

ČASOPIS ZA PLESNU UMJETNOST »

Kretanja Movements

« DANCE MAGAZINE

| 27

▶▶ sadržaj/contents:

03	Maja Đurinović
	uvodnik
06	Introduction
09	Mihaela Devald Roksandić
	Berlinsko zlato na ispitu savjesti
15	Berlin Gold on a Trial of Conscience
21	Iva Nerina Sibila
	Ples je rasno pitanje / Rudolf Laban i nacistički režim
27	Dance Is a Racial Issue / Rudolf Laban and the Nazi Regime
35	Andreja Jeličić
	Labanova Festkultur - od Pjesme suncu do Međunarodnog plesnog natjecanja povodom berlinske Olimpijade
39	Laban's Festkultur; from Sang an die Sonne to the International Dance Competition on the Occasion of the Berlin Olympic Games

43	Katarina Žeravica
	Solistički nastup Nevenke Perko: Narodni hrvatski plesovi na Tanzwettspiele u Berlinu 1936.
49	Nevenka Perko's Solo Performance: Croatian Folk Dances at Tanzwettspiele in Berlin in 1936
57	Tvrtko Zebec
	Građansko viđenje nacionalnoga – odjeci nastupa kazalištaraca u Berlinu 1936.
65	A Bourgeois Vision of the National – Echoes of Theatre Artists' Performances in Berlin 1936
73	Maja Đurinović
	Čudo u Berlinu
75	A Miracle in Berlin

▶▶ uvodnik:

U organizaciji Hrvatskog centra ITI 29. listopada 2016. održan je okrugli stol na temu: *80 godina od jedinstvenih i prijepornih Tanzwettspiele* tzv. *Plesne olimpijade održane u Berlinu 1936*. Pred vama su pismeno uobličena predavanja i razmišljanja inicirana ovim, u povijesti Olimpijskih igara nikad ponovljenim, a politički i umjetnički nesumnjivo vrlo kontradiktornim plesnim natjecanjem koje nam je bilo važno iz tri osnovna razloga.

Prvi poticaj je došao uz Godinu Slavonske, koju je uz 100-tu obljetnicu rođenja¹ ove velike umjetnice i prve hrvatske primabalerine, proglasila Umjetnička akademija u Osijeku. Mia Čorak u Berlinu po prvi put nastupa i trijumfira kao Slavenska i to je bio početak njezine sjajne svjetske karijere, koja se nastavila u Francuskoj i završila u SAD-u. Tekst Mihaele Devald Roksandić *Berlinsko zlato na ispitu savjesti* kritički sagledava cijelu situaciju oko Plesne olimpijade sa stavom da je to „*ono najbolje što za Miju danas možemo učiniti (...) kako bi se uklonio dojam da je Plesna olimpijada tema unutar koje se ne smije i ne može razgovarati o politici.*“ Pritom su za Devald Roksandić osobito važni osobni zapisi i razmišljanja Slavonske, materijali iz njezinih neobjavljenih memoara koje nam je za potrebe skupa ustupila kći Mije Čorak, Marija Ramas.

Sljedeća tema proizašla iz Plesne olimpijade je iznimno zanimljiva iz pozicije povijesti hrvatskog plesa jer je nastup u Berlinu prvi i ujedno nevjerojatno uspješni međunarodni nastup zagrebačkih plesača koji su u tom trenutku reprezentacija Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Nastupili su u velikom broju i s velikim uspjehom: zagrebački Balet s *Licitorskim srcem* Krešimira Baranovića i Margarite Froman, samostalne umjetnice modernog izraza: Nevenka Perko i Mercedes Goritz Pavelić i plesni amateri okupljeni u Matici hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca (MHKD), uz međusobnu podršku i popunjavanje uloga i programa.² Hrvatski plesači su u srpnju 1936. napravili *Čudo u Berlinu*: nagrađeni su od žirija, obasuti hvalospjevima od kritike, a publika im je oduševljeno skandirala, pjevala i pljeskala u ritmu narodnih napjeva. Kako je ovaj međuratni ratni period nakon 2. svjetskog rata u kontekstu historizacije umjetnosti tijekom SFRJ namjerno preskočen, a time i zaboravljen, veliki broj umjetnika koji su djelovali u ovom razdoblju, uključujući i plesne, je izbljedio iz povijesne i kulturološke memorije. Stoga je rad Katarine Žeravica posvećen Nevenki Perko i njezinom solističkom nastupu u Berlinu značajan doprinos povijesti suvremene hrvatske plesne scene 20. st. Ovdje treba istaknuti zahvalu kćerima Nevenke Perko, Aleksandri Matić i Dubravki Knežević za očuvanje i donaciju majčine arhive u kojoj je originalna dokumentacija, fotografije, programi i literatura – iz čega smo mogli vizualno opremiti ovaj tematski broj časopisa Kretanja. Rad Tvrtka Zebeca (*Odjeci nastupa kazalištaraca u Berlinu – građansko viđenje nacionalnoga*) podsjetio je na nacionalne korijene umjetničkog plesa vezane uz amaterska društva koja su

1 Mia Čorak Slavenska rođena je u Brodu na Savi 20. veljače 1916. UAOS je 19. i 20. veljače 2016. organizirala Interdisciplinarni znanstveno umjetnički skup *Mia Čorak Slavenska*. Radovi s tog skupa unutar kojih su tekstovi Ive Nerine Sibile i Katarine Žeravica dotaknuli i najavili temu berlinske Olimpijade, objavljeni su u Književnoj reviji, br.1-2., Ogranak MH u Osijeku, 2016.

2 M. Goritz Pavelić je nastupila u glavnoj ulozi Djevojke u baletu u kojem su plesači Matice kao statisti popunili scenu; Nevenka Perko je iznijela solističke dijelove u nastupu Matice.



se razvijala i rasla u prvoj polovini 20. stoljeća uz Hrvatski sokol, organizaciju u čijoj je suštini bio sadržan otpor malog naroda pritiscima germanizacije, mađarizacije i talijanizacije i intenzivna želja za priznavanjem vlastitoga identiteta u krugu drugih slavenskih naroda.

I treće, kao možda najvažniji zadatak održanog susreta, u čijem će se svjetlu ogledati i prve dvije, nacionalne teme, bio je sagledati kontekst koji je prihvaćanjem *nemoradne ponude* doveo do kompromitacije plesne umjetnosti koja po svom ishodišnom *credu* - temeljenom u tada radikalno avangardnom pristupu plesnoj misli i djelu - slavi individualnost, slobodoumlje i *slobodotjelovanje*, i shvatiti težinu klopke življenja, preživljavanja i umjetničkog plesnog djelovanja u Njemačkoj 1930-ih. „Kako je moguće da je moderni njemački ples postao dijelom nacističke politike pa makar i na nekoliko godina? I izuzetno važno, što je u samoj srži ovog stila plesa moglo korelirati s nacističkom ideologijom?“ kako je to uobličila u temeljno pitanje svog istraživačkog rada (*Ples je rasno pitanje / Rudolf Laban i nacistički režim*) Iva Nerina Sibila. Sibilin tekst se sadržajno nadopunjuje s istraživanjem Andreje Jeličić (*Labanova Festkultur – od Pjesme suncu do Međunarodnog plesnog natjecanja povodom berlinske Olimpijade*), radom koji nesumnjivo proširuje povijesne vidike i objašnjava realne poticaje koje su plesače mogli navesti na suradnju s Trećim Reichom.

Iz dostupnih materijala i dokumentarističke građe vezane uz plesno kazališnu djelatnost čini se da zapravo do početka 1941. u Jugoslaviji nema jasnih ideja o posljedicama nacističke ideologije, rasnom zakonu i diskriminaciji. Iako se zasigurno šapuće o prijetecim događajima na njemačkoj političkoj sceni, teško je povjerovati u toliku i toliko moćnu ludost i tek će rijetki na vrijeme naslutiti što se doista sprema.³ Tih godina, na primjer, iz Njemačke u Zagreb tek dolaze umjetnici židovskog porijekla poput plesača i učitelja stepa Roda Rifflera i njegove sestre Nade Unger, koji otvaraju svoju školu na Dolcu 8, nastupaju i surađuju s Kazalištem, kao i velika dječja zvijezda Lea Deutsch⁴, do travnja 1941. Ali ono što stalno tinja na ovim prostorima je nacionalno pitanje, koje će nakon masakra hrvatskih političara u beogradskom parlamentu i uspostave tzv. Šestojanuarske diktature 1929. (a Kraljevina SHS postaje Kraljevina Jugoslavija), dobiti na oštirini i karakteru nacionalističkih ispada. Jedan takav ispad prelomio se na mladoj primabalerini Miji Čorak koja je vizionarski i stručno obrazloženo samo upozorila na potrebu promjene odnosa kazališne uprave i Ministarstva spram baleta i plesača, što je protumačeno kao opasni neposluh. S buđenjem javnog revolta (transparentno nacionalno hrvatskog predznaka) slučaj hrvatske balerine prerastao je u političku prijetnju Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, te će nakon *Večeri plesne umjetnosti* koju je organizirala kao samostalna umjetnica na petu obljetnicu smrti Ane Pavlove 23. siječnja 1936., Mia Čorak dobiti zabranu daljnjih nastupa i ogorčeno (zauvijek) napustiti Zagreb da bi u Berlinu kao Slavenska započela novo životno i umjetničko poglavlje.

Plesne umjetnice tog perioda općeg zanosa i fascinacije narodnim blagom sakupljaju i istražuju baštinu nalazeći autentične korijene i arhetipske motive,

³ U tom smislu su informativne biografije: *Lea Deutsch – zagrebačka Anne Frank* Pavla Cindrića (Profil, Zagreb, 2008.) i ona sarajevske i beogradske balerine Riki Levi u romanu Gordane Kuić *Miris kiše na Balkanu* (Sarajevo, Zagreb, 2008.) S druge strane, činjenica je da se za Berlin nije prijavila primjerice Alma Hirschl umjetnički Jelenska koja je kasnije otišla u partizane, ili Claudia Fritzi Vall koja je preko Italije i Kube emigrirala u Ameriku. Karijeru i sudbine ovih umjetnica tek treba istražiti.

⁴ Riffler i Nada Unger ubijeni su 1941. u Jasenovcu, a Lea Deutsch je umrla 1943. tijekom transporta za Auschwitz.

kao nadahnuće za umjetničku nadgradnju, što je opet u skladu i s postulatima europskog izražajnog plesa i teorijom Rudolfa Labana, odnosno uopće u duhu europskog modernizma. I ruska primabalerina Margarita Froman koja vodi zagrebački Balet i samostalne pripadnice plesnog modernizma (Tashamira, Mirjana Janeček, Mercedes Goritz Pavelić, Ana Maletić, Nevenka Perko) i Mia Čorak koja povezuje ove dvije grupacije, često koriste narodne teme i motive, te postupak stilizacije folklora – kako u pokretu, tako u kostimu, pri čemu surađuju sa suvremenim kompozitorima koji isti postupak provode u glazbi.

