen verwischt. Usw.

Kurz zusammengefasst: die aktuelle Situation ist in der Slowakei ungefähr so, dass sich allmählich, nicht überall gleichmässig, der typische lokale, bzw. mikroregionale Stil verliert, und es richtet sich an die Formen der regionalen und überregionalen Nivelisierung des Volkstanzes zu. In den letzten Jahrzehnten kommt es, besonders bei der Jugend, zum Auslassen der Volkstänze und zur fast allgemeinen Dominierung der in den westlichen Ländern üblichen modernen Tänze, Discotänze übernationalen Charakters.

Die erwähnten Änderungen in den Volkstänzen sind ohne dokumentäre Fixierung meist schwierig nachvollziehbar, da es dazu nur unauffällig und allmählich während Jahrzehnten kommt. Deshalb nehme ich die Methode der Vergleichung in gewissen Zeitabständen und die sog. wiederholende Forschung zur Hilfe.

In diesen Intentionen lege ich Ihnen ausgewählte Sequenzen aus den Filmen und einer Videoaufnahme vor - aus dem Anfang der 2. Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Die Ausschnitte betreffen eine Bergregion, die Gebirgler im Norden der Slowakei von der Nähe des Hohe-Tatra-Gebirges an der slowakisch-polnischen Grenze. Hier haben sich die Volkskultur und der Volkstanz besser erhalten als in anderen, vor Allem flachländischen Teilen des Landes, jedoch die Änderungen, genauer gesagt Deformationen, die den „klassischen" Volkstanz ereilt haben, sind auch hier deutlich und hervorstechend.

Die Stiländerungen bei der szenischen Bearbeitung des Tanzes vermitteln wir am Beispiel eines typischen und eigenartigen Tanzes, bekannt unter dem Namen *guralski* (Gebirglertanz). Die erste Sequenz aus der Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts stellt eine authentische Darstellung diesen Tanzes in Zwei, bzw. Drei dar, sein spezifischer Verlauf in der Form eines Tanzdialogs zwischen dem Mann und einer Frau, bzw. zwei Frauen, improvisatorisches Gepräge des Tanzes im Rahmen einer festen Form und sein Motivreichtum. (Abb. 1 u. 2)

Die folgende Sequenz - choreographische Darstellung diesen Tanzes durch ein Ensemble - ist aus dem städtischen Milieu 20 Jahre später und stellt eine monumentale szenische Stimmung, gewisse unpassende Hyperbolisierung des Tanzes *guralski* dar. Besonders bemerkenswert ist das geringe Respektieren

von vielen Parametern der Vorlage, z. B. durch die Gruppenbesetzung, die raummässig effektvolle Darstellung, die unpassende Reihenfolge der Motive, das Verschweigen des improvisatorischen Charakters, das Nichtrespektieren der adequaten Tanzmusik wie auch das konventionelle kompositorische Schema (Introduktion, Männer- und Frauenteil, Solo, Finale). (Abb. 3)

Abb. 1 Guralski - der Tanz in Zwei bei einer Filmdokumentation im Dorf Suchá Hora im Jahre 1951. (Fotoarchiv Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV Bratislava, Foto F. Poloczek.)

Abb. 2 Guralski - der Tanz in Drei bei einer Filmdokumentation im Dorf Suchá Hora im Jahre 1951. (Fotoarchiv Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV Bratislava, Foto F. Poloczek.)

Abb. 3 Szenische Darstellung des Tanzes guralski vom Ensemble Gymnik aus Bratislava im Jahre 1972. Choreographie E. Bartko. (Archiv des Ensemble Gymnik, Univerzita Komenského FTVS Bratislava, Autor des Fotos unbekannt.)

Schliesslich die dritte Sequenz bezeugt das Übernehmen der Impulse aus den Tanzensemblen zurück in das ursprüngliche Landesmilieu, die formale Nachahmung der dem betreffenden Tanz nicht entsprechenden Inszenierungsfortgänge, wie zum Beispiel die Vervielfachung der Anzahl der Tänzer, unifizierte Darstellung der Tanzmotive in den Gruppen von Tänzern, „mehr effektvolle" Darstellung des choreographischen Grundrisses und der Richtung der Tanzformationen, usw. Zum Ergebnis sind letzten Endes verfallene Werte der ursprünglichen und szenischen Form des Tanzes. (Abb. 4)

Die aufgeführten Beispiele stellen zwar nur einen bestimmten Ausschnitt aus den Stiländerungen im slowakischen volkstümlichen Tanz dar. Jedoch dokumentieren sie manche reale Verschiebungen in der Entwicklung des volkstümlichen Tanzes. Zu denen ist es in letzten Jahrzehnten gekommen und die schreiten intensiv in weiteren Formen auch in der Gegenwart fort.

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Abb. 4 Tanz guralski als Gruppentanz in der Darstellung einer ländlichen Folklorgruppe aus dem Dorf Hladovka bei einer folkloristischen Videodokumentation im Jahre 1977. (Fotoarchiv Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV Bratislava, Foto T. Szabó.)

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INTERPRETATIONS OF CULTURAL PATTERNS OF DANCE IN INDIVIDUAL DANCE BEHAVIOURS: THE CASE OF *OBEREK*

Dariusz Kubinowski

Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin
Poland

The problems of dance style cannot be considered outside of a holistic research perspective. This concerns both the style of a concrete dance form or the style of the whole of the dance repertoire, which belongs to the dance culture of a given social group and the personal style of dancing. In the case of the latter we study not only the observed dance behaviours of particular persons, but also the overall determinants of those behaviours, which mainly bear a psychophysical and socio-cultural character.

My research has been devoted to identifying those determinants and I would like to report on the findings in the present paper. However, before I go on to talk about it, I would like to explain the way I understand the basic choreological concepts; concepts which are, in my opinion, crucial in holistic research on dance style. These concepts bear the character of operational definitions and have served as determinants in collecting and analysing empirical material.

Conceptualisation of basic terms

One of the key terms in choreological research is the concept of *dance culture.* We use it to refer exclusively to human groups of socio-cultural character. Assuming Kealiinohomoku's statement, that is, that dance culture constitutes a microstructure of culture in general (1974), one may define it as a totality of values, patterns and norms recognised in a definite community, which refer to the practised dance (and non-dance) behaviour along with this behaviour.

Within dance culture we may distinguish two principal classes of phenomena, that is mental and behavioural elements. The basic elements of dance culture of mental character are the cultural patterns of dance, whereas the elements which bear a behavioural character are the dance behaviour of particular persons.

Cultural patterns of dance, as opposed to any extant dance patterns, are the models of dance behaviour stored in the memory of the members of a given community, models internalised and recognised by the majority of the representatives of this community. They make an essential point of reference in individual dance behaviour.

Dance behaviour is any manifestation of human dance movement in its functional aspect. This concept refers exclusively to concrete individual activities which we are able to observe empirically. It is only by documenting the dance behaviour of many persons that we gather empirical material necessary for the study of dance issues.

Finally, defining the concept of **dance form** we should emphasise that human dance behaviour always takes on a definite form (Lange 1988:91). The dance movements may reflect concrete cultural patterns of dance, but they may also be an outcome of creative

improvisation. The dance form may be defined as a choreotechnical structure of dance behaviours or dance patterns. It is the definition of the differences between the form of individual dance behaviour and dance form in its model formulation that belongs to the basic analytical procedures in research on personal styles of dancing.

Now let me try to define the concept of *personal style of dancing* in relation to the previously characterised concepts, starting from the definition formulated by Lange. Lange notes that personal style results from the quality of the dancer's selection of means. The dancer, to a different degree, exposes particular components of movement and organises them suitably into a proportional set. We have to note, however, that personal style depends on how the individual has absorbed the dance style which is used in a given social group and, as such, it is always culturally conditioned (1988:90).

Using his or her inborn and acquired motion potential, the dancer, in accordance with an intended goal, seeks to shape the course of movement, selecting various choreotechnical elements and spatial solutions. In traditional culture the level of awareness and acceptance of cultural dance patterns was very high. Therefore individual dance behaviour could not diverge much from the binding norms. Nevertheless, the personal style of dancing clearly manifested itself in movement nuances and improvisation on the basis of high dance competencies. The personal style of dancing in traditional culture meant then a particular way of interpretation of the cultural patterns of dance in individual dance behaviour.

Theoretical and methodological bases of research

Attempting particular research, the aim of which was to define the basic conditionings of the shaping of personal dancing style, I took into account the results of anthropological and choreological studies and research done by Blacking, Giurchescu and Lange. Blacking's anthropology of the body (1977) proved particularly useful within the biological and cultural conditionings of human behaviour. With respect to the analyses of the phenomenon of dance expression I have taken into account the results of Giurchescu's research which was devoted to the process of improvisation in folk dance (1983). However, it is the results of analytical studies carried out by Lange that played a key role in my research. These studies were devoted to the forms of dance which bear the mazurka's rhythm and were studied in the context of Cuiavia's traditional dance culture (1979).

I also used Pike's epistemological conception, defined briefly as an 'etic/emic distinction', a conception which refers to the research of any manifestations of human behaviour (1954). This conception has already been used in cultural studies on dance (Kaeppler 1972; Bakka, Aksdal, Flem 1995) and to my mind it is particularly useful as regards the issues of dance style, including personal style. It turns out that the observation of dance behaviour alone, grounded in the analysis of the 'etic' type, is not sufficient to characterise the dancing style of a given person correctly and adequately nor to define the factors which condition it.

Aside from the research concerning the dance culture of a given group, including identification of the cultural patterns of dance, for which purpose the 'emic' analysis is indispensable, an inseparable component of studies on personal styles of dancing

is to carry out in-depth research into individual dance biographies. Personal style is therefore the result of a long-term and multi-faceted process of dance education, that is, of a gradual enrichment of personal cultural competencies with respect to dance, development of movement habits and formation of individual dance preferences. To draw a detailed biography of particular dancers on the basis of the requirements of the 'emic' analysis will allow us to reach the states of consciousness, to learn the subjective conditions and to understand the individual mechanisms of interpretations which are not always perceptible merely from observing dance behaviour.

Seeking to define the conditionings of personal dance style I have applied a comparative method, using a special way of documenting dance behaviour. In the course of field work, in the situations which were individually arranged for the purposes of the reconstruction of traditional dance forms, I asked particular dancers to perform in turn the same dance to the same music. I have selected one of the most common types of dance in Poland, that is the *oberek*. The dancers, arranged in couples, were performing the dance in turn in accordance with their abilities and preferences, thus manifesting their personal traits of dancing style.

The research project I have carried out has been based on the analysis of film documentation of the *oberek*, a documentation which I made during field research in the period of 1990-1995 in the territory of north-east Poland and on the bases of biographies of dancers drawn up during interviews.

It was not accidental that I chose the *oberek* as a type of dance appropriate for study of personal dance style. Firstly, the *oberek* belongs to widely popularised dances, thus there was a possibility of carrying out analysis taking into consideration the ethnic factors. Secondly, the choreotechnical structure of the traditional *oberek* was secured by a number of strict norms and the cultural patterns of this dance were well-known in the community (among other things, a firm grip of the partners, a constant motif of the basic step, a definite array of varieties, established principles of a whirl along a circle). A characteristic of the *oberek*, as with all dances with a mazurka's rhythm, was a complex improvisation within the commonly accepted patterns. This concerned the man to a greater extent than the woman, although she could also demonstrate her individuality in common dancing. The individual differences concerned most often some nuances in movement and the qualities of the dance expression and its shades which could hardly be perceived. On this level movement actions were performed which determined the dancer's individual style. Third, the documentation of the *oberek*, as regards both the results of my research and the results of the ethnochoreological research in Poland, is particularly rich. Most certainly, this is due to the fact that this type of dance has long been performed in the local repertoire. The empirical material under analysis could then be wide and varied as to its quality.

Determinants of personal style of dancing

As a result of the analytical research, designed to define the conditionings of the personal style of dancing, I have distinguished four principal groups of factors which ultimately influence its character. They are the following:

- subjective determinants of a biological character,

- subjective determinants of a cultural character,
- non-subjective determinants of an environmental character,
- non-subjective determinants of a cultural character.

To the group of the subjective determinants of a biological character belong, above all, such factors as: sex, age, build of human body, general fitness, inborn psycho-physical predispositions, including rhythmic and motion skills and other biologically conditioned psychical traits. They determined the possibilities, preferences, limits, subconscious habits and conscious choices as regards the personal style of dancing. Studying in detail the age factor, I have noticed some differences resulting both from the natural motor limitations of an old man and conscious modifications of motion, in accordance with the accepted norms determining the way people behave at a certain age.

Within the group of the subjective determinants of a cultural character we class those factors which come up when an individual learns how to dance and absorbs other elements of dance culture. They are present also when the individual acquires motion habits and knowledge which are not directly connected with dance activities. We find here first of all cultural competencies as regards dance, personal preferences in dancing, the dancer's personality traits, values which he/she accepts, motion habits he/she acquired in his/her work, and the range of dance experiences. The decisive factor here is very often the preferences of a given person as regards his or her way of employing a particular form of dance. They may be so deeply rooted that the dancer who feels himself at ease in the *oberek* will make use of its

modified version while dancing to another melody, for example to the *polka.* The most essential factors, however, in this group are the dancer's personal traits. The style of dancing very often allowed us to determine the character traits of given person.

Another group of determinants is defined as the non-subjective determinants of an environmental character. We mean here the natural and material environment. The factors in question bear an objective character. For the personal style is confined by the conditions in which a dance is being performed. In the territory of north-east Poland the majority of dance events took place in winter, during the carnival. People danced then wearing heavy clothes which hampered their movements. Men wore heavy, firm and high boots. These events were held in small rooms. They danced most often on a clay floor. Under such conditions the principal cultural patterns of the *oberek* took shape. It was then performed flatly, the feet had full contact with the floor, often with a characteristic shuffling and with legs slightly bent. The movements of the trunk, the hands and the head were reduced to the minimum. The performance of the same dance form in other conditions could exercise an influence on the modification of dance behaviour. However, the movement habits were so deeply rooted that the basic character of the style was preserved.

In the group of the non-subjective determinants of a cultural character we find all the social and cultural factors which determine a given dance culture. In the first place, we have here some occasions for dancing, their course and their kinds and also accompanying circumstances; dance music, and here the kind of musical accompaniment and the repertoire of dance melodies, including the relations between musicians and danc-

ers; the repertoire of the cultural patterns of dance and totality of dance norms; finally, we have the functions of dance within the overall culture of a given group. These conditioning factors are indirectly bound with other determinants which in turn result from the place dance culture occupies in culture in general. This is then a wide range of conditions which cannot be omitted when analysing the personal style of dancing. Now, I would like to highlight one of the factors from this group, namely the influence of the manner in which dance melodies are performed and the style of the accompaniment on the personal style of dancing. Many times prominent traditional dancers reveal the genuine character of their own dance only with 'good' music. This has been clearly proved by the analyses. The characteristic feature of the dances with a mazurka rhythm is the occurrence of rubato both in the course of music and in dance movement. The dialogue which can be held between musician and dancer creates new opportunities for interpretation, permitting a different qualitative improvisation.

The group of determinants discussed here has been distinguished on the basis of the studies on traditional dance. Some of them bear a universal character and determined the style of dancing today, as well. Nevertheless, the situation of the dancing man or woman in contemporary culture is qualitatively different. Young people who dance in a discotheque refer to a countless number of dance patterns popularised by television. Their personal style of dancing depends to a greater extent, in comparison with traditional culture, on the subjective determinants of cultural character. Despite this fact, dance behaviour is still culturally determined, although the identification of those conditioning factors by way of empirical research becomes more and more complicated.

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REMOVING THE BRIDE'S VEIL:
STRUCTURE AND STYLE IN A UKRAINIAN WEDDING CEREMONY

Andriy Nahachewsky

University of Alberta
Canada

Relatively early in my training as an ethnologist, I became convinced that it was useful to think of form, meaning and context when trying to understand a dance event. These three aspects of the event are not really separate entities in themselves, but can be separated only conceptually. In many ethnographies, only the context of dances is described. In other schools of ethnographic writing, the focus is more on the meaning (or function) of the dance event. Still other ethnologists concentrate on describing the form of dances that they observe.

If I represented these aspects of the dance event as three circles as in Figure 1, I might join them with lines to show their interconnectedness. I imagine these connecting lines as „rubber bands" which are stretched taught between the circles. When one circle shifts (representing some change in meaning, for example, from one performance to the next), we can expect changes in the other two spheres as well.
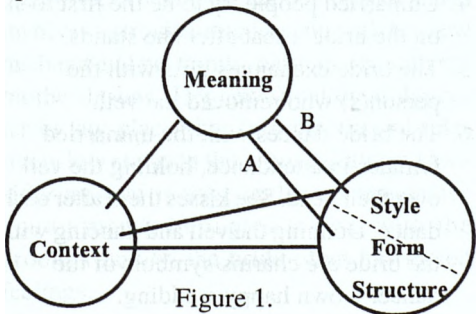

Figure 1.

It is also clear that descriptions that concentrate on the form of dance events can differ from one another in various ways. Structural analyses can be used to represent the subdivisions of a dance on various levels (IFMC Study Group 1974; Kaeppler 1972; Nahachewsky 1991). Kinetography Laban and other systems of notation can also be used as means of fixing the dance or dance tradition. Both the difficulty and the usefulness of looking at the structure of the dance are related to the fact that this approach quantifies and calibrates the movement. Structural descriptions and notations are extremely useful in the study of dance. In my understanding, however, a person might perceive differences in any two dance performances even if their structures are the same. One can also benefit by dealing with observable characteristics other than structure.

My understanding of „dance style" involves precisely the qualitative elements of dance form. These are elements of the dance form which are either too small to be measured with conventional structural units (such as a wink at a friend when dancing a quadrille) or too large to be measured (such as a general increase in energy when the dancers get caught up in the excitement). An observer of dance form might opt to concentrate on style because of the convenience or other advantages of a non-quantitative approach.

The circle in the lower right corner of Figure 1 is modified to show two subdivisions in the sphere of dance form - dance structure and dance style. Two adjacent rubber bands can be imagined, connecting meaning and structure on the one hand (band A), then meaning and style on the other (band B). The project for this paper is to examine the „rubber bands" that connect meaning and form. I propose to comment on these relationships by discussing the ceremony of removing the bride's veil near the end of Ukrainian weddings.

Ten documentations of the ceremony are assembled for this project, recorded on video tape (Nahachewsky 1994; Nahachewsky 1995; Saban 1995). The selection of one specific ceremony within the large ritual complex of the Ukrainian wedding is meant to minimize differences in context. It is understood that it is impossible to eliminate the variety in context completely (the weddings take place on different dates; in different villages and towns of western Ukraine, Poland, Romania and Canada; some weddings take place in minority ethnic situations; some families are richer than others; some are rural, others are urban). Nonetheless, the differences in meaning and form can be foregrounded in comparison to the differences in context.

The ceremony of removing the bride's veil is undergoing significant shifts in meaning in the last decades of the twentieth century. Using our analogy in the diagram, the circle representing „meaning" is moving in various directions, pushing and pulling the rubber bands in several ways. Observations of differences in meaning from case to case and their manifestations in structure and style may reveal something of the relationships between meaning and form.

Four different complexes of meaning are identified from attendance at the weddings, discussions with participants and observations of the video documents. Removing the veil sometimes reflects: (1) changing social relationships (2) erotic motifs (3) attention on the appearance of the bride and (4) an interest in symbolizing ethnic heritage. While the people involved in the wedding are often sensitive to all of these potential values of the ceremony, one or another meaning often dominates for the bride, the mothers and other key players in the wedding drama. These individuals and groups can and do influence the form of the ceremony significantly.

General Structure of the Ceremony

The structure of the veil ceremony in Ukrainian tradition varies from time to time and from place to place (Shubravs'ka 1970; Borysenko 1988; Kuzela 1963). In the parts of western Ukraine from which most of our examples originate, the normal structure of the ceremony can be generalized as follows:

1. Accompanied by special music, the bride is seated in a prominent location.
2. Her veil is removed.
3. A kerchief is placed on the bride's head. A kerchief traditionally represents a married woman.
4. Unmarried people try to be the first to sit on the bride's seat after she stands.
5. The bride exchanges gifts with the person(s) who removed the veil.
6. The bride dances with the unmarried females in attendance, holding the veil over their head. She kisses them after each dance. Donning the veil and dancing with the bride are charms/symbols of the dancer's own happy wedding.

7. The bride throws the veil backwards over her shoulder. Whoever catches it is said to be lucky; next to be married.
8. A variety of games are played involving the bride and groom, wedding party and younger guests.

This basic structure varies according to local tradition. Descriptions of four contrasting cases will illustrate how this structure may be modified and how different stylistic elements may be associated with each complex of meaning.

Reflecting Social Relationships

One of the most basic meanings for the ceremony of removing the veil is to highlight the wedding as a rite of passage for the bride. Special ceremonies near the beginning of the wedding have marked her transition from a maiden to a bride. These rites included her being dressed in the wedding gown and veil. Now, near the end of the wedding celebration, the woman passes from the liminal state as a bride into her new identity as a married woman. This new status implies some distancing of relations with her younger relatives and unmarried friends. A married woman in traditional Ukrainian culture generally has higher community status than an unmarried woman. On the other hand, it also involves a stronger relationship with her new husband and his family, particularly with her mother-in-law. Her new situation as daughter-in-law places her in a position of relatively low status in the groom's family. Considering that it was, and is, common for young married couples to live with the groom's family, the bride often has mixed feelings.

Concern with social relationships is strongly reflected in a wedding from the village of Berezhany, Ternopil oblast', Ukraine. The structure of activities in that performance of the veil ceremony can be described as follows:

1a. The groom sits on a large pillow that has been placed on a chair in the centre of the empty dance floor. The bride sits on his lap.
2a. The bride's mother and mother-in-law remove the veil by pulling out the bobby pins that hold it in place. The bridesmaids assist. The veil is placed on the bride's lap.
3a. The mother-in-law places a kerchief on the bride's head. The bride pulls the kerchief off. The bride allows the kerchief to be tied on only after the third attempt.
4a. The bride and groom stand. The bridesmaids and other unmarried people rush to be the first to sit on the pillow after the groom rises. This lucky person will be the next to be married.
5a. The mother gives the bride gifts of a necklace, bracelet and watch. They dance briefly to a waltz melody. The bride gives her mother a gift.
6a. The bride places the veil over the head of her first bridesmaid and they dance briefly (30 seconds). The bride kisses her as they stop. The bride dances in a similar way with each of the other unmarried girls at the wedding in a prescribed order, reflecting the hierarchy of their kinship relation to her and their age.
7a. [not documented on the video]
8a. [not documented]

Figure 2. Removing the bride's veil (Terebovlia).

