Ardian Ahmedaja (Ed.)

Diverging Ontologies in Music for Dancing

European Voices V

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Ardian Ahmedaja

Introduction

1. Researching music and dance making as holism

Discussions about the roles, interaction, intervention and coordinated behaviour of individuals involved in music making are becoming increasingly prominent in the explorations of the Research Centre for European Multipart Music (EMM) and its European Voices symposia. Music for dancing stood at the centre of the fifth symposium, whose presentations and discussions served as a basis for the contributions to this book. Its focus is not so much on music and dance as objects, but on the processes of interaction between their makers. Hence, the term "dancing" is more appropriate to its content than the term "dance". This viewpoint enables the inclusion into the discussions of practices that are usually considered separate research areas. One example is music for ballet (see Graber in this book).

The urge to concentrate on the topic of music for dancing emerged during discussions in a European Voices symposium dedicated to the playing of multipart music in local traditions in Europe, both by a single performer and by groups of performers in different kinds of ensembles (Morgenstern and Ahmedaja 2022). What was striking in those discussions were the frequent references to the musical texture and performance techniques in music played on instruments, and to identical or similar patterns in singing and/or dancing practices. These observations underlined the need to identify playing on instruments as an indispensable part of those traditions rather than simply "instrumental music", in order to enable broader and deeper perspectives regarding the ways in which music played on instruments comes into being. This is all the more necessary when music and/or singing and dancing are parts of the same performance body.

The view on practices of music and dance as holism have been the object of discussions and research in several recent publications. The starting point for this argument consists of a critique of research that places separate attention on music or on dance, even when these are parts of a single whole. In their article on choreomusical interactions, hierarchical structures and social relations, Colin Quigley and Siri Mæland state that the separation between music and dance in research "is not limited to Europe but can be found in many diverse cultural contexts around the world" (2020, 91, Note 1). On the other hand, they mention exceptions to this trend in the research of the second half of the 20th century, including Kurath 1957, Kealiinohomoku 1995, Sanger 1989, Dabrowska and Bielawski 1995. Made Mantle Hood and Sydney Hutchinson extend this history "back to the field's foundations, as both music and dance were interests of

scholars like Franz Boas and Curt Sachs" (2020, 69), while Kendra Stepputat and Elina Seye discuss publications on this issue with the goal of summarising "the historical development of research focusing on the relationship of music and dance" (2020, 7). Quigley and Mæland note further that only some of the essays included in those publications "focus on analysis of choreomusical interaction, and fewer extended such analysis into the social domain" (2020, 86). According to their opinion, "the challenge is to take a lesson from efforts to analyse forms in which the distinction is not natively significant and seek concepts other than those derived from a music-dance division to characterise their interactions" (2020, 91, Note 1).

Among the publications based on a holistic view of music and dance practices in Europe from the end of the 20th century is an article by Owe Ronström entitled "It Takes Two – or More – to Tango: Researching Traditional Music/Dance Interrelations" (1999). Ronström bases his analysis on expressive forms and aesthetically marked behaviour developed by American folklorists such as Dell Hymes (1975), Roger Abrahams (1977 and 1981), Dan Ben-Amos (1971) and Richard Bauman (1975 and 1986). Analysing performance as a mode of communication, he stresses the need to concentrate not only on *what* is communicated but also on *how*. This understanding is in line with the results of analysis of multipart singing traditions in Europe. Ignazio Macchiarella emphasis, for example, further features which interrogate the importance of the *what*-issue: "for (at least many) Sardinian and Corsican singers with whom I work, *who* is performing with *whom* is far more important than *what* is actually being sung…" (2016, 13). On the other hand, in the interaction between individuals in the music and dance making, the involvement of skillful – in addition to soundful – bodies in action is most significant. This condition also elicits a particular exchange of dynamics between the involved actors in different stages of the performance. In this framework, the concept of "embodied cognition" gains significance, despite very controversial discussions in the cognitive sciences. A recent example of such discussions is the response of Mirko Farina (2021) to Stephen D. Goldinger et al. (2016). While the latter state that "for the vast majority of classic findings in cognitive science, embodied cognition offers no scientifically valuable insight" (2016, 959), Farina argues "that embodied cognition is a very fruitful research programme for the empirical sciences and that it can adequately explain many aspects of human cognitive behaviour" (2021, 73).

The concept of embodied cognition has been brought more powerfully to the attention of musical and ethnomusicological studies through the contributions to a volume on embodied musical interaction (Lesaffre et al. 2017). Within the discipline of ethnomusicology to date, it has been primarily sociological and anthropological viewpoints that have been developed in this framework. This is the case in the above-mentioned volume, inter alia, in the contributions to the ethnography of embodied music interaction by Martin Clayton and on embodied interaction with "sonic agents" as an anthropological perspective by Filippo Bonini Baraldi. In a more recent contribution, Colin Quigley and Sándor Varga (2020) concentrate on social hierarchy and choreomusical interaction in dance and music practice on the Transylvanian Plain.

Remarkably, this embodiment is understood in psychological and cognition studies "both

as a *living* (observable, biological) and a *lived* (experienced) phenomenon that emerges from agent~world coupling" (Laroche et al. 2014, 1). The footnote to this statement reads: "The tilde sign used in this text is a reference to Kelso and Engstrom (2006). It denotes that paired concepts are dynamically related to each other: the separate understanding of each concept remains incomplete as long as its complementary aspect is not taken into account" (ibid. footnote 1). Such an understanding fits very well with what might be called 'music~dancing coupling' and the processes of interaction which hold them together.