I čini mi se da je baš to, narodno i nacionalno, povezano sa širom, amaterskom bazom (bez obzira mislimo li na folklorna ili sokolska udruženja) prošireno glazbenom potkom i likovnošću nastupa, kao mogućnost svjedočenja nacionalnih kvaliteta na međunarodnoj razini na trenutak ojačalo poziciju plesne umjetnosti u Zagrebu i privuklo pažnju i podršku javnosti, te između ostalog, osiguralo novac za putovanje tako brojne ekipe u Berlin. Naravno da je za plesno natjecanje bio neusporedivo manji interes nego za sportsku Olimpijada (na kojoj, *nota bene*, kao da i nismo bili prisutni), a i od popratnih tekstova u štampi najveći dio društvene pažnje pripada Dobrovoljcima; ali opet, prate se pripreme, prenose dojmovi večeri u kojima nastupaju naši plesači, s velikom radošću i ponosom se prenose rezultati te „naše produktivne i reprezentativne umjetnosti“(!), a na kraju je plesačima organiziran svečani doček.⁵

Iz Berlina se prvo vraća balet, i neizmjereno raduje da se i ovom prilikom u razgovoru s Froman za Jutarnji list (od 6. VIII. str.9) naglašava da naši plesači, za razliku od mnogih drugih, nisu podilazili domaćinima i pozdravljali Hitlerovim pozdravom nego su stajali i primali ovacije „*mirno i disciplinirano, držeći se svi međusobno oko vrata.*“ (što se „*Nijemcima još više svidjelo, pljesak je bio bučniji, iskreniji i uspjeh veći.*“) Novinski članak završava optimistički: „*Jer izvanredni uspjesi naših umjetnika u Berlinu znače neizmjereno za našu kulturnu afirmaciju. Rezultati tih uspjeha istom će se kasnije vidjeti.*“

Tako se isprva i učinilo. Nije samo Slavenskoj krenulo, svi hrvatski laureati dobivaju daljnje pozive za nastupe i međunarodnu suradnju. Matica ugovara daljnja gostovanja, *Licitarsko srce* je pozvano u Pariz. Nevenku Perko kontaktira profesorica s Lindenwood College St. Charles Missouri, Margaret Stookey koja dovodi grupu studentica i plesačica na neku vrst terenske nastave u Hrvatsku na proučavanje plesova, nošnji i običaja hrvatskog sela; uskoro dobiva stipendiju za daljnje usavršavanje u Rimu kod Aurela Millossa. Mercedes Goritz Pavelić gostuje sa solističkim programom diljem Europe, a pozivaju je na gostovanje i u Ameriku. I uzvratno, u Zagrebu već 4. studenog 1936. gostuje Harald Kreutzberg, u ožujku 1937. poljska plesna umjetnica s kojom su uspostavljene veze u Berlinu Zuita Buczynska, a što je najzanimljivije, u travnju 1937. Kurt Jooss (koji je već 1933. emigrirao iz Njemačke u Englesku) sa svojom skupinom po drugi put priređuje „senzacionalno veče“.

No daljnji povijesni slijed brutalnih društveno-političkih rezova s kontinuitetom nasilja nad tijelom i duhom i memorijom zajednice, ostavio je preduboke ožiljke da bismo danas olako prišli ovom razdoblju i temi nastupa na Plesnoj olimpijadi. Nastojali smo biti objektivni, angažirani, odgovorni i shvatiti djelovanje plesnih umjetnika u vrijeme povijesne društveno političke krize pred svjetsku oluju na prostoru koje će biti njezin epicentar. Jer eto, novi crnokošuljaši upadaju u kazališta, a nove profašističke skupine napadaju one „drugačije“ – što god se pod tim pojmom želi pa onda i može upakirati.

Maja Đurinović

⁵ Čini se da tolikog plesnog zamaha nema, barem ne u toliko vidljivoj količini u drugim gradovima Jugoslavije uključujući i prijestolnicu. Prva plesna umjetnica i veliki pedagoški autoritet na ovim prostorima, Maga Magazinović je u Beogradu još 1910. osnovala Školu za ritmiku i plastiku koju se završile i Zagrepčanke Ana Maletić i Sofija Cvjetičanin, ali je ostala usamljena; 1935. zatvara svoju školu i osniva Studentsku folklornu grupu koja 1936. i 1937. učestvuje na Festivalu balkanskih narodnih igara u Istanbulu, gostuje u Nici, u Hamburgu. Iz njezinog iskustva kao i kasnijeg gostovanja Ane Maletić u Rotterdamu 1938. s programom temeljenim isključivo na narodnim temama, kao i iz poznatog uspjeha baleta *Đavla u selu* u Njemačkoj, očito je da europska publika krajnje pozitivno reagira na umjetničke manifestacije hrvatskog folklora.



►► Introduction:



On 29 October 2016, the Croatian Centre ITI organised a roundtable on the subject of *80 Years since the Unique and Controversial Tanzwettspiele, i.e. Dance Olympics in Berlin in 1936*. This issue contains presentations and ideas put in writing about these, in the Olympic history never repeated, however politically and artistically undoubtedly very contradictory dance competition which was important to us for three essential reasons.

The first impulse came with the Year of Slavenska, declared by the Osijek Academy of Art to celebrate the 100th birthday¹ of this great artist and the first Croatian prima ballerina. In Berlin Mia Čorak for the very first time performed and triumphed as Slavenska and this was the beginning of her stellar international career, which continued in France and ended in the USA. Mihaela Devald Roksandić's text *Berlin Gold on a Trial of Conscience* is a critical overview of the entire situation surrounding the Dance Olympics, concluding that this is "*the best we can do today for Mia (...) to disperse the impression that the Dance Olympics are a topic which cannot and should not involve discussions about politics.*" In addition, Devald Roksandić considers Slavenska's personal records and thoughts particularly important; the fragments from her unpublished memoirs were granted for the purposes of the symposium by Mia Čorak's daughter, Marija Ramas.

The following topic pertaining to the Dance Olympics is extremely interesting from the point of view of Croatian dance history, since the Berlin performance was the first and also incredibly successful international performance of the Zagreb dancers, at that time the national team of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Many of them performed and scored a great success: the Zagreb Ballet with *The Licitar Heart* by Krešimir Baranović and Margarita Froman, independent modern artists Nevenka Perko and Mercedes Goritz Pavelić, and amateur dancers gathered around the Union of Croatian Theatre Volunteers (UCTV), supporting each other mutually and completing each other's roles and programmes². In September 1936, the Croatian dancers performed a *Miracle in Berlin*: winning jury awards, critical accolades, enthused cheers from the audience, who hailed, sang and applauded along with the folk song rhythm. Since this interwar period, in the context of art historicisation in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, was after World War II deliberately omitted and consequently forgotten, a large number of artists active in this period, including dance artists, faded away from historical and cultural memory. Therefore, Kristina Žeravica's paper dedicated to Nevenka Perko and her solo performance in Berlin is a significant contribution to the history of contemporary Croatian

¹ Mia Čorak Slavenska was born in Brod na Savi on 20 February 1916. On 19 and 20 February 2016, the Osijek Academy of Art organised an Interdisciplinary Art Symposium *Mia Čorak Slavenska*. The symposium papers, including those written by Iva Nerina Sibila and Katarina Žeravica, which touched on and heralded the subject of the Berlin Olympics, were published in *Književna revija*, no. 1-2, Matica hrvatska Osijek branch, 2016.

² M. Goritz Pavelić danced the leading role of Girl in a ballet in which UCTV dancers as extras filled the scene, and Nevenka Perko danced solo parts in UCTV's performance.

20th century dance scene. Here we need to express our appreciation to Nevenka Perko's daughters, Aleksandra Matić and Dubravka Knežević, for preserving and donating her mother's archives including original documentation, photographs, leaflets and literature – which completed the graphic design of this theme issue of *Movements*. Tvrtko Zebec's essay (*A Bourgeois Vision of the National – Echoes of Theatre Artists' Performances in Berlin 1936*) reminded of the national roots of artistic dance related to amateur associations developed and growing in the first half of the 20th century, next to Hrvatski sokol, the organisation whose essence represented small people's resistance against Germanisation, Hungarisation and Italianisation, as well as an intense desire to acknowledge their own identity among other Slavic nations.

And thirdly, as probably the most important aim of the symposium, which will mirror the first two nationally oriented subjects, was to analyse the context which, by accepting *the indecent proposal*, led to compromising dance art whose original credo – based on the then radically avant-garde approach to the notion of dance and dance work – celebrated individuality, free spirit and *free body*, and to comprehend the complexity of the trap of dance art activity, its life and survival in Germany in the 1930s. "*How is it possible that modern German dance became part of the Nazi politics, albeit only for a few years? And, crucially, what in the very core of this dance style could correlate with the Nazi ideology?*" is the fundamental question arising from Iva Nerina Sibila's research paper (*Dance Is a Racial Issue / Rudolf Laban and the Nazi Regime*). Sibila's text in terms of content perfectly completes Andreja Jeličić's paper (*Laban's Festkultur – from Song to the Sun to the International Dance Competition ahead of the Berlin Olympics*), an essay that undoubtedly expands historical horizons and explains realistic motivations that could have led the dancers to cooperate with the Third Reich.

Judging by the available materials and documentary archives related to dance and theatre, it seems that before 1941 in Yugoslavia there were no clear ideas about the consequences of the Nazi ideology, racial laws and discrimination. Although there must have been rumours about threatening occurrences on the German political scene, such and so powerful madness was hard to believe and very few would realise in time what was really cooking³. Around that time, for instance, artists of Jewish origin came to Zagreb from Germany, like the dancer and tap dance teacher Rod Riffler and his sister Nada Unger, who opened their school in Dolac no. 8, performed and collaborated with the Theatre, as well as the big child star Lea Deutsch⁴, until April 1941. But what keeps simmering in these

³ In that sense, the biographies *Lea Deutsch – zagrebačka Anne Frank* by Pavao Cindrić (Profil, Zagreb, 2008) and that of the Sarajevo and Belgrade ballerina Riki Levi in Gordana Kunić's novel *Miris kiše na Balkanu* (Sarajevo, Zagreb, 2008) are quite telling. On the other hand, the fact that Alma Hirschl, alias Jelenska, who later joined the partisans, or Claudia Fritzi Vall, who fled to America through Italy and Cuba, did not apply for Berlin, yet has to be explored.

⁴ Riffler and Nada Unger were killed in 1941 in Jasenovac, and Lea Deutsch died in 1943 while transported to Auschwitz.