The style, the way in which the structural elements are performed, also reflects the concern with social structure. Where social relationships are a central theme for the participants, the guests are generally interested in the ceremony and tend to pay attention to the proceedings. In general, the guests all understand the actions of the key personages in the ceremony and are interested in what happens and how each performs her or his role. For example, subtle nuances of movement and expression as the bride twice ritually refuses to accept the kerchief may well be discussed as indicative of real feelings towards her new status and relationships.

Females tend to be most involved, including the bride, the mothers and the bridesmaids. The bride's mother or other older women are typically consulted so that the ceremony proceeds properly. Males tend to be more passive. The mood is sometimes melancholy as the women contemplate their lot in life. In one case, the bride wept as her veil was removed. In another wedding, at the point when the bride dances with her bridesmaid, the two remained locked in an embrace, crying and dancing for ten minutes. The wedding guests reflected respectfully on the fact that the bride (a younger sister to the bridesmaid) was very emotional about blessing her older sister with a wish for a successful marriage in the future. Traditionally, it would have been expected that the older sister marry first.

Erotic Motifs

The veil ceremony can allude to the nuptial bed. Removing the headpiece may be seen as suggestive of undressing the bride and the games often involve sexual innuendo. Such games were played at a wedding in the Ukrainian community of Wegorzewo, Poland:

3b. As the organizer of the veil ceremony (one of the band members) calls for the attention of the wedding guests, the bride and groom step up to two chairs placed in the middle of the dance floor. The bridesmaid quietly removes the bride's veil.

6b. Unmarried girls hold hands in a circle and walk around the bride.

7b. The bride is blindfolded. At a certain point as the girls walk around her, she steps forward and offers the veil. The girl who happens to be directly in front of her takes the veil and is thus chosen as the „new bride." The veil is secured onto the „new bride." The groom removes his bowtie and flings it over his shoulder to a group of unmarried boys behind him. The boy that catches it is thus chosen as the „new groom."

8b. The organizer proceeds to direct the bride, groom, new bride, new groom and other individuals in a number of dances and games. The bride jives to a modem popular song with with the new groom, the groom dances with the new bride. The bride's shoes are stolen and the bridesmaid is sent to retrieve them. During their next dance, one dancer in each of the two couples must carry a short stick, which is held between his/her jaw and shoulder; the partners must brush close to each other and pass it back and forth without using their hands. The same dance game is repeated, this time holding the stick between the knees. They dance a third time, instructed to hold the stick between their upper arm and ribs. After these dances, the groom is blindfolded while a row of females is seated before him; he must try identify his bride after touching only the exposed knees of each woman. The bride is next blindfolded and must try to identify her husband after touching only the ears of a number of males. The groomsman stands on a chair; the bridesmaid tries to pass a raw egg up one trouser leg and down the other as quickly as possible. Other games are also played.

In this particular case, the first structural components of the veil ceremony are radically abbreviated, while the last two continue for a full ninety minutes. In another wedding (village of Silets', Lviv oblast', Ukraine), the erotic element is highlighted while the overall structure remains more intact. In this case (during structural unit 2), the bride sits on a pillow in a chair in the middle of the dancing area. Her veil is removed by the groom himself while the guests and family watch. As he removes each bobby pin from the headpiece, he should stop and kiss his bride.

When erotic motifs are prominent elements in the veil ceremony, the style of performance tends to take on a specific character. The ceremony is seen more as entertainment. The proceedings tend to be orchestrated by a single prominent individual. The bride and groom's generation are most involved, while members of the older generations often remain in the background. The persons actually playing the games tend to be mute while

the spectators may well be quite loud, laughing and joking. In some cases, female participants (such as the „new bride" in Wegorzewo) may be uncomfortable or even embarrassed by the sexual innuendo. Other women choose to perform their roles with a more assertive style. Males tend to be quite active and vocal.

The Bride's Appearance

In some weddings, the veil ceremony is generally perceived as a moment in which attention is re-centred on the bride and her appearance. This aspect of the ritual is rarely found to be the primary focus, but almost always in combination with the other meanings. At one wedding in the city of Lviv, Ukraine, the bride and her family concentrated perceptibly on how she looked.

1a. The groom sits on a pillow that has been placed on a chair in the centre of the empty dance floor. The bride sits on his lap.
2a. The bride's mother and mother-in-law remove the veil by pulling out the bobby pins that hold it in place. The bridesmaids assist. It is placed on the bride's lap.
3a. The bride's mother-in-law places a rich white kerchief on the bride's head. The bride pulls the kerchief off. The kerchief is tied on her head only on the third attempt. The bride, mothers and bridesmaids straighten out the kerchief and arrange the bride's hair.
5b. The bride waltzes with her mother. She kisses her.
6c. The bride places the veil over the head of her first bridesmaid and they dance briefly. The bride kisses her. The bride dances in a similar way with her second

bridesmaid. At this point, the starosta (honorary host of the wedding) calls all girls „who wish to be married." They form a large circle around the bride, holding hands and walking to the music. The bride dances briefly with each one in a sequence that reflects the hierarchy of their kinship relation to her and their age. Finally, the bride dances with the veil itself in the centre of the circle.
7c. The bride walks away from the group of girls after the music has stopped. She throws the veil over her shoulder. As it is falling to the floor, it is caught quickly by one of the girls. In this case, one of the bride's young cousins catches the veil, much less eligible than some of the older girls.

In this case, and in many others, the veil ceremony is experienced as a pleasant moment because the bride is featured as beautiful. The mood is light and happy. The bride and the mothers may take care in choosing the actual kerchief. Whereas floral printed woollen scarves are considered a good quality standard in Ukraine for weddings (and later in life), the family in our example opted for a luxurious silky white kerchief to match the white wedding dress more fashionably and to show distinctiveness. As the kerchief was tied on the bride's head, her mother and bridesmaid took great pains to adjust it and fix her hair until it looked just right. The bride carried herself very tall throughout the ceremony. She smiled broadly and glanced often at the guests and the video camera recording this special moment in her life.

On the other hand, in other cases, the veil ceremony may be associated with some negative feelings on the part of the bride because

the kerchief is generally seen as less attractive than the veil. In one of the documented weddings (Dauphin, Canada), the bride removes the kerchief after a few minutes and drapes it over her shoulders. In the Wegorzewo wedding, no kerchief is used at all.

Heritage

Perhaps in all cases, the bride and other participants in the wedding have a sense that the ceremony is part of tradition, and is performed somehow to make the wedding complete or proper. In some cases, this association with „old fashion" may be seen negatively, and the ceremony might be abbreviated or just tolerated. In other cases, however, the idea of representing the bridal couple's heritage is a dominant motivation. This is the case in one of the documented weddings, which took place in Dauphin, Manitoba, Canada in 1983.

1b. The bride and groom sit side by side at one end of the dance space.
2a. The bride's mother and mother-in-law remove the veil with help from the bridesmaids. The veil is placed on the bride's lap.
3b. The mothers hold a flowered print kerchief stretched horizontally over the bride's head for a moment. They place the kerchief on the bride's head and fix her hair.
5c. The bride kisses the groom. She kisses her mother and mother-in-law.
6d. The bride and groom dance a polka.
8c. The bride and groom sit in a different side of the dance space. A costumed group of dancers perform a rehearsed stage dance for the couple.
5d. The bride and groom present roses to each of the costumed performers.

3c. The bride quietly takes the kerchief off her head and places it over her shoulders.

In cases such as this one, the structure of the ceremony may be quite elaborate, though it may deviate quite substantially from the general model described above. The internal logic of the various components may be lost. What is important for the participants is that some (any) ritual actions be performed as evidence of tradition. The lack of structural stability is also connected with the fact that the veil ceremony is not normally performed during Canadian prairie weddings in this period.

Several qualitative choices in the Dauphin ceremony belie the fact that the dominant meaning for this group is the representation of heritage. In Canada, perhaps as much as in Ukraine, a certain style of printed floral kerchief is associated with Ukrainian rural culture. Whereas a rich silken kerchief would have been available to the Canadian couple, and whereas it probably would have been seen as more attractive, the less elegant but more „ethnic" printed style was used in the Dauphin wedding. Likewise, the waltz in Canada and in Ukraine is appreciated as a relatively elegant dance, suitable for occasions such as the veil ceremony. In the Canadian example, however, the couple danced a lively polka, because polkas are associated with Ukrainian tradition in that community.

As in the previous category, performances of the veil ceremony primarily concerned with heritage are quite self-consciously theatrical. The bride and groom tend to aspire to elegance, nobility and refinement in their deportment, conscious of cameras and the gazes of their guests. In the Dauphin example, the ceremony takes on almost a liturgi-

cal character. Having been carefully script-ed for this occasion, the ceremony is led quite strongly by one or a few individuals. Other participants take on a more passive role, car-rying out the assigned actions. Many people present at the wedding do not understand the intricacies of the ceremony and either watch intently as external spectators or become quite detached from it.

Structure and Style Reflect Meaning

For this project, structure is defined as form approached quantitatively, described con-cretely and compartmentalized into units. Style is form approached qualitatively. A structural description of a dance ceremo-ny explains what is done. A stylistic descrip-tion explains how. This approach suggests no clear separation between structure and style. In figure 1, the boundary between them is represented as a thin dotted line. What is measured as a structural unit in one descrip-tion of a ceremony may well be approached qualitatively in another. (In structural unit 4, kissing or dancing with the mother-in-law after the bride receives the kerchief might be seen either as a stylistic expression of appreciation or as a structural unit in its own right.) This point is not simply a matter of arbitrary judgement by the ethnologist/ana-lyst, nor of the limitations of the various no-tation systems. Indeed, the emic perception of structural units may be quite explicit and quite different from community to commu-nity.

What is clear from the examples is that both structure and style reflect meaning. Structure, as defined here, tends to reflect the aspects of the ceremony that are most coor-dinated and institutionalized. In this sense, the structure tends to be associated with the general outline of the tradition. „If we do this

and this and that, then we are performing the veil ceremony."

The style of performance, on the other hand, tends to be more individual, impro-vised, personal. It tends to be more connect-ed with evaluation. „Maria's ceremony was very beautiful." Style may be affected un-consciously or out of conscious intent. In general, style seems to be more fluid and im-mediately reflective of change in meaning. Subversion of the tradition may well first be expressed through style. Only later, when new ways of performing the tradition become generally recognized, might they become structural. For example, if the bride wants to include her younger brother in the dance with the veil as a special blessing, this may be seen as retaining the traditional structure of the ceremony but introducing an individ-ual stylistic expression of her close relation-ship with her family. If this is noted and com-mented on and approved of by the community, it may be repeated by other brides. (In at least two of the ten cases used for this study, the bride does dance with un-married boys after having completed her dances with the girls.) Sooner or later, it might become expected of brides; in fact, omitting to dance with a younger brother might attract attention. At that point this ac-tivity may be seen as more of a structural unit rather than a stylistic choice. Similarly, if a bride is personally not eager to wear the kerchief at her wedding, she may choose to remove it as soon as possible. If and when this becomes accepted as normal, then the structure of the ceremony in that communi-ty no longer includes our structural unit 3 in its outline.

When trying to compare the elasticity of rubber bands A and B in Figure 1, it is nota-ble that the various complexes of meaning

are reflected to different degrees by the structure of the ceremony and by style. In our examples, a concentration on the veil ceremony as a symbol of heritage tends to be reflected primarily in its structure. Most of the participants in Dauphin suspended their judgement on how the ceremony was being performed, but paid most attention on what was being done and what it was supposed to mean. On the other hand, concentration on the appearance of the bride in the Lviv wedding seems to have been reflected most clearly in the style of the veil ceremony. The structure of the performance did not differ greatly from the Berezhany example prior to it, but the feeling and tone of these two particular events contrasted quite sharply. These differences in style could be much more clearly felt during the wedding itself (and seen on the video document) than in a brief written description such as this.

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GYPSY DANCE STYLE AS A MARKER OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

Anca Giurchescu
Copenhagen
Denmark

This paper on Gypsy dance style and identity aims to introduce some points of view on style which stem from the insiders practical knowledge of dance and music.

In the framework of a dance system, style may be conceived of as the culturally determined knowledge and ability of a dancer for selecting, in performance situations, certain expressive features, which are included in the parameters making up the given system. On the one hand style is dependent on the individual's psychological traits, way of thinking, and on his or her social and cultural background. On the other hand style, being the qualitative component of a dance system, is framed by traditional rules of grammar and a limited inventory of expressive elements. Thus, the text arising from this dialectic unity is loaded with both the individual's trend for change, his or her 'personal' style and the socialised tradition which seeks for stability. Blacking (1971:26) states: 'There can be no variation without the recognition of a theme, no originality unless there are patterns that can be recognised as repetitions'. It is most relevant to study Gypsy and Romanian dance styles by comparing their performances of the *hora* type, considered as a model. If style is the way the dance structure is realised in practice then structure is the consistent side of dance, while style is changeable. Indeed a structural programme can be expressed in a variety of styles by

changing the quality rather than the structure of the dance parameters.

In fact, style analysis requires a meticulous description of qualitative traits in each of the dance parameters (space, time, body agents-weight-amplitude and symmetry, dynamics, composition and relation to other means of expression) according to already established techniques (Laban Effort-Shape System) and maybe others yet to be developed. If folk dance units are rather 'de-semanticised', the qualitative traits are carriers of rich semantic information according to a certain hierarchy of importance. Therefore, 'any group with a sense of common unity plus the motivation to dramatise an identity through a distinctive style, has a good chance for survival in situations that threaten incorporation' (Peterson Royce, 1982:62) And this is true for Gypsies as well.

Style analysis recognises the ephemeral, performer mediated, ever-changing nature of dance, the fact that it is a process related to the person and the moment of its performance in context. The great difficulty is to disclose, memorise and record the qualitative traits of the moving body in spoken or visual language.

In my research I experimented with the technique of verbal translation of the dance process, with dancers and musician from both Gypsy and Romanian communities, in the form of comments on dance performanc-

es, on dance video recordings, eliciting statements related to the quality of execution. I was aware of the 'impossibility' of verbally translating the aesthetic information which is always richer in content than words can express. There is more relevance in the sense which the dancer him or herself and the public make out of a performance (in terms of style). The sense arises by a rapid action of relating the stylistic signs - at the level of their meaning - to a system of references comprised of the interpreter's personal knowledge and the norms of the Gypsy dance idiom.

Style is to a strong degree subject to change. However, every time 'new' styles are borrowed or created, they have to be accepted and assimilated into a local dance system. Most of the changes result from the interaction between artistic and socio-cultural processes. Therefore, it is necessary to disclose which forces are at work to bring about certain changes of style and in what circumstances.

In its complexity and diversity, the concept of 'style' shows a striking analogy with that of identity. The relationship between these two terms may be revealed by a semiotic approach to aesthetics concerned with **how** signs signify **what,** in which **contexts.** Since it is a sign, that is a vehicle of meaning, style 'communicates' thoughts, attitudes and feelings. Who are the encoders?

The Gypsies (Roma) living in Romania have a diverse socio-economic make-up and consequently an ambivalent ethnic and cultural identity. Under the former Communist regime, Roma were caught between the official pressure for integration and the firm, but hidden, opposition to assimilation on the part of both Gypsies and Romanians. On the one hand nomad Gypsies could not adjust to living in houses and being bound to a certain place and a non-Gypsy community, on the other hand non-Gypsies met with distrust and fear the idea of having nomad Gypsies permanently in the neighbourhood.[1]

It has often been stated by the officials: 'there are no *ţigani (Gypsy)* in Romania', meaning that no racial discrimination exists in the country.[2] Educated Gypsies, in order to gain acceptance, declared Romanian or Hungarian as their primary language, separating themselves from the non educated Gypsies, still bound to their traditional culture and placed at the lowest level on the ethnic hierarchy scale. Since the collapse of the Communist regime (1989), the Gypsy identity has begun to be openly claimed more or less aggressively. The anti-Gypsy position, which characterises the attitude of an important part of the non-Gypsy population, is implicitly a reaction to social and economical frustrations, where Gypsies played the role of scapegoats.[3]

In 1990 during the campaign for the first 'free' elections, the top candidate for a Gypsy political party was the famous accordion player I. Onoriu, presented as the man who 'taught and formed many generations of skilled *lader* (musicians)'. During the meeting, organised in a stadion in Bucharest, music-making and dancing were substitutes for the political speeches. [Video recording by an unknown amateur]. Indeed, music-making and dancing are integral to Gypsies' life and for the large population being a *lăutar* is synonymous with being a Gypsy.[4]

After being liberated from slavery in 1864, large groups of Gypsy families settled in the outskirts of the rural and urban settings *(mahala).* Gradually they were integrated by the local population, as opposed to the nomadic tribes which could never be 'tamed'.[5] Due

to their life style Gypsies have developed a double cultural competence: the Gypsy one, related to their own language (Romani) and to their cultural tradition, and the non-Gypsy one, related to the language and the local traditions of the ethnic group(s) with whom they were living. In this case they became Romanian-, Hungarian- and even Saxon-Gypsies.[6]

Gypsy musicians *(lăutari)* played a leading role in the development of the Romanian musical tradition.[7] By making music a source for their subsistence the *lăutari* performed mainly for the non-Gypsies to accompany dancing in a large spectrum of social contexts.[8] They assimilated the musical repertoires and style of the ethnic groups with whom they lived functioning as 'cultural' mediators between these groups.[9] However, depending on socio-political circumstances, there are dance events, especially in Transylvania, where Gypsies never dance in couples with non-Gypsies. Ethnic segregation is less evident in southern Romania, where round dances dominate the repertoire and the individual is integrated into the group. Ionel Stoica a *lăutar* from the village Mârșa, close to Bucharest, explains: 'Romanians like Gypsy music. At Romanian weddings the musicians are Gypsies. They play for dance peasant and Gypsy music as well'. An older Romanian woman adds: 'We danced together. We tried to follow the Gypsies because they danced better than we do. I don't know why. Maybe their legs move better and faster.' (Maria Nicolaie, Mârșa).

There are celebrations and family gatherings where Gypsies dance and sing among themselves. The rural community imposed its own repertoire, aesthetic and functional norms on both Gypsy musicians and dancers. Gypsies have always been in a paradoxical situation characterised by the opposition between the necessity of accepting the aesthetic rules of a non-Gypsy tradition and the need to express their own personality.[10] Due to this ambivalent position, Gypsies are on the one hand the most active media for change and diffusion, contributing on the other hand to the preservation of non-Gypsy traditions. It is well known that rituals and other genres which are no longer currently practised, are still carried on, before vanishing, by Gypsies and/or children.

Most of the Gypsy musicians are exceptional dancers, or at least, have a good dance competence, contributing to enhance the communicative circuit which relates them to the dancers and the audience in an unifying whole. 'You can't play for dance if you don't know how to dance', stated the violinist Dumitru Zamfir from the village Optași. [Video shows Zamfir teaching the ritual dance *căluș,* 1993.]

The *lăutar* George Mihalache of Bucharest tries to define Gypsy style in these terms: 'I asked my grandfather. He took the violin and played a *hora* tune, first in a 'normal' way as you can hear it on the radio. Then, he played it the way that suited him best. 'We play the way we are,' he said. George conceives style as being personal, part of your identity: 'If you are schooled in music or dance, you lose the capacity of playing and dancing as a gypsy'. That means clean, without influences, and unique. He adds: 'Romanians can't dance as we do. They look odd. Imitation has no value, because there is no feeling in it'. Indeed, it is not the origin of a melody or of a dance, which makes them Gypsy. To my question, Gheorghe Tudor, a Gypsy choreographer from Bucharest answers: 'Personally I don't believe that there is such a thing as a proper Gypsy origin. They

(music, dance) are borrowed from Romanians but interpreted in a Gypsy manner'. It is generally accepted that tunes and dances with different origin become Gypsy by the way they are performed and implicitly re-shaped. Gypsies do not imitate, they create new versions which make more sense to them (S. Pettan, 1992). Style does not exist in an independent realm, in isolation. Therefore Gypsies define style by comparing the 'we-group' with the 'they-group' stressing ethnic differences: 'You have to be a Gypsy to know what is Gypsy and what is not' states George Mihalache.[11]

The inquiry on the Gypsies' 'way of dancing' was carried out in four contexts:
1. The Romanian traditional context (Gypsies having integrated the dance repertoire of the dominant ethnic group and the region of their origin)
2. The vernacular Gypsy context
3. The spectacular/theatrical context
4. The modern disco-dancing.

1. Out of the large dance repertoires of Southern Romania (around 20-35 dances in one village, reducible to 3-4 types), Gypsies adopted only one type: *hora* (large circle, hand-holds, duple rhythm, moderate tempo, simple structure, concordant with the music, open form). The impact of Gypsy dance style on *hora* gave rise to an independent dance type termed *hora ţigănească* (Gypsy *hora),* or *hora lăutărească* (musicians' *hora),* with very many variants and many melodies.[12] This creative process of 'stylistic adaptation' is expressed by Gheorghe Tudor as follows:
'The steps of our *hora* are all taken from Romanian folklore. But we have a unique, distinctive mode of interpretation. Very refined and elegant'.

A Gypsy performance of *hora* may be characterised by the following stylistic traits:

• round dance with hand hold and soloist dancing without connection, performed-simultaneously
• individual improvisation, making each performance an unique experience
• emphasis on syncopated rhythm, off beat accents, division of basic durations expressed in sound, stressed stamping steps. Dancers with rhythmic sense and high competence improvise playing against the straight and measured accompaniment. 'Gypsy dancing seems to be so easy. The rhythm is internalised, it is part of us', is the commentary of a Gypsy dancer. Amphybrach is the typical formula.
• abrupt and short changes of direction in space
• slightly bent and relaxed body posture, enabling expressive compensatory movements to the footwork
• emphasis on arm-swings with upward accents stressing the moments of high intensity;
• stamps and stamping steps, high in energy, accentuated on the rebound, therefore more aerial and less forceful
• small amplitude of movements with high intensity (between male-female and female-female)
• sustained dynamics stressed by shrieks and yells [13]
• the form is based on varied linking of motifs or phrases, often of 7, 7″, or 10 measures, and dimensionally non-concordant with the musical phrases.