At this point, it is necessary to underline the fundamental importance given to the issue of embodiment by Maxine Sheets-Johnstone in the study *The Primacy of Movement* (2011). Calling on an understanding of movement as the "foundation of our conceptual life" (2011, xxii) and essential for our sense of agency, she approaches the Cartesian mind-body dualism as an "animate form" rather than "embodiment" or "lived body". In an earlier study, she outlines animation as "the fundamental, essential, and properly descriptive concept to understandings of animate life" (2009, 375) and as "the bedrock of our being and feeling alive" (2009, 376). Based on Edmund Husserl's perception of the body as a "phenomenological-kinetic method" (Husserl 1980, 117), Sheets-Johnstone proposes further to "language" such experiences and "come to know them in ways that are phenomenologically consonant with the dynamically resonant kinesthetic and kinetic experiences" (Sheets-Johnstone 2011, xix).

The language process of "animate forms" in music~dancing practices includes the exploration of different understandings of key terms and concepts. These explorations lead to an awareness that "worlds, as well as worldviews, may vary" (in Heywood 2017), making evident the existence of more than one ontology. This aspect becomes particularly apparent in the issue of terms and concepts wandering from one language to another (see section 2 below). With regard to this matter, Section 2.1 of this introduction contains an extended discussion devoted to the German term *schmutziges Spiel*, or 'dirty playing', including other terms and understandings connected with it. The confrontation with this term shows that research on music for dancing can offer helpful understandings, particularly from the viewpoint of the interaction between musicians and dancers, which is reflected in diverging ontologies during the process of the emergence of the music~dancing coupling. Another view in this context is offered by dancing based on movements conducted in silence. The diverse graduations of the silence show that the presumed missing sonic features in these cases are part of the performance body and of the perceptions of all the individuals involved (see section 2.2).

2. Terms and concepts as diverging worldviews in change

Since the main focus in the present book is on music for dancing in Europe, it should be recalled that in descriptions from ancient Greece and ancient Rome music and dancing performances are considered inseparable and – what is more – parts of theatrical practice. Significantly, several

key terms and concepts from that period have entered modern European languages, including English, often with different connotations. Of interest for this book are discussions about the connections of the ancient Greek terms *pantomimos* (παντόμῖμος) for 'pantomime', *órchēsis* (ὄρχησις) for 'dance' and *orchēstēs* (ορχηστης) for 'dancer'. In her introduction to a volume of linguistic studies on ancient pantomime, Edith Hall states:

> Pantomime was central to Greek and Roman culture and represents a crucial phase in the history of theatre. A glamorous and alluring entertainment, its central attraction was a solo, masked male dancer—called a *pantomimos*, or often just a 'dancer' (*orchēstēs* in Greek, *saltator* in Latin)—who performed famous stories from mythology. The dancer took all the important roles in each story, changing his mask for each one; this was how he derived his name as the one who mimed all (panta) the roles, or 'everything in the story' [...] (Hall 2008, 3)

The dialogue on pantomime *Περι ορχησεως* (Peri orchēseōs) by the 2nd-century CE satirist Lucian of Samosata was translated into Latin as "De saltatione" (e.g. *The Works of Lucian of Samosata* 1905) and into English as "Of Pantomime" (e.g. *The Works of Lucian* 1780, 238–263) or "Of Dancing" (e.g. Lucian of Samosata 1820, 217–256). In a translation from the beginning of the 20th century, in which the respective title is translated as "Of Pantomime", it is noted:

> 'Pantomime' has been chosen as the most natural translation of ὄρχησις, which in this dialogue has reference for the most part to the ballet-dancer (*pantomimus*) of imperial times. On the other hand, Lycinus, in order to establish the antiquity and the universality of an art that for all practical purposes dates only from the Augustan era, and (despite the Greek artists) is Roman in origin, avails himself of the wider meaning of ὄρχησις to give us the historic and prehistoric associations of dance in Greece and elsewhere; and in such passages it seemed advisable to sacrifice consistency, and to translate ὄρχησις dance. (*The Works of Lucian of Samosata* 1905, 238, note 1)

The diachronic aspect in the interpretation and translation of terms and concepts from ancient languages into modern ones and their subsequent usage shifts towards a synchronic one when it comes to interpretations, translations and the emergence of terms and concepts from one language to another in the same period of time. In the second case, the ontological approach, which is at the centre of the present book, becomes more decisive. One example of the ontological approach to the use of the concept of "music", the other key term for the present book, can be found in the essay "Against Ethnomusicology: Language Performance and the Social Impact of Ritual Performance in Islam" (2013) by Michael Frischkopf. Arguing for the incompatibility of the concept of "music" with local ontologies in Islamic studies, Frischkopf suggests the use of the concept of "language performance" in comparative ritual studies on the basis of a semiotically informed standpoint. He suggests that it is important "to establish an isomorphism preserving ontological structure, following the sense of 'ontology' used in linguistics and computer science

to denote [...] semantic hierarchies and their representations in language, formulated most completely as taxonomies" (2013, 13). This view is also of help when considering connections between language and culture. In this context, Frischkopf emphasises that these hierarchies "are often quite culture specific (and not simply language specific) – indeed that they may lie at the very core of culture (as a system of representations) itself" (ibid.).

This is additionally the case when it comes to the migration of terms and concepts from one language to another in practices of music for dancing. An example of the emergence and use of a designation in these practices in Europe is the previously mentioned German term *schmutziges Spiel* for 'dirty playing', coined by Felix Hoerburger in his study *Musica vulgaris* (1966).