5 Such dance-related upswing was not present, at least not to such a visible extent, in other Yugoslav cities including the capital. The first dance artist and the great teaching expert from this region, Maga Magazinović, founded the School of Rhythm and Volume in Belgrade as early as in 1910, attended by Ana Maletić and Sofija Cvjetičanin from Zagreb, but hers remained a lonely effort; in 1935 she closed down her school and founded the Student Folklore Company, which took part in 1936 and 1937 at the Festival Balkan Folk Games in Istanbul, along with visiting performances in Nice and Hamburg. From her experience, as well as from Ana Maletić's subsequent performance in Rotterdam in 1938, with a programme based exclusively on folk themes, and the famous success of the ballet *The Devil in the Village* in Germany, European audience apparently reacted extremely positively to artistic manifestations of Croatian folklore

areas is the national issue, which will gain momentum and the character of outbursts of nationalism after the massacre of Croatian politicians in the Belgrade parliament and the establishment of the so-called 6th January dictatorship in 1929 (and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes becoming the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). One such outburst was the turning point for the young prima ballerina Mia Čorak, who lucidly and professionally only warned that the theatre management and Ministry's attitude towards ballet and dancers should change, which was interpreted as dangerous insubordination. With a rise of public revolt (transparently of a nationally Croatian origin), the Croatian ballerina's case grew into a political threat to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia; after the *Dance Art Night*, which she organised as an independent artist ahead of the fifth anniversary of Anna Pavlova's death on 23 January 1936, Mia Čorak will be banned from the stage, which will make her leave Zagreb (forever) in bitterness and begin a new chapter in life and art in Berlin.

Female dancers in this period of general rapture and fascination with folklore collected and explored heritage, locating authentic and archetypal motifs as inspiration for artistic betterment, again in line both with the premises of European expressive dance and with Rudolf Laban's theory, i.e. in line with the spirit of European modernism. Russian prima ballerina Margarita Froman, managing the Zagreb Ballet, and independent dance modernism envoys (Tashamira, Mirjana Janeček, Mercedes Goritz Pavelić, Ana Maletić, Nevenka Perko) and Mia Čorak, who bridges these two groups, often resorted to folk theme and motifs, as well as folklore stylisation procedures – both in movement and in costume, collaborating with contemporary composers who apply the same in music.

In my view, it was this – the folk and the national, connected with a broader, amateur base (regardless of whether these are folklore or *sokol* associations), enriched by a musical and visual backdrop to performances, as a chance to present national qualities on the international level – that briefly strengthened the position of dance art in Zagreb, drew attention and support from the public, and, among other things, ensured funds for such a large team's travel costs to Berlin. Naturally, a dance competition attracted incomparably less interest than the sports Olympics (which, mind you, we might as well have not attended), and among the accompanying texts published in the local press the biggest focus was on the Volunteers. But then again, rehearsals were attended, impressions from the performances of our dancers were conveyed, the results of "our productive and representative art" (!) were announced with great joy and pride, and finally the dancers were organised an official welcome celebration⁵.

Ballet was the first to return from Berlin. It is quite pleasing to hear that on this occasion Froman in an interview for Jutarnji list (6 August, p. 9) stressed the fact that our dancers, unlike many others, did not humour the hosts and use Hitler's salute, but rather stood and accepted the ovations "calmly and with discipline, embracing one another around the neck" (which "the Germans liked even better, the applause was louder, more sincere and the success thus even greater"). The article ends on an optimistic note: "Because the outstanding success of our artists in Berlin is incredibly significant for our cultural positioning. The results of this success are yet to be seen."

This is how it seemed at first. Slavenska was not the only one on a roll, all the Croatian award winners received invitations for future performances



and international collaboration. The Union arranged new shows, *The Licitar Heart* was invited to Paris. Nevenka Perko was contacted by Margaret Stookey, a professor at Lindenwood College St. Charles Missouri, who brought a group of students to a sort of study tour to Croatia to explore dances, costumes and Croatian peasant traditions. Soon she got a scholarship for further training in Rome with Aurel Milloss. Mercedes Goritz Pavelić and her solo programme performed across Europe and was even invited to America. In return, on 4 November 1936 Harald Kreutzberg performed in Zagreb, in March 1937 Zagreb saw the performance of the Polish dance artist Zuita Buczynska, another Berlin connection, and – most interestingly – in April 1937 Kurt Jooss (who already in 1933 fled Germany to England) and his company had a "sensational evening" for the second time around.

However, the subsequent historical series of brutal socio-political break-ups, with continuous violence against the body, spirit and memory of the community, left scars too deep for this period and theme of Dance Olympics performances to be approached casually. We tried to be objective, engaged, responsible and comprehend the activity of dance artists in the period of a historical social and political crisis ahead of a worldwide storm in a place which will be its epicentre. Because, as we see, new Blackshirts raid theatres and new pro-fascist groups attack the 'different ones' – and these can be whatever they want and can portray as such.

Maja Đurinović

cannot consider it. In a monthly magazine such as ours there are many duties that cannot be postponed, therefore with a heavy heart we must decline your proposed theme. I attach the photographs you sent to this letter. Thank you kindly for the book. With sincere respect, Heil Hitler! Dr Richter (Olympic Games 1936 magazine, editorial board)."¹⁷

Unfavourable circumstances that befell German dancers started occurring soon after the 1936 Dance Olympics. As soon as in autumn this year, dancers had to prove their origin, the funds granted to them by the state were taken away from them, they were forbidden to manage their dance schools and the like. For instance, a letter the National Socialist Office for Culture in Berlin, Department of Music, addressed on 2 November 1936 to the concert manager Hans Adler says that dancer Gret Palucca's signed contract was annulled: "Pursuant to the official statement, we return attached the contract signed by Mrs Palucca[.] Since the dancer kept her non-Arian origin a secret, which is evidence of malicious fraud, as an NS organisation we are forced to persist on the annulment of the contract. This is valid for all the contracts signed with our local committees[.]"¹⁸ New problems befell dancer Gret Palucca early the following year as well, when on behalf of the Department of Dance at Reichtheaterkammer, on 18 January 1937, she received a letter prohibiting her from enrolling new students to her dance school. In later letters (1937 and 1938) the same committee could not guarantee her a permission to keep managing the dance school¹⁹.

Not even Mary Wigman, who was for some time favoured by the regime in Germany, was spared the problems and suspicions from the Nazis. After 1936, "Wigman herself, although Hitler respected her, received no state financial aid"²⁰, and during the preparations for the official opening ceremony of the XI Olympic Games in Berlin the dancers, hired for this need by Mary Wigman, had to prove their Arian origin in writing. If they would state wrong data, they would be held responsible and punished for perjury. Besides, Mary Wigman and her students were questioned about their alleged connections with communism. Such controls and investigations were conducted at Mary Wigman's school in the period prior to the XI Olympic Games²¹.

The driving force of the Dance Olympics, Rudolf von Laban²², also fell out of grace with the system and the propaganda minister Goebbels, who decided after the dress rehearsal to remove Laban's choreography *Vom Tauwind und der Neuen Freude* from the line-up. The piece was due to open the Dietrich Eckart theatre in Berlin ahead of the XI Olympic Games. Soon after the Games were over, Laban lost his leading position on the German dance scene and in 1937 left Germany forever to find a new home in England. Monographs and biographic records of Laban, his life and work are available in libraries in Berlin, but surprisingly, given the fact that Laban spent a part of his life in Germany and was prolific in the field of dance art, there are no independent archival records about him. For example, in the archives of Akademie der Künste in Berlin, different documents about great German dancers who took part in the Dance Olympics, such as Harald Kreutzberg, can be found among 262 'portfolios'²³, mostly marked as "Harald-Kreutzberg-Sammlung-Ruth-Clark-Lert", Mary Wigman is present in 1691 portfolios many of which are part of the "Mary Wigman" archive, and Gret Palucca is available in 6949 portfolios, mostly in the "Gret Palucca" archive. There are 75 archival units about Rudolf von Laban, but always part of other archives. A separate "Rudolf von Laban" archive does not exist in this institution. The German Dance Archives in Cologne (Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln) contains the largest archive on German and foreign dance artists, critics, photographers etc., including archives about Isadora Duncan, Mary Wigman, Kurt Jooss and others²⁴. Investigating these archives might quite probably reveal materials about Rudolf von Laban, but according to the information available on the official website if the German Dance Archives in Cologne, a separate archive under the title Rudolf von Laban does not exist.



LITERATURE

Materials from Nevenka Perko's private archives
Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, <http://www.sk-kultur.de/tanz/> (accessed on 1 March 2017)
Emmerich, Alexander: *Olympia 1936, Trägerischer Glanz eines mörderischen Systems*, Fackelträger-Verlag GmbH, Cologne, 2011
"Gymnastik und Tanz", 11. Jahrgang, 1936, Wilhelm Liupert-Verlag, Berlin, CW 68
Günther, Stephanie: *Die Berliner Olympiade von 1936 und ihre Außenwirkung: Weltereignis oder Propagandaveranstaltung?: Hauptseminararbeit*. GRIN Verlag, 1. Auflage, Munich and Ravensburg, 2005
Hanley, Elizabeth A.: *The Role of Dance in the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games: Why Competition became Festival and Art became Political* u: *Journal of Olympic History* 14 (August 2006), Number 2, International Society of Olympic Historians, str. 38-42.; <http://library.la84.org/SportsLibrary/ISOR/ISOR2004m.pdf> (accessed on 2 January 2017)

Karina, Lilian i Kant, Marion: *Tanz unterm Hakenkreuz. Eine Dokumentation*. Henschel Verlag, Berlin, 1996
Klemmer, Thomas: *Vom Siegerkranz zur Goldmedaille. Das Phänomen "Olympia" und seine neuzeitliche Rezeption*, Habelt-Verlag, Bonn, 2012
Kulturni pregled: Plesni program berlinske olimpijade in Hrvatski list, no. 184 (5408), year XVII, 5 July 1936, p. 11
Müller, Hedwig: *Mary Wigman. Leben und Werk der grossen Tänzerin*, Quadriga Verlag, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 1986
Palucca-Archiv 6183, Akademie der Künste Berlin
Palucca-Archiv 6187, Akademie der Künste Berlin
Palucca-Archiv 6244, Akademie der Künste Berlin
Pobjeda hrvatske umjetnosti u Berlinu: Sjajni uspjesi naših umjetnika u međunarodnom natjecanju na olimpijadi in Hrvatski list, no. 212. (5436), year XVII, 2 August 1936, p. 4 and 7
Rürup, Reinhard: *1936 – Die Olympischen Spiele und der Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation*, Argon Verlag, Berlin, 1996

Katarina Žeravica is a post-doctoral researcher at the Osijek Academy of Art, with a degree in English and German language and literature. In her work she also focuses on German expressive dance and German theatre and drama. katarina.zeravica@uaos.hr

¹⁷ Palucca-Archiv 6183, Akademie der Künste Archives, Berlin.
¹⁸ Palucca-Archiv 6187, Akademie der Künste Archives, Berlin.
¹⁹ Palucca-Archiv 6244, Akademie der Künste Archives, Berlin.
²⁰ Rürup, Reinhard, 1936 – *Die Olympischen Spiele und der Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation*, Argon Verlag, Berlin, 1996, p. 122.
²¹ See: Müller, Hedwig, *Mary Wigman. Leben und Werk der grossen Tänzerin*, Quadriga Verlag, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 1986, p. 222.