In conclusion with regard to these stylistic traits we can agree with the violinist Ion

Albesteanu of Bu who stated: 'We don't have Gypsy music and dance. We only have *hora lăutărească* which differ from the peasant *hora.* We are able to improvise with stamping steps the whole night, on only *hora* melodies' [Video of *hora* danced by Romanians and Gypsies in the village Optasi, 1993].

The Gypsies' trend for showing off and personal expressiveness gave rise to a spectacular men's solo dance, on *hora* melodies, called *de unul singur* (for one alone). The type is based upon a large body of motif variations, and characteristic kinetic elements: the dancer slaps his chest, his thighs, the ground and even his open mouth producing hollow percussive sounds. Back bends from the kneeling position and finger snapping are also characteristic of this type.

The dance repertoire of Central Transylvania is comprised of couple dances: moderate *purtata,* quick *învârtita* and fast *harţag,* and by men's dances *fecioreasca* with slapping movements. Gypsies perform the same repertoire with a much higher degree of virtuosity. Leg movements are restrained in amplitude, very fast and high in intensity. Slapping the leg-segments, are executed by men with fluency and elegance. The number and speed of the women's pirouettes without hand-hold are increased [Video of a Gypsy couple from the village Soporu de câmpie, district Cluj, dancing *harţag* together with Romanians, 1995].

2. When Gypsies are among themselves, at weddings and other gatherings, they perform 'proper Gypsy dancing' often accompanied by singing. They dance in couples without hand-holds. The freedom to use a large range of arm and hand movements makes the dialogue between the partners highly expressive. Gypsies are not dancing 'with each other'

but 'for each other' with contained sexuality. Frequently the couples split and perform individually but simultaneously, creating a feeling of solidarity and group unity.

There are two main dance dialects. The Transylvanian dialect, called *cingărit,* is characterised by traits such as emphasis on rapid crossing and stamping steps with very small amplitude and great lightness, in duple syncopated rhythm. Slapping of the legs, hand clapping and finger snapping are frequently performed by men. Women revolve around the men executing slight hand rotations with arms raised at eye level. The women's elegant style communicate a feeling of contained tension. The performers use expressive gestures which carry information on the Gypsy style of dancing (such as grasping the apron and 'dancing' with it). [Video of *cingărit* in the village Berchieş, Cluj, 1995]

It is generally accepted that Gypsies have a special attraction to the 'oriental' dance style as expressed in the Turkish *manea (mani)* (Garfias 1981:99) and *köçec* (Popescu-Judetz 1982), traditionally performed by women, with arm and hand rotations, shoulder, belly and hip vibrations, at weddings in the villages and in the towns' *mahala.* If Romanians never performed *manea,* and designated it, with slight disdain as Gypsy dance, Gypsies themselves recognised in turn its Turkish origin. A Gypsy dancer states: 'Not all melodies with 'oriental' rhythms are Gypsy. They are borrowed from the Turks, and another adds: 'At weddings they dance mostly Turkish dances, which are in fact *manele.* Now, young people call them Turkish, but they are *manele. They are old Gypsy dances, because it is only us who dance them'.[14]

Manea style is the most common form performed by the nomad Gypsy women. To the

same melody the men perform gestures and movements in a very characteristic style: thigh- chest- mouth- and ground- slapping, finger snapping, stamps and stamping steps, all sound producing movements, in order to emphasise rhythmic variation and syncopation.

The main occupation of nomad Gypsies, which is tinning *(fiertul fierului)* is symbolised by imitative work movements. Thus, the performing style functions to signify a socio-occupational clan within the Gypsy ethnic group called *căldărări* or *spoitori.*

In the early 1980's, an explosion of commercial Turkish, 'Arab' (Egyptian) and Indian music submerged the Balkans. According to an informant, they 'spoiled the real and traditional Gypsy style'. The dance form which is danced to this music called Arab *manea* is purely feminine and uses the technique of belly dancing with great freedom.

In spite of its rising popularity, the new 'oriental fashion' is rejected by Gypsies with identity awareness: 'In our family and in the families of our Gypsy friends such dances cannot be seen. Only Gypsies of bad quality dance Arab *manea'* states George Mihalache. The negative connotations of the 'oriental style' is basically due to the explicit sexual significance of the movements: 'He told her: go and dance, to show people how good you are in bed, how pretty, clever and sexy you are.' Style may be a marker for age groups as well: 'Women over forty who dance with elegance and beautiful movements, will never perform Arab *manea'* (from an interview with Ion Albesteanu, 1995).

3. Gypsies' innate ability for an 'oriental' movement style is responsible for the stereotyped symbolism alluding to Gypsies' ethnic identity rooted in an oriental (Indian) his-

torical past. This idyllic origin is programmatically illustrated by rather stereotyped dance creations for stage, which follow models circulating throughout the Balkans. [Video of a performance on stage, at a festival in Caracal, 1993]

After having seen this recording together with Gheorghe Tudor, I questioned him on the existence of a 'Gypsy style'. 'Gypsies are scattered in all the countries of this world. For example, Russian [Gypsies] do the same acrobatic movements with impact on the audience, as we do. But they are not Romanian. They don't have the same style'. The truth is that, when speaking on Gypsy dance style, we should first ask: what kind of Gypsies, where are they living, in which sociocultural context?

4. The disco-dancing context, where both Gypsies and Romanians perform a foreign dance repertoire, functions to show once more that in opposition to Romanians, who try to imitate the model as closely as possible, Gypsies create new versions using their own movement vocabulary and performing style. A young informant explains: 'Gypsies are not good at dancing disco. They dance with movements from Gypsy dances, because the instinct leads their arms and legs'. The instinct for a certain quality of movement and the particular feeling for time, space and dynamics are determined by their life style. The Gypsy home is a microcosm where from early childhood melodic-, rhythmic- and movement- patterns are experienced and assimilated, building and developing their dance competence. Buffon's statement: *'le style est l'homme même',* finds in our case its full meaning: beyond individual variations, Gypsy dance style points to a distinctive ethnic and socio-cultural identity, which

sets inter-ethnic boundaries, strengthening the awareness of being a Gypsy.

Notes

1. For example, in the mid 1970s I saw houses built on the outskirts of villages (district Teleorman in southern Romania) to settle nomadic Gypsies, but after two years, when I returned, the Gypsies were gone with their wagons, leaving behind empty and ruined houses.

2. It is impossible to know with accuracy the number of Gypsies in Romania. Estimates, however, range as high as 760.000 to 1 million (Crow 1991:71). Other sources estimate that after 1970 the Gypsy population may have increased to around two and a half million, to a population of over 23 million.

3. It has to be mentioned that during World War II (1941-1943), around 25.000 Romanian Gypsies, the majority of whom were nomads, were deported to work-camps in the province of Transnistria, north-west of Odessa, where many died (Crow 1991:70). After 1989, hatred and violence against Gypsies exploded in Eastern Europe, and in Romania as well, where over 35 violent acts were carried out between 1990-1993 (Fonseca. 1997:160-175).

4. A rhyme used commonly by children to mock Gypsies is: *Cra, era, cioară* (Cra, cra, *crow)/Mă-ta zboară* (your mother flies)/*Tac-tău cântă la vioară* (your father plays the violin).

5. Evidence of the Gypsies' presence in the provinces of Wallachia and Moldova date from the late 11th century (Crow 1991:62). In 1385 a document records Gypsies as slaves attached to a monastery in northern Oltenia for the first time (Tismana, Gorj) (Garfias 1981:98 and Fonseca 1997:198).

6. In Transylvania there are Gypsies with Romanian names, language, orthodox religion, wearing peasant clothes, as there are Hungarian Gypsies, Catholics, with Hungarian names and language and even Protestant Gypsies, speaking Saxon (a German dialect). Most of this last category were deported in 1945 to the Soviet Union, together with all the Saxons, who were fit for compulsory work. Those Gypsies who escaped, emigrated afterwards to Austria (information from Hanni Markel).

7. The presence of the *lăutari* has been so powerful in the Carpathian-Danubian area and the instrumental accompaniment so prevalent for dancing, that there are no song-dances existing in Southern Romania, although this dance category is most frequent and characteristic of the Balkan tradition.

8. In the 16th century Gypsies are mentioned as professional musicians. They played at the courts of princes *(voevozi)* and landlords *(boieri)*. After their liberation from slavery they also played for town-people and for peasants (Sárosi 1970:11-15, Garfias 1981:98-99).

9. For example, one and the same melody may be played in Romanian style for the couple dance called *harţag,* for the fast *csardas* in Hungarian style and finally for the Gypsy dance *cingărit.*

10. Because Gypsies lack a geographical and political homeland it is their distinctiveness in appearance, language and cultural behaviour which strengthens their

identity and feeling of Gypsiness (roma-nipé), opposing them to non-Gypsies (Gadzé).

11. Within their own group there are, according to **geographical** criteria, Gypsies of Transylvania and of Southern Romania. According to **socio-cultural** criteria there are: villagers and those of the town outskirts *(mahala)*; sedentary and nomad Gypsies *(cortorari)* and several Gypsy 'clans' *(zlătari, căldărari, ursari, rudari)* with their own patterns of life, customs and modes of expression. According to **status** there are families with high prestige and low prestige families. Criteria of sex and age for style differentiation are common.

12. Other local variants are: *romneasca* (from the name Rom), *bătrâneasca* (the old dance), *ca la usa cortului* (in front of the tent). The names *romneasca* and *lăutareasca,* substitutes for Gypsy (*ţigă-neşte),* were imposed by the Communist regime in the mid 1950s and accepted by the Gypsies in order to hide their ethnic identity.

13. A musician states: 'They dance with such a power that I can't stop playing even if I am dead-tired'.

14. Presently, young Gypsies and Romanians designate *manea* or Turkish style as being Gypsy dance style.

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THE INFLUENCE OF MUSICAL ACCOMPANIMENT ON THE EMERGENCE AND TRANSFORMATION OF A STYLE OF DANCE

Daniela Stavělová
Ústav pro etnografii a folkloristiku
Czech Republic

The basic repertoire of Czech folk dance, which collectors identified and set down at the beginning and mainly the end of the nineteenth century, was created in the period when bagpipes were still a dominant instrument in Czech territory. Some types of dance were very clearly moulded precisely by the style of the bagpipe accompaniment. The rocking character of the dance melody and its hazy rhythmic contours undoubtedly affected the development of a form of dance that today we consider one of the oldest. In collections or when mentioned in sources from the later nineteenth century, it appears under the name *do kolečka* (one translation might be ‚round and round' dance) usually translated as ‚round dance' and more rarely as *do kola* (‚round dance'). The older sources, associated with the government collection projection in 1819, however, do not yet give the dance a name, despite the fact that they document an abundant range of songs later connected with it. The most likely explanation is that the dance was so common at the time and there was so little competition from other styles of dance, that it was not felt necessary to specify it by name.

In places where bagpipes and instrumental ensembles associated with it lasted longest, that is, in south-west and southern Bohemia, this kind of dance, linked as it was to the repertoire of bagpipe songs, also survived. It belongs to the group known as ‚ro-tation dances', characterised by the rotation of the couple on the spot around the couple's own axis. The typical aspect is the repetition of the basic dance motif, which can be elaborated and developed according to the improvisational talents of the performers. The dance for pairs consists of an introductory song with the dancers bobbing up and down on the spot. In addition the male partner usually stamps out a rhythm on the spot and the female partner spins around her own axis or around the man. The dance may also be performed with any number of dancers in a single round (circle). Nor is there anything unusual about performance of the dance by women alone, whether in pairs, threesomes or in a larger circle. The ‚round and round' dance is usually in 3/4 or 3/8 time, although in its last developmental phase 2/4 time also appeared.

The direct formative influence on the emergence of the rhythmically interesting three-time dance motif has been an open question. It consists of a two-step with alternating feet in one bar with stress on the first and third beat. The second beat is ‚withheld'. One feature was certainly the singing of accompanying songs. In regions with a strong bagpipe culture, a particular mode of ornamentation and variation of the basic melody developed as one of the characteristics of folk song. In most cases what emerged were fixed melodic steps, that is, two tones for one syl-

lable. A good singer would ornament the basic melody in this way as much as he or she liked, often to the extent that the original line almost disappeared. This process was assisted by the polyphonic accompaniment of the bagpipe group. Individual instruments would normally play in thirds or sixths, sometimes in unison, but each of the three players would play variations independently and polyphonically remarkable moments would occur as a result. We know from various sources that the bagpiper would accompany his performance with the rhythmic tapping of a wooden clog. This was no doubt partly in order to orientate himself and keep track in an exceedingly varied and actually rhythmically undefined development of the basic melody. This well-known problem in bagpipe playing, which arises from the character of the instrument, would then be overcome either by the rhythm of the accompanying song (we frequently find a minim - crotchet rhythm in a three time bar), the prosody of Czech speech or a similar rhythmatized dance step. It is therefore evident that bagpipe accompaniment had an important influence on the appearance of this kind of rhythmatized step and its stylistic performance, and that a no less important factor was the rather slow cadence of the accompanying songs, at a leisurely tempo. 3/8 time or a livelier tempo, however, demanded a performance in which the steps of the three-four dance motif were uniform - that is, one step for each beat. In one bar, then, we find three equally accented and springy steps, since a faster tempo made it impossible to draw out the step on the first beat.

Research on the ‚round and round dance‘ today is hampered by the lack of opportunities to observe it. As has been mentioned above, this dance survived the longest in association with bagpipe musical culture in regions with a residual (traditional) style of life, such as southern and south-western Bohemia until recently. The remains of the dance tradition are not, however, to be encountered in the same form in two areas. While the dance tradition of the Chodsko region (a smaller part of south-western Bohemia - the town of Domažlice and surrounding villages), has remained a living tradition in some respects up to the present day, in South Bohemia it was reconstructed on the basis of collectors' records in the middle of this century for the purposes of ensemble performance.

Chodsko, a border area adjoining Bavaria, today provides the only opportunity for meeting the ‚round and round dance‘ in living form, at traditional village dance entertainments. This opportunity occurs every year with the dancing at the end of Shrovetide. Besides a carnival procession with a ceremonial burial of Shrovetide and a house-to-house walk by ‚ploughmen‘ (conscripts) dance entertainments take place over four evenings - the first is masked, the second known as the ‚posy dance‘, the third as the old ‚wives ball‘ and the last is the final celebration. During the four evenings, the music is provided by brass bands which normally play at local dances. Their repertoire is very varied and includes both popular music and the favourite ‚brass-band‘ songs known as ‚popular‘. They also, however, play a series of songs for the ‚round and round dance‘. They do not begin to play of their own accord, but always respond to impulses given by the local people dancing. This series usually begins with an introductory song sung by all participants in front of the band and all subsequent dances also begin with

an introductory song. Sometimes this series is also initiated exclusively by girls who ,parade' in little groups around the dance-hall singing dance-songs *à capella.* This traditional form of dance is preserved only in the village of Postřekov and is now accompanied exclusively by a brass band.

The mark of a living tradition is, however, a certain capacity to change, a variability and adjustment to contemporary influences. In this case, too, the dance tradition has been reacting to new conditions. The accompanying rhythm of the three-time melody as played in brass music has an exclusively seconding character, that is, it gives equal weight to all three beats in the bar. For this reason, the dance motif with a two-step from foot to foot in three time no longer appears here and is already always replaced by three regular steps. The traditional repertoire of accompanying songs has not changed, but they are acquiring a distinctively waltz-time character. Also evident is the predominance of two-four time melodies, which were not originally linked to the traditional repertoire of songs for round-and-round dancing (for example, in the Chodsko songbook of J. Jindřich from the turn of the nineteenth /twentieth century, we find none at all), and began to be found with the more abundant appearance of the Polka in the regions with a surviving bagpipe culture. Now, however, this rhythm prevails in dance melodies and its Polka character is marked. The performance of both three-time and two-time basic dance motifs has also acquired a sharper character and has lost the swinging, soft step corresponding to the style of bagpipe playing.

The second region in which the existence of the ,round and round' dance has been recorded in abundance by collectors is south-

ern Bohemia. However, the form of the dance has survived to this day only in the ensemble tradition. In the period after the Second World War, collectors could still find people able to recall people who remembered the dance. Hence this dance tradition no longer existed in living form in the region at the time and the ,round and round dance' did not find its way into the repertoire of contemporary dance entertainments. Here it was revived in the post-war period, but exclusively for ensemble performance. The bagpipe group was revived concurrently as musical accompaniment for the dance.

Several striking personalities in the world of dance have undoubtedly had their share in the creation of our ideas today on the south-Bohemian style of ,round and round' dance. They identified characteristic features of the dance and with their personal interpretations contributed to the stylistic classification of the dance in the tradition of ensemble performance. This style is also often regarded as southern Czech or specifically Doudleby. It is clear that the character of the accompanying songs has definitely contributed to this regional conception of the style of the ,round and round' dance. They are thematically very varied, often lyrically coloured, with a slower tempo or alternatively earthy with what is frequently a swaggering rhythm. The songs may be love songs, ballads, rhapsodic or military; any kind of folksong may, in fact, accompany the dance. The heaviness of the dance step and its bobbing character reflect the tempo and musical structure of these songs.

This two-fold perspective on the ,round and round' dance immediately offers scope for comparison. On the one hand we can trace the transformation of this dance by comparing the collectors' sources from the

turn of the nineteenth/twentieth century with the still living tradition. Here we can discern a change in the dance under the influence of change in musical accompaniment, from the bagpipes to the brass band. On the other hand we can compare the same dance style in two regions relatively close to each other. Here the question of the different forms in which these regions have preserved the dance comes into play. Another factor is also the character of the accompanying songs, as has been noted earlier. The influence of musical accompaniment, or, more properly of accompanying songs on the formation of dance style is relatively clear. The question arises, however, of how to distinguish, from this point of view, the character of the dance steps in the two areas involved. Even a cursory view of the accompanying songs suggests a contrast in tempo. Chodsko songs are usually more mobile in character and their sharp cadence also entails a more brusque performance of the dance step. By contrast, the lyricism of the southern Bohemian dance songs, their frequent Minor tonality and slower tempo evoke a greater heaviness in the dance step. The question of the character of accompanying songs and its influence on the creation of regional stylistic peculiarities in the ‚round and round' dance deserves more detailed study than is possible here. One important aspect would certainly be comparison of the number of 3/8 and 3/4 melodies and investigation of their melodic and tonal varieties and so on. Even on the basis of our cursory view of the two kinds of performance of dance, however, we have shown that the regional style is closely linked to the local character of the accompanying songs.

In conclusion, several questions arise. In the first place, there is the question of whether

change in musical accompaniment, which also affects change in the basic dance motif of the ‚round and round dance' should be regarded as a change in the style of the dance or as an intervention in its very structure. The idea that it is a change in style is supported by the fact that the dance has preserved its original spatial dispositions in twosome or collective performance, as well as the vital introductory song and its associated customs (the bobbing of couples on the spot, jumping, motion of the wrist with a handkerchief in hand among women and the like), and, for women, even the traditional dress which likewise helps to create the dance movement. We may also regard as a change in style the prevalence of the single step dance motif and of the later two-time motif, which likewise developed with bagpipes accompaniment, although the influence of the Polka step and accompanying rhythm is here indisputable.

The question also arises of whether the character of accompanying songs may be considered primary in the creation of an individual or regional style of dance. The personality of the dancer certainly always plays an important role in determining how the dance is to be performed. Distinctive dancers are always characterised above all by feeling for the music that allows them to capture and express the dance down to the last detail. Their major strength is thus to grasp the musical accompaniment and especially its rhythmic structure. An expressive dancer must also, however, bring something more and enrich the musical concept with his or her own rhythmic experience to the musical warp and weft. Both then contribute to the creation of stylistic patterns which then may certainly have a regional character.

If we are talking about stylistic changes in the ‚round and round' dance we must bear

all these aspects in mind. The bagpipe accompaniment indisputably influenced the development of the style of its basic dance motif. When this type of accompaniment was abandoned, the structure of the dance remained almost untouched and only its stylistic performance changed. On the other hand, in its individual or regional stylistic features, it is the character of the accompanying songs that play a major role. These may differ in terms of content, and melodic and rhythmical structure, which in turn depend on a whole range of factors (dialect, way of life and the like).

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THE STYLE OF FOLK DANCE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF EXCEPTIONAL DANCERS FROM SOUTH AND EAST MORAVIA

Martina Pavlicová

Institute of European Ethnology, Masaryk s University Brno
Czech Republic

It is generally known that a discussion on style in folk culture is not easy. If style is generally understood as a repeating unity of basic and characteristic features typical of a certain form, then it is basically logical to use this expression in the area of high culture. Scholars who dealt with the question of style and traditional culture finally expressed the opinion that the denomination of style can be used for the phenomenon of folk culture even if there were (unlike high art) certain differences. The ethnomusicologist Dušan Holý in his study *Folklore Music and Style* (1967) says that the mechanisms of change differ in folk music, and then the conscious effort of an individual is bound by stiff canons and an individual is lost in the collective of numerous anonymous creators of many generations. What has always been a basic premise for an ethnographer - to explore everything which is general, not exceptional - has been revealed in other contexts after dozens of years. No characteristic is absolutely valid, though it is certain that laws of traditional culture differ from those which accompany phenomena which are based on traditional culture today. This can be seen quite clearly in folk dance; the continuing expressions of traditional folk dance today.

That is why I want, in my paper, to ponder on the question of style in folk dance and its relation to outstanding dance performers and the importance which such contact may imply. I will support my paper with the notes from many years of research on outstanding dance peformers from the region of southeast Moravia. Their involvement has meant an important input into the stylistic interpretation of folk dance.

Josef Bazala, a thirty-six year old dancer, from Staré Město near Uherské Hradiště, belongs to outstanding performers of a male solo dance called (in Czech) *verbuňk*. The name of the dance is derived from a German word *werben* which means 'to recruit', to enlist young men to army service. This means of enlistment ended in the Czech lands in the eighteenth century, but it continued in neighbouring Slovakia (then a part of Hungary) until the middle of the nineteenth century. The origin of *verbuňk* refers to this period, though its roots probably go back to the older male expressions, the remains of which can be found in some male dances up to today. The form of *verbuňk* as it is known today developed only in the last century. Today, *verbuňk* belongs to the typical male dances of south-eastern Moravia, an ethnographic region of Slovácko. The dance is divided into two parts: a slow one and a fast one with increasing tempo. Its movement composition is free, with improvisational characteristics. It is composed of different jumps, half-jumps, knee-bends, half-stamps and other similar ornaments which are per-

formed on the spot or by a movement off the spot. It is a solo dance and an important part of it belongs to vocal accompaniment.