2.1 Schmutziges Spiel, *or 'dirty playing'*

The English translation 'dirty playing' for the German term *schmutziges Spiel* is provided by Hoerburger himself in *Musica vulgaris*, in the slightly different form of 'dirty play'. The reason for this is the fact that Hoerburger based the German term on the English notion of so-called "dirty notes" used in jazz music practices. According to Hoerburger, these notes are "sounded unclearly or impurely" (*unrein intoniert*) and have found their way from singing to instrumental playing (Hoerburger 1966, 46). In contrast, the phenomenon of "dirty playing" is to be encountered in folk music practices in Europe, specifically in music played on instruments. Hoerburger also emphasises that he uses this term "for want of another term" (*in Ermangelung eines anderen Terminus*) (ibid.).

It is striking that, with regard to the features of the phenomenon of dirty playing explored by Hoerbuger (1966, 46–52), the majority of examples come from music for dancing:

a. the "false" tuning of musical instruments such as bagpipes, flutes, stringed instruments, etc., as opposed to the tempered tuning of instruments used in art music practices, notably the piano;
b. the claim of the intoxication of playing (*die Forderung nach Rauschhaftigkeit des Spiels…* 1966, 48);
c. "the light distortion of the rhythm, irrational prolongation or abbreviation of single tones, which are difficult to capture, but which give the listener a faint sense of being tricked" (*die leichte Verzehrung des Rhythmus, irrationale Verlängerungen oder Verkürzungen einzelner Töne, die schwer zu erfassen sind, die aber den Hörer stets in ein leichtes Gefühl des Schwindelns versetzen…* 1966, 49);
d. the smearing (*verschmieren*) of single tones, "once again an expression which is used in jazz music" (*wiederum ein Ausdruck, der in der Jazz-Musik verwendet wird*) (ibid.). In this context, parallels between sound vs. movement and music vs. dance are analysed, rendering the divided viewpoints towards music and/or dance problematic, since "Both are then no

longer from the outset and exclusively a structure of strictly organised notes and steps, but a holistic flow" (*Beides ist dann nicht mehr von vornherein und ausschließlich ein Gefüge straff geordneter Töne und Schritte, sondern ein Gesamtfluß…* 1966, 51);

e. *Hinschmieren* or 'scrawl/scribble' (ibid.), a phenomenon that Hoerburger describes as extending from smearing and potentially encompassing larger complexes (*größere Komplexe*). This would be the case in performances in which the main tones of the melody, and therefore the melody as such, become almost unrecognisable owing to the abundance of *Spielfiguren* (playing/performing figures). These figures appear "as links, as replacement, and as alteration" (*als Bindeglieder, als Ablösung und Abwechslung*) (ibid.);
f. occasional divergences in the interplay during ensemble performances. This is the case, for instance, when the *primás* in an ensemble begins to play the violin and the others pause, first to understand what his plan is, and then to follow without being wide of the mark (ibid.). The situation is similar when the leader begins a new piece within a succession of pieces or when the drummer in a drum-shawm ensemble leads with a new rhythm and the shawm player searches to find something that can be played to this new rhythm (1966, 52).

The conclusion of this analysis contains a significant critique of musical transcriptions and listening habits:

> When we in the musical folklore community transcribe such music, we certainly do not consider notating all these deviations from the norm or standard, because we are sure we know the norm, taking it as self-evident, since we tend to assume or imagine that this norm is being aimed at by the performers, who fail to attain it. Furthermore, we believe ourselves authorised to normalise when notating what we hear, if we have indeed not already largely normalised it while hearing or listening, so that we basically hear "wrongly" by setting "right" what was performed "wrong".
>
> *Wenn wir in der musikalischen Volkskunde solche Musik transkribieren, so denken wir freilich nicht daran, alles diese Abweichungen von der Norm mitzunotieren, weil wir die Norm sicher zu kennen glauben, sie als selbstverständlich annehmen, weil wir in der Vorstellung leben, daß diese Norm von den Spielern anvisiert, aber nicht erreicht ist, und weil wir deshalb glauben, die Berechtigung zu haben, in der Notierung das Gehörte normalisieren zu dürfen, wenn wir nicht überhaupt schon im Hören normalisieren, also im Grunde „falsch" hören, indem wir das „falsch" gespielte „richtig" stellen.* (Hoerburger 1966, 52)

Hoerburger notes that this kind of "dirty playing" is not to be confused with cases when someone makes a mistake because of inability, and should therefore be better named "clean playing" (*das "saubere Spiel"*) (ibid.). Furthermore, "This dirty playing, I would like to think, is crucially relevant; it is the fundamental counterpart to the 'ensoulment' which is required in art music performances,

when notation should be rendered into music" (*Dieses schmutzige Spiel gehört, so möchte ich meinen, wesentlich zur Sache, es ist das grobsinnliche Gegenstück zu der „Beseelung", deren die Kunstmusik selbstverständlich bedarf, wenn ein Notenbild in Musik übertragen werden soll.*) (ibid.).

We know today that informed and experienced performance practice is decisive in the context of "ensouling" music. In Austria, for example, local musicians consider the music on the page as a point of departure, and they similarly recall memorised sonic patterns from which the music they play emerges in each performance. One performer who operated in this manner, both in his performances and when transmitting his experience to younger generations within and outside academia was Rudolf Pietsch (1951–2020, cf. Garaj 2022). Pietsch, who was active as a performer and researcher, began to perform early in his youth. He established and led several music ensembles, among which Die Tanzgeiger (The Dance Fiddlers) is still active (see *Tanzgeiger*) and has become particularly well known. The audience of the Vienna symposium on music for dancing was able to enjoy their performance in the closing event (Schmidt 2018).

