

Dance, Narratives, Heritage

Dance and Narratives

Dance as Intangible and Tangible Cultural Heritage

**28th Symposium of the ICTM
Study Group on Ethnochoreology
7–17 July 2014
Korčula, Croatia**

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**ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology
Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research
Zagreb, Croatia
2015**

Symposium 2014

7 – 17 July

International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM)

Study Group on Ethnochoreology

The 28th Symposium was organized by the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology, and hosted by the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in cooperation with Korčula Tourist Board

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Cover design: Maša Hrvatin

Cover photograph: Andrija Carli, © 2015, Turistička zajednica Dubrovačko-neretvanske županije

Printers: Denona

Printed copies: 200

© 2015, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research

ISBN: 978-953-6020-98-0

Cataloguing in Publication Data (CIP) is available in the Catalogue of the National and University Library in Zagreb under the number 000909364



Hrvatsko povjerenstvo za UNESCO
Croatian Commission for UNESCO
Commission croate pour l'UNESCO

PANEL PRESENTATIONS

**MUSIC AND DANCE AS INTANGIBLE AND TANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE:
CROATIAN EXPERIENCES**

Tvrtko Zebec (Coordinator)
Joško Čaleta, Ivana Katarinčić, Iva Niemčić
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Introduction to the panel presentations

We can freely say that UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003 powerfully prompted and supported public interest about activities in promotion of intangible culture in Croatia. However, a great deal of preliminary work had been done long ago in introducing intangible culture into a legal framework. Ethnologists and folklorists working at conservation departments on ethnographic material, architecture, but also movable and even intangible culture, were very much engaged in these processes in the former Yugoslavia, from the middle of the 1960s. Their intention and interests were to include intangible culture in the law and to ensure it the same conditions and status enjoyed by tangible monuments and movable culture. After the war during the 1990s and Croatian independence, intangible culture was finally included in the Act on Protection of Cultural Assets in 1999 – four years before the UNESCO's Convention.

Croatia was the 17th state to ratify the Convention. Under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, the National Commission for Intangible Culture was organised. After some initial theoretical discussions about criteria for registration, it had been concluded that all criteria should be critically discussed again and corrected or supplemented, if necessary, with each individual process of registration. In that sense, all activities in implementation of the Convention were worked out similarly at the international, UNESCO level and at the national level in Croatia.

From 2009 and the inscription of seven nominations on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, intangible traditional culture became a more frequent topic in the Croatian media. Until today, Croatia has fourteen inscribed elements (following China, Japan, and Korea together with Spain). International recognition by UNESCO initiated changes in attitudes within the national framework, particularly towards scholars and professionals engaged largely in the fields of ethnology, cultural anthropology, and folklore research. Before that, as scholars, we were almost invisible publicly, recognised mostly by the population of folklore amateurs as an outcome of our activities at folklore festivals and on juries.

At the same time, acceptance of the *Croatian Intangible Cultural Heritage, Social Identities and Values* research project by the international evaluators through the Croatian Science Foundation ensured financial backing for further fieldwork, and infrastructural support with new information and communications technology. A Digital Repository and Referral Centre for Intangible Culture are currently in the process of implementation at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb. And this panel is one of the results of research on the project. (See more about the project: <www.ief.hr/Research/Projects/CroatianIntangibleCulturalHeritage HRZZ/tabid/416/language/en>.)

Besides fieldwork and other scholarly activities, the ethnomusicologists and ethnochoreologists are frequently engaged as advisors and consultants by local communities or governing bodies. Through round-tables, public discussions or organising or directing concerts within the national and international framework, we are promoters of our disciplines as well. Known as "connoisseurs of the field," we are engaged as agents and mediators between local communities and public administration or governing bodies. It happens very

often that expectations on the part of local communities are not the same as those of the administrative bodies. With the influence of the media, the general public perception can make these relations more complex. The questions of professional responsibility revolve about the role of experts involved in creation of cultural policy. A re-thinking of the ambivalence of the researcher's position – as participant, evaluator, and/or critic – and the ethical principles of the relationship between the researcher and the researched are presented here on the basis of several case studies. Some of them are about ethnographic observation with participation in the communities whose music and dances are included in Croatia's or UNESCO's lists of intangible heritage; some of the cases that are still in the process of being categorized as parts of a national or possibly global intangible heritage list. The intertwining and inseparability between the tangible and intangible significance of music and dance will be shown, as well as the relations between global and local, national and multinational, virtual or digital and real, and clear and hybrid forms. We also discuss the *tango* situation in Croatia in relation to UNESCO's inscriptions. And how we represent ourselves to others on the example of the ceremonial celebration of the accession of Croatia to the European Union, one year ago.



Panelists of the Croatian Experiences
Ivana Katarinčić, Iva Niemčić, Joško Čaleta, Tvrtko Zebec
(photographer Placida Staro, 2014)

TRADITIONAL PERFORMANCE AND THE QUESTION OF OWNERSHIP: *OJKANJE* AND *SILENT DANCE* ON THE UNESCO LISTS

Joško Čaleta

Ojkanje singing and *nijemo kolo* - silent circle dancing of the Dalmatian hinterland, engaged unexpected media attention in recent years. The inducement was inclusion of both cultural phenomena on the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage lists. The uncommon situation triggered a "new life" of the tradition now recognized as an ownership of the whole nation that, in fact, actualized problems of a re/definition of the musical/dance phenomena. This applies especially to the tradition bearers. Their attitude does not coincide with the common opinion of their global "protectors." The presentation evaluates the current state from the standpoint of the researcher actively involved in the process of recognizing and acknowledging the traditional phenomenon.

Keywords: Croatia, *ojkanje*, *nijemo kolo*, UNESCO, ownership

Ojkanje singing and *nijemo kolo* dancing of the Dalmatian hinterland, in recent years became engaged into unexpected media attention. The true inducement was inclusion of both cultural phenomena on the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Lists, as valuable intangible heritage that promote and encourage local creativity and diversity. UNESCO recognizes communities, in particular local communities (such as the Dalmatian hinterland), groups and, in some cases, individuals to play an important role in the production, safeguarding, preservation, and re-creation of intangible cultural heritage. UNESCO public recognition, the uncommon situation for the local community, triggered a *new life* of the tradition now recognized as a *national treasure*. Their survival and apparent popularity is temporarily predetermined by UNESCO public recognition. Croatia ratified Convention (2003) already in 2005, thus entering as one of the countries for the UNESCO Convention of to become legislative in 2006. The tempo in which Croatia accepted the Convention is an indicator of high readiness of its state administration for such a step that launched an entire drive with professional, administrative, and scientific resources. Although for the outsiders the project of protection or preservation of intangible heritage in the Croatian context appears conceivably global, the idea of protection or preservation of intangible cultural heritage can be traced in the history of local ethnology, folklore studies, conservation, and legislation [Hameršak; Pleše 2013:12].

A new step (global recognition) in the already existing active situation actualized problems of a clear re/definition on the ownership rights of traditional music and dance phenomena. It applies especially to the role of the individual performers, the tradition bearers, and their position within local communities. Most of the skilled individual performers perceive the public recognition quite personally which, in their eyes, highlights the value of their individual skills as almost exclusive and unique. In other words, their attitude does not coincide with the common opinion of their global *protectors*.