As can be seen from the oldest preserved visual notes and from the research undertaken among the oldest witnesses, *verbuňk* did not differ much in various regions of Slovácko in the beginning of this century. Moderate jumps and half-jumps which probably originated in an older tradition dominated *verbuňk. Verbuňk* soon became a steady part of a repertoire of *slovácké krúžky* (Slovácko circles) which belonged to a newly formed folklore movement at the time of the First Republic (early twentieth century). Such associations often developed in towns and among intellectuals but also in the countryside. They kept folk traditions, practised folk songs and dances and also organized various public performances. Dances which entered the circles repertoire stayed in the memory of witnesses much longer and often were alive longer in their original countryside environment as well. *Verbuňk* was perceived by a broad public as a particular symbol of folk dancing after the Second World War. It became a prestigious dance for members of folk ensembles, because it documented the gift and skill of a dancer. In 1946 a competition in *verbuňk* was founded in connection with Strážnice Festival (today's International Folklore Festival in Strážnice). It was re-established in 1986 and it continues up until today. All the above mentioned activities have influenced *verbuňk* greatly, stimulating its development and its contemporary form.

It is important to say that *verbuňk* has been preserved in some areas of Slovácko and not in others where its existence was presumed. This fact is important for understanding the dance's development and the evolution of its style.

The dancer Josef Bazala is an outstanding performer of Dolnácko *verbuňk* (Dolnácko - which means the lowlands - is a part of the large ethnographic region of Slovácko) *(verbuňk* - recruitment dance). Since 1986, Bazala has taken part in a dance competition in Strážnice several times; he was always placed second. Since 1993, he has been on the jury which judges the competition in *verbuňk.*

Josef Bazala grew up in a village bordering on a town. The village kept its agricultural character for a long time. This was reflected in the folk culture: you could find a strong influence of the neighbouring town in the 1960s but its nature was still traditional. Of course Josef Bazala did not know folk songs and older forms of folk dances from his own experience, but he was familiar with the atmosphere of annual customs maintained until today (such as feasts and carnivals) and with the atmosphere of family customs (such as marriages, baptisms and birthdays celebrations).

The family vocal environment and his own talent led Bazala into a focused interest in music and dance. Since childhood, he attended a local folk ensemble. In those days, he did not hear about any regional style of dancing nor did he think about it. But he did learn older forms of folk dance. His interest was supported by the living local tradition of his village and he kept it even when he served in the army in the east of Slovakia. He was involved in a folk ensemble there as well and became acquainted with a different folk culture.

After his return home he started to ponder on what he danced and why he danced in a specific way. He started to form his intuition, he studied books and gained experience. He became deeply interested in questions of regional importance and in *verbuňk* most of

all. As he says, he has been pondering on *verbuňk* for several years and the last impulse came to him from the competition in Strážnice. Strict criteria were set in judging the regional style of *verbuňk.* The question was - what kind of style? Josef Bazala started to interview older dancers from cooperative ensembles in an attempt to reconstruct the style from the memory of the oldest dancers but he did not find an answer.

As he recollects, he was so confused after all those comments from different people that he saw the dance expression in parts and, thus, lost all joy of dancing. Finally he decided for himself. He kept some rules - especially those which the researcher Zdenka Jelínková in Dolňácko *verbuňk* calls the characterisation of expression: firm body posture, austere ornamentation and mild gestures. He let his dance fantasy work in the rest: he modified the dance to his physical abilities and built up the dance area with the help of great inner expression. This was set above all.

Today, ten years later, Josef Bazala's *verbuňk* is considered a typical example of Dolňácko *verbuňk.* It has been imitated by other dancers. The performance is written down and we may say that it has been codified. Today, the style of *verbuňk* in Dolňácko can be recognised. We must admit that this dance style is highly individual and it has formed a typical male dance expression of this region in a rather intuitive way, with the help of scarce reports and notes of witnesses. Josef Bazala can easily identify Dolňácko *verbuňk* today: the basic is a toe-heel movement and clinging both feet together. From these, the dance can continue into spring, turn and so on, provided some rules are kept: knees tight, no high jumps, few half-stamps and maintain the austere expression of the

dance. The analysis is straight. Anyway, with only slight exaggeration, it can be said that the Dolňácko *verbuňk* would have been completely different without the dance personality of Josef Bazala.

Verbuňk is almost an ideal example for documentation of the evolution of folk dance with regard to an outstanding performer. It is given by its individual character. Anyway, there are other dances, not so striking at first sight, but their development is interesting from the stylistic point of view as well.

My next example belongs to an area also typical for the existence of traditional folk dance today: a natural environment connected with events in the folk movement and with activity of an extraordinary personality. As a whole, it combines the never ending continuity of former generations in the countryside and the culture.

The second personality I have focused on is Marie Ježková, a sixty-year-old woman from Dolní Němčí, a village near the Moravian-Slovakian border. I have chosen her as a performer of a whirling dance called *sedlcká.* I had no idea that I would see a strong connection between the dance style and its performer again.

Marie Ježková is a simple but immensely cultivated country woman. She has lived in her native village almost without interruption. She grew up in a large family and had to take care of her younger siblings. The Moravian countryside was a strong traditional area in the time of her youth. The structure of the countryside was still relatively homogeneous though there were some visible signs of transformation. The younger generation stopped wearing folk costume and the music and dance repertoire started to change under the influence of popular music. The turning point came after World War

II when the traditional structure was fundamentally shattered due to the collectivisation of agriculture and so on. Luckily, the inner structures of village life have not changed as quickly as the outer expressions.

Since childhood, Marie Ježková has had strong connections with music and dance. The family lived close to a dance hall, so that Marie could get her first knowledge of dance from direct observation. Her dance talent soon appeared. When she herself started to take part in community life, newer dances such as polka and waltz appeared in the active local repertoire. She knew the older dance forms by sight, but she did not know how to dance them. One of the dances was the above mentioned *sedlácká*. She remembered it vaguely from her childhood. It was by pure chance that she learnt it as an adult. This dance form belongs to the older form of couple dances and the core of it was the whirling of dancers around their axis. The dance was improvised in its character and its individual style in various regions differed mainly in specific dance steps.

Marie Ježková had learnt the traditional whirling dance from older witnesses only when her village was also hit by the flourishing folk movement. Due to her attitude to music, dance and traditional values, she became one of the local organisers. She taught her husband how to dance *sedlcká* as well. This dance was almost forgotten at that time. Marie Ježková gave it back its form and, due to her outstanding dance style, she gave it the basic character. (Despite the fact that women perform more passive roles in this dance than men).

The dance style of Marie Ježková can be described as down-to-earth. It is not technically perfect and there are certain stereotypes in it, especially in the body posture which is quite in contrast to theoretical dance rules. The axis of the female dancer perpetually leans out, but this does not impede the whirling itself. Marie Ježková manages this with high energy. The energy of her dance is closely connected with the mentality of the dancer and her regulation of any situation including the dance situation. She dances lightly and, rhythmically, very accurately. Even without musical accompaniment it can be seen that the usual accompaniment is a brass band. Brass bands, unlike cymbalon bands, can also affect the dance style.

It has been three decades now since Marie Ježková started to pass on her experience and to practise the local dance *sedlcká*. Nobody practised this dance at that time. Nowadays, it is so widespread in the village that it is performed whenever a brass band plays at local dances and balls. This dance is especially performed during feasts and harvest home festivals. It has became a special symbol of their own culture for local inhabitants. The form, in which the dance is usually presented now, belongs to its last phase of development: the order of individual parts of the dance is set and is repeated regularly. It has been preserved in such a form of composition and Marie Ježková has passed it on in this form. Her individual style is clearly seen in younger generations of dancers.

The examples illustrate a possible tie between the style of an outstanding individual performer of a folk dance and a widespread style. It is not an easy task to clarify the role of the individual in the development of a dance style. I am convinced, however, that this is the basic tool for contemporary folk dance studies. The key to the preservation of a dance and to the development of its style often lies in an outstanding personality.

ONE DANCE, MANY STYLES

Yvonne Hunt
Seattle Washington
USA

Trying to define style is difficult at best since it means many things to many people. It encompasses a variety of qualities and a manner of expression of various characteristics peculiar to a particular object. For our purposes here, of course, that object is dance. Its style is that which I shall consider to be the movements and the manner in which they are executed which distinguish one dance or group (genre, if you will) of dances from another.

Commenting about the style of Greek dances, Dora Stratou, well-known for her work in the Greek folk dance theatre writes "...there is a dance style, some peculiar trick of the body according to the various regions, that cannot be copied." (1966:33); that is to say, by one who is not native to that region.

While there are definite regional styles in Greek dancing there are also a variety of styles within any given region - those which we call local or village styles- as well as the individual style of each dancer. It is the variety of style within a particular region of Greece which I would like to address here.

The specific region with which we are concerned is the Sérres Prefecture of Macedonia, Greece, which is located approximately 95 kilometres east of Thessaloniki. It is bordered by Bulgaria to the north, the Strymonikós Bay to the south, the Thessaloniki and Kilkis Prefectures to the west and on the east by the Dhráma and Kaválla Prefectures.

It is 3790 square kilometres in area and is inhabited by approximately 200,000 people. Forty-one percent of the land is arable and agriculture is a primary industry.

In this region of eastern Macedonia one frequently encounters a dance performed by indigenous Greeks which not only has a variety of names, is danced to several different melodies and tempi but also, stylistically speaking, may change minutely or greatly from village to village. It is often difficult for residents of one village to recognise it immediately in another village as the "same dance" which I shall simply define here as a distinct sequence of steps.

The name by which I first encountered this dance is *Ténkouli* in the village of Kímisi. My second encounter was in Néo Petrítsi with the name *Kambáno Moré Mítro* (later informants have told me however, that the song is called *Kambáno Moré Mítro* but the dance is called *Kambano Dhimitroúla).* The third encounter was the *Aďdín* of Flámbooro. In each of the above three instances the tempo the melody and the style, that is the manner of movement, varied greatly.

There are many names for this dance. Besides the aforementioned, one frequently hears *Ormanlí* or *Selaník*. In addition there are many variants of all of these: *Aďdíni, Aďdína, Aďdoóna, Aďdín Havasi, Oormanlí, Ormanlí Havasí, Selaník Havasí, Kambáno Mítro za Tébe* as well as others. Most

of these names are in Turkish: Selaník refers to Salónica (Thessaloniki), Ormanlí means a forest; Aďdín and all of its variants refer to a particular place in Asia Minor which was called Aďdíni or Aďdínio and was inhabited by Greeks; Ténkouli refers to a tall, slender, attractive woman. The remaining names are either Greek or a combination of Greek and Slavic.

In a few villages I have heard the name *Kavrák Eléno*. While I have not yet seen it danced under this name I have been informed that it is yet another variation of the same sequence of steps.

Rhythm-wise it is always in nine (2+2+2+3). The tempo, however, may vary. It may be relatively slow, increasing very little as in Flámbooro and Anthí or fairly fast as in Néo Petrítsi. In the villages of Vamvakofyto, Melenikítsi, Neohóri, Véryi and others it is performed at the same tempo throughout. However, the Kímisi version begins slowly and has a distinct change to a rapid tempo.

With the exception of the first video example, to date I have always found the dance accompanied by the zoornas (shawm) and the daoóli (large drum). It is not inconceivable however, that I will one day find it danced to other instruments as the *gáďda* (bagpipe) is still used in several villages in the area and the Macedonian form of the lyra survives still in one village.

As dance style is better understood through viewing rather than describing a dance, I shall present video excerpts from five different villages: the *Selaník* of Véryi, the *Oormanlí* of Melenikítsi, the *Ormanlí Havasí* of Vamvakofyto, the *Aďdoóna* of Neóhori and finally the *Aďdín* of Flámbooro. These five villages range in distance from approximately thirty kilometres north of the city of Sérres to approximately thirty kilometres south of the city. The shortest distance between any two of the villages is about five kilometres.

In conclusion, I look forward to seeing this dance in many of the other villages of the Sérres Prefecture where I have not yet had the opportunity to view it. On some occasions elders in various villages have attempted to dance it for me but have been unable to remember it. It will most likely be permanently lost from the repertoire of those particular villages. In some villages it is danced today only by the local performing group while in still others it remains as one of the most popular dances in the village repertoire.

Video Excerpts

1. Véryi, village performing group filmed in 1995.
2. Melenikítsi, village performing group filmed in 1995.
3. Vamvakófyto, four men of village filmed in the mid 1980s.
4. Neohóri, villagers dancing in square filmed in 1993.
5. Flámbooro, villagers performing at a festival (not performing group) filmed in 1989.

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LEMONIA DANCE OF LEFKADA VERSUS *KONTOULA LEMONIA* DANCE OF EPIROS, GREECE

Maria Koutsouba

Athens
Greece

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to examine the way a possibly common stimulus for dance creation results in different dance forms and styles and the importance of these differentiations to the identification of the people involved. In order to explore these issues, two Greek dances have been selected for study, namely *lemonia* dance from the Ionian island of Lefkada, and, *Kontoula lemonia* dance from the mainland of Epiros. The two areas present geographical proximity, long periods of historical commonality, and close economic, commercial and social transactions.[1] The selection of the particular dances is based on the argument put forward by a number of Lefkadians[2] and scholars[3] that *lemonia* has been borrowed from the opposite mainland of Epiros. The informants characteristically said: ‚*lemonia* is not our dance; we borrowed it from the opposite mainland‘, or ‚don‘t you see that it is the same thing as *kontoula lemonia* dance, but we have changed the words of the song *Vissaniotissa* til *Stilianotissa*?‘ (see table 1). It must be explained that *Vissaniotissa* is the adjectival complement defining a woman originating from the village Vissani of Epiros, one of the areas where *kontoula lemonia* dance is performed. It is obvious that the use of the particular word by the Lefkadians would denote the Epirotic origins of the dance. Thus, as they claimed, they changed

it to *Stiliniotissa* or *Miridiotissa* or something similar to that, words that rhyme with *Vissaniotissa,* but do not always correspond to a real word a refer to a place of origin.

The thematic relationship of the two dances is not apparent in the performance of the Lefkadian *lemonia,* as the dance is no longer accompanied by its song, whilst the dance's gestures and music bear no obvious relation to one another. Indeed, at first sight, one can only perceive them as two different dances. On these grounds, their syncretism may seem unacceptable for some scholars. Yet, it is on the grounds of the islanders' belief in the existence of such a borrowing that the syncretism is justified and allowed. Furthermore, the study of the two dances may reveal the way people construct their realities, while at the same time trace a choreographic relation not perceivable at first sight.

Methodology

For the comparison of the dances, structural and stylistic analyses were carried out as both parameters are necessary for the definition of the dance forms, while a system of typology was applied for the codification of these forms. The method for analysing the structural aspect of the dance from emerged from a combination of selected elements of pre-existing techniques so as to suit the requirements of the paper. In particular, it was based on:

TABLE 1 : SONGS OF KEMONIA AND *KONTOULA LEMONIA* DANCES	
Lemonia Dance	*Kontoula lemonia* Dance
(Lefkada)	**(Epiros)**
Mori *kontoula lemonia*	Mori *kontoula lemonia*
me ta polla *lemonia,*	Me ta polla *lemonia,*
Stilianotissa,	***Vissaniotissa,***
se ide ke arrostissa. Hamilosse tous klonous sou	Se filisaa ki' arrostissa
	Ki oute giatro de fonaxa.
gia na kopso ena lemoni.	Pote mikri megalosses
Stilianotissa,	Ke evgales vlastaria
gia sena arrostissa.	***Vissaniotissa,***
	Se filissa ki' arrostissa.
Gia na to stipso na to pio	
na mou diavoun i poni,	Hamilosse tous knolous sou
Stilianotissa,	Na kopso ena lemoni,
gia sena arrostissa.	*Vissaniotissa,*
	Se filissa ki' arrostissa.
TRANSLATION:	**TRANSLATION:**
Lemon Tree Dance	Little Lemon Tree Dance
Little lemon tree	Little lemon tree
that have many lemons,	that have many lemons,
Stilianotissa,	***Vissaniotissa,***
I saw you and fell sick.	I gave you a kiss and fell sick
	and I did not even send for a doctor.
Lower your branches	When did you, little (lemon tree) grow
so that I can cut a lemon off	and give out sprouts?
Stilianotissa,	***Vissaniotissa,***
I fell sick for you.	I gave you a kiss and fell sick.
	Lower you branches
I will squeeze it and drink it	so that I can cut a lemon off
So that my pains will go away,	***Vissaniotissa,***
Stilianotissa, I fell sick for you.	I gave you a kiss and fell sick.

I. The structure-form method of analysis proposed in 1974 by the International Folk Music Council Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology with expansions and/or changes introduced by Tyrovola (1994) after the application of the method on Greek dances and

II. Taxonomies of the components of dance and methods of discerning the dance forms presented by Giurchescu (1986), Adshead et al. (1988) and Sanchez-Colberg(1992).

The method for the analysis of the stylistic aspect of the dance forms was based on: i) the structural analysis for the definition of the structural differences that affect the style and ii) Laban's Effort system (1974) with some changes and/or expansions. Both dances were notated with Labanotation and Laban's Effort system.

Discussion of Results

The analysis[4] shows that *lemonia* and *kontoula lemonia* differ in structure and style. Structurally, the two dances are unrelated as fundamental differences appear in a number of parameters which play an important role in the characterisation of the dance structure. For instance, the two dances differ in the number of segments *(lemonia* is a two-segment dance form, *kontoula lemonia* a one segment form); in the music metre and the rhythm *(lemonia* has 2/4+7Z8 music metre and a binary and a seven count rhythm, *kontoula lemonia* 6/8 music meter and a six count rhythm); in the sex *(lemonia* is performed only by women, *kontoula lemonia* by men and women); in the handhold *(lemonia* has crossed handhold, *kontoula lemonia* from the hands with bent elbows) and so on. These are some of the most profound parameters. However, an interesting point must be noticed. The dance phrase of *kontoula lemonia* constitutes the first segment of *lemonia* (the former is a *syrtos sta tira* dance, the latter an heteromorphy of the type of *syrtos sta tira* dance).

Stylistically, the two dances present quite a few similarities such as:

• the maintenance of their dynamic qualities throughout the performance as well as within a single spatial progression

• the predominance of the efforts of weight and flow and the secondary role of those of time and space

• the limited dynamic range within each effort quality that never reaches the extreme

• the presence of touching among the dancers who move with an earthbound pulse in translatory symmetry in a curved, right side pathway.

However, they also demonstrate a considerable amount of differences.

First, the use of the body varies. In *lemonia* it is a one unit having a closed design and no projection, while in *kontoula lemonia* there are two units having an open design with backward inclination and an outward projection of the chest. Second, in *lemonia* the crossed handhold of the dancers results in the overlapping of their kinespheres, whereas in *kontoula lemonia* the handhold with bent elbows results in the independence of their kinespheres. The third, and most important qualitative stylistic difference between the two dances lies in the dissimilar spatial progression. In *lemonia* the emphasis is on the vertical straight progression,

whereas in *kontoula lemonia* it is on the horizontal one. Small steps in all four directions, with the pulse created from the heels are performed in *lemonia,* in contrast to the large steps in two directions, with the pulse originating from the knees, in *kontoula lemonia.* The combination of all these parameters reinforces the qualitative differentiation of the two dances. *Lemonia* reveals the qualities of light weight effort and bound flow. *Kontoula lemonia* show the qualities of light weight and free flow in the upper body and strong weight with bound flow in the lower body.

In conclusion, the comparison of the two dances proves both structural and stylistic dissimilarity. As a result, *lemonia* and *kontoula lemonia,* despite their thematic relationship, constitute two entirely different dance forms. In particular, both dances constitute characteristic dance idioms of the areas from which they originate. *Kontoula lemonia* is one of the many songs that accompany the dance syrtos sta tria that is characteristic of the entire region of Epiros. Similarly, *lemonia* belongs in one of the two main categories that the dance idiom presents on the island of Lefkada and, specifically, the one performed on stage as representative of the Lefkadian dance heritage. Even if there is some dance borrowing of Lefkada from the mainland, then, this was effected through a transformational process, so the dance acquired the features that articulated the islanders' aesthetic preferences. In both cases, the dances assumed the regional style that characterised the specific areas and came to constitute identity markers of these areas.

Notes

[1] For an analytical presentation of Lefkadian history and the relationship of the island with the opposite mainland of Epiros, see Rontogiannis 1980, 1982.

[2] The data used in this paper is part of a larger ethnographic research project that tool place on the Ionian island of Lefkada, western Greece, during the years 1992-1994.

[3] For instance, see Peristeris 1967:354 and Toska-Kamba 1991:46.

[4] For a detailed analysis of the two dances see Koutsouba 1997

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BLURRING IMAGES, GLOWING LIKENESS: A DICHOTOMY OF STYLES IN TRADITIONAL DANCES OF MALAYSIA

Mohd Anis Md Nor

University of Malaya
Kuala Lumpur

Dance creation and processes of artistic aspirations by individual folk dancer and folk dance ensembles in Malaysia mirrors the rich but juxtaposed cultural heritage of the people. The past and the present are represented in living traditions of Malaysian dance culture. Motions and sounds are celebrated within specific space and time culled by the expensive influence of past and present civilizations. Young choreographers and dancers, while keen to pursue newer dance pieces, are always aware of the omnipresence of the past in the present. The evolution of Malaysia's folk dances is an ongoing process that is experiencing cross-border sharing of new dance motives and musical arrangements between the Malays of Peninsular Malaysia, Singapore and the Indonesian island of Sumatera.[1] Conventions of movements and musical structures in all of the Malay folk dance traditions are shared between these communities. Historically, events that shaped the formation of new styles of Malay folk dances were effective in spreading and affirming old and new dance styles. When Malay folk dances spread to movies and amusement parks in the 1950s, newer interpretation of dance styles became fashionable. The 1960s, 1970s, and the 1980s witnessed the enhancements of older dance styles into newer but comparable images of the old dances in contemporary styles.