Based on such rich experiences, Pietsch noted in an article published in 2017 that for him the "expression 'dirty playing' contains the idea of deviating, of differences, though here it is not the playing of a 'dirty line' but rather an unachieved 'clean line'" (2017, 205). In this contribution he analysed several performances of the "Murtaler Polka" (Murtal is a district in Styria, Austria) by different ensembles, paying attention to the performance features of each ensemble's individual members as well as of the whole ensemble. The first performance comes from a recording by the Edler Trio from Mürztal in Upper Styria, whose members play clarinet, accordion and bass tuba. Pietsch noted: "The musicians refer to the clarinet part when they say: *Tua dazua farbeln*! (in standard German '*Füge Farbe hinzu!*' for 'Add some color!')" (2017, 206). In informal conversations, Pietsch stressed more than once that, among the *Musikanten* (roughly speaking, 'performers of folk music') in Austria, the saying *Spiel' a bissl schmutzig!* (in standard German: *Spiele ein bischen schmutzig!*) for "Play a bit dirty!", is to be heard over and again as they play.

The German term *Musikant* (sing.) or *Musikanten* (pl.) differs in meaning from the term *Musiker*, which can be translated into English as 'musician'. According to Rudolf Flotzinger (2022 [2004]), the difference lies in the particular valuation given to each term, which is based on a long tradition, especially on "the mediaeval distinction between *musicus* and *cantor*, … with regard to a theoretical-reflexive basis of activity, which has been acquired in the first case, but is less present in the second" (*mittelalterliche Unterscheidung zwischen* musicus *und* cantor… *hinsichtlich einer im ersten Fall angeeigneten, im zweiten aber weniger vorhandenen theoretisch-reflexiven Basis der Tätigkeit*).

On the other hand, the term *Musikant* does not necessarily carry an exclusively negative connotation. In the local practices, "the familiar request 'Musikanten, play it up!' is addressed still to (particularly dance) musicians who 'understand their metier'" (*geläufige Aufforderung* „Musikanten spielts auf!" *richtet sich noch immer an (besonders Tanz-)Musiker, die „ihr Metier verstehen"*) (ibid.).

Flotzinger also comments on the use of the adjective *musikantisch* (roughly speaking, "in the folk music performance manner"), derived from *Musikant*, as follows:

further, for a composer [of art music] the epithet *musikantisch* hints at certain unspoilt and sensual pleasures. Interestingly enough, both [features] are firmly linked with dance (interesting, inter alia, because on the one hand, in ancient Greece the term *μουσική* [music] verse, music [in today's meaning] and dance were inseparably linked, and, on the other hand, higher sensual pleasures are often attributed to 'simple' people).

auch das Epitheton „musikantisch" für einen Komponisten spielt auf eine gewisse Urtümlichkeit und Sinnenfreude an. Beides wird interessanterweise besonders am Tanz festgemacht (interessant u. a. deshalb, weil einerseits noch im altgriechischen Begriff μουσική [Musik] Vers, Musik [im heutigen Sinn] und Tanz untrennbar verbunden waren und andererseits ‚einfachen' Menschen oft höhere Sinnenfreude attestiert wird). (Flotzinger 2022 [2004])

Such a romanticised view and derogatory clichés about the "unspoilt" and "higher sensual pleasures" of "simple" people are certainly far from the understanding and aims of the performers. An example of this can be found in the analysis by Pietsch of a "Murtaler Polka" performance by the Citoller Tanzgeiger (Citoller Dance Fiddlers). The ensemble's name derives from the municipality of Zitoll in Styria, slyly playing with the similar spelling of the consonants *z* and *c*. This is "one of the most experienced string ensembles of contemporary folk music" in Austria (Pietsch 2017, 216). Knowing the musicians in person, Pietsch stated at the end of the analysis: "There is an understanding among all five musicians that the craft of their musical practice serves the dancers" (Pietsch 2017, 218). This statement seems to complete an idea noted by Hoerburger decades ago (see also Morgenstern in this book) in his chapter "The Music and the Dance" (*Die Musik und der Tanz*): "The dancer does not like to be regulated, but stimulated and exited" (*Der Tänzer will nicht reglementiert, sondern angeregt und aufgeregt sein*. Hoerburger 1966, 85). Thus, results of analysis from the viewpoint of music for dancing show that the connectedness between musicians and dancers in the interaction processes of the animation (in Husserl's and Sheets-Johnstone's sense) in music~dancing practices is decisive.

2.2 From diverging ontologies of silence

Ontological experiences in music for dancing are likewise of interest in cases when sonic features in dancing performances are apparently absent. In her previously cited discussion of the term *pantomime*, Hall notes that "at the heart of all pantomime performance was the notion that a story could be told through a dancer's silent, rhythmical movements, poses and gestures" (Hall 2008, 4). Here she gives an English translation of a Late Latin poem from the *Codex Salmasianus* (Paris 10318), (ibid., footnote 5):

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> He fights, he plays, he loves, he revels, he turns round, he stands still, he illuminates the truth, and imbues everything with grace. He has as many tongues as limbs, so wonderful is the art by which he can make his joints speak although his mouth is silent. (see Hall 2008, 4)

Performances of dances consisting of silent movements still exist in Europe. At the Vienna symposium on music for dancing, the ethnographic film *The Phenomenon of the Silent Dance*, created by a team led by Ankica Petrović, was presented and discussed. Petrović writes in the abstract to the film that it was made in order to preserve the memory of the silent, mute or death dances that were performed as a living practice until the middle of the 20th century by male, female or mixed groups without any musical guidance or accompaniment in the region of the Dinaric Alps, embracing Bosnia and Hercegovina and the Dalmatian Hinterland in Croatia. The energy of the moving bodies and the emphatic rhythms of the dancers' steps, as well as the sounds of the silver ornaments they wear, create a wide variety of sonic sensations that fulfil musical expectations both among performers and the local audience (see Petrović 2018). Another example from Bosnia and Hercegovina is mentioned in the contribution by Jasmina Talam in this book: the *mala trusa* circle dance.