²² Rudolf von Laban was born in 1879 in Pressburg, today Bratislava, at that time part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In 1907 he moved to Munich and until 1937 he was active as a dancer, choreographer, dance teacher and high official in the world of art and dance in Germany during the Nazi period.
²³ One portfolio can contain one or more documents (letters, photographs etc.).
²⁴ See: Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, <http://www.sk-kultur.de/tanz/> (accessed on 1 March 2017).

▶▶ Tvrtko Zebec: Građansko viđenje nacionalnoga



Tvrtko Zebec: Građansko viđenje nacionalnoga ▶▶

▶ TVRTKO ZEBEC

Građansko viđenje nacionalnoga

– odjeci nastupa kazalištaraca u Berlinu 1936.



U časopisu Sklad, koji se u podnaslovu zove Smotra za promicanje narodne kulture (prije Glazbeni vjesnik i Hrvatska narodna pjesma), stoji:

Činjenice su:

da je MHKD [Matica hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca] okupila i oduševila niz stručnih suradnika, glazbenika, koreografa, slikara, redatelja, etnografa, koji su predano i s veseljem prionuli uz jedan specijalan posao,

da su ti umjetnički suradnici polazili na sela, na hrvatske seljačke smotre, i posvetili se studiju autohtonih umjetničkih elemenata,

da su sve te elemente umjetnički obradili pazeći ljubomorno da originalnost njihovu ne natrune utjecajima kozmopolitske (međunarodne) civilizacije,

da su tako nastala plesna djela svestrano umjetnički obrađena,

da je zbor MHKD imao dovoljno smionosti da s tim plesovima pođe na međunarodno plesno natjecanje povodom XI. olimpijade, i ako zbor MHKD njeguje ples tek mimgredce, dok mu je glavna zadaća hrvatska narodna gluma,

da je zbor MHKD nastupio pred međunarodnom porotom u ogromnom kazalištu Deutsche Volksbühne na Horst-Wesell-Platzu u srijedu dne 26. kolovoza u 9 sati na večer,

da je hladna, rezervirana i ukočena berlinska publika zajedno sa stručnjacima iz cijelog svijeta napunila kazalište do posljednjeg mjesta,

da za vrijeme plesa nije publika više mogla ostati hladna, ukočena i rezervirana, već je zapala u takav zanos, u takvo spontano veselje, u takav trijumfalni iskreni srdačni kontakt, kakvog MHKD još nije doživjela,

da je uspjeh MHKD natkrilio daleko sva očekivanja, koja i nijesu uvijek bila vrlo čedna,

da su artistički vođe MHKD bili iznenađeni, jer nijesu mogli vjerovati, da bi jedan iskreno i s radošću plesani narodni ples bio kadar posve strane ljude, međusobno posve tuđe narode tako zbližiti, da u tili čas stvore iskrenu i zanosnu zajednicu,

da je sva stručna njemačka kritika (dosad sabrano oko 50 ocjena), koja raščinja svaki događaj više po razumnom rasuđivanju negoli po osjećaju, nastup MHKD pohvalila

najlaskavijim i najljepšim ocjenama upotrebljujući same superlative,

da je predsjednik porote – von Laban – poslije nastupa MHKD dohrlio na pozornicu i svakomu pojedinom članu stisnuo ruku uz razdragane, srdačne čestitke, iako se radi svog poziva prema svim ostalima držao vrlo rezervirano, da je porota plesove MHKD nagradila na prvom mjestu u grupi narodnih plesova, iako su osim MHKD nastupile grupe dobrovoljaca plesača iz Rumunjske, Bugarske, sjeverne i južne Njemačke, te grupe profesionalnih plesača iz Kanade, Indije i Australije,

da MHKD ne bi uspjela na tom natjecanju, da je nastupila s umjetnički i stručno doduše izvrsno obrađenim plesovima, nu koji su plod kozmopolitske srednjeevropske civilizacije,

da je MHKD naprotiv uspjela samo zato, jer je crpla pobudu iz ogromnog, nepresušnog i neizcrpivog izvora za umjetničko stvaranje u svakom smjeru, a to je hrvatska autohtona narodna kultura,

da je MHKD u tom doprinijela dokaz pred međunarodnim forumom,

da je taj dokaz pred međunarodnim forumom apsolutno i stopostotno uspio.

*

Sve ove činjenice pokazuju našim umjetnicima put, kojim treba da krenu, ako žele u svom umjetničkom stvaranju uspjeti u međunarodnom svijetu. U međunarodnoj kulturnoj zajednici znače naši umjetnici samo onda nešto, ako unose u kulturno evropsko stvaranje onakovih vrednota, kojih drugi narodi nemaju, koje su specifično naše, hrvatske.¹

U istom broju Sklada, Aleksandar Freudenreich, voditelj MKDH i jedan od organizatora gostovanja u Berlinu, piše o nastupu iz prve ruke:

Prvi je sudac najneumoljiviji, najneobazriviji i ne daje se ničim utjecati osim svojim osjećajem, – to je publika. Drugi je sudac stroži. On važe svaku kretnju ne samo po osjećaju, već i po općenitim zasadama i nazorima o umjetnosti, – to je stručna kritika njemačkog žurnalizma. Treći je sudac tajanstven i mističan. Taj se sastoji od stručnjaka iz svih kulturnih država, taj promatra i pazi na sve, iz publike, iza kulisa, u garderobama, taj sudac pravi bilješke, bodove, opaske, mudro šuti i hvali, ne kudi, drži se u svakom pogledu rezervirano, – to je međunarodna porota plesnog natjecanja, na čelu sa von Labanom. Prvi sudac daje osu-

du odmah iza svakog plesa. Odobrava bučnije ili tiše ili nikako. Drugi se sudac javlja strogom kritikom slijedećeg dana u novinama, a treći će sudac nakon svršenog natjecanja izreći konačni odlučujući sud.²

Budući da je opis nastupa vrlo vjerno dočarao, prenosim ga u nastavku radi dojma i intenziteta doživljaja:

Napori MHKD manifestirali su se već na pokusima. Tu se već opazila razlika između površnih improvizacija s kojima su nastupili neki narodi, i MHKD. Već na pokusima osjetila se izražajna snaga hrvatskih plesova.

Trinajstu večer nastupa MHKD 3000 ljudi napunilo je do zadnjeg mjesta demokratsko kazalište bez loža, sa sjedalima u 4 sprata. Nastupila je jedna rumunjska i jedna talijanska plesačica u prvoj polovici programa. Druga polovica programa bila je posvećena hrvatskim plesovima. Gđica Nevenka Perko, koja je surađivala s MHKD, nastupa kao solistica, a MHKD nastupa korporativno s 11 parova. Živahno se izmjenjuju točke. Solo, pa grupa, opet solo, pa opet grupa i t. d. do kraja. Publika je kao elektrizirana. Poslije neuspjeha rumunjske plesačice ulazi u publiku i prvog suca neka uzrujanost, neka vatra. Osjećamo je i mi iza kulisa. Prva je Nevenka Perko s dražesnim plesom 'Djeveruša' po glazbi Pozajića. Temperamentno, živo trese se raskošni slavonski kostim na zvukove frulice, temperamenat i živost prenosi se u publiku, koja bučno odobrava. Druga je točka istarski 'Balun', kombiniran sa kolom iz Novog Vinodolskog. MHKD stoji u tijesnom krugu, glazba dočarava sopile, u mrkoj rasvjeti započinje ples mirno, jedva se pomiče, kao na obredu, jednostavan po svemu, po odjeći, po koraku, po glazbi. Ali se ples razvija življe, snažnije, do neizrecive izražajne snage. U toj jednostavnosti plesa osjeća se kamen, onaj stari kamen našeg krša, koji je stvorio ljude vanjstinom tvrde, opore ali žive, snažne, neustrašive i jake. I ta se iskonska snaga osjeća, kad se kolo razvilo u punom sjaju svjetla, kad se zavitalo da se proširi i skupi, kad se konačno rastavilo, da zapleše u dvoje snažni ritam 'Baluna'. Prvi sudac odobrava burno, plješće, želi opetovanje, ali MHKD to principijelno ne čini.

Zatim nastupa Nevenka Perko kao Šestinčanka. Dražestan ples malko groteskan iznesen srdačno, vedro i ljupko, oduševio je i opet prvog suca. Buri odobravanja nema kraja. Prvi je sudac osvojen. On je naš. On već s nama živi i s nama se oduševljava.

² [A. F.] Matica Hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca u Berlinu prigodom plesnih natjecanja XI. olimpijade: 14 dana plesa u Berlinu, ibid. str. 2.



Kad u 'Hrvatskom slavonskom kolu' MKHD dopleše na scenu, već se javlja prvi sudac. Već pozdravlja naš nastup burnim aplauzom. Kostimi bijeli, lijepo vezeni, živahnost plesne kompozicije, bajna rasvjeta, sve to djeluje impresivno. Razvija se kolo, tempo živahan, zaigralo se cijelom scenom, vije se naprijed, natrag, zavija u spirale, u mala kola, prkosno se nadmeće pred druge, a sve u živahnom ritmu, dok se na kraju ne rastepe, pa živim plesom u dvoje završi! Ne, završilo nije, htjelo je završiti. Prvi se sudac tako oduševio da je pljeskao, ali u taktu. Nastavljam s plesom, zastor se spušta. Nebrojeno puta diže se zastor. MHKD umorna ali sretna i vedra lica zahvaljuje. Ukočeni, hladni prvi sudac tako se razigrao, tako upalio, da ne popušta. Pljesku nema kraja. Publika stoji i plješće, mi stojimo i gledamo ogromno kazalište sjajno rasvijetljeno s tisućama ruku u zanosnom zamahu pljeska. Mi prekidamo ovacije i presvlačimo se za sljedeću točku, ali publika plješće u ritmu, a orkestar svira slavonsko kolo. Rudek [Rudolf Matz] dirigira publici, dobacuje 'forte', publika plješće glasno, onda 'piano', publika plješće tiho. Neočekivani intermezzo, intiman,

srdačan, svima drag. Ožalošćenu Istranku otplesala je Nevenka Perko dramatskom snagom, vanrednom tehnikom, te je naišla na razumijevanje i shvaćanje općinstva, jer su svi osjetili iskrenost i bol narodnu, koja je simbolizirana ovim plesom. Zadnja je točka bila 'Drmeš i dućec'. Šarolike narodne nošnje MHKD, živi pokreti, prekrasna glazba po narodnim motivima, savršeno interpretirana oduševila je općinstvo koje nije htjelo da napusti kazalište. Dugo, dugo nakon svršetka još je publika ostajala u kazalištu i vikala: 'Šifio MATIKA!' Srdačnost, oduševljenje, radost kojom su hrvatski plesovi bili pozdravljeni u Berlinu, neopisiva je. Ovakova spontanost i neposrednost dodira s publikom spada među najrjeđe ali i najdraže uspomene za svakoga koji ih je doživio. Uspjeh kod prvog suca je potpun...