The paper presents views on actual situations and raises questions on UNESCO's *recognized* music and dance tradition. I argue that public recognition and global awards are somehow necessary tools, which enhance activities of the local and marginal archaic traditional music and dance phenomena. Evidence for this argument seeks answers to the following questions:

Who is an *award bearer* of the intangible heritage?

What would be a proper award for the tradition bearer – local communities and individual performers?

How does the sudden recognition affect present and future public practice of the recognized tradition?

What is the role of experts (researchers) in the newly made situations?

Case I – *Ojkanje* recognition

Scene setting is Nairobi, Kenya, 16 November 2010; around four hundred government delegates, civil society representatives, and observers attended the fifth session of the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage that declared accepted nominations received for 2010. After seven previously accepted nominations by UNESCO, Croatia prepared new proposals; the first two, Alka of Sinj, and gingerbread craft of northern Croatia are accepted. Everybody is waiting for the final draft of the proposed declaration of the list and the newly established category, a tradition whose existence is threatened that needs immediate protection. Undergoing three Chinese proposals, one is from the *rest of the world* – Croatian *ojkanje* passes!

Colleagues congratulate our delegation heads of the Zagreb UNESCO office, Rut Carek and ethnochoreologist Tvrtko Zebec, asking them questions about protected nominations. Rut and Tvrtko officially thank the board by singing *Oooooj vuk magare na plot naagonijo* – their performance becomes the news, news that circled the entire globe; was published in Australia and New Zealand, all major European and U.S. news outlets have published it in their daily and internet editions.¹ On that day, the whole world heard about *ojkanje*, the Dinaric endangered heritage of world importance, which is in need of urgent protection, whatever that means. Good news echoed in Croatia, as well! The first reactions were transcribed reports with basic information taken from the world press clippings. Colleague Zebec and I deserve the front page of daily newspapers in the *ojkanje* singing position.² Place is usually reserved in newspapers for successful businessmen, corrupt politicians, scandals, tragedies of all kinds or sporting successes at the moment and future, the singing posture of non-singers deeply involved in the marginal vocal music tradition of the musical system whose main characteristic does not match the characteristics of a global standard of the Western European music system. At least, at the moment, these Dinaric vocal traditions become the center of attention of the wider, national community.

What in fact is *ojkanje*? *Ojkanje* is generic term for the type of archaic singing, a singing technique that characterize a specific way of voice shaking achieved through a distinctive technique of singing 'from the throat'. In *ojkanje*, the acoustic effects are implemented synergistically by various respiratory, phonatory and articulatory settings, namely a high sub glottal pressure, a long closed phase of the vocal folds, a raised larynx, and a wide opening of the jaw [Ćaleta 2012:175]. All these contribute to perceived loudness. The term *ojkanje* also refers to the musical system of archaic (*starovinski, starinski*), traditional singing and playing of Croatian Dinaric regions as well as in other Dinaric region (Dobronić 1915, Bezić 1967-68, Ćaleta 2002). The specificity of this system, described in literature as a *style of narrow intervals* [Bezić 1981:33], *untempered singing* or *the most primitive phase of Croatian music* [Dobronić 1915:3, 25], can be observed on diverse levels such as music practice, which comprehends music in both the performing and the social context. Music practice represents not only organized sound but also the level of the music phenomenon as a system made up of the following components: the music model, the manner of performance, the context of the conception and use of music, performers, the context of music-making, and the mode of its reception and evaluation [Baumann 1989:82]. Practice is a respective category where "other pole is a global, abstract entity, most frequently referred to as a system" [Ceribašić 2007:7]. The basis of this musical system, i.e. the mechanisms on which this musical system is built, are unconventional (marginal) as compared to the musical systems based on West European musical tradition. Color, texture, group performance (dominant in

respect to individual), the stability of non-beat tonal relationships, the elements that form the basis of this system, are completely different from their counterparts in West European musical harmony.

For Dobronić, this music has nothing whatever to do with any *system* - *it is tune existing in a primal stage of its evolution* [Dobronić 1915]. He explains the *oj* section of the *ojkanje* as a survival of those primal tune fragments which were the original source of all musical systems, and which have disappeared among most civilized nations as completely as among the majority of the Slavic peoples. One of the first detailed descriptions of the performance of *ojkanje* (musical tradition of Dalmatian Hinterlanders – Morlachs) was given by Alberto Fortis' *Viaggio in Dalmazia* [Traveling Across Dalmatia] in its chapter *Manners of the Morlacchi*, dating from 1774. It contained detailed descriptions of the life of the Morlachs and were translated into several European languages. This *barbarian* people was described with terms such as *natural, untouched by civilization and unspoiled, old, original, uneducated and inverted, hospitable, warm, fond of weapons, fatalistically oriented and superstitious*. Fortis gave a very concrete description of the specific type of singing:

'When a Morlac travels, especially at night or through mountain wasteland, he sings on the heroic deeds of the past of the Slavic kings and aristocrats or of some tragic events. Should it happen that another traveler roams the peaks of a neighboring hill, he will repeat the line sung by the first singer and this intermittent singing lasts until the distance separates their voices. The long 'howling' is actually a long tone 'o' with the sudden change in the height of the tone and it always precedes the lyrics; the words forming the lyrical line are sung swiftly, without changing the tone's height, which happens at the last syllable and the line ends with long 'howling' in the form of a thriller, raised when the singer takes in breath' [Bezić 1967-1968:180].

Most of the genres are characterized by lasting as long as the lead singer can hold his/her breath. Musical characteristics of styles and genres are recognizable through the melodies with small, limited number of tones. Intervals do not match the standard intervals neither by their size nor by their function. The melodies are based on limited tonal scales, mostly chromatic, with the intervals which do not match the standard musical intervals. Majority of styles and genres has major second as a dominant interval, most of the time in the final, cadenza tone, treated as a consonant interval.³ Local population uses local terminology to distinguish the specific characteristics of the singing. Local terminology is known to the singers best familiar with the forms they practice themselves or actively listen to as well as the forms from the peripheral regions they are in contact with. The terms they use mostly describe the activity occurring during the singing itself. Verbs like *goniti, orcati, kockati, groktati, grgašati, krećati, tresti, ustresati, otezati, priginjati, sijecati, jecati, vatati, nazivati...* refer to different techniques and procedures which the unaccustomed listener's ear can hardly differentiate, as they can have difficulties in recognizing numerous variations between melodies inside a single genre. Despite the fact that for an unaccustomed ear the audio image of this type of music creates an impression of sameness and repetition, there is a large number of various forms which make up specific genres and styles in different localities. Songs differ in texts but not in music form. Singing of a new text (in decasyllabic couplets) to the same or a similar music form is regarded as a new song. It is also possible to perform several times one and the same song (with the same text) with variation of the music form and the textual model, as well as the tone relations. This leads one to think that the function of the tones in relation to one another cannot be precisely explained as part of the enclosed music system, without reference to the structure of the pertaining social and cultural system [Blacking 1974:75]. In order to encompass the entire area of the recognition in preparing UNESCO proposal we decide to focus on the common actions that are happening in these singing – the technique of voice shaking. Attempted reconciliation of differences in practice led to recognition of attributing certain genres, certain prominent singers.