Other traditions of "silent dances" in southeastern Europe were documented in northern Albania and southern Montenegro in the second half of the 20th century, despite the fact that in the local practices of the communities in question musical instruments are as a rule an inseparable part of dancing practice. Particularly notable are the large barrel drums (sing. *lodër*, pl. *lodra*) and *lodër-surle* (drum-shawn) ensembles (see Sokoli and Miso 1991, 73–81 and 132–139; Ahmedaja 2014d and 2014e) used mostly for men's dancing, different kinds of local flutes and whistles (e.g. *bilbil*, see Sokoli and Miso 1991, 91–92; Ahmedaja 2014a), and the small frame drum *dajre* or *def* (see Sokoli and Miso 1991, 70–73; Ahmedaja 2014b) and *tepsi* (large, shallow metal tray, see Ahmedaja 2014f) for women's dancing and dance songs.

The best-known dancing based on silent movements is locally called *Kcimi i logut*. The terms *kcim* and *log* are rooted in the language variety used in the area, and in local understandings of what the performers do and the location in which the performance takes place. This is the area of *Malësia e Madhe* (the Great Highlands) or *Malësia e Mbishkodrës* (the Highlands of Upper Shkodër) in northern Albania. The noun *kcim* is a local variation of the standard Albanian *kërcim*, which is related to the verb *kcej/kërcej*. This verb has several connotations. The first one is '*jump*' or '*to jump*'. The substantive form is commonly used in designations of sports disciplines (see *Fjalor…* 2002, 573): *kërcim me shkop* for 'pole vault', *kërcim së gjati* for 'long jump' and *kërcim së larti* for 'high jump'. A further meaning is linked to 'dance' and 'dancing'. The term *log* in the name of the dance denotes firstly the space in which it takes place. A *log* is a "small meadow (usually on a mountain or in the middle of a forest); a small, flat, even place" (*Lëndinë e vogël (zakonisht në mal a në mes të pyllit); shesh i vogël, vend i rrafshët*), that used to be called "the village *log*" (*Logu i fshatit*) or "the [public] discussion *log*" (*Logu i kuvendit*) (see *Fjalor…* 2002, 695). This was the place where the inhabitants organised major celebrations and events, a place that might

roughly correspond to the village green in England. This use of the term is represented in designations such as *Dita e logut* (see Spathari 1983) for '*Log* Day'.

The *log* dance is generally performed by one male and one female, who move and dance individually with very lively and sprightly movements, all the while keeping visual contact with one another. The community members used to call the dancers *trimi e reja* (Bogdani 1995, 31), 'the (brave) fellow and the young girl'. This dance may be similarly performed by two women or two men, as well as by several male-and-female couples. It is important to stress that each performer continues to communicate with his or her partner no matter how many couples take part in the performance (see Bogdani 1995, 20–25).

A performance by two female-male couples was recorded as early as 1949 in an excerpt from a film about the first National Folklore Festival in Albania in 1949 (*Kinematografika Shqiptare*). The speaker presents it as follows: "This is a folk dance which is performed by the folklore group of the Great Highlands without any musical accompaniment" (*Kjo ësht' një valle popullore që kërcehet nga grupi folkloristik i Malsis' së Madhe pa ndonjë shoqërim muzikal*). Another performance, this time by one woman and one man, was filmed in 1959 by a team led by Imre Katona, whom Bertalan Andrásfalvy met in northern Albania during fieldwork (Andrásfalvy 2022; *Albania 1959*).

Further information on the existence of this dance comes from the area known as Malsia (Highlands) in southern Montenegro. Ramazan Bogdani mentions a film from the area in which a woman and a man perform the *Kërcimi i logut të Tuzit* (Bogdani 1997, 296) for "*Log* dancing of Tuz". In this case, the designation Tuz means both the town and its surrounding area in southern Montenegro.

Of interest is the information about verbal reactions from the audience to male dancers, with exclamations such as *Hopa! for* 'Come on!' or 'Jump!', *Ju lumshin kamët! for* 'May your legs be blessed!', or *Forca, filani, se s'je plak hala!* for 'Come on, NN, you're not old yet!' (Bogdani 1995, 28–29, footnote 2). Such exclamations are also heard in performances of other kinds of dances in this and other areas. Nevertheless, in performances of "silent dances" they make audible such "bubbling interaction" between performers and an audience paying close attention and whose judgments are essential for the performers and for the shape of the performances.

In the same area, a large mirror is placed in an easily visible location during performances of the *log* dance, for example, propped up against a tree. The performers watch themselves in it, especially when the couples performing cede place to each other (Bogdani 1995, 30–31). A mirror was likewise used in this area in a women's dance called *Kcim me krahën e pasqyrë* or 'Dancing with comb and mirror', of which the inhabitants had only memories left in 1972. The dance was usually performed by a single female, who crouched and pretended to hold a mirror in her left hand and a comb on the other hand. She then hopped on both legs (*kërcim pupthi*), mostly on the spot, but occasionally to the right or to the left or in a small circle around herself. When several female performers took part, apart from their individual movements, they would also coordinate their jumps and stand and crouch in a circle, at the centre of which only one of them

would dance (Bogdani 1995, 30–33). This dance was performed when girls and young women were alone and literally "not under the eyes of the world" (*jo në sytë e botës*, Bogdani 1995, 33).