Likewise, the search for deeper and profound meanings in folk dances became more pronounced in the 1990s. The Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism of Malaysia launched the yearly Festival Tari Kebangsaan (National Dance Festival)[2] in 1992 to encourage active participation of provincial choreographers in showcasing the exuberance of folk dance traditions. The meeting of dance artists at the prestigious dance event of the year exulted the image of folk dancing beyond the imagination of dancers of decades before. When the little known group of Sarawak Cultural Village from the east Malaysian state of Sarawak won the coverted award for dance excellence in 1992, many other groups in the country began an earnest search for authentic dance styles in their choreography. Archaic dance genres were revived, rearranged and poignantly inserted in new choreographies. This effort reaped success for dance companies representing the states of Johor, Sarawak and Sabah which won the 1993,1994 and 1995 awards respectively. New and promising choreographers began to emerge and make their mark felt in their creative forays.[3] But this does not mean that dances in Malaysia have arrived to new levels of sophistication and standards. There are several compounding issues faced by old and young choreographers as well as dancers. It involves the question of making the best choices in representing the right images

of dance which are either newly created or those of the older traditions.

Changes And Adaptatation

The processes of change and adaptation to different situation has the most profound effect on the styles and forms of traditional dances of Malaysia. While new dances are marking new images through contemporary and avant garde performances, traditional dances are caught in between the rush to catch up with the changing scenes in new dance appreciation and the sustenance of traditional dance forms.

Choreographers of traditional folk dances are the most vulnerable to the ever-changing expectations of the audience, especially those who are working in cities and urban areas of Malaysia. The choreographer's choice of reenacting traditional dances on the proscenium stage has invariably transformed the styles of performances from the conventions of traditional dance spaces of open air or arena-like environments to the rigid and formal performance spaces of the proscenium stages. Spectacular lighting and technical gadgets in contemporary performance spaces has given a new, albeit meaningful, facade to traditional folk dances. This phenomenon imitates the experiences of ballet folklorique of other countries where dances are made to appear spectacular with energetic and shorter repertoires. Traditional folk dances which are usually slower, languid and repetitive are transformed to suit the needs of new expectations, from the audience as well as from the performers. This has nevertheless changed the traditional relationship of the artists and the arts, conventions of traditional performance styles and the contemporary styles of performances and the relationship between performance and performers.

The shift from older conventions of dance styles and performance space to new requirements have, to a certain degree, blurred the images of traditional performances of village and community showcases. The transformation of old and archaic dances in the proscenium theatres has lead to the transformation and changes in the aesthetics of performances. Traditional dance styles which are marked by narrow dance gestures, light and small steps, maintenance of tilted upright torso, and the demarcation of specific gender groupings have given way to new variants of adaptative dance styles. This does not mean that new dance styles have completely severed the traditions of the past. On the contrary, new dance styles mirror the old traditions with wider and more expensive gestures, complex floor plans and new music arrangements. The image of the traditional folk dances are sustained within the kinds of music genre that accompany dances of the same genre. Equally sustained are the gestures and the style of dancing which are performed within the larger space of the kinesphere. The subtleties of the old and the new styles are acknowledged by the kinds of efforts and movements of the *tradisi* (traditional) and *kreasi baru* (new creations). Both are different but similar. They are of the same tradition but serve as variants to the form of dance. They execute different images but glow within the likeness of similar genres.

Some of the dances were rearranged with richer ornamentation. The *Jong-Jong Inai* (dance of Henna leaves) and *Tarian Tumbuk Kalang* (mortar and pestle dance) ar e examples of new dances which came from the tradition of older dance styles; *Inang[4]* and *Joget.[5]* The richer ornamentation of circular hand movements, stylized gestures of pluck-

ing leaves and harvesting padi, feet stamping, skips and small jumps were borrowed and adapted from the rich array of dance styles of the sub-groups of the Malay communities (Minangkabau, Kedah-Pattani, etc.) and from the Indian and Chinese dance traditions. The South Indian stick dance, a folk dance tradition popular with the Tamil speaking south Indians in Malaysia, and the relevé or, using Labanotation terminology, in place high position of the Chinese dances of Malaysia, are prominent in these dances. Yet these embellishments have not changed the image of the traditional folk dances created as *kreasi baru* (new creation) in the 1970s. These dances may have blurred the styles of the older traditions but have not diminished the likeness of the traditional dance styles.

A Dichotomy Styles

A good example of newer dance styles which blur but resemble the old styles is the *Zapin* folk dance. In Malaysia the term *Zapin* designates a particular kind of dance (usually performed by men) which is accompanied by a specific repertoire of music. Both the music and the dance of the *Zapin* belong to the world of Malay folk dance in Peninsular Malaysia.

In former times the *Zapin* was an exclusive tradition of the Arab-Malays (Malays of Arab descent) of Johor, the southern most state of Peninsular Malaysia bordering with Singapore. The dance was performed by two men to the accompaniment of music performed by a small ensemble and, in its contemporary village setting the *Zapin* is still danced exclusively by men. In Johor, this dance is identified as either the *Zapin Melayu* (Malay *Zapin)* or the *Zapin Arab* (Arab *Zapin),* the former performed mainly by Malays and mixed Malays of Arab descent and

the latter performed mostly by the pure blooded Arab communities in Johor. The *Zapin Melayu* dance was a result of cultural adaptation and assimilation from *Zapin Arab,* a more robust and energetic dance form. To the Malays the *Zapin Arab* is coarse and less refined than the *Zapin Melayu;* in effect, it does not encompass the axiom of Malay ethics and aesthetics.

The emergence of *Zapin* as a national folk dance tradition, recognized by Malays throughout the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia, began to take place in the *Bangsawan* (or Malay Opera) and to a certain extent in the *Pentas Joget (Joget* dance stages) popular in the 1930s and 1940s. As the movie industry developed in Malaysia during the 1940s and 1950s the traditional boundary of the *Zapin* dance expanded from the northeastern part of Johore to a national countrywide level. The genre was extensively used as the dance and music idiom for classical Malay stories as well as for modern Malay tragedies as depicted in the movies. The *Zapin* became known nationwide in its new form as perceived from the silver screen.

In its traditional village setting in Johor, the *Zapin Melayu,* the generic form, is still performed for social functions with very little change or deviation from the old, standard set patterns of the music and dance. The village *Zapin* has ceased to be important at the national level and today it is practically forgotten, if not unknown, by younger Malaysians. Both the traditional *Zapin Melayu* and the national *Zapin* have long ceased to be a single entity; each has taken a different form, yet both share a common name and belong to a common genre. Although wide divergences exist between the two styles and forms, the dance and music are always perceived, accepted and co-exist as the *Zapin* in rural as well as urban environments.

Dance Styles

A *Zapin* dance consists of several clusters of dance motives interspersed with transitional dance phrases which serve to connect the motives together before ascending into the energetic finale known as the *Wainab* (see diagram of structural outline of the *Zapin* dance). A dance piece would first begin with a musical prelude, referred to as the *Taksim* which is marked by an improvised gambus (,ud) solo, more prominent in the village *Zapin* than in the national *Zapin.* During the *Taksim,* dancers either wait outside the dance area or pre-position themselves in the dance area in a salutation posture, that is, a half kneeling-half squatting position. The melodic sections following the *Taksim* serve as the main dance segments consisting of dance motives clustered around the melodic sections which serves as the cyclic core for the alternative repetition of new dance motives linked from one melodic section to the other by transitional dance phrases. The coda is the *Wainab,* a finale marked by skips, turns, low plies, standing and squatting positions done at a relatively faster speed than the rest of the dance routine which is eventually terminated when the dancers return to the salutation position, the half kneeling-half squatting posture. This is the basic structure of both the *Zapins.*

Structural Outline of the *Zapin* **dance.**

Tahtim or Taksim	Main dance section	Wainab section
[Salutation dance phrase]	[ABC musical units repeated. Dance motives clustered within each musical unit.]	[Variation of turns, low plies, standing and squatting positions.]

All dance phrases are contained within the structure of the *Gerak Asas,* rudimentary steps which form the basic movement phrase. The *Gerak Asas* of the village *Zapin* and the national *Zapin* however, do not share a similar formation but instead reveal a distinct uniqueness. Since the *Gerak Asas* governs the improvisational adaptation in the construction of the dance motives, the differences in *Gerak Asas* themselves would result in differences of the overall ambiance of the dance. The rudimentary step of the *Gerak Asas,* is a basic 4-beat phrase involving basic stepping motions which are accompanied with the corresponding arm movements. It is upon the *Gerak Asas* that dance motives are created. The *Gerak Asas* of the village *Zapin,* although based on the 4-beat phrase, has a pause in the first count where no movement is involved (dancers remain in the initial standing position). It is only in the second count that actual stepping motion takes place, for example,

Count 1:   all movements on hold.
Count 2:   left foot steps forwards, 'right diagonal middle'
Count 3:   right foot steps forward, 'left diagonal middle'
Count 4:   left foot steps 'forward middle'.

In the second section of the *Gerak Asas,* all four beats of the phrase are accounted for

either while making a turn *(Zapin Melayu)* or while sustaining the pause on the first count *(Zapin Arab),* for example in *Zapin Melayu.*

Count 1:	hold position of left leg, right foot swings behind left foot as torso turns 180 degrees
Count 2:	right support step 'forward middle', while the left foot turn 180 degrees to the right
Count 3:	left foot steps back high, raising the body and right foot
Count 4:	both feet return to the floor, left foot 'place middle', right foot 'forward middle'.

As noted, arm movements in the village *Zapin* are restricted to just the right arm, while the left hand is held either at the back or the front of the waist line. These two sequences form the *Gerak Asas.*

There is, however, a slight variation to the *Gerak Asas* of the *Zapin Melayu* which displays elements of *Zapin Arab.* The first sequence of the *Gerak Asas* consists of raising the free foot relatively higher, a combination of which shows skipping-like motion. A head position on the first count, where support of both feet is at place high (i.e., support on the ball of the feet) marks the variation in the second sequence of the *Gerak Asas.* The arms in this *Zapin* are less restricted to the prescribed structure as in *Zapin Melayu.* Swaying the arms to provide momentum for the skipping-like motion of the feet.

The *Gerak Asas* rudimentary steps of the national *Zapin* do not employ identical structural features but instead show a departure from the *Zapin Melayu* or *Zapin Arab.* Within the 4-beat phrase, all of the four counts (or beats) are used. There is no pause or hold-ing back motion in any of the four counts. To illustrate this difference in the *Gerak Asas* in the national *Zapin,*

Count 1: right foot steps 'forward middle'.
Count 2: left foot steps 'forward middle'.
Count 3: right foot steps 'forward middle'.
Count 4: left leg to 'side low', while the right leg support the body.

This sequence is repeated in lateral symmetry in the second dance phrase. There is, however, another variant of the Gerak *Zapin.* This can be illustrated as follows:

Count 1:	right foot steps 'forward middle'.
Count 2:	left foot steps 'forward middle'.
Count 3:	right foot steps in ‚place low', left foot in 'place low'.
Count 4:	right foot holds in 'place middle', support on right leg, left foot moves to 'side low'.

This sequence is also repeated in lateral symmetry. The *Gerak Asas* in the national *Zapin* is the 4-beat phrase and can be repeated as many times as required but normally is performed in not less than two sequences, i.e. two bars of the 4-beat phrase. Turns are not included in the *Gerak Asas* as they are in the village *Zapin,* for there are several ways of doing the turning motion which are based upon the concept of the *Gerak Asas.*

The arm movements also display a strong departure from the village *Zapin.* Instead of holding one arm (left) to the body and allowing only the other arm (right) to do all the motion, or in the case of the Malay-Arab version allowing the arms to sway in mo-

mentum with the body, both arms in the national *Zapin* move alternately in 'close position'. The arms sway horizontally from the body while turning the wrist facing up ('place high') and down ('place low'), the upper arms in 'side low' and the lower arms in a variant position of forward to side, then to 'forward middle'. The distinctiveness of this arm (corresponding with the side stepping leg) moves horizontally to 'side low' while turning the wrist facing 'back low'.

Dance motives are known as *Ragam Tari* or *Bunga Tari* and consist of variations based on the *Gerak Asas.* In the village *Zapin, Ragam Tari* are almost exclusively restricted to the variations of the legs movements while the arms retain the prescribed motion of "one lock the other lose" *(satu terikat satu melenggang),* It is upon the *Gerak Asas* that *Ragam Tari* such as *Siku Keluang* (flying-fox's elbow), *Anak Ayam* (chicks), *Anak Ikan* (fish fry or the young of fish), *Sisip* (inserts or side shifts) and *Pusau Belanak* (twirls of the Balanak fish) to name a few are derived.

Ragam Tari in the national *Zapin* are also based on its form of the *Gerak Asas* and unlike the village *Zapin,* the absence of the pause on the first count of the *Gerak Asas* pattern imbues a sense of continuos flow in each of the dance motives, These may be seen in the *Langkah Empat* (four points step) and the *Langkah Tukar Tempat* (changing positions).

Concluding Comments

The versatility of adapting to new ideas or borrowing from other genres has been an important factor for the continuous flow of new dance motives in the national *Zapin.* With the popularity of western and latin dance genres in Malaysia in the early 1960s, *Zapin* managed to incorporate elements from

these new dances as source material for new *Zapin* choreographers. The *cha-cha, samba* and *mambo,* to name a few, were inspirational to the leading moviestar-singer-musician-dancers of the time. A good example is the late P.Ramlee who composed new musical scores, improvised upon the existing genres and introduced new dance motives; yet he sustained the 4-beat element of the *Zapin* dance phrase. In the 1970s, fancy footwork and hand movements as well as improvised movements of the head and torso were the norm. Similarly with regard to the composition of new musical pieces to accompany the *Zapin* dance, certain structural elements of the traditional *Zapin* pieces were maintained while greater improvisation and creation of new melodies occurred.

The complexity of performance style resulting from the increasing number of dance motives and fancier footwork eventually made the *Zapin* a dance which required a prior text on the choreographic framework before being performed. In other words, the national *Zapin* became more rigid and structured than the village *Zapin.* With a focus on the proscenium stage as its performance setting, it has become a dance to be viewed rather than one in which to participate. It is still a folk dance but without its social function. The context of 'a folk dance is a social dance' in Malaysia has taken a new meaning and a new dimension. *Zapin* is today synonymous with the national version, henceforth imparting totally different performance constraints than the village *Zapin. Zapin Melayu* and *Zapin Arab* remain as village traditions and are rapidly losing their appeal to the younger generation of west coast or Peninsular Malaysia within their own cultural boundaries, and these traditional forms are even less known to the rest of the nation. The *Zapins*

belong to a common genre but each has taken a different form and meaning, perhaps a continuum of genre but in different guises, blurring the old but glowing anew.

Notes

[1] Movements, gestures, music repertoires and stylized dance motifs were often borrowed from one region to another, embellishing dance styles with the peculiarity of local flavour. The popular *Joget* dance genre, for example, is performed with specific styles and known by numerous names. *Tandak, Ronggeng* and *Rentak Dua* are commonly associated with the generic *Joget* dance style. In the 1950s and early 1960s, *Serampang Dua Belas, Mak Inang, Zapin, Asli* or *Senandung,* and *Ronggeng* folk dances were commonly performed in the styles of *Melayu Deli* (Deli Malays), the Sumateran variants, and *Melayu Malaya* (Malaya Malays), signifying the Malayan-Singapore variants.

[2] The Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism of Malaysia allocated a grant estimated at RM 150,000.00 (USD 60,000.00) for the week long festival.

[3] Ramli Ali from Sarawak, Jamil from Sabah, Salim Ab. Hamid from Selangor, Desa Ab. Rahman from Negeri Sembilan, Onn Jaafar from Johor, Razali Daud from Kedah, are in the league of choreographers who are charting the discourse of contemporary folk dances in Malaysia.

[4] The word *Inang* literally means wet nurse. The *Inang* dance is also referred to as *Tarian Mak Inang* which depicts the dance of the wet nurse. Although the term *Mak Inang* makes a special reference to the lady-like qualities of the women dancers, the dance is performed by both genders. Male dancers perform *Inang* with the gentle grace of dignified men. The *Inang* rhythm consists of a variation of the 4/4 beat pattern which is end-accented by the gong. The *Inang* dance consists of a walking motion either in a relatively slow or fast tempo. A fast-paced *Inang* is also referrred to as *Masri.* Dancers dance facing one another while making turns and dancing in a circular path around each other. The *Inang* dance was commonly used by dance choreographers as a base for the creation of dances that used saucers, candles, handkerchiefs, shawls and umbrellas as dance properties. The dances that were choreographed with the aforementioned dance paraphernalia are named after the items used in the dance. *Tari Piring* (saucer dance), *Tari Lilin* (candle dance), *Tari Saputangan* (handkerchief dance), *Tari Selendang* (shawl dance) and *Tari Payung* (umbrella dance) are good examples.

[5] The *Joget,* also referred to as *Ronggeng* or *Lagu Dua* in Sumatera, was greatly influenced by Portuguese folk dance. It is widely assumed that *Joget* developed from *Branyo,* a Malaka-Portuguese folk dance. *Branyo* may have been a local version of the *Brundo* or *Branle* which were popular in the fifteenth century. The *Brundo* or *Branle* which was typically danced in sideway motions in the form of a ring or in a file became the basis of the *Branyo.* The *Branyo* which was performed by the Melaka-Portuguese and their descendants was eventually copied by the local Malays and adapted to the Malay dance culture. The main characteristic of the *Joget* music is the rhythm. It is fast-paced with

duple and triple beat divisions closely related to the European 6/8 dance forms, such as the *Tarantella* and *Fandago.* Characteristics similar to the *Joget* are found in the Lagu Dua genre of the Sumateran Ronggeng. The *Joget* is performed by male and female dance partners. They dance around and opposite each other flirtatiously but never touch one another.

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DIFFERENT GENERATIONS, DIFFERENT STYLES: ALEVI SEMAH PERFORMANCES IN THEIR CHANGING CONTEXT[1]

Arzu Öztürkmen

Boğaziçi University
Turkey

In his book *Subculture: The Meaning of Style,* Dick Hebdige examines how style challenges the principle of unity and cohesion and contradicts the myth of 'consensus' (1979). Hebdige sees style as a marker of refusal in his ethnography of an urban subculture, and identifies it as a generator of meaning and significance. His study which focuses on the creation of meaning through stylistic differences thus explores the emergence of new forms: in this case, *style* leading toward the formation of cultural expression. Yet, as much as the marker of wholly new meanings, style can also mark changes of meanings in well-defined genres. This paper studies how style operates within the limits of a dance genre, how stylistic variations may mark difference within the boundaries of sameness rather than creating new types or sub-genres. The dance genre that I will focus on is the ritual dance of the Alevi community in Turkey, namely the *semahs,* and their practice in different contexts.

Alevi *semahs* are performed in *cent* rituals throughout Anatolia. They are thought to have originated from a religious story about Prophet Mohammed. According to the story, Prophet Mohammed visited a group of thirty-nine people who were indifferent to his newly rising Islamic thought. At the meeting they offered the Prophet a grain of grape and told him to divide it into forty equal parts. When he said that it was not possible, one of

them squeezed the grain and offered one drop to each. All of them became drunk and they were so moved by this event that they all began whirling, including the Prophet himself, who then decided that these people were true saints.

The Alevi *semahs* are therefore believed to be derived from this original whirling of the Forty people, called *Kırklar Semahı* (the *Semah of the Forty),* and they are believed to have been modified in various ways depending on regional differences: *semahs* of the Mediterranean areas such as Antalya and Fethiye differ from the Central Anatolian ones such as Tokat's or Şiran's. Therefore, we come across two different types of *semahs* throughout Anatolia.

Since the 1960s, Alevi *semahs* have gained more public recognition with the staged shows performed either by the Alevi emigrants to the urban settings or by the non-Alevi groups, mostly university students and leftist organisations. The leftist interest in the *semahs* was based on the protest quality of the Alevi culture through the Ottoman history against the authoritarian state structure. Here, in this paper I want to explore two types of the Alevi *semahs:* the *Mengi* and the *Tokat semahı,* performed in different contexts. The first two examples are from local practice and the following two are from reunion festivals organised to gather Alevis from different parts of Turkey. The two local performanc-

es of the *Mengi* and the *Tokat semahı* were not filmed during actual *cem* rituals. They are rather examples from a research trip to Izmir and Tokat, organised by Metin And and his students at Ankara University in the early 1980s. The second context, the reunion festival of *Abdal Musa Şenlikleri,* was filmed by the Folklore Club of Boğaziçi University (BÜFK) in 1995. My own fieldwork was conducted in Karacaahmed Sultan Türbesini Onarma-Tan tma veYaşatma Derneği[2] which is among the leading urban-Alevi associations in Turkey. This organisation serves members of various Alevi communities who migrated from their villages to Istanbul since the 1950s and it is a typical example of the urban organisations which join the 'reunion' types of festivals referred to earlier. I was able to review the visual data at hand with Durmuş Genç of the Karacaahmed Derneği, whose comments were most illuminating concerning my analysis of style regarding the *semah* performances in their changing contexts.

Durmuş Genç is proud of his own group of *semah* performers as disciplined and well-rehearsed dancers. He is influenced by the energy of the folk dance movement, he likes 'order' and 'floor-patterns' in stage performance. He also has a fine understanding of 'a good dancer', 'a good mover' like all folk artists. To him, a 'good' *semah* performer is marked by his or her competence in spinning and in spinning fast; he or she should use all the body to make even a simple figure and have a good sense of coordination! 'Our style,' he says, 'is marked by its fastness and by its competence in bodily coordination.' Watching the local performers of the *Mengi semahı,* he says 'Go and do it until the next morning, would you get tired? No!' And he adds, 'these old women, how

can they participate in a competition in the reunion festivals?' According to Durmuş Genç, his performers 'fly like birds when they turn the *semah*!'

Comparing the local *Mengi* performance to that of the reunion festival, he finds the style of the Antalya Hacı bektaş Veli Kültür Tan tma Derneği dancers closer to his Karacaahmed group. He states that 'their arms and their knees being pulled at a much higher level than those of the two elderly ladies, they are better performers.' It is partly because the *Hacı bektaş* performers emphasise the transition between different motifs more strongly than the local performance of the two elderly ladies. Nevertheless, a younger age does not always guarantee a good performance according to Durmuş Genç. He criticises the local performance of the *Tokat semah* by young boys, finding them, this time, 'not slow enough!' When he compares them to the performance of his brother at the reunion festival, he calls attention to the distinction between a childish or play-like performance and the well-balanced and coordinated ritual dance.