The reaction to the declaration in Nairobi was not short-lived. Indeed, a reflection of the new situation inspired a number of journalists, and bloggers to try their invention of written thoughts through a series of sarcastic-ironic commentaries on the condition that surprised them. The tool used by the most was decasyllabic couplets, a recognizable recent text form associated with hinterland's musical system. Columnists also used *ojkanje* as a pretext for the comparison with other current events of our time: "Unlike *ojkanje*, working class heritage has no protection" or "Ojkalica about hookers in politics and fagots in football" that declares "ojkanje is OjKej and that it should be patented wherever we get there."⁴

What was the official political reaction on the new situation? The Minister of Culture, Božo Biškupić, organized an official audience for Sinj *Alka*, gingerbread crafters, and *ojkanje* singer's representatives. Financial constraints and the meeting place (in the capital Zagreb) reduced the number of attendees and only those coming from nearby were invited. The next public political declaration was formally handing the UNESCO Charter to the individuals, and to the representatives of local folklore groups selecting them by the same (financial) key, again in the capital. Prime Minister at the time, Jadranka Kosor was greeted with the song: *Oh God save Jadranka, oh God, save the Croatian Democratic Party*.⁵ Journalists credited members of the hinterland group Radovin as song makers while the text is indeed composed by a singer from the Karlovac area that is a member of the political party. The aforementioned members of folklore group Radovin that year went to Burgas, Bulgaria, where winning *gold* at the European Folk Festival with the recommendation for the world folklore festival. On their internet pages they announced this event as "final creation of their dreams." Other UNESCO Charter holders are also active; their public statements gladly point out that Charter, with support of the competent government institutions help them to organize festivals. They were also frequent guests in media, which made even greater incentive for self-promotion. Therefore, official political gesture established performers with or without Charter instead promoting all the traditional singers, encouraging a quality of performance or activity of prominent singers and endangered singing style. Once again, repercussions of the superficially organized and media transferred information made situation quite complex.

Only later did we learn that in neighboring Serbia rising rebellion caused by "theft of sacred tradition that is radically Serbian," denounced the Serbian and respected ethnomusicologists who opportunistically dared existence of traditions attribute to all the nations of the (Dinaric) region. This part of the investigation was possible thanks to the Internet. Blog Serbian treasury brings more discussions on the topic of which *ojkača* and *ojkanje* really are?

All reactions together are reminiscent of the mentality and the century's long prejudice actual in Dinaric region. It is true that the flow of incomplete information often leads to a general misconception that result in misunderstanding and at the same time show the very limited nature of people who are misled to such misinformation.

Case II – *Nijemo kolo* recognition

Similar situations were involved in the process of recognizing *nijemo kolo*. *Nijemo kolo* is a silent *kolo* (circle formation) dance from the Croatian Dinaric regions. It is performed in a closed circle with male dancers leading female partners in energetic, spontaneous variants of 6/8 steps where the male dancer publicly tests the skills of his female partner, seemingly without defined rules. The steps and figures, often vigorous and impressive, depend on the mood and desire of the participants. The defining feature of the silent *kolo* dance is that it is performed exclusively without music, although vocal or instrumental performances may precede or follow the dance. Because of differences in the performance of structures and steps in various villages, this *kolo* dance is a basic marker of local identity under which the inhabitants of some villages, along with other elements of cultural heritage, differ. In present

times, *Nijemo kolo* is mostly danced by village performing groups at local, regional or international festivals and at local shows, carnivals or on the local saint patron days. Owing to the modes of public presentation of folklore heritage established at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Croatian public managed to acquire a certain positive attitude towards archaic forms which presented the local tradition. *Rescuing of culture*, especially traditional culture, is current in various forms of public presentation of folklore, of UNESCO's initiatives until folklore festival, the oldest systematically organized activities of this type in the country. Presentation of folklore at the scene is regularly defined as a form of conservation, preservation, and protection [Hameršak; Pleše 2013:16].

Problems with recognizing *Nijemo kolo* are due to the terminology. *Nijemo kolo* is not a common term among the bearers of tradition; it is a coinage that depicts the main feature of this dance type. The local terms are *gluvo*, *mutavo*, *naše kolo*, *kolo po naški*, or the names of the localities such as *vrličko*, *kijevsko*, *sinjsko*, *poljičko*... An attempt to find a common term did not work that well as in the case of *ojkanje*. Another problem of the proposal was the area included in nomination. Dalmatinska Zagora is just a small part of the region that covers admission, though this dance practice also identified with coastal parts and islands of Šibenik, Zadar, and Lika region, as well as Dinaric regions of the neighboring countries. On the other hand, direct connection with the Dalmatinska Zagora could be explained by the publicly most associated term for this *kolo* type, the term most of the Croatians identify this dance phenomenon with – *Vrličko kolo*.

The story goes back to the first half of the twentieth century, when the librettist Milan Begović born in Vrlika wrote libretto for the most famous Croatian national opera *Ero s onoga svijeta* (Ero the Joker).⁶ Ballet dancer costumes and stylized movements from the opera's grand finale called *završno kolo* (the final kolo dance) are directly related to the *kolo* that was and still is danced in informal and formal occasions in Vrlika. Popularity of the opera also made numerous folklore societies (KUDs) put *the final kolo* in their repertoire. In the last twenty years, *The Final Kolo* was an inspiration for the expression of nationalistic feelings.

Another important public event happened in the 1950s when national ensemble *Lado* performed Zvonimir Ljevaković's choreography of *Vrličko kolo*. Thanks to the Ljevaković and Lado efforts, *Vrličko kolo* became a synonym for all similar dances of the area. Energetic dance steps, the sound of the metal coins and decorations attached on the Vrlika's garment are typical features of this performance that for almost a century through superb performance evoke the association on the area from which this way of dancing/music-making stems.

A similar situation occurs in neighboring western Bosnia where choreographer Olga Skovran arranged Glamočko Gluvo Kolo for Serbia's ensemble Kolo that follows a similar fate that is, becoming synonymous with all circle, mute, round dances in the region. Unlike the unusual hype that accompanied UNESCO recognition of *ojkanje* singing, *nijemo kolo* proposal passed quite unnoticed. All media acknowledgments underlined the Vrlika as an original site or proposal that is not fully corresponding with efforts of experts who prepared this proposal. Such a response highlights the fact that the singing (*ojkanje*) is more publicly present and exposed. If one compares the quantity of dancers as opposed to singers more people are better acquainted with the dance than to singing. The individual approach is more exposed in singing. A proof of this is the term *professionals* that in the context of modern traditional music making of the Dalmatian hinterland refer to popular musicians and singers. *Professionals* adorn the remarkable performing ability, which results in certain popularity outside their local communities. Many *professionals* usually appear at public events in traditional costumes with a specific manner of speech, movement and walking while performing attractive repertoire with striking expression and virtuosity that marks their music making mentality as well as a way of life [Čaleta 2007:173]. I stress mentality as an important component that determines various unconventional reactions that this area possesses. The

following case is an example how mentality of the local community experience ethnomusicologists directly plaited in the production, safeguarding, preservation, and re-creation of the intangible cultural heritage.