Ernest Radetić koji u istom broju Sklada bilježi svoje dojmove o olimpijskim igrama i sportskim natjecanjima, uz priznanje ostalim hrvatskim plesačima zaključuje da je najveći uspjeh na plesnim natjecanjima postigla Matica hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca sa svojim hrvatskim narodnim pleso-

¹ Sklad, god. V., br. 5, rujan-listopad 1936., str. 1.

vima jer je od 14 narodnosti koje su se natjecale u narodnim plesovima Matica bila nagrađena s prvim mjestom.³

Dosad je bio sasvim nepoznat podatak da su na berlinskoj Olimpijadi trebali nastupiti i članovi Viteškog udruženja Kumpanjija iz Blata na otoku Korčuli. Posredovanjem Antuna Dobronića, na poziv Olimpijskog odbora, njihova je Kumpanjija pozvana u Berlin i postojao je veliki interes s obje strane, no sudjelovanje se ipak nije ostvarilo jer društvo nije moglo samo snositi troškove puta i boravka, a “Jugoslaven-ski olimpijski odbor svoja je sredstva mogao trošiti samo na sportska takmičenja”.⁴

Da bi se lakše shvatilo zavidne uspjehe hrvatskih plesačica i plesača, važno je znati da je “odlučka za sudjelovanje bila stvorena ozbiljno”, a prema navedenom opisu Aleksandra Freudenreicha “šest mjeseci intenzivnog rada članova MHKD, dnevnog strogog tjelovježbanja i plesanja bilo je tek nastavak rada”. Kao što je u Činjenicama s početka teksta spomenuto, članovi MHKD polazili su u sela i godinu dana ranije, da bi promatrali, bilježili, analizirali, raščlanjivali elemente i prema Freudenreichovim riječima komponirali ih “u konačne rezultate umjetnički obrađene glazbeno, koreografski, scenografski, etnografski i režijski” jer prema njegovom mišljenju to je prvi pokušaj, da se “iz folklorističkih elemenata stvori umjetnički obrađena plesna kompozicija”. Suvremena hrvatska etnokoreologija puno starijim smatra prve pokušaje umjetnički obrađene hrvatske pučke plesne tradicije u dvoranskom odnosno salonskom kolu Marka Bogunovića iz 1841. prema opisu Franje Ksavera Kuhača (1887), iz doba Iliraca.⁵ Međutim, sredinom 1930-ih godina, berlinsko plesno natjecanje u novom društvenom kontekstu tadašnje Europe svakako se može tumačiti kao važan dio novog vala scenskog prikazivanja nacionalnih plesnih vrijednosti.⁶

³ ibid. str. 9.

⁴ Za vijest i podatke zahvalan sam kustosici Muzeja grada Korčule, Sani Sardelić i Tomislavu Bačiću, predsjedniku Viteške udruge Kumpanjija u Blatu (prema dok. 5701 i 5704, 32/10, 6. jula 1936.) iz Arhiva Viteške udruge Kumpanjija Blato, svezak spisa: Pismosprema II, 1932.–1937. Podaci su pronađeni /prikupljeni tijekom istraživanja i pripreme izložbe *Kumpanija iz Blata na otoku Korčuli*, veljača – ožujak 2017.

⁵ O tom razdoblju opširnije se može naći podataka u knjizi Stjepana Sremca (2010), *Povijest i praksa scenske primjene folklornog plesa u Hrvata. Između društvene i kulturne potrebe, politike, kulturnog i nacionalnog identiteta*, u izdanju Instituta za etnologiju i folkloristiku.

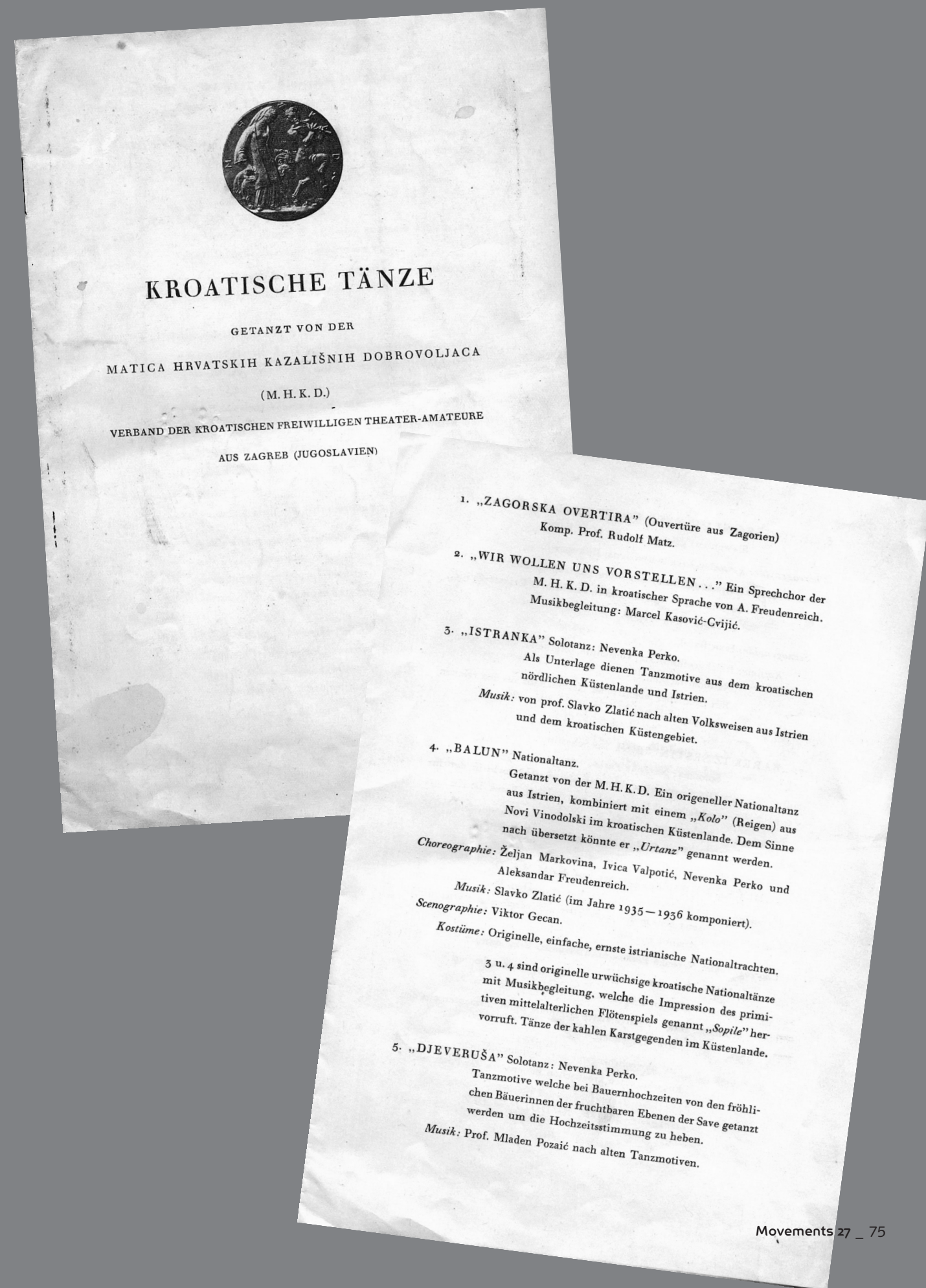
⁶ Od početka 1930-ih i Igor Moisejev kao Ukrajinac u Moskvi i već priznati baletni majstor u Boljšoj teatru, istražuje folklorne plesove i javlja se s idejom stvaranja kazališta folklorne umjetnosti što i ostvaruje 1936. osnutkom svojeg baletnog ansambla (<http://www.moisejev.ru/bio.html>).

O osamdesetoj obljetnici rođenja Aleksandra Freudenreicha cijeli broj časopisa Narodno stvaralaštvo – folklor, u izdanju tadašnjeg Saveza udruženja folklorista Jugoslavije, posvećen je njegovim brojnim djelatnostima i interesima. U tekstu *Aleksandar Freudenreich i kazalište* Slavko Batušić ističe stvaralačke potencijale njegove obitelji koja u četiri pokoljenja razvija hrvatsku kazališnu umjetnost.⁷ Otac Dragutin, glumac, kritičan prema stanju u tadašnjem glumištu, branio je profesionalno bavljenje tim pozivom Aleksandru. On se unatoč tome, po svršetku studija arhitekture (a vjerojatno i ranije) amaterski posvećuje glumi i teatru. Aleksandar u okviru tadašnjeg Hrvatskog sokola osniva diletantsku skupinu koja prvi put nastupa 1923. u sokolani u sklopu zgrade Kola, a prema Batušiću, iz te se skromne sekcije već 1926. razvila Matica hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca, “kojoj je on bio duša i artistički vođa” sve do 1941., kad je početkom rata i proglašenjem NDH, poput Seljačke sloge i drugih kulturnih udruga i Matica prestala djelovati. Cilj MHKD bilo je promicanje hrvatske pučke glume među najširim slojevima, a u 15 godina dali su oko 500 predstava po Hrvatskoj uz gostovanja u Čehoslovačkoj, Austriji, Njemačkoj i Švicarskoj. S obzirom na ugled i značenje “u teatarskoj struci” Freudenreich je 1940. imenovan intendantom Hrvatskog narodnog kazališta (HNK) u Zagrebu, a uz Josipa Badalića kao ravnatelja drame, u samo godinu dana upravljanja provode “zamašne inovacije” i podižu “tempo kazališnog života”, repertoarno se posvećujući domaćim djelima Cesarca, Strozija, Zagorke, Žimbrega-Drozge, Nikole Bonifačića Rožina, Zlate Kolarić-Kišur i niza drugih.

U istom svesku navedenog časopisa Geno Senečić piše o *narodnoj umjetnosti MHKD*, također s naglaskom na Freudenreichovoj ulozi u vođenju Matice, kao jednom od “najsvidljivijih sastojaka Freudenreichova životnog djela koje je čitavo posvećeno narodnoj umjetnosti”.⁸ Podrobnije se ovdje potvrđuje “sabiranje i prikazivanje blaga hrvatske narodne umjetnosti” za čitavo vrijeme djelovanja MHKD. “Njezini stručnjaci, spomenimo samo prof. Rudolfa Matza i koreografa Vatroslava Krčelića, polazili su na teren diljem Hrvatske i studirali folklor, koreografiju, glazbu i uopće narodno blago, običaje, zapisivali to u originalnom obliku, što je sve poslije u raznim vidovima rada MHKD dolazilo do izražaja. Pjesma, ples, odjeća, sadržaj scena iz narodnog života, glazba, narodni izrazi, sve te komponente narodne umjetnosti došle su tako pred publiku ili u obliku koncerta, ili u obliku plesa ili kazališne predstave. Tu treba posebno istaći od kolike je važnosti bilo takvo skupljanje i bilježenje elemenata narod-

⁷ Narodno stvaralaštvo – folklor, god. XI, sv. 41-43, januar–juli, 1972), str. 69-74.