Costumes also mark a stylistic difference. Although Durmuş Genç may not be impressed by the performance quality of some urban *semah* troupes, he appreciates their clean and bright costumes. 'Order' and 'design' of the costumes and of the overall floor patterning are also important determinants of style. Durmuş Genç distinguishes his own group's style from that of the local performers, but he also knows how to distinguish it from that of his counterparts, the other urban Alevi associations' performance groups. Şahkulu Sultan Derneği's performance is a case in point. Genç thinks that the new Alevi associations do not yet have a well-established repertoire. They are influenced

by the adaptations of *semahs* to the stage performances by university students. When in the 1980s, the Drama Department of Ankara University stylised various *semahs* to put them on stage as an enactment of a *cem* ritual, it had a great impact on the newly forming Alevi *semah* groups and many of those have ended by adopting the *mise-en-scène* initiated by Ankara University students. Durmuş Genç, with all his respect for the orderly representation of *semahs,* draws a line between what he calls the 'original' *semahs* and a set of *semah*-like movements performed to the accompaniment of Alevi music. Therefore, in this respect, he criticises parts of Şahkulu Sultan Derneği performance as 'newly created *semahs,*' or '*semahs* which do not make part of the *cem.*' In other words, he finds structural problems in those types of performances: to him, the compilation of a series of *semah* motifs does not add up to make a *semah* structure. He compares the performance of the same *semah,* the *Erzincan semahı,* by both groups: 'We take a wider angle,' he says, 'and not just with the arms but with the whole body!' But immediately he adds: 'Their costumes are nice though.'

However, Genç carefully confines his stage repertoire to the *semahs* performed in *cem* rituals and he still distinguishes his own style from those who perform at an actual *cem* ritual. Watching a *semah* performance during a *cem* in Elazığ, he appreciates the musician's competence but finds the *semah* performers inept, or as people who do not know how to 'move.' Yet, he does have problems with the other extreme too: the so-called 'stylised' *semahs* and staged *cem* rituals performed by the Boğaziçi University students. He finds them rather militant, emphasising the multiethnicity among the Alevi groups (the Tur-

comans, the nomads, and the Kurds). He also thinks that they 'bounce too much,' and he is caught by their 'ballerina shoes.' 'Style,' in Durmuş Genç's terms, is perhaps defined somewhere between 'the traditional' and 'the modern,' both having their own boundaries: traditional in the sense that he is attached to the structure of the *semah* performances within the *cem* context, to the musical competence of the folk singer, yet modern in the sense that he enjoys the faster performance and the enhanced coordination of movements along with the shiny colours of the newly prepared costumes. Nevertheless, we should add, although style marks a difference from the other contexts of performance and from other performers, Durmuş Genç does not want to criticise these other styles performed in public performances too much. After all, he says, they all serve the mediation of Alevi culture; style, in this case, operates to distinguish yourself from 'your others' rather than from 'the others.'

Notes

[1] The visual data for this paper was provided by Dr Metin And (Professor Emeritus at Ankara University) and Boğaziçi University Folklore Club (BÜFK). My deepest thanks goes to Durmuş Genç of the Karacaahmed Derneği for his feedback on the visual data. [2] From this point on, I will refer to that association as Karacaahmed Derneği.

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'FINE' DANCING: FROM SACRED TO THE STYLISTIC

Anna Shturbanova

Institute of Folklore
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

In Bulgaria, style is regarded as a feature of regional folk dialects. This paper proposes a model for the study of style tracing the semantic aspect of the style of a particular dance. If regional distinctions are made on the basis of research on a synchronic plane, the perspective proposed in this paper comes from research on a diachronic plane. I will discuss a principal mechanism in the relationship between ritual and dance which ultimately shapes regional style as a phenomenon subject to specialised research.

The ritual system survived in Bulgaria until the first half of the century and despite subsequent rapid cultural transformations, this has enabled me to trace processes that have been obsolete for centuries in Western Europe. One of the reasons for our interest in the ritual system is the 'mark' that it leaves on the regional style of dancing. This has to do with the internal principles of development of regional style which I identify on the basis of external features. The ritual dance system which survived in Bulgaria until the mid twentieth century enables not only the examination of style from structural and performance aspects, but also as movement behaviour formed in the course of ritual dancing and the tracing of the semantic core of folk dance.

As the syncretic bond between dance and ritual broke, the entire contextual power and the whole energy concentrated into the spirit of the dance. There no longer was a ritual situation, ritual role, ritual behaviour or ritual costume. All that remained was the music rhythm, dance ethos, style and the pleasure and exhilaration of dancing. The original *raison d'etre* of the dance has survived in its name and style, structure, movement behaviour and meaning.

One of the most popular dances in northwestern Bulgaria which has left its mark on the regional style is *Sitnata po stareshki,* literally 'fine' or 'neat', 'the old folk's way', 'a neat dance in the manner of old people'. Let us see what the *stareshki* in the name of the dance means. In Bulgarian folk rituals, the dance performed by the *Startsi,* Old Men, who are characters in bachelors' initiatory masquerade games, is called Old Folk's Horo *(Starsko Horo).* The masquerade plays in southwestern Bulgaria are called *Startsi,* Old People. The *Roussalii* in southwestern Bulgaria do a dance called *Eski* or the Greek for 'old'. The *Roussalii* ritual in southwestern Bulgaria is analogous to the *Kaloush* ritual except for the dance. In some variants, the leader of the *Kaloush* dance in northern Bulgaria is called *Starets,* 'Old Man'. *Ivanovi Boulki,* John's Brides, is a ritual performed (on St John's day) again in northern Bulgaria. Disguised men play brides of John, who is personified by an old man. As a ritual they are akin to the masquerade plays called *Startsi,* Old Men, and enact the same ritual plot:

a wedding. The two Brides of St John and the Old Man dance 'Fine', the Vlach Way *(Sitna vlashka)* which, in turn, is a variant of the dance 'Fine', the old Folk's Way *(Sitna stareshka)*. Thus the relationship between Old Man, masquerade and dance appears in various ways depending on both the context - whether it is ritual or festive - and the region. But the core of male initiatory rituals and the idea of the Old Man as forefather is retained. Northwestern Bulgaria still remembers the homage paid to the oldest of the Old men and his role in choosing a new family patron saint as the ritual figure through which the sacred domain is manifested. We will find dances called Old Folk's Way throughout Bulgaria, but in the northwest this is not just a particular dance but a generic term: Old Folk's Dances, *Stareshki Igri.* In other words, the generic term refers to one of the main types of dances that have best preserved their ties with the ritual system in one way or another.

Today, people qualify as 'old folk's repertoire' the repertoire of the old people's band at the village community culture club *(chitalishte).* Interviewed about festivities in their youth, band members say that in the 1930s and 1940s those dances were performed mainly at weddings and in the village square on Sundays. Some of the distinctive and consistent features of the Old Folk's Dances in northwestern Bulgaria is that they danced indoors, on the spot, in line and they clasp each other by belts. This dancing in a line is different from the led *horos* and these dances are usually performed at weddings, in honour of the table. The wedding table inherited the symbolic meaning of the sacrificial altar as a cult and sacred centre. We will find many of the initiatory male ritual dances in the wedding ritual system; where

they have survived as a masquerade games, they enact a wedding. The healing aspect of the rites of male initiation is highlighted only in the *Kaloush* and *Roussalii,* but their dances could be traced back to the male ritual dances of the Old Folk's type. There are few examples of dances directly related to a certain ritual within whose context the meaning could be decoded. This has prompted me to take an indirect approach and to trace the development of regional dance culture in order to understand precisely why 'fine' dancing became the distinctive feature of regional style.

Dance style as we understand it today is associated with an aesthetic concept. In classical folk culture, however, if something is to become an aesthetic concept it must first and foremost be sacred. Folklore regards something as significant only if it has an original mythological and ritual association classifying it as something of value. At the same time, the aesthetic features of folk dance are general aesthetic features in folk culture. Therefore let us examine the meanings and semantic connotations of the definition 'fine' (in Bulgarian, *siten,* which also means 'neat, 'small') in other aspects of folk culture too. The ritual braiding of the bride's hair on the wedding day must be done 'finely'. Expressions like 'finely knit', 'finely woven' and 'fine silk' are commonplace in folk texts. Bulgarians use a 'fine' sieve to sift flour for the ritual wedding bread. The wedding *horo* and *ruchenitsa* are also 'fine'. The gait of slender and pretty maidens is 'fine' too. The definition 'fine' in verbal texts implies the ritual context of the respective activities and ritual objects and is a value in folk culture. In this sense, 'fine' is a standard in the performance of the ritual action. People once learned to dance fine *ruchenitsa* in a baking

tin; hence complimentary expressions like 'to dance as if in a baking tin' and 'to dance as if on a coin'. Fine dancing is fast and fast means life-giving. Old and fine are qualitative characteristics of a sacred nature. 'Fine' as a qualification of dance 'fine dance', and as a qualification of fabric 'fine silk' is again an indicator of sacredness. Indicatively, the finest fabrics compared to a cobweb whose thread links the worlds of the sacred and profane and sustains life.

The tune and dance forms of Fine the Old Folk's Way are based on the principle of repetition of a certain number of motifs strung together in an open form which creates a sense of perpetual motion. On the basis of the common mythological origin, epithets normally qualifying weaving, spinning and fabrics are used metaphorically for dancing which does not produce any visible artefact. In this case 'fine' becomes not only a feature of the dance but also a name. The very structure of Fine the Old Folk's Way in its oldest surviving variant contains both as a tune and a dance - an element of magic and incantation in the repetition of the leitmotif. In musical terms, Fine the Old Folk's Way is a typical wooden-pipe chain tune. The variants of musical leitmotif are 'variations' on the basic tune. The dance leitmotif is an analogical 'stepping round' the supporting foot. Besides the 'stepping round' the supporting foot in Fine the Old Folk's Way, there is also 'stepping round' the stick-hobbyhorse in the *Kaloush* dance. When a saint is celebrated the day after his feast day, Bulgarians say that he is celebrated 'on a stick' *(na pateritsa)*. For although the saint has gone away, he has left behind his old person's walking stick or *pateritsa.* The word *pateritsa* comes from the Greek *paterikon,* which means 'belonging to the father'. The end of the wed-

ding celebrations is called 'Break the Stick' *(kurshi pateritsa),* for the pole of the wedding banner is broken. Yet Fine the Old Folk's Way is danced mainly at weddings. In other words, the stepping-round movement, dancing in one place, effects the same vertical contact focusing the sacred world in the dance space as the contact effected by the *Kaloush* stick, the saint's stick and the wedding banner. This is an expression of the same mental disposition that has led to the materialisation of the link between the sacred and profane worlds in pylons, cult sacred obelisks and church spires in religious architecture.

The main nuclear motifs determine the main types of *horo.* In other words, the style largely overlaps with the type, insofar as both ensue from the structure. In the case of style, however, we also have performance which, in turn, is determined not only by the structure but also by the context. Change of context leads to change of meaning and change of style. We talk of a ritual style of behaviour and, when it is no longer in the context of the ritual, of a dance style proper.

Discussing the dance Fine the Old Folk's Way on various levels - from that of motif to the general type of dance to the meaning of 'old folk's' and 'fine' in the name and style - has resulted in the discovery of a key to the meaning of this folk dance. This dance is no longer directly associated with the ritual and has lost its context in stage performance, but has nevertheless retained the force of its original impact. Apart from the name of a particular dance, performers themselves qualify a whole group of dances as 'fine'. These are ancient local dances with instrumental accompaniment. 'Fine dancing' has now become a stylistic qualification, but at the same time old people are still aware that the fine

dances are the old dances, their original lo-
cal dances. In terms of style, the footwork is
quick, stationary, the whole body quivering,
especially the shoulders, with occasional
foot-thumping. As one informant said, 'the
dancer does not leap but keeps his body up-
right, flying with his feet only, as if borne by
the wind'.

The distinctive features of the regional
style were formed as a result of the emanci-
pation from context and evolution into a sty-
listic feature with another meaning in classi-
cal folk culture, that is, the formation of style
is associated with a change in meaning, What
originally was a sacred feature evolves into
a stylistic feature expressing a new aesthetic
concept. It becomes an identifiable feature
that draws its force of impact from an erst-
while sacred meaning, that is, from an erst-
while sacred function that now sets the stand-
ards of the high plane, the lofty ideal in an
aesthetic rather than ritual context. Loss of
context means change, not loss of meaning.
It is precisely in the transformation of ritual
movement behaviour into a dance style that
the original meaning and the *raison d'etre*
have survived in the structure and style of
performance in a hidden, unapparent form.

DIFFERENCES AND CHANGES IN STYLE: THE EXAMPLE OF CROATIAN DANCE RESEARCH

Tvrtko Zebec
Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb
Croatia

As dance is experienced as a complex phenomenon in human behaviour and/or a dynamic and changeable process of non-verbal communication, I shall not adhere exclusively to a discussion of style, but shall also refer to other dimensions of dance: dance structure, performance context and the meaning of dance. With change in one of the dimensions mentioned, the others also change, so that it is impossible to speak of style without taking all the dimensions into account.

From the moment of the establishment of the Republic of Croatia and its separation from the former socialist community, national consciousness, which had formerly been inhibited, could be expressed more freely. These expressions were additionally strengthened by feelings of defiance because of the aggression perpetrated against our country. In the altered conditions of life, there was a torrent of public desire to demonstrate identity. One manner of public demonstration of identity is found in contemporary political rituals, folklore festivals and, in general, in stage productions of folklore. As a form of nonverbal multi-channelled communication, dance also provides an appropriate manner for expression of feelings which are difficult to verbalise. In such cases, the style of performance unavoidably changes. Professionals are called upon in this process to take and active parts and to make judgements, and to give suggestions.

Ethnochoreological research in Europe during the 1960s was primarily comparative (Lange 1980:20). In order to ensure their quality, these research projects carried out by the comparative method were limited to specific regions. In keeping with European research of that time, in 1964 Ivan Ivancan set the dance zones of Croatia and of what was then Yugoslavia. He did this on the basis of 'stylistic, rhythmical, choreological and other characteristics of folk dances', and according to differing concepts and interpretations of the moral and aesthetic norms at dance entertainments (cf. Ivančan 1971).

Through intensive collection of dance material, Ivančan uncovered the rules within individual regions, while the contours of the geographical divisions in the dance zones simply imposed themselves (Ivančan 1971:27).[1] The goal of Ivančan's research was to note down as many dances as possible throughout Croatia according to their structure, and to reconstruct the context of dance entertainments in the past. Ivančan mainly used the research method of interviews. On the basis of what others said - and this usually consisted of idealised descriptions of dance happenings in the past, but not of concrete dance events - Ivančan shaped the models of the 'dance customs' of the individual Croatian regions and/or the normative rules of traditional dancing at the end of the last century and the beginning of this one,

right up until World War II. He first studied peasant dances, but soon turned his attention to urban dances, too.

Based on the example of Ivančan's research, I accept Suzanne Youngerman's contention of twenty years ago, that the 'style of performance' constitutes the most elusive aspect in dance research (Youngerman 1975:118). According to his basic research method of interviews, information on normative rules and aesthetic concepts would be learned 'second hand'. Comments on style were brief statements of the aesthetically determined norms of the community and/or on the qualities of the individual dancers. Apart from interpretation of style in the words of the performer - according to the question of what was lovely in dance and what was not - Ivančan sometimes arrived at his interpretation of differences in dance style by comparing the structures of the dances and the accents (for example, steps which were performed according to the crotchet, quaver, quaver structure [♩♫], the quavers have a less emphasised body vibration in relation to the steps which are performed according to the quaver, quaver, crotchet structure [♫♩]. The differences in dance style were also interpreted from the differing choreological distribution of the dancers, utilisation of the dance area, the appearance of certain dance figures, the relation between the dance and the musical accompaniment, as well as differences in the natural environment (mountain people dance mute *kolo* round dances in large steps, while inhabitants of the Pannonian plain execute tiny steps with intensive body shaking with vocal or instrumental accompaniment).

Although the differences in dance style are not given the greatest emphasis, by dividing Croatia into dance zones, Ivančan set the general characteristics of the dances, in a similar manner, it would seem, to that which Judith Lynn Hanna understands as cultural style.[2]

Youngerman mentions cultural style as one of the types of performance style.[3] Youngerman however, also draws attention to methodological problems in interpreting performance style (1975:122).[4] It would seem that one of the greatest problems lies in the differing conception of aesthetics in dance and/or the general difficulty in verbalising non-verbal behaviour.

A similar problem arose in our research with regard to the varying sensibilities of the performers, individuals and groups. This also depends on the varying stimuli to dance, on the varying contexts in which one dances, and on the varying feeling of identity.

Respecting Ivančan's division into dance zones made thirty years ago and also the methodology of reconstruction of the context of dancing in the past through interviews, new research also monitors contemporary dance events. Comparing the results of earlier and more recent research, we try to answer the questions which are put today. One of these is the question of *changes in dance style.*

In recent years, Croatian ethnologists have been confronted with the problem of re-definition of identity. As mentioned earlier, political rituals have been vibrant as the result of the breakdown of Yugoslavia, changes in the social system (principally through the introduction of democracy after half a century of communist repression) and as a result of the aggression against Croatia. Finally, identity may be spoken about, written about, and studied freely.

Dance style in contemporary dance events has changed mostly as the result of change

in the context of performance, change in the significance and change in the meaning of the dance. In other words, the changed roles of dance in culture are often the result of changes in the aesthetic and symbolic dimension.

In the sphere of human feeling, changes in dance style can be interpreted similarly to changes in identity. Identity can be individual or collective, or is often multiple, contested identity. Multiple identity is in keeping with the complexities of modern society (Grbic 1994:29-30). Dance style and its changes can also be observed in this way. This entails the ability of the individual to orient him or herself in the broader cultural system. A. P. Royce (1977:157) also defines style as a complex of features which people understand as their identity.

Generally speaking, people themselves select the style which they express, which they display. However, there are many factors which have an external influence on the individual, so that he or she changes personal feelings about style under those influences. People are constantly in the process of adding some items and discarding others, thus changing the style complex (ibid.: 158).

I shall try to reinforce this notion with the following examples.[5] The first example shows the rehearsal of a newly established dance group.[6] Up until a year ago, the village of Kornić did not have its own folklore group. From the 1950s, they had abandoned the traditional customs linked with the Catholic calendar.[7] They rarely arranged dance entertainments and, when something of that nature was organised, they did not dance traditional dances to the *sopile,* a traditional instrument of the oboe type; instead the young people enjoyed themselves to modern disco and pop music. For two years now,

the villagers have wanted to found their own dance group. They have been rehearsing since last year. A fellow folklorist who now lives in Zagreb, but is originally from the village, is helping them. He was also one of the main initiators of the founding of the group.

Two male teenagers from the village have been learning to play the traditional instruments - the small and large *sopila* for a number of years. Some of their friends, also teenagers, dance in the folklore group of the neighbouring village of Punat, a few kilometres away. They are aware that the dance of their village, Kornić, differ from those of Punat. They would like to learn their own local dances, and, with that objective in mind, have persuaded the older inhabitants of Kornić to teach them.[8]

The 'old' performers dance the *tanac* dance in the same manner as at the dance entertainments of their youth. The step did not have a firm structure. Each dancer danced his or her variant of the step, so that the structure was undetectable. The rhythmically coordinated improvisations of the steps of the individual dancers produced a perfectly matched whole. When asked why they did not all dance in the same way, but each did his or her own steps, the answer was: 'That's not important, we are not ,folklore'![9] They all have to do it the same in ,folklore', but we don't!'.

For dancers who learnt the dances from the older members of their community according to a entrenched cultural pattern, individual improvisation in harmony with the rhythm is the basic rule of behaviour - the dance style. It is in this aspect that the quality and skill of each individual is demonstrated. By temperament, boldness, agility and the varying intensity of energy invested in

the dance, the individuals compete with each other in the wish to prove themselves before the other members of the community.

This is, at the same time, a problem for non-dancers who would like to dance in the folklore group, but did not have an opportunity to 'drink in' expertise from the older members of the community, because of a break in the chain of traditional transmission of knowledge. For their part, they have had to learn dancing as a new, until then, unknown art.

On the other hand, two female members who danced a firmly structured step said that they had learned to dance in their youth in one of the folklore groups on the island. In our example, this is the first level at which one may speak of change in style. Namely, the criteria which have defined the stage presentation of folk dances in Croatia since the 1930s point to the well-practised nature of the group which appears. The desire for the most 'authentic' presentation possible of national 'folk heritage' has, since that time, introduced the role of the group leader in the process of style change. The individual style of the group leader gradually imposes itself on the group, although much less at that time, in the village groups than in the urban folklore ensembles founded after World War II. Many *village groups* have retained the basic style feature of folklore performance right up to the present, along with the possibility of improvisation by the individual within the framework of common norms.

The age of the performer is exceptionally important in the Croatian example. Older dancers and those who are middle-aged (who took part in dance entertainments in village communities during the 1950s and 1960s and in some place even later) 'absorbed' the heritage from their elders as active participants.

In their performance, the priority is still given to individuality and improvisation, even in stage productions.[10]

The electronic media and the dynamic, contemporary tempo of life impose a brisker tempo in dance performances. With the change of context, dances are mercilessly shortened and changed. Even the structure of the dance is often altered. With the changes in meaning, the dance symbolics, and even structure, the style of performance inevitably changes too.

Young people learn from the group leader, aiming for perfection in the sense of 'all as one'. There is an absence of improvisation and it is even undesirable and not permitted. The group leader is usually also a choreographer, the author of his or her own art work for which he or she is accountable, and this therefore impedes improvisation by the performers. The structure of the dance is necessarily fixed so that all dance in the same way. So it happens that because of the changed context of performance, the views on aesthetics of the performance also change. The style of performance of the group, and in that connection, the identity of the group, becomes more important than the style of the individual. The individual identity of the performer is subordinated to the identity of the group. At the level of individual emotions, the dance message crosses over to the collective level. Communication between the group of performers and the audience becomes more important than the mutual jostling for prominence among the individual dancers (which is usual within social communities).[11]

The influence of the individual who leads the group on change in dance style is more marked in *urban folklore ensembles.* In the former Yugoslavia, those ensembles were

bearers of the symbolic representation of the 'brotherhood and unity of all the peoples and nations of the federal socialist state'. With independence, the Croatian urban ensembles performed folklore choreography from the various cultural regions of Croatia, or, in other words, its various dance zones. Thus, not only *native place folklore* is performed, as is mainly common among the village folklore groups. Young performers born in the cities therefore have a completely different stance towards the folklore tradition of the villages. For them, each performance carries the symbolic message of national identity - particularly when they perform abroad - while they more or less learn about the cultural style of individual regions from the ensemble leader. This is not an important factor to them, because their objective in engaging in folklore art is almost exclusively for recreation. The dance style characteristics from the various Croatian regions shown by such ensembles are often very questionable if compared with the basic folklore model. Such ensembles interpret Croatian folklore in their own way and, in addition, develop their own identity and/or performance style at the level of symbolising national identity.