Case III – Ojkanje public presentation

A controversial case I was actively involved in was the presentation of UNESCO's tradition as a concert production on *Croatie, la Voici – Festival de la Croatie en France* in Paris (September–December 2012).⁷ My task was to select the participants that present the *ojkanje* and *nijemo kolo* as well as *two-part singing and playing in the Istrian scale*. I purposely selected performers and performing styles that had never been media emphasized. Criteria for selection were the excellence of the performers as well as their willingness and ability to collaborate in process of performance making. Thanks to experiences and memories, performers were able to reconstruct series of forgotten and a rarely performed piece of the repertoire which, in my opinion, was one of the goals of UNESCO recognition.⁸

Through several meetings with *ganga* singers from Bekija, *ojkavica* singers from Dalmatinska Zagora, and *kantaduri* from Istria, we selected interesting styles and genres and then agreed on songs (texts). Also we have chosen the types of performing situations (*solo*, *duets*, *male*, *female* and *mixed singing groups*) and instrumental accompaniment adequate for some musical examples (*gusle*, *dvojnice*, *diple*, *cindra*, *sopele*, *šurle*). The whole process was an interactive situation in which we all participate with their proposals in order to end the unanimous conclusions about what we like best. All in all, an hour long program consists of more than thirty *numbers* due to the fact that the majority of archaic singing (*ojkanje*) last as long as singer's breath is long – about thirty seconds.

Our trip to Paris was professionally organized (Ministry of Culture) by the principles of organizing any urban professional musical events or commercial concert. For most of the performers the trip in Paris was a sensation: the first trip outside a country, the first airplane flight... Contact with Paris started with *ojkavica* in front of the hotel and the highlight of the trip was the *ganga* singing at the top of the Eiffel Tower, and a singer's signature in the *visit book* of the world's metropolis, a headquarter of UNESCO's activities. Normally, in all *singing* situations surprised passers-by reacted spontaneously, giving them hearty applause. The concert audience in *Maison des Cultures du Monde* theatre, accustomed to unusual musical styles and genres gave them a frantic applause. All in all, performers, audience, and our *client* (Ministry of Culture) were all satisfied by the results of our efforts! As, always in life, this happy ending story had an opposite side.

The biggest flaw I made was selecting a *ganga* singing group whose members reside on the *wrong* side of the political border; they came from western Herzegovina. The reactions to their performance were furious. The members of folklore and singing groups of the neighboring Imotski region made protest rallies. They established the "Association for the Protection of Imotski Ganga" lobby in political circles all in order to take control of the future official appearances. The truth is that the flow of incomplete information often leads to a general misconception that results in misunderstanding and at the same time shows a very limited character of people who are misled to such misinformation. They are assured that their singing and dancing is the only one that deserves attention, that their virtuosity is unique. It was a typical reaction of the individuals who consider their skills to be an exclusive merit for the community. In particular, this applies to the role of the artist; these bearers of the tradition regard public recognition as a personal credit identifying their name with the (complex) musical phenomenon. Their reaction and a series of actions taken as a whole coincides with the reactions of our eastern neighbors that really testifies to the common mentality where traditional singing and dancing, as intangible cultural heritage is an important part of life. However, it all remains on individual attempts that raise a question of higher scale interaction

among local, national, and regional communities. Only in this way, their joint co-operation with the support of state institutions will relevantly *protect* a valuable heritage.

Endnotes

1. "Obviously we had good energy that managed to touch people! After our *ojkanje* the entire hall erupted in applause. After the session, or declaring the intangible cultural heritage list at UNESCO, people were coming up to congratulate us" (quoting Tvrtko Zebec [translated by Čaleta], online: < <http://www.jutarnji.hr/tvrtko-zebec--kada-smo-zaojkali--450-ljudi-nam-je-pljeskalo/906266/>> (accessed 2014 September 28).
2. As an ethnomusicologist involved in the research of this particular tradition, I was directly involved in the process of collecting data and writing the proposal.
3. "Noise" for the outsiders, is described in literature as a *roughness-diaphony* (Schwebungsdiaphonie). "Since 1909 (Kuba), the Schwebungsdiaphonie (roughness-diaphony) has been labeled either "*archaic multipart style*" or "archetype of polyphony" (Adler, v. Hornbostel, Kunst, Schneider, Wiora) which in turn led to nationalist hypotheses that claim the *origin* of this concept for the own ethnic group [Brandl 2008:281]."
4. See <<http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/Hrvatska/tabid/66/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/121845/Default.aspx>> (accessed 2014 November 10).
5. This was the most commented news in the media. See < <http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/ojkaci-oj-boze-cuvaj-nasu-jadraku-oj-boze-cuvaj-i-hdz-255097>> (accessed 2014 September 28).
6. Description and scenario of this comic opera is shown in English online: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ero_s_onoga_svijeta> (accessed 2014 November 24).
7. In celebration of Croatia's upcoming entry into the European Union in 2013, France launched a festival that specifically focused on its arts and culture. See <<http://www.likecroatia.com/news-tips/croatie-la-voici-croatia-in-france/>> (accessed 2014 November 26).
8. This was an opportunity to hear some of the rarely performed archaic genres of *ojkanje* singing: *putničko* (traveler's singing), *sopračko ili svatovsko pjevanje* (bridal or marriage singing), *pjevanje iz kape* (singing from the hat), *brojkavica* (counting songs), *džotavica* (wedding songs), *treskavica* (shaking songs).

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TANGO DANCE PRACTICES IN DANCE SCHOOLS IN CROATIA: THE TANGO'S MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

Ivana Katarinčić

At the beginning of the twentieth century in England some social dances derived from local, national or traditional folk dances, largely from the South American region, were converted into standardized sports dances. The *tango* as one of those dances went through a process of standardization to become different (tango). Nomination for "The Tango Rioplatense" (of the Argentinian and Uruguayan Rio de la Plata area) was jointly put forward by Uruguay and Argentina. In 2009 "The Tango" was added to the *Representative List of World Intangible Heritage of Humanity* by UNESCO. Doing research about social dances in dance schools in Zagreb, I noticed very diverse performances of *tango*. How is *tango* danced in communities far from Rio de la Plata?

Keywords: Croatia-Zagreb; *tango*; social dance; schools

This paper presents and compares several different *tango* practices and how they are mutually intertwined. This will lead to examples that show how, because of the global, the local becomes influenced. It will also be shown how imprecise terminology, perception or performance of the *tango* can lead to a certain vagueness about the dance.

Nomination of "The Tango Rioplatense" (of the Argentine and Uruguayan Rio de la Plata area) was jointly put forward by Uruguay and Argentina. In 2009, "The Tango" was added to the Representative List of World Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO. Constituent elements of "The Tango" on the list are dance, music, and lyrics; however, I orient only to dance due to the comparison of *tango* practices in which the dance element dominates. When performed at diverse geographical locations, the closest versions of *tango* performances to those in the Rio de la Plata area is called the Tango Argentino; hence, not Uruguayan or just Tango as stands in the text of nomination. Consequently, when referring to the *tango* on the List, I use the most popular version - the Tango Argentino - since I shall try to compare, distinguish, and explain more than one practice of the *tango* in Zagreb. In the example, I present what led to *tango* dance practice in dance schools in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, and show that *tango* performances inscribed in the UNESCO list, performances of the standardised "sport tango"¹ or the *tango* that is taught at Zagreb dance schools under the name 'tango', and what is taught under the name Tango Argentino, differ in many respects.