Another "silent dance" is the one known among the inhabitants of the Great Highlands in northern Albania as *Premja me jatagana* (Bogdani 1997, 289, footnote 1), literally 'Cutting with swords', in the sense of "a sword fight". In this dance, two men "duel" with each other for a young woman and stop only when she goes between them and "asks" them to stop the "fight". Another performance of this dance was filmed in 1959 by Katona and his team. Information about it can be found in an article by Andrásfalvy on duelling dances, which was published in 1963 and includes photographs by Imre Katona (Andrásfalvy 1963).

Members of this community have reported about another silent dance which was usually performed at weddings and stems from the *log* dance. It is named *Kcimi i teshave*, which can be translated as 'Dance of the clothes', although only handkerchiefs are exchanged during the dancing, between the woman and man or girl and youth who perform it. Sometimes they even burn the handkerchiefs and at the end hug each other (Bogdani 1997, 292, footnote 2). In several local dances practised in Albania, the burning of handkerchiefs is understood as a symbol of the end of bachelorhood. The best-known of these is the *Shamia e beqarit* (The bachelor's handkerchief) from central Albania (Bogdani 1997, 168–180). Part of its performance body consists of diverse ensembles of instruments, from those based on violin(s), clarinet(s), the lute(s) called *llautë* (Ahmedaja 2014c) and the *dajre* or *def* to electronic instruments, as well as singers. According to the lyrics, the handkerchief is washed, squeezed, dried, wept into and burned.

Silence can thus speak loudly in many ways in the perception of these "silent dances", depending on individual experiences. The ontological approach therefore also helps in these cases to approach more closely both the different worlds of the protagonists and the ways in which such worlds change.

3. *Diverging ontologies in music for dancing*

Drawing on the aforementioned understanding of the existence of more than one ontology (Heywood 2017), known in anthropological discourse as the "ontological turn" (Holbraad and Pedersen 2017), Hood and Hutchinson (2020) argue in favour of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology also moving towards local ontologies in order to "update and refine an ethnotheoretical approach, while maintaining its important goal of understanding culture from the inside" (2020, 83).

Understandings of culture from the inside are at the core of the contributions in the present book. The involvement of diverging ontologies in them is based on the complexity and dynamics of the interaction and the change and the exchange of the treasure trove of experiences of each involved individual (Kubik 2010, 60). In the field of music for dancing, this aspect becomes particularly important because of the specific role of embodiment, "embodied cognition" or animation as discussed in the first section of this introduction.

In relation to interaction, which is a fundamental issue in this context, the aspect of incompleteness should be emphasised: "Our experiences of each other and ourselves are … always broken, incomplete and escape us so that our interactions keep moving forward" (Laroche et al. 2014, 7). And it is this incompleteness that "makes the alterity persists (sic)" (ibid.).

These viewpoints can be discerned in every contribution to the book and constitute one of the insights it offers to music~dancing studies. This is the case in the contribution by Egil Bakka, in which he explores the term *svikt* and other terms and concepts connected with it in research and in diverse practices in Norway. Within this framework, the contribution by Enrique Camara de Landa on the highly contradictory perceptions of the Italian tango both by performers and in public debates are of great interest, as, for example, those between the "chronicle of a fashion furore" and the "adaption" which permitted the tango's acceptance by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Italy. In Mojca Kovačič's contribution, interaction, incompleteness and persistence of alterity may be discerned in the discussions based on questions about how worlds and worldviews vary in the context of transculturality, postmodern ethnicity and postmodern religiosity. The change from the polka dance to the Polka Mass is interpreted through paying attention to questions regarding polka as counter-hegemonic, to community response and also to the concept of what is fitting and proper. In Jasmina Talam's contribution, features of incompleteness and alterity are noticeable in, for example, her explanations of the rise in the number of females in the traditionally male domain of playing instruments as well as the role of KUDs (Kulturno-umjetničko društvo, or 'Cultural-Artistic Society') in the representation of local practices on stage, including revival as a trend. Ulrich Morgenstern, who pursues the issue of textural event density as a stimulus in choreomusical interaction by discussing questions regarding music for dancing and music for listening, argues that a musical event does not necessarily determine a hierarchy of functions valid for each participant in a similar way. Stefan Hackl, for his part, provides information about different terms and perceptions associated with tunings and playing techniques relating to an old Tyrolean style of playing guitar as music for listening, together with its links to music for dancing. Finally, Oliver Peter Graber's contribution discusses views from Western classical ballet, drawing attention to successful partnerships from the history of ballet, such as those between Marius Petipa and Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky as well as George Balanchine and Igor Stravinsky. The role of the performers as important protagonists in such partnerships is examined when, for example, the issue of Sergei Prokofiev's music for the ballet *Romeo and Juliet* is addressed. The legendary ballerina Galina Ulanova initially deemed his music "unsuitable for dancing". However, after the 1938 premiere in Brno (in present-day Czech Republic), which was performed by less-known dancers, Ulanova became one of the work's main supporters and went on to contribute to its worldwide reputation through her own interpretation.