Changes in dance style through urban ensembles directly influences the performance style of village ensembles, while there is also indirect influence on the community from which the folklore model derives. In some examples of folklore songs and dances produced on the stage, respected choreographers have consciously deviated from the original style of the selected model. Over the last fifty years, village societies have found models in urban ensembles (these being considerably influenced by communist ideology). The technical perfectionism of urban ensembles and their repertoire were regarded as

something which should be followed without question. In this, one can also encounter dance style changes in Croatia because the village group followed the model of the urban ensembles. Young members in folklore groups learn dances according to a style which has already been transformed to satisfy urban taste. They bring this style into village dance entertainments, and, in this way, the cycle of style change comes full circle to the place from which it began.

The role of the dance researcher is becoming very complex. We are expected to evaluate folklore group performances, both village and urban. We are obligated to draw the attention of performers to any style changes which are shown in the dance performance. Village group leaders and choreographers readily accept the opinions of professionals. This is clearly shown in reviews and festivals which are constantly monitored. Group repertoire at such festivals is enriched each time with certain songs and dances from earlier or more recent strata, never before produced on stage. Our suggestions to group leaders are always directed towards additional field research so as to enrich repertoire. Leaders of urban ensembles are much less inclined to accept suggestions. They have usually completed one of the *School of Folklore* courses which have been held in Croatia for more than twenty years now. Such hastily trained choreographers use the material they learn at seminars in their stage productions. Those who also do field research are very few in number. So authorship, that is, a reflection of their feeling for identity and style, is always in the forefront in their work.

Conclusion

In this report I have tried briefly to show the modes of research and interpretation of

dance style in Croatia, in the past and today. Folklore reviews and festivals have had an exceptionally important role in dance style changes in Croatian traditional dances: in the historical and political sense - the awakening of villager consciousness and development of populist ideology, along with the inclusion of villagers in active political life; in the cultural sense, festivals were so important because change of context - introduction of stage presentation of folklore heritage, influenced both their popularisation and changes in performance style.

It is often possible to establish that many folklore forms have been preserved solely thanks to folklore festivals and stage presentations of folklore. However, contemporary research shows that professionals - ethnologists and ethnochoreologists - have played a very active part in the creation of the conception of festivals and have directly or indirectly participated in the creation of stage performances by folklore groups. With time, the scheme according to which folklore groups perform became enrooted, which also influenced change in performance style. Models are often very ossified, but reasons for this fact also exist. In Croatian circumstances, it cannot be said that this is due exclusively to 'Romantic' methodology (cf. Giurchescu and Torp 1991). During a fifty year period of repudiation of villagers as a social stratum by communist ideology, professionals were often obliged to invoke the historical, 'oldest' values of traditional culture, to make it possible for festivals to be held at all. During the 1960s and 1970s, these festivals also took up the symbol of resistance towards the communist authorities. Since independence, the Croatian state has strengthened the symbolics of national identity - among village folklore groups, on the

level of the local, native (also meaning *national* to them), and among urban ensembles exclusively on the level of the demonstration of the national.

Today, too, professionals are invited to take part in the creation of festivals. Contemporary trends in scholarship are being met with growing understanding on the part of the democratic authorities. This is one additional reason for the fact that, along with other research, changes in dance style performance are being monitored.

Notes

1 The dance zone borders were mainly identical with the ethnographic zone borders set by the ethnologist, Milovan Gavazzi (1978 [1956]).

2 'A people's own inventory, borrowing or creation determine a cultural style. Moreover, psychological, historical environmental, or idiosyncratic factors may shape that style.' (Hanna 1979:33).

3 'There are four different kinds of performance ,style': (1) the individual or personal manner of performance; (2) the social style which might differ according to sex, status, age, or social group membership; (3) the style of the dance idiom; and (4) the cultural style.' (Youngerman 1975:121).

4 There are similar conclusions in the most recent text on dance interpretation (cf. Lavender 1995).

5 The selected video-recorded examples are dance events from the island of Krk. The

island of Krk is the largest island in the Adriatic Sea. It is in the northern Adriatic, in the Quarner Bay. According to Ivančan's classification, Krk falls into the Adriatic dance zone with strong influence from central Europe and the Alpine cultural zone. The selected examples and phenomena which I interpret were chosen from that region consciously as being a representative example for the whole of Croatia. Changes in dance style in contemporary dance events in Croatia are similar, notwithstanding the division into dance zones, while for easier interpretation, I am concentrating on one region.

6 From the moment of Croatia's independence, many small communities, villages and townships have felt the need to promote themselves in some way. The people of Kornic want to achieve this through the foundation of their folklore group. Renewal of folklore groups and the foundation of new ones have been a very frequent occurrence since the country gained its independence. Often this was from a feeling of defiance, particularly in regions which were under occupation with all the material facilities destroyed.

7 This was favoured by the general political circumstances in communist Yugoslavia where an intensive process of de-Christianisation was conducted.

8 Folklore festivals have been organised for already sixty years on the island of Krk. Some ten island folklore groups regularly participate.

9 By that they meant that they were not a folklore group which trained for performances. See Ronström (1991) for understanding of the concept of 'Folklore'.

10 A colleague, Grozdana Marošević (1993:161,165), an ethnomusicologist, came to a similar conclusion regarding singing style of the middle and older generation as compared with the style of the young. Changes in singing style are interpreted by changes in social relations, which occurred at an identical time (after World War II).

11 I have written more about dance as part of the rite of passage (Zebec 1995a), and on dance as a political ritual (Zebec 1995b).

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HOW TO BROADEN THE STYLISTIC PROFILE OF A DANCE GROUP'S REPERTOIRE

Kari Margrete Okstad
Rff-centre
Norway

In the work with Norwegian folk dance the concept of style is used in several different ways. One way to look at it can be to use style when we talk about movement quality. People can dance in a natural and free style, or self-consciously, with tension and strain.

Differences in the vertical movements of the dance, that is the *svikt* and in the tempo can also give different stylistic results. In the material which I will present, I will look at the following elements of style, in particular: 1. the quality of the movement 2. the vertical movement called *svikt* and how the tempo of the dance influences the *svikt*. Additionally I will look at changes in the dance form which I am going to talk about.

At the Rff-centre (where I work) we are lucky to have a substantial number of film-recordings from the 1960s onwards. The dancers recorded learned their dances in a traditional environment where dance and music were tied closely together. There is much good dancing in the material. If we compare the style of these dancers with what can be seen at competitions and within the revival organisations today, we discover clear differences in the performances of the same dance type.

Within the folk dance organisations controlled and elegant movements have been given priority, but it has also resulted in self-conciousness and strained movements. I teach a group of well-trained dancers from the organised folk dance movement. I consider the dancers to be technically advanced, but I still think that they can learn much from the traditional dancers when it comes to dance style, flow and freedom of movement. Many qualities in the way traditional dancers were dancing had not been adopted in my dance group and I wanted to bring some of these qualities into their dance. The task was to broaden their stylistic repertoire, so they could get an extended perspective. The methods of this work are what I will discuss in my paper.

I will use one of the old couple dances or regional dances as an example. It is the dance form called *Rřrospols.* These regional dances are performed by couples in a circle moving counter-clockwise.

Considering style in regional dances in Norway, we can talk about many different styles in one dance type. The style can be based on different factors and I will mention here three such examples:

1. A dance can be distributed over a large area and dancers from each region of this area may have their own regional style
2. People from different generations may have learned the dance in different parts of the century and they will often have different styles in their performances.
3. Each dancer has her or his own personality and this may also influence the way they dance.

Considering style in *Řrospols* we have a wide stylistic variation within the recorded *Řrospols* material. The variation is due to all factors mentioned above, but, for such a large geographic area, factors two and three are more important than usual. This we can call the frame of styles in *Řrospols*. In my paper I will concentrate on three different style elements from this frame. Figure 1 shows the stylistic variations in *Řrospols*, and I have indicated that I will concentrate on three of them.

At the symposium, I then showed a recording of the dance *Řrospols* illusitrating the way it was performed by my group before we started to work with broadening the dancers' styles. The dance norm is the one which has been usual in the revival movement for a long time. Most of the dancers in my group, in my opinion have three *svikts* in their dance. The tempo of the music is not so fast and the movements of some of the dancers are tense and strained. Some of them, however, have freedom and flow in their movements.

Figure 1

Frame of Stylistic variations in *Řrospols*

Next I showed a video of my dance group before work on the style.

• Natural and free movement quality
• 2 *svikts* of the *Řrospols*
• Variant dance form

I think that the version I presented was a quiet and controlled dance. The tempo is not so fast, and both the fiddlers and the dancers believe that the tempo should not be too quick.

Before I started work on a new style for my dancers, I had analysed the dance style. Generally in the revival movement the form of the dance *Řrospols* consists of:

[Please refer to figure 2, line 1.]

1. A promenade, often with a motif where the girl and the boy both hold left hands and sometimes with turns for the girl. They often use eight bars of music for this part.

2. A counter-clockwise couple turning where one turn takes two bars of the music, and the whole turning goes on for eight bars.

3. A promenade, often with motif where the girl turns by herself at the start of the promenade. This motif also often takes eight bars.
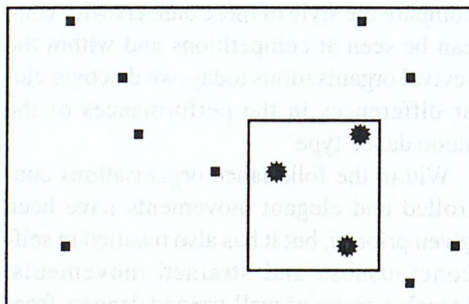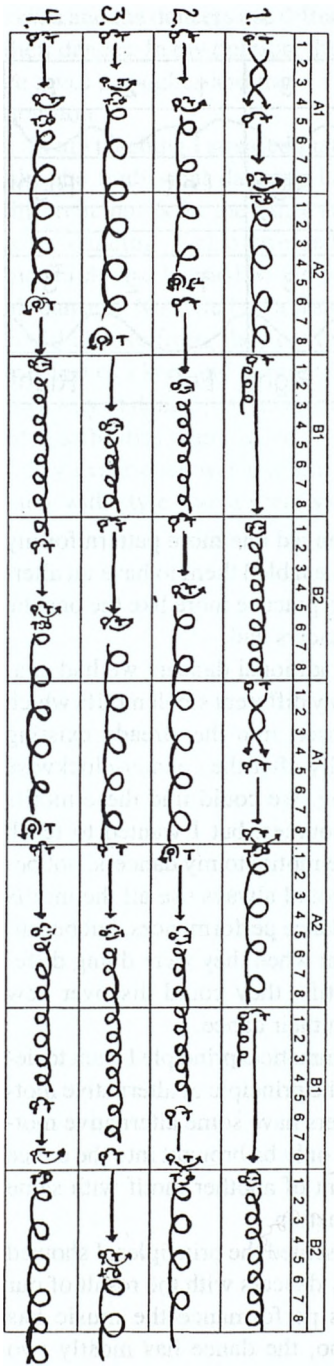
Figure 2   Rørospols- 4 analysed forms

4. A quick clockwise couple turning where one turn takes one bar of music, and often the whole turning goes on for eight bars.

Then I showed some of the recordings from 1968, and we had a look at how the traditional dancers were dancing at that time. The recordings were made on 8mm film-camera and unfortunately they have no sound.

In our work, we filmed more recordings than the one I showed. The most conspicuous difference between these dancers and my dancers from the revival movement, I think, are the patterns of *svikt,* motifs and the tempo. Additionally, I think that the traditional dancers had more intensity and flow in their movements.

Comparing this style with my dancers the differences, in my opinion, are as follows:

- Concerning the *svikt,* I roughly see it like this. (Line one is my group and line two the traditional dancers in this recording.)

- Concerning the motifs of holds and turns I see it like this:(figure 2)

- Line one is my group and lines 2 and 3 the traditional dancers in this recording. Line 4 is a drawing of another couples' dance which was not shown here.

Methods used in my work in the broadening of my dancers' style

Having analysed our own dances and the traditional dancers' performances, we could start working. First of all I wanted my dancers to have a look at the film recordings. We had earlier seen many recordings of traditional dancers, so I did not have to motiva-

Figure 3

Rřrospols - different svikts

BEAT	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
SVIKT									
FOOT	Left		Right	Left		Right	Left		Right

BEAT	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
SVIKT									
FOOT	Left		Right	Left		Right	Left		Right

te them to see the qualities of the dancer's movements.

I wanted to start with the most obvious difference between what we saw and what we had done earlier, the *svikt* in the dance. In the teaching I used techniques like 'overdoing' the typical in the vertical movement, the *svikt*. We used the motifs they knew from before and then they got to change the *svikts* from three to two in their dances. For doing that we realized that we needed the music to be a little faster, so the fiddler had to regulate the tempo.

When the *svikt* was adopted, we could have a look at the motifs of the dance. The traditional dancers built their performances around motifs consisting of two turning motifs clockwise and counter clockwise for each couple. These motifs were then used by every couple in all performances. Between the couple turning they will do a simple and short promenade, without many turns of the girl or the boy. This can be called the core of the dance. The core motifs may have different lengths. Inspiring my dancers to use only the dance core in one of their dance performan-

ces, I had changed one more pattern for my dancers. This enabled them to have an alternative form to practise more like the one the traditional dancers had.

Then the traditional dancers we had analysed had many different small motifs which they could insert into the already existing core, especially after the counter-clockwise couple turning. We could find these motifs in different sources, but I wanted to teach many of these motifs to my dancers, not because they should always use all the motifs in their own dance performances, but because I hoped that when they were doing different new motifs, they could discover new possibilties in their dance.

A third grammatical principle I want to demonstrate is the principle of alternative motifs. The dancers have some alternative motifs which can only be brought into the dance as replacement of another motif with same locational function.

When I presented the principles, I showed a video of my dancers with the result of our work. In this performance the music has a faster tempo, the dance has mostly two

svikts and the dancers use different motifs in their dances. In my opinion, this performance gives a rougher and more vigourous impression.

In my teaching I stressed that my dancers, like the traditional dancers, had to choose different motifs for the dance each time they were dancing. I also stressed that not all motifs we had learned would be suitable for all dancers. Now we had a frame everybody could choose from, they could pick up elements they liked, and they could create their own way of dancing from a much wider field of possibilities than earlier.

My experience was that this way of working with style was a great success for my group. They were interested in looking at recordings of traditional dancers, they often noticed more details than me, and many of the dancers discovered new expressions in their own dancing. The work has resulted in the possibility of more variation for each dancer. When the fiddlers are playing a *Rřrospols* in a slow or quick tempo, they can choose what style they want to practise. Many of them, I have noticed, have adopted the 'new' style when the music is fast, but they still use the other form when the music is slower. In this way I think that our work has had a mission; additionally a forgotten style of the *Rřrospols* has been revitalized and for me that is a very important result.

THE FORMATION OF NEW ELEMENTS IN ARMENIAN FOLK DANCE STYLE

Naira Kilichian

Yerevan
Armenia

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Armenian folk dance appeared on the stage. In folk art olympiades and festivals, pure patterns of folk dance, were presented. During the formation of this new movement, numerous amateur groups were organised whose programmes included patterns of local folklore. Besides peasants' folk dance in the villages and regions, a similar type of group was organised in towns. They presented not only urban folklore but peasant folklore too. Professional companies were, in addition organised for demonstrations of folklore. For a time the programmes became standard for numerous Armenian village and town groups. During all of this process a new Armenian folk dance style was formed and known as 'ethnographic dance'.

This Armenian folk dance style consisted of the whole complex of dance composition, music, costume and other stage effects such as decoration and lighting. Over time it acquired new elements, new topics to bring variety and in the main it aimed to preserve traditional dance folklore. I have studied the programme of folk dance festivals, including amateur and professional groups and can distinguish the ways in which modifications in style occurred. The following modes may be identified:

1. The adaptation of folk dance for the stage, taking into account changes of time and space and retaining the authentic reproduction of folk art.

2. The staging of folk dance in the style of 'ethnographic dance'.

In the case of folklore adaptation there are no added new elements and different choreography. Performers keep to the maximum national pattern with minimal change in order to respond to the basic rules of the stage.

Traditional dance is performed on special days and performers personally feel and enjoy the pleasure and beauty of dances, its national spirit and essence. These dances depart a little from spontaneous feeling due to the conditions of the stage and increase the dancer's obligation and responsibility. Also the presentation on stage must conform to time limits, number of dancers, relationship between performers and audience, a uniform dress and so on.

In the case of staged folklore, choreographers bring in new elements in order to present staged folklore more attractively, according to the requirement of the times. During the creative process, some of the elements fall out and some become more stable for the formation of Armenian folk dance style. The genre of the suite is characteristic of this style. Several kinds of dances from the same region are connected in this genre, as for example, the suite of Arabkir. The suite

can consist of the following items: 3-4 different dances (group dances, women's or men's dances), 3-4 versions of the same dances developing from a simple form to complex and the variation of dance steps and dance figures.

During the staging, the folk dances are arranged with the following new element (see figures):

1. The half-circle formation is divided into lines which join together again. In this structure we distinguish also:

a. women and men standing in lines together.
b. women and men standing separately in lines.
c. passages and turns of the lines.

2. In the half-circle women-men perform different passages (with turns, change of places, and so on) in some cases, the women begin, in others the men.

3. In women's dances the men consist of an entourage and in men's dances the women. In the background the dancers perform some simple movements of the dance, meanwhile keeping the half-circle formation.

4. The same musical phrase is repeated while various dance figures are performed. In some cases women and men divide into two groups, in other cases the men and women perform in separate groups.

5. After one dance for a beginning, the other dance is made of composed passages according to the music.
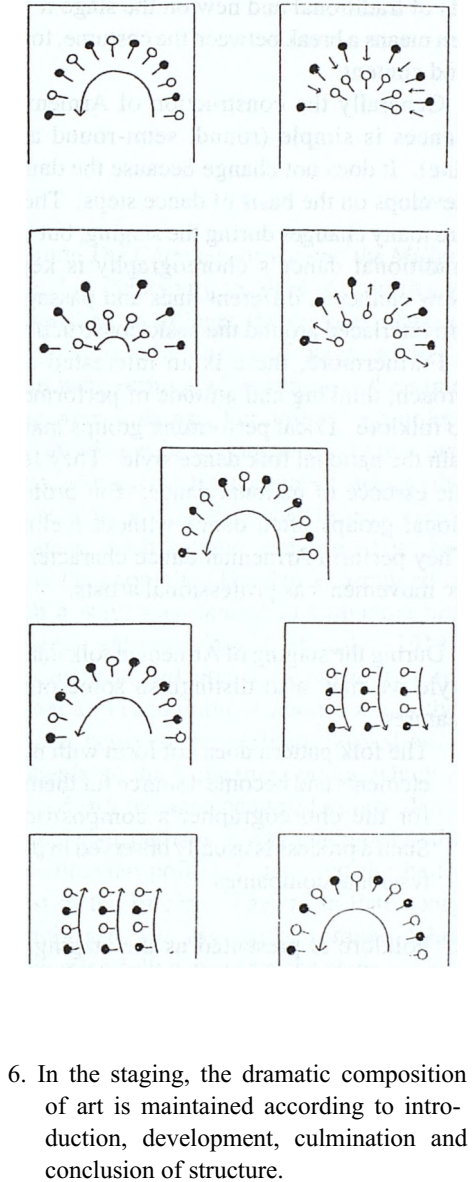
6. In the staging, the dramatic composition of art is maintained according to introduction, development, culmination and conclusion of structure.

When the dance is staged, the relationship of dance and music also changes, with con-

temporary and new elements contributing to the costume design. In spite of this synthesis of traditional and new on the stage it often means a break between the costume, form and content.

Generally the construction of Armenian dances is simple (round, semi-round and line). It does not change because the dance develops on the basis of dance steps. There are many changes during the staging, but the traditional dance's choreography is kept. New elements, different lines and passages are interlaced around the basic construction.

Furthermore, there is an interested approach, thinking and attitude of performers to folklore. Local performing groups maintain the national folk dance style. They feel the essence of national dance. But professional groups often dance without feeling. They perform Armenian dance characteristic movements as professional artists.

During the staging of Armenian folk dance style we may also distinguish some other features.

1. The folk pattern does not form with new elements and become a source for themes for the choreographer's composition. Such a process is usually observed in professional companies.

2. Folklore is presented as the staging of rituals such as weddings, different national celebrations, games and so on, using some ritual accessories such as a bunch of flowers, candle, glass of water, wood, handkerchief or a bunch of wheat.

3. Folklore is beginning to be used in themed performances which generally reflect historical and significant events such as the historical past of the Armeni-

an nation (Amaras Komitas) the national liberation movement (Fighters, heroic battle), the recent major earthquake and so on.

In the process of staging Armenian folk dance, it is obvious that there is influence from other dance styles, as for example, Classical, Caucasian and Oriental dance styles. In recent years, the style of modern dance has also been an influence. In all cases Armenian traditional folklore is a real source for choreographers, in spite of the exactness of adaptation or staging, quality or taste.

THE INFLUENCE OF STAGE DANCE ON THE AUTHENTIC STYLE OF FOLK DANCE

Dalia Urbanavičiene
Lithuanian Academy of Music
Vilnius

In Lithuania the songs are of the most importance in comparison with other kinds of musical folklore. Indeed, in past centuries foreign travellers were surprised that Lithuanian women were singing everywhere; and even later in the twentieth century, the songs accompanied both movements of national revival. Therefore it is not surprising that the main research works of Lithuanian musical folklore are devoted mainly to the songs, that huge collections of them are published and that the biggest part of folk archives consists of sung folklore.

The situation is quite different where Lithuanian folk dance is concerned. I think, contrary to the opinion of the majority in Lithuania, that the dance was alive and no less important than the song in Lithuanian villages even at the beginning of this century. (Incidentally, many Lithuanian dances and games are accompanied by songs). But whereas it was the originality of the songs that were captivating, the first specialist devoting attention to dance had another aim: authentic dance was discovered as *the material* for stage dance.