The intangible performing arts that are commonly deemed worthy of preservation by organizations such as UNESCO are often those regarded as traditional practices that reflect the identity of a specific nation or group [Pietrobruno 2009:228]. Nevertheless, the *tango* is global and traditional at the same time, although UNESCO does not fully acknowledge the highly global nature of the *tango*.² The *tango* described in the Convention does mention and acknowledge, but does not scrutinize the *tango*'s globality that is at its core today, but was not so previously. Despite its Argentine and Uruguayan roots, the *tango* has been disseminated throughout the world and is performed in cities all around the globe. Global practices of the *tango* imply very different impacts on its local practices. In that way, the *tango* is influenced by varied outside forces. Among them, commercial influences [Pietrobruno 2009:229] need to be considered and very often they are not or at least not fully. The Tango Argentino at the beginning of the twentieth century became internationally popular and its traditional expression became imbued with commercial influences.

During its intensive popularization its dominant label and characteristic became "a political economy of passion" (Savigliano 1995), as a dance that awakens the intensity of sentiment and passionate experience of the world, dance and body. In the era of globalization,

the *tango* crossed the lines of its own installation. Its spread brought a certain simplification, but also a change. Popularization and spreading of the *tango* contributed to its partial disorientation and its multiple relocation, because every community of *tango* dancers and every individual dancer performing it, no matter where, identified themselves with the *tango* and called themselves – and are also called by others – *tangeros*. Apart from being global and traditional at the same time, the *tango* is also national, in fact, multinational, since its original practices are stretched over two states.³

When it comes to the *tango*, I think it is important to explain and distinguish the standardised version of the sport or ballroom *tango* and its relationship with the Tango Argentino. In England at the beginning of the twentieth century, some social dances that derived from local, national, or traditional folk dances, largely from the South American region, were converted into standardised sport dances. Sport dances are internationally called Ballroom Dances or International Dances and denote the "English style of competitive dancing".⁴ The International or English style is divided into Latin-American dances (the *samba*, *cha cha cha*, *rumba*, *paso doble*, and *jive*) and standard dances (the *English waltz*, *tango*, *Viennese waltz*, *slowfox* [or *foxtrot*] and the *quickstep*). As one of them, the *tango* went through a process of standardization to become different (the *tango*). That *tango* is simply called – the Tango - just as it is termed on the UNESCO list.

Each dance in the group of sport dances also co-exists as a social dance. They are distinguished by specialised know-how, differences in performance, and their place of belonging in the community. The difference lies in the degree of engagement and inclusion. When social dances cease to be merely recreational and become part of the everyday life of the dancer competitor, they become sport dances. Social dances in the text denote dances that are taught under that name in Zagreb dance schools and those that preceded them and they became the basis of the standardized sports dance form.

Juliet McMains noticed that, after a few decades of revising and correcting in English, the European and American dance bodies, versions of sport dances, including the *sport tango*, have lost their similarity with not only the historical but also with the contemporary dance practices of Latin America [McMains 2001/2002:55]. The standardised, *sport tango* is different from the Tango Argentino in standardised form, although it can be noticed that the Tango Argentino has also adopted a standardised form to some extent, due to its commercialization. Namely, in order for a dance to spread, it needed to be partly standardised. The difference lay in the way of its partial standardisation that went through different, more informal channels. In the absence of formal and codified teaching, technique, organization, and structure, the process of global dissemination of the *tango* is harder to follow. Just partially codified, dancing of the *tango* leads to local and sometimes personal styles and variations.

So, there is another factor when the *tango* loses its clarity. It is in its transmission. Doing research about social dances in dance schools in Zagreb, I noticed very diverse *tango* performances. According to my observations, they were largely due to the dance instructors. Dance instructors who primarily teach social dances – and the *tango* as one of them – are former sports or ballroom dancers. This reference gives them legitimacy with the students taking the dance lessons. Adequate competences in teaching dances like the *tango* are not prescribed. They are guided by "the free market" and it is left to the instructors who regard themselves to be competent enough to teach. Their efficacy is measurable only by the popularity of their schools and by the number of their students. I found that the instructors at dance schools largely teach what can be the closest to the standardised *tango*, but without the sports technique. They teach the *sport tango* elements but reduce information about the technique in order to leave it social and amateur, although after a prolonged period of consuming and training, they also apply and transfer sport dance aesthetics, already written

into their bodies. It also sometimes happens that at the social dance course – a series of dance lessons – the Tango Argentino is taught in addition to the ostensible social tango. In my experience, it can be a *reward* dance at the end of a dance course. Or, at the end of the dance course, the dance instructor can choose to teach the students one more dance besides the usual ten or so social dances.⁵ Very often that dance turns out to be the Tango Argentino. In some cases, the dancers take lessons in both, that is, they attend social dance lessons and Tango Argentino dance lessons as well. Dancing to *tango* music at dance parties (not *milongas*, where solely the Tango Argentino is danced) after such dance courses, the dancers then dance either the Tango Argentino, or a sport version of the *tango*, and they very often apply elements and styles of both of above-mentioned *tangos*.

So, leaving out standardised ballroom *tango* technique, the instructors do not teach either of the above-mentioned *tangos*, and one could conditionally say, that the students dance a type of semi-sports *tango*, not the ballroom *tango* or the Tango Argentino. This example captured my attention because it showed how fragile the boundaries between different dance forms under the same name could be.

To a certain disorientation and vagueness about this dance leads its broad perception and recognisability. The *tango* is easily recognizable at first sight, notwithstanding which *tango* is in question. Its recognisability does not come from knowing its steps or knowing any basic structure of movement. Hence, it is not necessary to know the basic step or even *any tango* step for it to be recognised as the Tango. Its recognisability derives from the style and manner of movement. Distinguishable dance elements, beside the dance steps, technique or music rhythm, are largely to be found in style, although style, as Suzanne Youngerman [1975:118] had noticed, has turned out to be the most difficult aspect of dance observation to reach.

Laurence Louppe thinks, "[s]tyle in dance seems *a priori* as something undetermined and uncatchable. But actually, it is about something that the spectator perceives the fastest and something that affects his sensibility the fastest. Style greatly precedes every formal framing. It does not recline in vocabulary or any lexical setting of choreographic letter and still it is in the centre of its functioning" [Louppe 2009:131]. In so doing, distinguishing individual forms of the Tango are being lost. They can be recognised and distinguished by dancers, choreographers, and dance experts. However, if one speaks of its wide recognisability, it is recognized simply as – the Tango.

Endnotes

1. The "sport tango" here refers to a form of tango that went through the process of standardization. Today it is danced as one of ten competitive ballroom dances. Sport dancing couples are members of sport dance clubs and they may compete with other sport couples in Standard, Latin-American, and/or in combination of ten standardized ballroom competitive dances, including the tango (see also endnote 4).

2. There are many locations and communities all around the world where the *tango* is danced. It is danced across vast territories and regions and it is experienced among very different people in very different areas, cultures, and contexts. Hence, in this paper *global* refers to the many and disseminated *tango* practices all around the world and not to all peoples and certainly not to all the places in the world. I cordially thank Kendra Stepputat for remarking that I need to be clearer about terminology.

3. UNESCO does consider that a particular culture can be a part of more than one nation although it is mostly oriented to specific and defined localities.