These contributions discuss the particularities of such diverging ontologies in interaction, intertwining diachronic and synchronic approaches with local and global appearances. Furthermore, they demonstrate that "interindividual relations and social context do not simply arise from the behaviour of individual agents, but themselves enable and shape the individual

agents on which they depend" (De Jaegher and Froese 2009, 444). Hackl, for example, describes changes in the practices of several performers following their contact with the guitar tunings of an old Tyrolean style of playing guitar, ones very different to the standard tuning. Furthermore, the previously mentioned understanding of the body as a "phenomenological-kinetic method" (Husserl) and of agents who make sense of the world in movement (Sheets-Johnstone 2011) can be recognised in his contribution just as in that of Bakka, for example, in his discussion about the relationship between footwork and music. In a more general sense, the "embodiment" of the ideas formulated by Husserl and Sheets-Johnstone can be recognised in Camara de Landa's discussions about "adapted" choreographies and the permanent reconstruction of the meanings and feelings associated with different practices of the Italian tango, in Kovačič's depiction of the process of adapting polka dance to a part of the religious Mass in churches of Slovenian communities in the USA, in Graber's "culture of artistic interaction" during the collaborative process between choreographers and composers, in Morgenstern's approach of comparing local styles of music for dancing with other socially meaningful non-dance genres with regard to their textural event density, and in Talam's understanding based on John Blacking's statement in 1979 about "the close link between movement patterns and music-making" as a process of "enculturation and learning, of execution, of perception and of aesthetic appreciation" (see Talam in this book).

In another statement, Blacking emphasised that cultures exist only in performance, being "products of human individuation … re-interpreted, translated, by every individual and every generation" (1986, 3). This standpoint helps us discern the diverging ontologies in music for dancing as an indispensable constituent component of music~dancing practices.

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On the first evening, the audience enjoyed and participated in a dancing event with artists from Norway. I thank Egil Bakka for his cooperation in the organisation of this evening and for taking over its introduction and moderation, Jan Beitohaugen Granli for his performance on the Hardanger fiddle throughout the entire evening (!), and Anna Gjendem, Sigurd Heide, Stian Ronald and Siri Mæland for their dancing and for introducing the audience to the dancing traditions of Norway so gently. I also thank the Embassy of the Kingdom of Norway in the Republic of Austria for its partial support of this evening event.

The second evening saw the presentation of the first publication of the new IVE series *European Voices: Audiovisuals* (EVA), which was made possible because of the cooperation between IVE, MDW and the Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music (JVLMA) in Riga, Latvia. This was a double CD with an extended booklet entitled *Notes from Latvia: Multipart Music in the Field* (Beitāne 2018). I would like to thank Anda Beitāne for her cooperation in the organisation of the event as well as for the lively singing, playing and dancing together with Liene Brence and Oskars Patjanko. The participation of the musicians from Latvia in this event was made possible within the framework of the "Latvia 100" initiative through the Embassy of the Republic of Latvia in the Republic of Austria and the ambassador, Her Excellency Veronika Erte, whom I expressly wish to thank. Alongside the music and dancing, the audience enjoyed culinary specialities from Latvia, including homemade delicacies prepared by the singers recorded on the CDs as gifts for the symposium's participants. On behalf of all the participants, I thank them for such touching generosity.

The closing event of the symposium was a *Hausball* (Schmidt 2018) during which a publication by Nicola Benz on the sources and the reception history of a book on "old dances for young people" authored by Herbert Lager and Hilde Lager-Seidl (Benz 2018) was presented. The event was made possible through the cooperation of the Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Österreichischer Volkstanz (Federal Committee for Austrian Folk Dance), represented by its chair Herbert Zotti and vice-chair Else Schmidt. I thank both of them for the very fruitful cooperation and the author for the book presentation. The event took place in the Hall of Mirrors of the Bockkeller property, which is the seat of three institutions: the Österreichisches Volksliedwerk (Austrian Folk Song Society), the Federal Committee for Austrian Folk Dance and the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Volkstanz Wien (Vienna Committee for Folk Dance). Another very important partner of this event was the previously mentioned ensemble Die Tanzgeiger led by Rudolf Pietsch, whose death in 2020 was a great loss, and not only for this ensemble's musicians. My special thanks for the performance at this event are due to him posthumously, and also to the band members, who, as already discussed, understand their metier very well: Theresa Aigner, Claus Huber, Michael Gmasz, Sebastian Rastl, Dieter Schickbichler and Marie-Theres Stickler.

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I. Interaction and Coordinated Behaviour

Egil Bakka

Dance and Music in Interplay: Types of Choreo-Musical Relationships in Norwegian Heritage

Abstract

This article is based on a lecture-demonstration that described and discussed a spectrum of different principles for choreo-musical relationships. The specific examples shown were selected from traditional Norwegian dance and music and consist partly of live dancing and music and partly of films from my fieldwork. Since I am researching dance rather than music, dance is my main point of departure. The material has been presented through my teaching, and some of it is referred to in my other works. However, I have not published any specialised articles on the topic, and thus the opportunity to do so now is very welcome.

The article is based on two principles:

1. The assumption that choreo-musical relationships are culturally grown[1] and cannot be expected to match simple general principles.
2. On a structural level, the primary sources for the study of choreo-musical relationships are recordings which capture realisations of dance and music in interaction, allowing a holistic approach to transcription.

Analysis of Norwegian material shows that there is a wealth of variation in how such relationships function. Many of these have been ignored by the often prescriptively oriented dance and music notation systems. Questions of perception and emic understanding are also decisive in the description and interpretation of often surprising relationships, and we end up by asking if and how choreo-musical relationships might or should influence the notation of dance music.

1 This term is meant as a parallel to culturally constructed, which, however, hints at intentional action or agency, which should better be avoided here. The question is also discussed by Jordan 2011, although referring to music and theatrical dance.