⁸ ibid, str. 211-218.



nog blaga na primjer u Istri, u vrijeme između dva rata, kad je Istra pripadala Italiji”.

Do dramskih djela za kazališnu amatersku djelatnost Matića je dolazila putem natječaja, a Senečić joj namjenjuje historijske zasluge za takav pionirski “narodno-kulturni rad”. Naime, MHKD ili ansambl kazališta izvodili su nagrađena dramska djela na sceni HNK, a razvilo se i područje radio-drame. Spominje i da je za vrijeme gostovanja MHKD na otvorenome, u Dubrovniku 1939. s izvedbom Hofmannsthalova Čovjeka i plesanjem *Hrvatskih plesova*, upravo Freudenreich ukazao na potrebu osnivanja dubrovačkog festivala zahvaljujući “scenariju za svečane igre” kojeg taj grad ima. Senečić pritom zaključuje da je, koliko god taj rad na propagiranju i prikazivanju narodnih drama i pomaganju kazališnih amatera po gradovima i selima, bio pionirski i zaslužan, ipak je ostajao kod kuće. Međutim, “makar su narodni plesovi, njihovo značenje i uspjesi danas redovito prešućivani, oni su ipak nakon medalje i prvog mjesta koje je MHKD osvojila na XI. olimpijadi u Berlinu godine 1936. temelj onoga, od čega se danas ubiru plodovi... doista svjetski uspjeh”.

Batušićevo navođenje da Aleksandar Freudenreich počinje svoj “dramski život” osnivanjem amaterske skupine u okviru tadašnjeg Hrvatskog sokola otkriva mnogo širu dimenziju razumijevanja tadašnjih društvenih odnosa i prilika. Naime, na primjeru analize povijesnih dokumenata o izvedbi korčulanske *moreške*, Tonko Barčot iz Arhivskog sabirnog centra Korčula–Lastovo u Žrnovu, podružnice Državnog arhiva u Dubrovniku, konstatira da se *moreška* počinje sustavno izvoditi više puta godišnje i popularizirati, upravo u vrijeme Hrvatskoga sokola, osnovanog u Korčuli 1905. godine. “Ekskluzivnost sokolske organizacije, nacionalni karakter njezinog djelovanja u Dalmaciji, izraženo protutalijanštvo, očiti su razlozi zašto se vezivanje *moreške*, kao općekorčulanske kulturne baštine, uz jednu organizaciju gotovo podrazumijevalo i zašto mu se nitko nije usprotivio na hrvatskoj društvenoj pozornici... Uključivanje narodnih plesova u sokolsko okrilje za tu organizaciju imalo je važnost, prije svega, u ‘narodnom’ i ‘društvenom’ pogledu, kao sredstvo okupljanja novih članova, ali i kao izraz njezinog etnografskog i općeg kulturološkog doprinosa”.⁹

⁹ Barčot, Tonko. *Moreška i sokolski pokret. O pojedinim aspektima djelovanja sokolske moreške*. Godišnjak grada Korčule 14/15(2015). Korčula: Gradski muzej Korčula, 131-159. Zanimljivo je da je “u sokolskom tjelovježbovnom kontekstu” iz gimnastičke perspektive njihova vođe Dragutina Šulcea, splitska *moreška* bolje kotirala od korčulanske pa je i izvedena prigodom I. svesokolskog sastanka dalmatinskih sokola u Drnišu koncem kolovoza 1903., što je prema Barčotu i početak organiziranja sokolskog rada u Dalmaciji. Splitska se *moreška*, naime, prema vijestima iz sokolskoga tiska, više približila modernoj gimnastici dok je korčulanska, kažu, “prava *moreška* ipak više teatralne naravi uz recitaciju, maskiranje i kostime” (str. 135).

Primjer izvedbi *moreške* u dalmatinskom i općem hrvatskom kontekstu govori o općem stavu Hrvatskoga sokola koji se na taj način zalagao za razvijanje nacionalne svijesti i branio se od talijanaštva u Dalmaciji. Sa sličnim ciljevima u Češkoj, Sokol se od kraja 19. stoljeća postupno, putem tjelovježbe razvijao kao pokret u borbi protiv germanizacije budući i jačajući narodnu svijest Čeha. “Nositelji su mu bili liberalni građanski slojevi koji su se zalagali za političku, ekonomsku i kulturnu nezavisnost slavenskih naroda unutar Monarhije te njihovo jače međusobno povezivanje, kao i jačanje veza sa slavenskim narodima izvan Monarhije... Članovi i vodstvo Hrvatskog sokola podržavali su političke stranke koje su u svom programu i djelovanju zastupale protuaustrijsko i protumađarsko stajalište, pa je i sokolski pokret ojačao porastom utjecaja te političke opcije nakon 1903. ... Sokoli su smatrali da društvo koje posvećuje pažnju samo tjelovježbi, a zanemaruje ‘narodni’ duh ne može se ni nazivati sokolskim već običnim gombalačkim”.¹⁰

S jedne strane snažan pritisak velikih i jačih naroda u smislu germanizacije, mađarizacije i talijanizacije, a s druge, intenzivna želja slabijih pa tako i Hrvata za priznavanjem vlastitoga nacionalnog identiteta u krugu drugih slavenskih naroda, osjećao se u radu društava poput Sokola, kao i u hrabrim istupima pojedinaca, poput onog Mije Čorak koja je na Plesnoj olimpijadi u Berlinu po prvi puta nastupila kao Slavenska. Takve političke poruke iznesene na međunarodnoj pozornici, u Njemačkoj 1936., kao i ona o *tužnoj djevojci iz Istre* u izvedbi Nevenke Perko, značile su mnogo za one koji su ih znali i htjeli razumjeti. Osvojene nagrade utoliko još više dobivaju na značenju i simbolici jer su u kontekstu vremena, nagrađene izvedbe morale doista biti besprijekorne kvalitete i izražaja te bez sumnje osvojiti publiku, kritiku i stručni sud.

Također, ne treba zaboraviti da su godine koje prethode nastupu u Berlinu, vrijeme intenzivnog rada Seljačke sloge, kulturnoprosvjetne organizacije Hrvatske seljačke stranke, koja je od svog osnutka 1920. organizirala tečajeve za opismenjavanje, zdravstvene tečajeve (u suradnji s Andrijom Štamparom i njegovom Školom narodnog zdravlja), djelovala je dobrotvorno, a zatim i organizirala izložbe seljačke kulture i smotre, u početku samo pjevačkih zborova pa tek potom i plesa.¹¹ Naime, od 1926. do 1929. održavale su se smotre zborova pjevačke župe “Matija Gubec” pod vodstvom Izi-

¹⁰ Hrštic, Ivan. *Hrvatski sokol u Makarskoj*. Historijski zbornik, LXIV (2011) br. 1, str. 79-98. Ističe i kako su na sokolska društva u Dalmaciji najveći utjecaj imali pravaši.

¹¹ Uz spomenutu knjigu Stjepana Sremca (2010) koji piše o povijesti scenske primjene folklornog plesa, o Seljačkoj slozi iz perspektive narodne glazbe bavi se Naila Ceribašić (2003) u knjizi: *Hrvatsko, seljačko, starinsko i domaće: Povijest i etnografija javne prakse narodne*

dora Škorjača, Rudolfa Matza koji je bio i tajnik Hrvatskog pjevačkog saveza i Rudolfa Hercega, tajnika Seljačke sloge. Te su smotre uz seljačke zborove okupljale u svojim svečanim povorkama glazbu (orkestar) i pjevački zbor Hrvatskog sokola, Tijelo Bokeljske mornarice iz Boke kotorske i banderij seljačkih konjanika, uz pažljivo planirano gostovanje bačkih Hrvata – Bunjevaca i Šokaca, upravo radi čvršćeg nacionalnog povezivanja. Ubojstvo i ranjavanje hrvatskih prvaka u lipnju 1928. u beogradskoj skupštini, uz negativne posljedice doprinijelo je s druge strane jačanju međusobnog povezivanja hrvatskih kulturnih i prosvjetnih udruga u okviru Prosvjetnog saveza. Uvođenjem tamburaških zborova postupno se razvija ideja da se tambura koristi kao koncertantno glazbalo te u manjim sastavima i kao pratnja plesu.¹²

Politička previranja i prisilni prekid rada zbog apsolutističke vlasti kralja Aleksandra onemogućio je kulturni rad nacionalnog sadržaja, a osnivanjem zadruga Sklad nastojalo se nadomjestiti dotadašnje djelovanje zabranjene Seljačke sloge i Hrvatske pjevačke zadruga. Isti intelektualci angažiraju se i dalje, a upravo je MHKD pokazala agilnost i tijesnu suradnju sa skladom ne bi li i tih ranih 1930-ih premostila prazninu i pronašla način za daljnji rad. “Koncert sa zabavom” koji je o pokladama 1933. u korist čitaonice koju je Društvo hrvatskih književnika podržavalo u Novinarskom domu organizirala zadruga Sklad u Glazbenom zavodu, prema izvješćima je podsjećao na “one ilirske” jer je otvoren s već gotovo zaboravljenim hrvatskim salonskim kolom kojemu se vratio domoljubni značaj.¹³ Zabilježeno je o pokladama u veljači 1935., na zabavi HKD Napredak, da je zbor MHKD u nošnjama izveo istarski ples balun koji je sastavljen upravo za tu zabavu, a “koreografiju su proveli g. Željani Markovina, Ivica Valpotić i gđica Nevenka Perko”¹⁴. Stjepan Sremac upravo taj trenutak smatra prijelomnim u kojem se nagovještjuje “novi oblik scenske primjene plesnog folklor”.¹⁵

Preporuka Aleksandra Freudenreicha s glavne skupštine zadruga Sklad objavljena te godine u glasilu Sklad da je “na prijedlog Zlatka Grgoševića zaključeno, veću važnost posvetiti narodnim plesovima, i to ne samo muzički nego i koreografski... uz poželjnu suradnju s primabalerinom Miom Čorak”, potvrđuje njihovu međusobnu suradnju.¹⁶

glazbe u Hrvatskoj, također u izdanju Instituta za etnologiju i folkloristiku u Zagrebu.

¹² Po prvi put se na smotri 1929. godine spominju izvedbe pri-gorskog drmeša zbora Frankopan iz Remeta i posavskih kola zborova Pastir iz Hrastovice i Gaj iz Dužice.

¹³ Sremac, ibid, 202.

¹⁴ Sklad, 1935. siječanj-veljača, 1, str. 6.

¹⁵ Sremac, ibid, 218.

¹⁶ Sklad, 1935, svibanj-lipanj, str. 5.