Lithuanian folk dance was used for stage performance much earlier than the first collections of Lithuanian folk dances and, even more so before research works on ethnochoreography had appeared. The first known author of stage dance, composer Mikas Petrauskas, showed the dance *suktinis* in his operetta *The Chimney-sweep and the Miller,* staged in Petersburg in 1904. According to Petrauskas, in villages the couples danced the *suktinis* in a variety of ways: some of them were turning when others at the same time were walking. Petrauskas 'put order' into this dance; he divided it strictly into two parts, adapted the fixed count of steps to the concrete bars of music, which he even created anew. Such authors' creations later became the people's: 'The dance, arranged in such a way, was danced in Lithuania and America until our days' (Petrauskas 1914). (The authentic *suktinis,* according to the form of execution and improvisation, the intuitive contact between the partners, was similar, probably, to the Lithuanian polka, which is danced still by some beautiful village dancers and also, perhaps, it was analogous to the Scandinavian polka). Later even the ballet artist of the Imperial Theatre in Petersburg Tchekrigin was invited to remake other Lithuanian folk dances for the stage.

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the stage variant of folk dance became a tool of the national revival movement as a kind of manifestation of a new re-created Lithuanian national culture. The czarist Russia, to which occupied Lithuania belonged between 1864-1904, had prohibited the Lithuanian press and thus sought to denationalise Lithuanians. But the Lithuanian intelligentsia were espe-

cially opposed to that. Not only did they organise the printing of Lithuanian books abroad and the delivery to Lithuania as contraband; but also, using secondary schools and local enlightened persons, they organised dance parties, concerts and theatrical performances (so called 'Lithuanian evenings' in the bams). Big and little towns and the villages were drawn into this activity. The dances were stylised for the programmes of such events by teachers and others, who were mostly descendants from noblemen. They were influenced by the professional composition, so they did not understand the beauty of authentic folk dance and tried to change the aesthetic to the aesthetics of ballet. It is likely that the folk songs were used for the creation of chorus music at that time. But the 'aesthetization' of folk dance at that time limited itself only to changing the manner of dance performance: the movements, the steps and their count, and the character were made uniform, the girls' hands, being free up to that time, held the sides of the skirts and gracefully lifted them, the boys held their arms akimbo. The individuality and the improvisation of each dancer disappeared, the contact between the dancers turned to acting (instead of naturality) and mechanical inertia appeared. Also the connection between music and movements was changed: the choreography was simplified and at the same time was strictly adapted to the music, throwing off the polyrhythmic, free-walking, the natural overdue of dance figures 'pursuing' the music, the free connection between musical and choreographic forms.

The first collections of Lithuanian folk dances and games were published in order to popularise them, to include them in school programmes. A teacher, Matas Grigonis, published these collections (Grigonis 1911,

1912, 1914, 1919) and invited people through the press to send him written descriptions of dances from the whole of Lithuania. He collected the ethnochoreography himself, had copies made of part of the material from the archives; he even created some games and dances himself. The biggest shortcoming of these collections is that the data of the published material was not indicated. These collections were very popular, so the dances from different ethnographic regions of Lithuania soon spread to the whole of Lithuania. The teachers, teaching dances to village children, did not always base what they taught on local dance style (many of them were from quite different parts of Lithuania). The teachers who came from the village, perhaps changed the choreography less, but they were teaching dances of their own region, and the teachers, descended from the noblemen, squeezed the folk choreography into the frame of professional dance, adding theatrical gestures and the like.

After 1918 when Lithuania regained independence, Lithuanian national culture developed very rapidly and, at the same time a national school was created. In schools, dance was used for physical development. In Šiauliai the courses had functioned under the Ministry of Education for the training of teachers in physical education (1922-1931) and for primary school teachers (1932-1940). The folk games and roundelays were included in the programmes as a tool for movement training. In Kaunas in 1934 the higher education courses in physical education were established where folk dance was a compulsory discipline (Poškaitis 1974:72).

Few teachers were looking for dances in villages. It became fashionable to create 'folk' dances by adding various steps to the known dance songs; sometimes the folk

dance was thus transformed into peculiar 'ballet'. Marija Baronaité, who worked at the Lithuanian Folk Archives and collected authentic folk dances, in 1937 was indignant with the teachers of the time, who 'under the influence of Philistine whimsies modernise folk dance and make from it some caricature of folk dance or it is turned into some poor ballet' (Baronaité 1937:50). Baronaité also asserted that the intelligentsia of the time had very little understanding of authentic folk dance. 'Nobody had seen, had learned our folk dances' (Baronaité 1937:53). Therefore, when the decision to participate in international festivals was accepted and, with this aim, a group of dancers was formed in Kaunas University, this group, on the initiative of the famous folklorist Jonas Balys, visited many village places and learned dances there. Later these dances, stylised a little, were shown in 1935 in London, in 1937 in Paris, in 1938 in Prague and Hamburg, and in 1939 again in London and in Stockholm.

At that time an authentic dance culture was still alive in Lithuanian villages. Before World War I even archaic ritual wedding, calendar dances and games existed and in the period between the two world wars the tradition of dance evenings was quite strong. Small scale dance parties functioned every weekend, when the youth of one or a few villages gathered in the house of a wealthier person, or the house of a musician or of active dancers. Children and old people also came to look and sometimes they danced too. The dances often continued the whole night. During such evenings, one musician was enough. The songs and roundelays were danced in the breaks between the dances. There were also dance parties of another kind - so called *gegužinés*. They were on a larger scale and many people from the whole par-

ish gathered for these parties. The tradition of *gegužinés* at first appeared in towns where they were organised by schools and various societies, and later this tradition also came to the village. *Gegužinés* brought many innovations from the town not only in the sphere of dance stylistics. A territory for dancing was fenced in and everybody entering had to buy a ticket. The dances with step-by-step instrumental accompaniment pushed out the songs and roundelays. The instrumental ensemble increased and changed; a brass band even played sometimes. Nevertheless, during the war and even the post-war period, there was a more active tradition of small dance parties.

The political conditions of the post-war period gave a decisive blow to the tradition of authentic folk dancing in Lithuania. Most farmers, in whose houses it was traditional to host dance evenings, were relocated in Siberia, emigrated, or went into hiding. However the youth arranged the dances in schools. But at that time even a dance turned into political action. Lithuanian people had split in two. Many men became partisans, they fought against Soviet power and lived in the forests. Other men, scornfully called *stribas,* began to serve the Soviet authority and hunted the 'forest men'. That was the time when a girl, if she danced with *stribas* was punished later by 'the forest men' who would shave her hair off or grate her bottom naked with a beet grate. On the other hand, if *stribas* heard about a girl dancing with a 'forest man', he could arrest her and send her to Siberia or even kill her. Post-war resistance continued for ten years in Lithuania, but, according to some, the tradition of dance parties in villages finally came to an end with the beginning of the collectivisation of agriculture because of the hard work

in the kolkhoz. The youth escaped from the villages to the towns and eventually only old people remained.

The aim of Russian communist authority was to annihilate the peculiarities of all nations in the Soviet Union, to establish Russian language and customs everywhere, to change the culture and people's outlook on the world. Russian patriotism was propagandised, non- Russians were forced to honour Russian heroes, even if they were executioners here. At the same time, Lithuanian patriotism and a love of one's own country, of its history and customs, was choked and considered 'bourgeois nationalism'. Old rituals and customs were judged as 'the dark prejudices and survivals'.

A stage 'folk' dance was chosen as the tool of communist propaganda. Already in 1940, just after the Soviets occupied Lithuania, The Folk Ensemble was organised under the direction of Moscow and in 1944 it was recreated and became The State Folk Ensemble. The leaders of ensembles had to create stage 'folk' dances according to the example of Russian ensembles. At the same time, the small amateur ensembles were established, rapidly also involving the older generation and they copied the repertoire of the State Ensemble. The so-called 'folk' dance of these ensembles was created throughout by authors: a composer created music, which was played by an orchestra of remade and modernised 'folk' instruments; a ballet-master created the choreography; a poet created the text.

In spite of the efforts of the first leaders, Jonas Švedas and Juozas Lingys of the State Ensemble, to keep the 'Lithuanism' and the close connection with traditional creation, this kind of dance in time became pompous and decorative, part of a propaganda show devoted to Soviet ideology. Already in 1950 12, 000 dancers executed such dances in the Song Festival. Distorting the main point of folk dance, as though pompous decorations to a new Soviet life, the new 'work', 'calendar', 'wedding' and 'amusement' dances were created as well as the dances on Soviet themes, for instance the 'Chairman of the Collective Farm', 'Pioneer Camp', and the like. It was thought that 'the main indication of an art leader's creative capacity [was] the ability *to transform* folk art, to fit it to a stage' (Bartusevičius 1979:48). Many such creators had not seen an authentic folk dance at all, so it is not strange that in Lithuanian folk dances the Moldavian ways of joining hands, the Caucasian men's leaps and pirouettes, the elements of French cancan and so on appeared. Lithuanian characteristics such as low and narrow steps, reserved and dignified gestures and natural play elements disappeared and the simple structure of Lithuanian dances (except in quadrilles) grew into developed choreographic compositions. The contact between the dancers was changed totally. Dancing authentic dances, a woman felt worshipped by the man and the man liked to display himself (especially in couple and quadrille dances). Every good male dancer was notable for a particular manner of dancing and girls had to adapt themselves to it; while in an academic stage ensemble a man only accompanies a girl as her shadow and assists her in a balletic manner. Thus the mass of dancers became faceless and demonstrated a uniform strained smile for the public. The principal reason for dancing dictates everything. The main aim of dance in a village was just communication, and, in opposition, decorative aesthetic display is of the greatest importance in a stage dance.

During twenty-five post-war years, already more than two hundred choreographic creations for the stage were created. Soviet authority supported this art in every possible way. In 1958 competitions for the creation of new dances were organised and an annual prize for the best dance composition was established by the Ministry of Culture (Lingys 1979:45). A school of following this trend was successfully formed. In 1967, Departments of Choreography were established in the Pedagogical Institute, Culture school, and in 1974 a discipline of so called 'folk dance' was brought into Klaipéda Conservatoire. The creation of stage dance became the profession of an increasing number of people. The teaching was based on the training of ballet and ball-room dances. They were taught dance and music history, music theory and the like, but all education was based on the professional art, evading a deep knowledge of ethnic culture and its specificities. Dissatisfaction with the creation of new 'specialists' was expressed even by famous leaders of this trend: 'Our folk choreographic art turns more and more to the outward effects, to noisiness, speed, complication of various figures and steps. The elements of ballet increase, and some features of variety shows also appear' (Bartusevičius 1979:50). It is a paradox, but such 'specialists' of folk dance taught the ensembles of elderly people to dance 'correctly', trying to change their youth experience. Because only this type of 'folk' dance was propagandised by television for a long time, the younger generation formed a conception for themselves namely of this form of folk dance.[1]

Russian folklorists, perhaps the first in the Soviet Union, began to say that dilettantism was characteristic of such 'folk' creation and performance and that the results of this activity could often be named only as pseudo-art. Already in 1963, at the 10th Congress of Folklorists and Ethnographers in Yugoslavia, it was stated that nothing folk existed in the programmes of state ensembles in socialist states and that such ensembles were turning into 'commercial folklorism' for tourists. At the same time, it was recommended that ethnographic ensembles be organised instead in the regions. Although those ideas were announced also in Lithuania (Skrodenis, Poškaitis 1971), the creation of stage 'folk' dances has continued regardless until today without any major changes. The choreographers, specialised in such dances, are the main dance teachers in schools. (When Lithuania again became independent, dance once more became a compulsory discipline at school). They also lead various ensembles and leisure groups.

However these so called *ensembles of songs and dances* are increasingly under the influence of so-called *ethnographic* and *folklore ensembles* which appeared in the 1960s and 1970s together with the beginning of the folk movement.

This movement was formed as an alternative to official culture and became an original expression of political patriotism. The works and expeditions organised by the Kraštotyros draugija (Ethnographic Society) stimulated young students living in cities, especially those of Vilnius University, to become interested in authentic folk creation. The interest of town people, accordingly, evoked memories of village people and provoked their gathering into ethnographic ensembles. At the same time, a movement of tourists called ęygeiviai (hiking), was born in Vilnius University, members of which began to celebrate the ancient feasts of Balts in important historical parts of Lithuania. (This

organisation was named Lithuanian *Ramuva* Society). In spite of the persecution by the KGB, this movement increased and in the early 1970s the folklore ensembles began forming in the towns.[2] Their repertoire consisted of folk material collected in the villages themselves and from publications.

The dances performed by the folklore ensembles are of a style between an authentic and a stylised manner. The greater part of the folklore ensembles' members are the town youth who did not have the possibility to adopt authentic folk dance directly. At the Soviet school it was necessary only to go in for sports and lovers of dance could attend various amateur dance activities (ball-room, ballet, artistic gymnastics and the aforementioned stage 'folk' ensembles). Then some young people grew up who had learned no dancing at all (while earlier everyone had learned to dance in the villages), and others learned to dance in a professional style. Just as with singing, when members of even the best folk groups come to another 'hearing' and to intone a folk song without spirit, where dance is concerned, the people who can dance are dancing a folk dance without distinguishing its style from the professional dance, and are thus weaned from improvisation and traditional freedom of interpretation.

Besides, for folklore ensembles it is much more difficult to learn a folk dance than a song, because it is rare that anybody has observed authentic Lithuanian dance in its whole shape. In Lithuania even today there is a lack of use of video cameras in fieldwork, so the dance is often only described. Moreover, most of the collectors do not have any practice in dance description. It is only in the Klaipéda conservatoire that student choreographers are trained to describe a dance according to the system of Poškaitis

and, in the Lithuanian Academy of Music, student ethnomusicologists are trained in a system of folk dance stenography which I created. Usually in the best case only the structure of the dance is described, but not the details of performance. Besides, a dance is mostly written down from a single person's recollections, and only in rare cases is a group of dancers gathered and a musician found to play for them.

It would seem that the best way to learn the folk dances which are closest to the originals would be from the ethnographic ensembles - but they also have their own problems. In Soviet times, the directors often came to the ensembles with no understanding of originality and the customs of the village. They therefore taught people manners quite foreign to them and changed their appearance and behaviour. Besides, the members of ethnographic ensembles, after concerts in other countries and towns, take a liking to stage effects, something which they learn from television. For instance, they begin to copy the manner of execution of folklore ensembles. New and old influences (such as those of the intelligentsia in the first part of this century, of Soviet propaganda and the stage collectives of elderly people) change people's taste and their understanding of the beauty of authentic folk dance.

The living tradition of Lithuanian dance, it could be said, was suppressed in the postwar period and now the ethnographic ensembles only *demonstrate* the view of former dances in their performances. Few youth in villages adopt these dances (with few exceptions). It is a paradox, however, that an active tradition of village dances (reconstructed or learned without direct appropriation) is more alive in the towns where the folklore ensembles not only give concerts, but also

dance for their own pleasure by celebrating feasts and organising evening-parties.

Lithuanian folk dance is thus changing rapidly, not in time with the shape of its original structure.

Notes

[1] On rare occasions some old people were against such a presentation of folk dance. For instance, in 1984 I met an old woman who was known as a good dancer since her youth, but she adamantly refused to show old folk dances, because she did not want anybody to spoil them as she had seen it done on television.

[2] For further information concerning the folk movement see Lithuanian Roots 1996:10-11.

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III

Response to Jan Steszęwski,
18th Symposium, Skierniewice, 1994

THE MUSES AND THE DANCE

Roderyk Lange

Instytut Choreologii, Poznań
Uniwersytet A. Mickiewicza, Poznań, Poland
Centre for Dance Studies, Jersey, C.I.

The 18th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology, held in 1994 in Skierniewice (Poland), contained a most welcome section on 'Dance and Music Relationships'. Several prominent ethnomusicologists took part in the sessions and a number of relevant papers were presented.

Professor Jan Stęszewski (Warsaw - Poznan) took the opportunity to air some of his doubts concerning the area of choreology and ethnochoreology. He stressed, apologetically, at the start, his limited knowledge in this field and the queries he raised are derived from his position and experience gained within musicology alone. This is certainly a courageous approach in clarifying doubts existing between these two domains and for this stand one has to be particularly grateful.

Immediate reaction to this paper during the Symposium was rather limited due to the refined German used by the speaker, which was not accessible to most of the participants. As this valuable contribution is now published in the **Proceedings of the Symposium,** it is perhaps fitting that some clarification be voiced from the position of choreology. This, I know, will be welcomed by Professor Stęszewski himself.

1.

To begin with, there is the notion that most of the Muses of Ancient Greek mythology were involved in music making, although none of them devoted herself entirely to music. They hold a musical instrument in their hands as an attribute of this activity. 'Thus music had a number of guardians, and the dance had only one' (Terpsychore). This notion would imply that dance was a subordinate factor to music making already on Parnassus.

Nothing could be more remote from the truth! One has to take into account the ever changing concept of 'dance'. This term means different things in different periods. Existing sources seem to indicate that in fact all the Muses have participated extensively in dancing! Indeed, the Greek term *musike* meant in Antiquity the unity of music, verse, and dance (as for example presented in Georgiades' well known work). The muses do not hold any particular attributes of dance in their hands, as the human body is the only instrument in dance activity. For this reason they cannot carry any other 'instruments' which one could associate directly with dance.

The notion of supremacy of music over dance evolved much later, when the particular activities became independent in European culture and, in some periods indeed, dance began to follow the progression of music slavishly.

The so-called re-discovery of certain human capacities, which had been lost in the life of 'civilised' man over centuries, began in the period of Romanticism. During the

course of the nineteenth century, the understanding of 'dance' as *meaningful movement* evolved, making the participation of the complete human being in a direct aesthetic movement experience once again possible.

It was indeed during the nineteenth century, and at the beginning of the twentieth, that definitions were proposed which revealed the concept of dance to have a far wider range than is commonly accepted within technologically orientated, urbanised, contemporary civilisation.

Indeed it is imperative for contemporary dance research to apply a broad definition of dance to cover the whole field of 'meaningful movement' in human culture. As is well known, Curt Sachs *(Eine Weltgeschichte des Tanzes)* already proposed such a definition in 1933: *'Darum sei uns Tanz jede rhythmische Bewegung, die nicht dem Werkantrieb dient'* ('Therefore dance should mean to us any movement purposefully ordered, which is not used to maintain the effort of working actions). Such a broad concept of 'dance' may still not be commonly identifiable, even by dance practitioners in our time.

However, it is perhaps also appropriate to consult some esoteric poets such as Théophile Gautier, Stéphane Mallarmé and Paul Valéry. They were still imbued with the liberating spirit of Romanticism and expressed their knowledge on the behaviour and activities of the Muses; and they should know well about the order ruling Parnassus! They were joined by the painter Edgar Degas in their deep understanding of these issues. As is well known, Degas had drawn and painted dancers in action in a very 'profound' manner. In fact he often encapsulated in his works the spirit of the dance itself and actually talked about dance on many occasions.

The writings of this group of artists convey to us 'that Muses never quarrel, they work during the day separately, and when the evening approaches, and work is completed, they meet to dance together - they do not talk because words seem inadequate: everything is expressed in movement'.

2.

It is very appropriate that Professor Stęszewski should have stressed the specific textures of music and dance and the resulting autonomy of these two domains. Naturally, the differing textures of 'dance' and 'music' condition the development of specific research methods. The inter-dependence of dance and music varies and music alone does not necessarily release dance activities.

It would be perhaps appropriate to extend these statements by pointing out the existing virtual visualisation of music in dance, alongside quite independent movement realisations against the background of music. The externalisation of the rhythmic progression is in many cases the only essential element in this interdependence. It is simply conditioned by the need to co-ordinate a group of people in an abstract movement action and this cannot be accomplished without the externalisation of the acoustic background.

However, even more poignant seems to be the occasionally manifest interaction between the musician and the dancer. There are many fascinating examples of dialogues on equal terms between the dancer and the musician which come into existence within the act of spontaneous creativity.

3.

Further, there is the notion in Professor Stęszewski's discourse that there are no corresponding sub-systems in the dance struc-

tures, like those known in music: the multi-levelled, well organised and mostly petrified structures, with their sub-systems, like the tonal system, scales, harmonics, rhythmics, metrics, achitectonics, codes of interpretation and semiotics of music.

In fact within choreology, such sub-systems have been established. They are similar to those listed above, although they cannot be identical. It is enough to mention the movement scales, the domain of Choreutics and Eukinetics, Effort, and the full graphic movement notation. The phenomenon of dance has been identified as a multi-levelled occurrence. Work on dance semiotics is well advanced. The phenomenon of dance viewed contextually, as far as the environment and the dance happening itself are concerned, as well as within the context of a particular dance culture, or traditional dance repertoire. Also, structural methods have been applied long ago.

There are indeed some differences resulting from the degree of codification of the dance forms themselves. In some cases they exhibit symptoms of petrification. As to spontaneity in dance - it is relative too. A seemingly 'free' improvisation in dance, is in fact regulated by a culturally accepted scale of possibilities.

4.

Finally, there is the notion that with the transcription of a dance one is not bound by the qualitative restrictions of musical progressions which are grounded on a strict tonal system, as the dance movements seem to be 'freer'.

In fact movement progressions can only seemingly and, only when viewed from a 'distance', appear more 'free' from music progressions. It is essential to stress that the well-established analytical system of space-time progressions, refers to an objective means of reference - the stereometric model. Yes, we are indeed in a position to identify very precisely the 'level' of movement, its duration and its location in the surrounding space. With this the specific 'colouring' of a movement may be defined.

What is more, with our transcription methods we are able to apply various levels of detailed description (Kinetography), depending on the aim of the transcription and its purpose. This means that it is possible to prepare a transcription either in the descriptive or prescriptive manner (for example even of the same movement sample). Additionally we have the ability to apply a generalising method of transcription (Motif Writing) when the details are not essential at all and only the outline of an action is required.

As can be seen, in transcribing movement sequences, we have at our disposal a very wide selection of means. The only difficulty is to make the appropriate choice relevant to a particular case. This will depend on the knowledge, experience and culture of the transcriber.

The comparative analysis of musical sequences with those of movement is entirely realistic: the transcribed music and dance will be written alongside each other, in parallel arrangement. There is no difficulty in conducting comparisons bar by bar, because the time measures (bar lines and so on) are identical in both cases.

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