4. There is also an American style of competitive ballroom dancing divided into Rhythm Dances (the *cha cha cha*, *rhumba*, *swing*, *bolero* and *mambo*) and Smooth Dances (the *waltz*, *tango*, *foxtrot* and *Viennese waltz*). Some countries have additional categories, being danced as both social dances and as competitive sports dances. The American categorization corresponds with the European and/or English style of competitive dancing. The basic differences lie in the particulars of technical performance and the manner of presentation.

5. Dancing courses in Zagreb usually last for one or two months with dance lessons once or twice a week, usually in the evening. During that time, students are generally taught about ten or twelve dances. They include ten ballroom or sport dances and sometimes the *mambo* and *rock-and-roll* or another dance as well.

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PANEL: MUSIC AND DANCE AS INTANGIBLE AND TANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE:
CROATIAN EXPERIENCES

THE INTERNET PRESENTATION OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE BASED ON THE EXAMPLE OF SWORD DANCES IN CROATIA

Iva Niemčić

Sword dances are a significant part of Croatian cultural heritage. All three types are listed in the Croatian Register of Cultural Heritage. These dances are an integral part of traditional events celebrating patron saints days. They are also performed as part of winter carnival events or spring Pentecost. Since modern approaches to safeguarding and valorization of cultural heritage include consistent usage of information technology, the aim of the web presentation project is to enable easy access to information related to Croatian sword dances and availability based on the annual cultural events calendar. This presentation is about the reaction and visitation of the local communities to the sword dance web page, their expectations and also disappointments related to being listed in the Croatian Register of Cultural Heritage.

Keywords: Croatia; sword dances; website; heritage; expectations

The project on sword dances in Croatia and their internet presentation has emerged within a broader project entitled "Croatian intangible cultural heritage, social identities and values," financed by the Croatian Science Foundation. Sword dances belong to traditional Croatian dance events, which make a significant part of Croatian cultural heritage. The phenomena of *moreška* and *kumpanije* dances from Korčula and the Lastovo carnival's dance belong to a group of sword dances and present identity footholds for the island communities, have been well-researched and well-known in scholarly literature and popular science (Ivančan 1967, 1973, 1974, 1985; Jurica 2001; Lozica 1984, 1999, 2002; Niemčić 2011, 2014; Zebec 2001). There has also been literature on the "queens" custom from Slavonia, while the "white masks" custom from the village of Putnikovići on Pelješac peninsula has not been very much presented in scholarly literature and is least known to the general public (Čale Feldman 1997, 2001; Lović 2012; Lozica 2002; Zebec 2001).

A diversity of sword dance types that are still danced today asks for their systematic preservation and fresh and up-to-date presentation. They are of three types; the mock combat dance, the wedding dance, and the chain sword dance [Zebec 2001:382; Niemčić 2011:154–155]. All the three types are listed in the Croatian Register of Intangible Cultural Heritage,

which discusses their importance for the Croatian culture. Intangible cultural heritage has been recognized as one of the most important contemporary factors in the development of identities of local communities, pointing to connections between an individual and the community in a complex dialogue between the past and the present. Sword dances are performed on a regular basis in local communities, as part of patron saints celebrations, traditional carnival events (such as the Lastovo's carnival dance or white masks' circle dance from Putnikovići) or at Pentecost (*ljelje's* circle dance from the village of Gorjani in Slavonia). For local communities, these dance events present part of their identities, the way of showing noteworthy and necessary respect for the traditions their parents passed on to them and that they, in turn, are passing on to their children. On the other hand, the listing of these cultural goods in the Register has contributed to recognition of their value and importance among the broader community. Lado, the national folk dance and song ensemble, has performed choreographies of the Lastovo carnival's sword dance, *Moreška*, and *ljelje's* sword dance for many years as part of their presentations of Croatian cultural traditions all around the world. Furthermore, *Moreška* has been recognized as unique in the context of Korčula's culture and the Croatian culture in general, becoming an indispensable attraction in cultural tourism offered by Korčula Town. During the tourist season, from June to September, *Moreška* is performed twice a week, or more frequently when necessary, for example when cruise ships arrive in town or for other organized tourist visits. The aim is to give each visitor of Korčula the opportunity to see this unique combat sword dance in its original setting.

Lastovo's carnival, on the other hand, has kept its individuality and does not pander to tourists nor does it reveal itself to them readily; instead, it shyly encourages them to adjust their own cultural journey in order to experience it. The response has been modest, but existent. Through television stories, newspaper articles and scholarly research, more and more people get to know about the Lastovo carnival phenomenon each year. The sword dance web page <www.macevni-plesovi.org> has further contributed to an increased visibility and promotion of the carnival. There is only one dance performed for tourists specifically, and that is a short stage adaptation of the carnival's circle dance that we saw during our symposium trip to Lastovo.

Since modern approaches in the field of heritage safeguarding and valorization include a consistent use of information technology, the aim of this project is to enable an easy approach to information on Croatian sword dances, increasing their recognition and availability by means of annual cultural events calendar, a feature that so far has been systematically neglected. In workshops we have encouraged and trained local people to get involved in creating and updating data on the web page. Thus, we have made sure that a local community, as a holder of an intangible cultural good, gets actively involved in its virtual presentation, while at the same time we have encouraged its members to collect archival photos and notes and keep a list of the participants, both the former and those that are still active.

The web presentation of Lastovo Carnival has been completed, while other customs and accompanying sword dances are in various stages of completion. In 2013, at the round table organized on the occasion of the 530th Lastovo Carnival, we presented the web page to the inhabitants of Lastovo, inviting them to collect, scan and publish archival photos from their family albums and provide personal information on the carnival participants. The response was excellent. As many as 169 carnival participants have been listed and their information published (both male and female, former and still active). For each of the participants, there is a first name and a surname, a year of birth, occupation, and their role (or more of them, if they have changed during the years) in the carnival events. We have also published about 40 photographs from private albums, which were taken between 1920 and 1972. This is where the story gets interesting. One of the contributors posted the project on a social network that

he often uses for business purposes, posting the album with archival photographs of Lastovo Carnival. Since many of his friends and acquaintances from Lastovo are also his "friends" on this social network, the ball started rolling. One of the possibilities that the social network offers is to select a face in a photograph and assign a name to it, or tag it. It is also possible to write a comment next to each posted photograph. This has led to many interesting discussions and even to a sort of competition in recognizing former, and even some late male and female carnival participants. As an example, I've singled out this photograph, taken in 1962, which shows male carnival participants, pretty masques and generals, all of whom have been identified and tagged thanks to the social network. The act of tagging people in pictures, inspired by traditional heritage, has also encouraged intergenerational socializing in families, as evidenced by the following comment: "The grandma had fun, too, recognizing the people in the pictures. She was talking, and I was tagging." And so, unintentionally, in a simple and quick way, we have gathered all the information about the photographs, from the year they were taken to the names of the people in them. We have received interesting comments in the process, which have provided us with an insight into the response our work has had in the local community. This is only one little example of a good and productive cooperation with the holders of an intangible cultural good.

But that is not all. Collecting archival photographs for the web page inspired the inhabitants of Lastovo to organize an exhibition of black-and-white photographs from their family albums, which took place during this year's carnival. The whole community joined in, well aware that these valuable documents of local history need to be preserved. The photographs were scanned, enlarged, and arranged on big boards. Next to each photograph, there was information about the year the photo was taken in and the people in it. Since some of the people in the pictures had not been identified by the opening day of the exhibition, the organizers invited visitors to supply the names if possible.