Da je upravo scena bila mjesto suradnje i ostvarenja umjetničkih ideja koje potiču nacionalnu svijest i promoviraju jedinstvo, sasvim je poznato. Slikari poput Zdenke Sertić i Maksimilijana Vanke sudjelovali su u terenskim istraživanjima i bilježenju nacionalne baštine olovkom i kistom umjesto fotoaparatom. Vanka je 1924. radio scenografiju i kostimografiju za Baranovićevu *Licarsko srce*, u što je ukomponirao značajke pokupske nošnje nakon istraživanja Pokuplja.¹⁷

Smotre hrvatske seljačke kulture s jakim utjecajem narodoznanaca Milovana Gavazzija i Branimira Bratanića uz naslijeđenu filozofiju Seljačke sloge, usmjerile su daljnje nastupe obnovljene Sloge u okvire prikazivanja lokalne i domaće kulture sela.¹⁸

Na njima je i Nevenka Perko crpila inspiraciju za nastupe nagrađene u Berlinu 1936. Taj uspjeh hrvatskih plesača danas smatramo počecima građanskog bavljenja hrvatskim folklornim plesovima u scenskom koreografiranom obliku.

Na tim tragovima ostvarilo se sasvim novo scensko ruho nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata, djelom Zvonimira Ljevakovića i osnivanjem folklornog ansambla Joža Vlahović, a ubrzo i profesionalnog Državnog ansambla narodnih plesova kasnije nazvanim Lado pa i niza drugih gradskih amaterskih folklornih ansambala. Konceptiju MHKD prema kojoj su baletni plesači stilizirali tradicijske predloške da bi ih prikazivali na sceni, Ljevaković je “vratio” da bude bliskija plesnim predlošcima hrvatskoga sela. On kraće vrijeme surađuje i s Anom Maletić koja je za ansambl postavila znamenitu koreografiju Šiptarska suita, ali ubrzo ih je morala napustiti¹⁹ jer je u Ladu prevladao pristup “zagrebačke škole folklor”. Ljevakovića i njegova nasljednika Ivana Ivančana.

Tvrtko Zebec znanstveni je savjetnik u Institutu za etnologiju i folkloristiku; istražuje ples, kontekst i metodologiju istraživanja izvedbi, digitalnu humanistiku te nematerijalnu kulturnu baštinu u okviru provedbe UNESCO-ove Konvencije (2003). zebec@ief.hr

¹⁷ Antoš, Zvezdana. 2017. Zbirka slika / The Image Collection.

Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, str. 63.

¹⁸ Zebec, Tvrtko. 2007. *Seljačka sloga i Branimir Bratanić: etnologiji i folklorni festivali*. Aleksandra Muraj i Zorica Vitez (ur.). *Predstavljanje tradicijske kulture na sceni i u medijima*. Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 45-49.

¹⁹ Više o sukobu dviju koncepcija scenskog prikazivanja umjetnički obrađenog folklor vidjeti u: Đurinović, Maja. 2008. *Razvoj suvremenog plesa: Ana Maletić, životopis*, Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za pokret i ples, 55-75.

▶▶ Tvrtko Zebec: A Bourgeois Vision of the National



Tvrtko Zebec: A Bourgeois Vision of the National ▶▶

▶ TVRTKO ZEBEC

A Bourgeois Vision of the **NATIONAL**

– Echoes of Theatre Artists' Performances in Berlin 1936

Sklad magazine, whose subtitle says *Journal for Folk Culture Promotion (former 'Music Herald' and 'Croatian Folk Song')*, lists the facts regarding the existence of the *Union of Croatian Theatre Volunteers – Matica hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca* (MHKD) and the preparations for the performance at the 1936 Berlin Dance Olympics. It also reports that it “gathered and thrilled many professional associates, musicians, choreographers, painters, directors, ethnographers, who committedly and joyfully embarked on special task of touring villages and country fairs, and dedicated their effort to studying indigenous artistic elements”. In artistically processed works they tried to preserve “originality without the influence of cosmopolitan (international) civilisation”. They claim that the Berlin theatre, hosting experts from all over the world, was packed and that the “audience was ecstatic, rupturing into enthusiastic and spontaneous joy, a triumphal and sincere heart-warming contact, such as MHKD had never seen before”. Success far exceeded all expectations and critics praised MHKD ‘s performance with the most flattering and highest honours, using only superlatives. Even the jury chairman – von Laban – after their performance onstage, shook the hands of every member of the team with cheerful, kind

congratulations, although because of his status he kept his distance with all the other contestants. The folkdance section included dancers from Romania, Bulgaria, north and south Germany, as well as professional dance companies from Canada, India and Australia. MHKD won the first prize. It is this success that clearly illustrates how a national programme, such as other countries did not have, could yield extreme success in the global and international community.¹

In the same issue of *Sklad*, Aleksandar Freudenreich, the manager of MHKD and one of the organisers of the Berlin visit, writes first hand:

The first judge was the most inexorable, the most inconsiderate and would not be persuaded by anything but their feeling – the audience. The second judge is stricter. They weigh every movement not only by feeling, but also by the general postulates and views on art – these are the trained critics of German journalism. The third judge is mysterious and mystical. They consists of experts from all cultural countries, the all-observant and all-seeing judge, from the auditorium, behind the scenes, in the changing rooms, the judge that makes notes, keeps track

¹ Sklad, year V, no. 5, September/October 1936, p. 1.

of the score and the remarks, remains wisely silent and praises, never reproaching, keeping distance in every sense – this is the international jury of the dance competition, chaired by von Laban. The first judge judges after every dance. Approves louder or more quietly or not at all. The second judge takes the shape of harsh criticism the next day in the newspapers, and the third judge will have their final say only after the competition is finished.²

Freundenreich highlights how MHKD's efforts were already noticed in rehearsal. The difference between the Union and superficial improvisations some nations performed with was obvious.

MHKD performed on the 13th night. One Romanian and one Italian female dancer performed in the first part of the programme. The second part was dedicated to Croatian dances. Miss Nevenka Perko, who collaborated with MHKD, had a solo performance, and MHKD presented itself as a team of 11 couples. Acts followed vigorously one after the other. A solo, then a group, another solo, another group, and so forth. The audience seemed electrified. The opening act was Nevenka Perko's, a charming dance called Bridesmaid (Djeveruša), to Pozajić's music. The Slavonic costume shakes vigorously and energetically to the sounds of a flute, vigour and energy spread across the audience, who approve loudly. The second act is the Istrian BallBalun, combined with a circle dance from Novi Vinodolski. MHKD stands in a tight circle, music sounds like the sopile instrument, the performance begins calmly under dim lights, barely moving, as though in a ritual, simple in every aspect, clothes, steps, music. But the dance keeps evolving strongly, more energetically, to the point of unspeakable expressive power. The simplicity of dance is pervaded by the touch of stone, the very stone of our karst, which made people rough and poignant on the outside, but alive, powerful, fearless and strong. This primordial power is felt when the circle evolved beneath the full glow of lights, when it whirled to expand and gather, and when it finally dissolved, to dance the forceful rhythm of balun in two. The first judge heartily approves, applauds, wants an encore, but MHKD does not do it by principle.

... The first judge was thus so thrilled that they applauded, in strict measure. The dance continues, the curtain goes down, but it rises countless times... We interrupt the ovations and change for the next act, but

the audience keeps applauding rhythmically, and the orchestra is playing the Slavonic circle dance. Rudek [Rudolf Matz] conducts the audience, adds the forte, the audience applauds loudly, then switches to the piano, and the audience applauds quietly. An unexpected intermezzo, intimate, kind, dear to all. Nevenka Perko danced the role of the mourning Istrian girl with dramatic force, exceptional technique, and encountered understanding and compassion... The kindness, enthusiasm and joy which accompanied Croatian dance performances in Berlin are indescribable. Such spontaneity and immediacy of contact with the audience is among the rarest and dearest memories of anyone who has ever lived them. The success with the first judge is complete.

For an easier understanding of Croatian dancers' enviable success, it is important to bear in mind that the "decision to participate was earnest". According to Aleksandar Freundenreich's description, "six months of intensive training of MHKD's members, daily regimes of exercise and dance were only the continuation of the work". As mentioned at the beginning of the text, MHKD members toured villages for a whole year before the performance to observe, record, analyse and dissect the elements and, according to Freundenreich, to compose them into "final results with an artistic finish – in terms of music, choreography, set design, ethnography and directing". In his view, this was the first attempt to "create an artistically executed dance composition". Contemporary Croatian ethnochoreology deems as much older the first artistic versions of Croatian folk dance tradition in the 1841 hall, i.e. salon circle dance by Marko Bogunović, according to the description of Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1887), from the Illyrian movement era³. However, in the mid-1930s, the Berlin dance competition in the new social context of Europe as it was could definitely be interpreted as an important segment in the new wave of staging national dance values⁴.

Ahead of Aleksandar Freundenreich's 80th birthday, an entire issue of the magazine *Narodno stvaralaštvo* – *folklor*, published by the former Union of Folklore Associations of Yugoslavia, was dedicated to his many

³ This period is described in more detail in a book written by Stjepan Sremac in 2010, *Povijest i praksa scenske primjene folklornog plesa u Hrvata. Između društvene i kulturne potrebe, politike, kulturnog i nacionalnog identiteta*, published by the Croatian Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research.

⁴ From the early 1930s, Igor Moiseyev, a Ukrainian in Moscow and already an acknowledged ballet master at the Bolshoi Theatre, also researched folk dances and expounded the idea of creating a folklore art theatre, which he succeeded in 1936 by establishing his own ballet company (<http://www.moiseyev.ru/bio.html>).

interests and activities. Slavko Batušić accentuates creative potentials of the Freundenreich family, contributing to Croatian theatre art for four generations⁵. Father Dragutin, an actor, critical to the conditions in theatrical circles, tried to prevent his son Aleksandar from professionally pursuing this career path. However, despite that, he turned to amateur acting and theatre after graduating with a degree in architecture (and probably even before). As a section of the former Hrvatski sokol association, he founded an amateur troupe and first performed in 1923 at the gymnastics hall in 'Kolo' building. According to Batušić, this modest troupe evolved into the Union of Croatian Theatre Volunteers in 1926, and he served as its "heart and soul and artistic director" all until 1941, when the war broke out and Independent State of Croatia was proclaimed. It was at that time that cultural associations like Seljačka sloga and MHKD ceased to exist. The aim of MHKD was to promote Croatian folk acting among the broadest population. In 15 years they had around 500 performances across Croatia, with visits to Czechoslovakia, Austria, Germany and Switzerland. Given the reputation and the meaning in the 'theatrical profession', in 1940 Freundenreich was appointed managing director of the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb. Alongside Josip Badalić as the manager of drama, in only a year they implemented 'considerable innovations' and raised 'the dynamics of theatre life', turning to authors like Cesarec, Strozzi, Zagorka, Žimbek-Drozga, Nikola Bonifačić Rožin, Zlata Kolarić-Kišur and many others in the repertoire.

In the same volume of the magazine, Geno Senečić also writes about Freundenreich's role in managing the Union, as one of the "brightest components of Freundenreich's life work, entirely dedicated to folk art"⁶. In more detail it also confirms the "collection and exhibition of the treasures of Croatian folk art" during MHKD's entire life span. "Its experts, to name only professor Rudolf Matz and choreographer Vatroslav Krčelić, canvassed entire Croatia and studied folklore, choreography, music and folk treasure and customs in generals, recorded them in their original form, which later, in various aspects of MHKD's activity, came to the spotlight. Song, dance, costumes, scenes from the folk life, music, folk expressions, all these components of folk art were thus presented to the audience either in the form of a concert, or dance, or a stage play. Such collection and recording of folk

⁵ "Aleksandar Freudenreich i kazalište", *Narodno stvaralaštvo – folklor*, year XI, vol. 41-43, January–July, 1972, pp. 69-74.

⁶ "Narodna umjetnost i MHKD", *Narodno stvaralaštvo – folklor*, year XI, vol. 41-43, January–July, 1972, pp. 211-218.



treasure elements were particularly important in Istria, for example, between the two wars, when Istria was under Italian government".

As far as plays are concerned, the Union supplied them via an open call, and Senečić praised its historical role in such a "people's cultural effort". MHKD and the theatre ensemble performed award-winning plays on the stage of the Croatian National Theatre, and radio drama also blossomed. He also makes a mention that during MHKD's open-air performances, in Dubrovnik 1939 with Hofmannstahl's *Everyman* and *Croatian Dances*, it was Freundenreich who pointed to the need for establishing a festival in Dubrovnik, leaning on the city's natural scenery for a festival ceremony. Senečić also concludes that, as much as this effort on the promotion and presentation of folk plays and supporting theatre amateurs around towns and villages was pioneering and deserving, it nevertheless remained home. However, "even though folk dances, their meaning and success are regularly suppressed these

² [A. F.] "Matica Hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca u Berlinu prigodom plesnih natjecanja XI. Olimpijade: 14 dana plesa u Berlinu", *ibid.*, p. 2.

days, they are, nevertheless, after the medal and the first place won by MHKD at the XI Olympics in Berlin in 1936, the basis of the fruits we pick today... truly a remarkable global success story".

Batušić's claim that Aleksandar Freudenreich began his "life in drama" by establishing an amateur company as part of the former Hrvatski sokol reveals a much broader dimension to the understanding of current social relationships and conditions. Analysing historical documents on the performances of *moreška* dance from Korčula, Tonko Barčot from the Korčula-Lastovo Archive Collection Centre in Žrnovo, a section of the State Archives in Dubrovnik, asserted that the popularisation of *moreška* and its systematic and frequent performance several times a year started precisely at the time of Hrvatski sokol. It was founded in Korčula in 1905. "The exclusivity of this organisation, the national character of its activities in Dalmatia, explicit anti-Italian leanings, all these are obvious reasons why *moreška*, as a trademark cultural heritage of Korčula, connected almost by default with such an organisation and why no one on the Croatian social stage opposed it... Including folk dances under the aegis of Sokol was important for this organisation primarily in the 'national' and 'social' sense, as a means of gathering new members, but also as an expression of its ethnographic and general cultural contribution"⁷. Examples of *moreška* performances in the Dalmatian and general Croatian context testify to the general standpoint of Hrvatski sokol in regard to the evolution of national awareness and defence from Italian influence in Dalmatia.

With similar goals in the Czech Republic, since the late 19th century Sokol evolved gradually, as a sports movement, fighting Germanisation by awakening and strengthening national awareness among the Czech people. "Its envoys were liberal bourgeois layers of population, who advocated political, economic and cultural independence of Slavic people within the Monarchy and strengthened their mutual connections, as well as connections with Slavic nations outside the Monarchy... The membership and management of Hrvatski sokol supported those political parties whose programme and activities represented anti-Austrian and anti-Hungarian viewpoints, leading to the movement's growth hand in hand with the growth of this political option after 1903. ... Sokol organisations believed that an association paying attention only to exercise and neglecting

the 'national' spirit cannot be called a *sokol*, just simply an athletic gym"⁸.

On the one hand, a lot of pressure from big and powerful nations in the sense of Germanisation, Hungarianisation and Italianisation, and on the other, an intense desire of the weaker ones, including the Croats, for acknowledgment of their own national identity in the circuit of other Slavic nations were felt in the activities of organisations like Sokol. The same feelings inspired brave outreach attempts from individuals like Mia Čorak, who appeared for the first time at the Berlin Dance Olympics as Slaven-ska. Such political statements made on the international stage, in Germany in 1936, just like Nevenka Perko's *sad girl from Istria*, meant a lot to those who could and wanted to understand them. The awards thus become even more important in terms of their significance and symbolism – in the context of the era, the performances indeed had to be impeccable in both quality and content and unequivocally win the audience, the critics and the professional jury.

Another thing to bear in mind is the fact that the years preceding the Berlin performance saw the most intense activities of Seljačka sloga (Peasants' Harmony), the Croatian Peasants Party's cultural and educational organisation. Since its establishment in 1920, Seljačka sloga organised literacy and health courses (in association with Andrija Štampar and his National Health School), charities, exhibitions and fairs of peasant culture, at first only choirs, followed very soon by dance troupes⁹. Between 1926 and 1929, choir festivals of the Matija Gubec parish took place, led by Izidor Škorjač, Rudolf Matz, also the secretary of the Croatian Association of Singers, and Rudolf Herceg, the secretary of Seljačka sloga. These festivals were a meeting point of peasant choirs, joined at ceremonious parades with orchestras and Hrvatski sokol choir, Boka Kotorska Navy Society, and the banderium of peasant horsemen, with a carefully planned visiting performances from Croats from Bačka – Bunjevci and Šokci, precisely to spark stronger national connections. Assassinating and injuring Croatian champions in June 1928 at the Belgrade assembly caused

a series of negative consequences, but on the other hand contributed to the strengthening of mutual connections between Croatian cultural and educational associations active in the context of the Educational Union (Prosvjetni sabor). The introduction of tambura choruses gradually led to the idea of using tambura as a concert instrument and, in smaller bands, as accompaniment to dance¹⁰. Political turmoil and forced standstill of all activities due to King Alexander's absolutist reign made nationally coloured cultural work impossible. The establishment of Sklad association was an attempt to substitute the former activities of the prohibited Seljačka sloga and Croatian Association of Singers. The same intellectuals continued their commitment, and it was MHKD that showed agility and close collaboration with Sklad in order to bridge the gap in the early 1930s and find a way to continue with the activities. The "Entertainment Concert", organised around the carnival time in 1933 by the Sklad association at the Music Hall with a fundraiser for the reading room at the Journalist House supported by the Croatian Writers Association, by all accounts reminded very much of the 19th century 'Illyrian events'. It was inaugurated with the almost forgotten Croatian salon circle dance Salonsko kolo, bringing its patriotic significance back¹¹. Around carnival time, in February 1935, at a party organised by the Napredak Cultural Association, the UCTV chorus in national costumes performed the Istrian dance balun, custom-choreographed for the event by Željko Markovina, Ivica Valpotić and Nevenka Perko"¹². It is this moment that Stjepan Sremac deems a turning point portending "a new form of dance folklore's stage practice"¹³.

Aleksandar Freudenreich's recommendation made at the general assembly of Sklad association, published the same year in *Sklad* journal that "to the proposal of Zlatko Grgošević, a conclusion was made that greater attention should be paid to folk dances, not only musically, but also choreographically... in advisable collaboration with Mia Čorak," confirms their cooperation¹⁴.

It is a well-known fact that the scene was a place of collaboration and realisation of artistic concepts stimulating national awareness and promoting unity. Painters like Zdenka Sertić and Maksimilijan Vanka took part in field

research and recorded national heritage with their pencils and brushes instead of cameras. In 1924 Vanka designed the set and costumes for Baranović's ballet *Licitar Heart*, in which he incorporated traits of the Pokuplje national costume after exploring the region¹⁵.

Festivals of Croatian peasant culture, with a strong influence of folklore experts Milovan Gavazzi and Branimir Bratanić and the inherited philosophy of Seljačka sloga, focused future performances of the revived Sloga on depicting local and domestic peasant culture¹⁶.

They were also the source of Nevenka Perko's inspiration for her award-winning 1936 Berlin performances. This success story written by Croatian dancers is today considered one of the cornerstones of pursuing Croatian folk dances in a choreographed stage form.

An entire new theatrical vision emerged after the Second World War, thanks to Zvonimir Ljevaković and the establishment of the Folklore Ensemble Joža Vlahović, followed very quickly by a professional State Folk Dance Ensemble, later renamed to Lado, as well as many other civic amateur folklore ensembles. Ljevaković revisited the MHKD concept of ballet dancers adapting traditional models for stage performances, making it closer to the rural Croatian standards. After the establishment of Lado, he briefly collaborated with Ana Maletić, who created the famous choreography *Shqiptar Suite* for this company, but soon had to leave¹⁷ because Lado embraced the "Zagreb folklore school" approach, championed by Zvonimir Ljevaković and his successor, Ivan Ivančan.

Tvrtko Zebec is a research advisor at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research focusing on dance, performance context and methodology, digital humanities and intangible cultural heritage within the scope of the implementation of UNESCO's Convention (2003). zebec@ief.hr

⁷ Barčot, Tonko. "Moreška i sokolski pokret. O pojedinim aspektima djelovanja sokolske moreške". *Godišnjak grada Korčule* 14/15(2015). Korčula: Korčula Civic Museum, pp. 131-159.

⁸ Hrštić, Ivan. "Hrvatski sokol u Makarskoj". *Historijski zbornik*, LXIV (2011) no. 1, pp. 79-98. The author also points out how the sokol associations in Dalmatia were under the strong influence of the Party of Rights.

⁹ In addition to the already mentioned book by Stjepan Sremac (2010) about the stage appearance of folklore dance, another scholar focusing on Seljačka sloga from the point of view of folk music was Naila Ceribašić (2003) in her book *Hrvatsko, seljačko, starinsko i domaće: Povijest i etnografija javne prakse narodne glazbe u Hrvatskoj*, also published by the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb.

¹⁰ The 1929 edition of the festival was the first time that drmeš dance from Prigorje region was performed by the Frankopan chorus from Remete, as well as circle dances from Posavina, performed by choruses Pastir from Hrastovica and Gaj from Dužica.

¹¹ Sremac, *ibid.*, p. 202.

¹² *Sklad*, 1935, January-February, 1, p. 6.

¹³ Sremac, *ibid.*, p. 218.

¹⁴ *Sklad*, 1935, May-June, p. 5.

¹⁵ Antoš, Zvezdana. 2017. *The Image Collection*. Zagreb: Ethnographic Museum, p. 63.

¹⁶ Zebec, Tvrtko. 2007. "Seljačka sloga i Branimir Bratanić: etnologija i folklorni festivali". Aleksandra Muraj and Zorica Vitez (eds.). *Predstavljanje tradicijske kulture na sceni i u medijima*. Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore, pp. 45-49.

¹⁷ More about the conflict of two concepts of artistic folklore on stage in: Đurinović, Maja. 2008. *Razvoj suvremenog plesa: Ana Maletić, životopis*, Zagreb, Croatian Institute of Movement and Dance, pp. 55-75.