This is another example of positive influence from above. With the help of our knowledge and ideas, the local community is inspired to create their own local archive. The archive is still in the process of creation, and its completion depends exclusively on the involvement and creativity of the local community. Old photographs with carnival events from family albums and from the attic will gain a new life accessible to the whole community, and this will one day again be the subject of scientific research.

On one hand, we can observe how the protection of certain intangible cultural heritage has an impact on the local community as the holder and how the community uses it for its own promotion. Whereas, on the other hand, we observe how the state and media use protected heritage for the national promotion as a confirmation of its identity and tradition. In the before mentioned example of the Internet page about sword dances the creation of which was enabled through the funds from the project that basically deals with the Croatian intangible cultural heritage; the very inclusion of sword dances in the Croatian Register of Cultural Heritage was the immediate cause, but also the justification for funding. Thus indirectly the local communities as holders of the presented cultural heritage have also had use of it by gaining the public visibility followed by documented photographs, as well as scientific and professional text. Despite UNESCO's protection initiatives, just like folklore festivals and general folklore on stage we closely connect with the idea of saving [Hameršak; Pleše 2013:16], the project of Internet presentation about sword dances does not see it as its main goal. The main intention of this Internet page is to show the realistic present condition of the protected cultural heritage, that is, its active life in the local community. We are presenting the complete custom that follows sword dances. It includes a great part of the community and not just the active members of the local folklore group. This kind of Internet presentation of this dance and its related customs also gain visibility in its completeness outside the local community of this authentic event. It's not only about the stage presentation

strictly limited by time and number of dancers, which is the usual way of presenting traditional culture.

The photographs on the web page date from 2012, 2013 and 2014, and were taken during the event. The idea to collect archive photographs and active inclusion of the local community in the creation of the web page contents came only afterwards. The album with archive photographs presents the idea of saving first of all the material proof of past times, but also saving the memories of people, life, and customs from not such a remote past. The before mentioned good practice of the local community inclusion is based on the involvement and enthusiasm of individuals. The protection policy of intangible cultural heritage, administration and all the documents or certificates would not mean anything without the involvement of individuals, though this very individual initiative is skillfully hidden behind the before mentioned documents.

According to some criticism, "UNESCO's initiative, just like folklore festivals before it, is implemented primarily as a presentation and stage project, sometimes even with economic potential, but is often miles away from living practice or community life UNESCO itself swears to" [Hameršak; Pleše 2013:18]. The Internet presentation of the Croatian intangible cultural heritage of sword dances proves the opposite. It is an example of protected cultural heritage which is very much alive in the local communities, mostly not connected with tourism, but protected because of long-standing involvement of individuals and the community from inside, and not the protection from outside. Despite the fact there are stage versions of all sword dances in Croatia, this does not bring into question the authentic local performance followed by all usual activities. However, there is undisputed pride of the local community in the listing in the Croatian Register of Intangible Cultural Heritage, but the before mentioned protection has also directly provided funds for the implementation of this project.

On the other hand, looking from the top, the state and the media greatly use this, as well as the other protected cultural heritage, for their promotion as a proof of their identity and tradition. As we have already mentioned (see panel presentation by Zebec), the more we go to the "top", the less the holders of the tradition become important. At a gala organized on the occasion of the Croatian accession to the EU, the programme was based on the presentation of the protected Croatian cultural heritage, but the emphasis was still on the very product, and not on its holders. All presented protected cultural heritage from our traditional culture was performed by professional dancers/singers from Lado, the Croatian national ensemble.

From field research in a local community setting, to preparing an ethnographic text that is positioned in existent scholarly literature and recognized narrative, has long been aimed at an audience beyond the community. Creation of a website of sword dances is also directed to a broad audience but is characterized by both scientific and community contributions. Ethnographic text with contemporary documentary photography is joined alongside local voices and their own photographs from family albums. New ethnographic participation, new views, and new research topics have been opened up through internet design that links cooperation of the community with scientific ethnography.

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PANEL: MUSIC AND DANCE AS INTANGIBLE AND TANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE:
CROATIAN EXPERIENCES

**REINTERPRETING (NATIONAL) INTANGIBLE HERITAGE:
HOW DO WE PRESENT OURSELVES?**

Tvrtko Zebec

When Croatia became a member state of the European Union in 2013, a huge public ceremony was organized on the main square in Zagreb. The artistic director compiled a program primarily "for a domestic audience and then for the Others." Intangible heritage was the salutary backbone for the program. A year earlier, a co-author for the celebration of the Statehood Day in Slovenia advocated for public emancipation of "folklore activities." How do we present ourselves nowadays? Are we now in the new age of reinterpreting our national identities in the European Union? How is cultural heritage used in construction of local and national identities and, at the same time, serve as the best way for promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue?

Keywords: Croatia; representation; heritage; reflexivity; ceremony

After a long process of eight years of negotiation, Croatia became a member state of the European Union on 1 July 2013. On that occasion, there was a huge project of public ceremony, a multimedia bricolage organized on the main square in Zagreb. The artistic director of the broadcast programme was a young and respected theatre director (Pofuk 2013). As she said in an interview for the newspapers, she primarily imagined and compiled the

programme "for the domestic audience rather than for the Others." Following the order by the Croatian Government, especially from the deputy of the Minister of Culture, she found intangible cultural heritage to be a salutary backbone for the programme. She also said that she was personally very positively surprised when she discovered just how rich we are in cultural heritage with all recognised by UNESCO, which could be, as she said, *translated* into a contemporary context on the stage. She was obliged not to say anything in advance about the programme, and she promised she would closely follow the ideas of her employer, the Government.

From the very beginning of the ceremony, immediately after the sounds of the Croatian anthem, a solo *ojkavica* song was loudly amplified over the main square, with its three official stages, some thousands of people on the square and many more sitting in front of their television sets. And after the *ojkavica*, a *nijemo kolo* (silent circle dance – the *kolo*) was performed.¹

It is interesting to note who the performers were. You have probably all heard of Lado, the professional National Folk Dance Ensemble of Croatia.² During the programme, Lado performed three times – at the beginning with the *ojkavica* song and the *nijemo kolo*, then together with the local community of *zvončari* Bell Ringers from Halubje, inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List as bearers of animal Carnival traditions, and finally Lado performed the *Ljelje* – the spring procession of the *Slavonske kraljice* [queens from Slavonia] – as a ritual part of the Christian Pentecost holiday.

Throughout the programme we could watch a huge display on the façade of the skyscraper on the main square, showing images of traditional lace-making; pictures of the Sorkočević family Renaissance palace in Dubrovnik accompanied by the playing of the Sorkočević Symphony No. 3 in D major; old Croatian Glagolitic letters backed by singing of Catholic Easter songs during the *Following the Cross* procession; or the image of traditional toys to the singing of an arranged song from the western part of Croatia, where these toys are produced. These images were contrasted to some modern sounds from a bang-bang percussion ensemble accompanied by contemporary dance that some critics recognised as a kind of "neurological episodes in white"; or the Transhistria (international) ensemble playing modern jazz with Tamara Obrovac singing, using some traditional patterns in producing a special music sound and expression now becoming recognised abroad. *2Cellos* also performed with the arrangement of Michael Jackson's *Smooth Criminal* that had made them globally popular overnight through YouTube.³

The idea was to show the antiquity of our traditional music and art, popular – rural, or classical – and upper class and aristocratic, as the counterpoint to modern art performed by young and perspective artists. We went from ancient rituals to modern expressions that are recognised not only in Croatia.

To summarize, the examples of intangible culture were the backbone of the programme and more than half of the performers of those traditions were professionals from the Lado Ensemble, and not the representatives of local communities as standard-bearers of the same traditions. As the artistic director said, "those traditions were translated" to the stage. Nobody asked questions about the real bearers and their role as transmitters of tradition to younger generations. Of course, we can find the reasons for this in some kind of technical and financial circumstances, and in security reasons – it was much easier to prepare accreditations for performers from one professional ensemble than for several different groups of performers from the villages far from the capital. And the costs were much lower, too.

And what about the comments and headlines in the media? "An hour and 40 minutes of academic affectation and provincial obsession with the EU from the heart of Zagreb"; "too much enlightenment and too little fun"; "for some – too much folklore, for others – too much of the classical" (Derk 2013), but in the most reports – the best part of the whole evening were

the bell ringers with their spontaneity and, at the end, their ride in the tram as the most original and paradoxical part of the evening (Pavlić 2013)! Since the whole centre of town was completely blocked for security reasons, there was no tram traffic most of the whole day.

While I was thinking of this example to present in the paper, I ran into the text of an interview with our younger colleague, Tomaš Simetinger, a doctoral student of ethnology and cultural anthropology in our neighbouring Ljubljana in Slovenia, who was asked to direct the ceremonial public performance in 2012 as the annual Slovenian state celebration of their accession to the EU (Kosmos 2012). He is an art director of the France Marolt – academic folk dance ensemble – that is amateur but organised, and work and perform as professionals. And his idea presented in the newspaper's headline was: *Folklore activities must emancipate*. He said that they had not applied after the official invitation from the coordination board for the state celebration, mostly because of other participants and colleagues in cultural production who protested against these kinds of folklore presentations at the national, state level.

We used to perform for free at that kind of local celebration," he said, "but when the organiser wanted us to perform, we did our best to show what we know." He continued: "Folklore activities are clear and simple expressions of national ideological construction and they come from the time of national awakening. But today we must not look for the authenticity but rather to turn to a contemporary stage practice – to satisfy the majority of the population in Slovenia without any kind of political instrumentalization [Kosmos 2012].

Comparing these two similar examples, we might ask ourselves how much it is at all possible to do anything without political instrumentalization. Instrumentalization through intangible culture inscribed on the lists or registers is produced in that way, and recognised as heritage with added value, as *metacultural artefacts*, in the words of Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006), or as a result of *heritagization* according to Regina Bendix (2009). Bearers of culture – with special feelings for their local identities – immediately start to compete for something that had previously been their own habitus.

They start to compete with other standard-bearers of similar traditions, to ask questions or, literally, to fight for their own "authenticity" that is maybe "older" than that of their neighbours... On the other hand they have to compete with ensembles like Lado or France Marolt or other amateur "urban" ensembles performing village traditions, who perform the same cultural "elements" on the stage as artists, amateur or professional, but with a different philosophy and communicative competence [Kaeppeler 1999:16–17] or feelings of aesthetics or identity.

Seen through this lens, we can really speak only about "politics," as Maria Koutsouba named similar intangible cultural heritage Greek perspectives or issues (see Koutsouba in this volume).

Following the first theme of the Symposium, we can also interpret this perspective as the Grand Narrative, and a construction of mythic history about living traditions all over the world, thanks to UNESCO. But, on the other hand, we do have more than the negative perspective that derives from the critical discursive approach of constructed and sometimes/always manipulated public opinion, which emerges with the influence of the media.

As experts, we are part of the ICTM. And the ICTM is in a consultative relation with UNESCO. Many of us are active as experts with our work on the implementation of the UNESCO Convention. Through the years, a number of experts have been invited to participate, and they have helped in the development of the Convention, its implementation,

and in composing criteria for inscription. In that way, we always ask ourselves why we need this kind of applied work. As scholars at the same time, we try hard to be reflexive and self-critical [see Zebec 2013].

If you look at the posters exhibited in the room about the number of Croatian ICH "elements" inscribed into UNESCO lists,⁴ you could ask – is that really necessary? What is the point in inscription of living traditions – if they are alive – why do we want to put them somewhere publicly recognised at a national or global level? Do we really have in focus the people as bearers of traditions or do we merely want to scale quickly to be the first on the Olympus of cultural competition (as Kristin Kuutma has said)?⁵

As scholars on the one hand, and as experts with applied work in ethnomusicology or ethnochoreology, on the other, we are constantly somewhere in between. We are either between local communities and local governments; or between bearers and administrations at the national or global level.

We are responsible at several levels. I would say firstly to ourselves and our own consciences, having in mind the ethical and moral considerations, then to our profession and our disciplines. At the same time, we have colleagues who are active only as academics without applied work – and discussing what applied work can "produce", they used to say – YES–BUT... there are so many questions that are addressed to UNESCO or to politics, that we are not sure if we need this work at all! So, if we are talking about human or gender rights in general – it is fine, but if we are talking about the intangible cultural heritage, then the negative reflections are too strong.

The other level of the relationship is with the administrators – they ask for the help of experts only when they really need it, but under their conditions – legal framework, laws, limitations... So again, YES–BUT.

The next level is the relationship with the local communities as bearers of tradition. And again you have to understand their own interests and points of view. And again you have to "fight" with YES–BUT conditions.

When we take into consideration the spectacularism and manipulation so beloved by the media, it is really very complicated to be active, to apply your knowledge and capacities, and to be a part of these processes.

We have presented our Croatian perspective and experiences here. Through applied work with people and with technology, we have raised certain questions about what dance and music can mean as intangible but also tangible heritage, and how the global can become local, or the contrary; how it can change through time traveling up and down, forward and backward, embraced strongly or more relaxed, how many strong borders we have and how many of them we have to cross during these processes – questions that we are raising to ourselves all the time without clear and exact answers, because of many paradoxical situations and conditions, politics, policies, narratives, so.....context in general.

Endnotes

1. *Celebration of Croatia's accession to the European Union* – Streamed live on June 30, 2013, YouTube: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mXzRyKE4WIw>> (September 27, 2014)

2. Website about Lado Ensemble, <<http://www.lado.hr/en/about-us/>> (September 27, 2014)

3. Performance by *2cellos—Smooth Carnival (official video)*. Online: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mx0xCi1jaUM>> (September 27, 2014)

4. The exhibition was organised by Vinka Ljubimir and placed a year ago in the Palace of Sponza in Dubrovnik for the ICCN workshop (October 2–6, 2013), and a part of it was exhibited again in the Conference Hall in Marko Polo Hotel during the 28th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology. More about the ICCN – Inter-City Intangible Cultural Cooperation Network, NGO accredited by UNESCO, on the web: <<http://www.iccn.or.kr>>

5. Private communication with Kristin Kuutma in 2010. (Professor of Cultural Research at the Department of Ethnology, Institute of Cultural Research, University of Tartu; Chairperson of the Estonian National Commission for UNESCO; the first Chair of the Subsidiary Body of the UNESCO Convention [2003], 2009-2010).

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