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1. The point of departure

My research is to a large extent based on material that I collected and analysed and on methodologies I developed with my colleagues while I was directing the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance from 1973 until my retirement in 2013. At the same time, I served as professor at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology from 1989 until 2014. All six members of the team who came for the dance and music demonstrations at the conference in Vienna had connections with the Centre and/or the University in terms of full or part-time jobs and/or education.

An important part of my earlier work was to document, analyse and describe dances that had been falling into disuse, and return them to practice. This is the basis for what I shall present here, describing and demonstrating dance/music relationships in Nordic/Norwegian dance. This will mainly be a practical analysis with some attempts to touch on theory and questions of generalisation. There is a growing literature on the choreo-musical relationship in theatrical dance, as well as discussions of how choreographers have used the relationship to create artistic effects (Jordan 2000, Damsholt 2006, Fiskvik 2006). There is also a large number of studies discussing the structures and perception of musical rhythm, several of which are based on traditional Norwegian dance music (Blom and Kvifte 1986, Kvifte 2007, Danielsen 2016, Johansson 2016). To engage with the complex issues raised there is beyond the scope of this article, which is about how traditional dancers and musicians have found ways of observable interaction through sound and movement patterns.[2] It is marked by my mission and my usual practice of writing for practitioners, using simple language and elementary explanations for the sake of accessibility. It is also based upon my own observations over many years of fieldwork and my film analysis, where testing on my own and my co-operators' bodies has been the main tool.

2. Principles of analysis

Since my fieldwork is characterised by a desire to document the entire heritage of social dancing in Norway, and even contemporary practices of social dancing, time has been a limiting factor in the fieldwork. There has not been time for long-term studies of individual practitioners or their communities, only enough to document them, rather than to learn from each of them directly and in depth. However, the fieldwork included recording interviews and practical discussions

2 I do not intend to go into micro levels here, beyond the down and up phases of the svikt (see below in the article) or the musical beats that correspond to those. One reason for this is the question of how far the reliability of simple, shareable observation can be stretched. Colleagues, however, have done interesting work in this direction (see Blom 1981).

and demonstrations of the dancing and music-making. The most intense period of my fieldwork was from 1966 until the late 1980s, and it was mostly carried out over periods of a week or two alongside my regular work, and in cooperation with younger local dancers and musicians.

Analysis was to a large extent intended to help younger local people take back the dance material or broaden their knowledge of dances they already knew. These younger people would come to the Centre, and we would sit down at the film editing table and try to understand the movement material documented by transcribing it. We would continually test our transcriptions by dancing what we had observed, constantly shifting between observation and dancing. A local traditional musician was also part of the group whenever possible, and the dance/music relationship was part of the discussions. The local people who had participated in the work of transcription then returned home and worked with what they had picked up until they had learned the dance. If the people who had been filmed were available, the younger people would also consult with them. The next step would be to develop pedagogical and methodical tools for transmission by giving a weekend course in the local community. We would invite the dancers from the films, show the films and discuss them with the people who knew them and those who wanted to learn them. I would ask the traditional dancers we had documented for explanations and opinions, through interviews and, if possible, later in practical teaching situations locally. The work was always clearly along the lines of what UNESCO later called the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (see Bakka 2015).

We[3] always tried to have each dancer dance the same dance several times so that we could compare transcriptions of many realisations of the same dance and generalise and describe the vocabulary and the grammatical rules we identified. The resulting descriptions are used for transmission purposes.

3. Dance realisation and the dance concept

Dance can primarily be accessed and experienced when it is danced, or realised. But the dancing of a specific dance springs from the dancer's dance concept, a concept shared with the dance community he or she belongs to. The realisation gives us access to the practice, and it can be filmed. The concept cannot be experienced directly, only through what the dancer can tell you about it. We use dance realisation as a technical term for the actual dancing of a dance, avoiding the term 'performance', for example, as it carries associations with dancing for an audience. We use 'dance concept' as a technical term for the potential of skills, understanding and knowledge that enables an individual or a dance community to dance a particular dance in a way acceptable to the community as well as to recognise and relate to each particular realisation of it (Bakka

3 When I use the term 'we' throughout the article, I refer to my colleagues working with me or the local volunteers I also very often worked with.

and Karoblis 2010). We avoid, for instance, the term 'competence' in order to stress that there will be a concept for each dance, and to focus particularly on the vocabulary and grammar of each dance, instead of on a general capability for dance.

4. Dance/music realisation

With regard to the dance/music relationship, a point of departure would be to ask if we want to think about it as two sides of one coin or as an always fresh encounter. What is our fundamental idea about dance/music relation(s)? Do we see dance/music relations mainly as ideals or mainly as relatively open customs? Do we see the concept as a prescriptive, narrowly focused ideal that a dance community is aiming for, or do we see it as quite open, in the sense that, even if the community has norms, in practice it accepts a broad range of variations? Do people really dance the way they say a dance ought to be danced, or are there discrepancies? Part of this can be tacit knowledge or knowledge activated when we act. Our ideas about this influence what research tools we choose as well as the methods of transmission for dance and music. My position is that we have been relying too much on what people say that the relationship is for them, and too little on studying what dancers and musicians actually do when they interact. Of course, both perspectives are necessary, even if we rarely see exactly the same thing from both perspectives (see Gore and Bakka 2007).

5. The levels of dance/music relationships

The idea here is that dance and music can correlate at different levels. In some cases, we find that they correlate only at a single level, and in other cases at more levels in accordance with the way we have defined levels here. This is not an attempt to provide any definitive or universal model. It is a perspective chosen to describe interesting and common phenomena in the Norwegian dance forms. Giurchescu and Kröschlová (2007) have presented a model for describing dance/music relationships that tends towards ideas of universality. Each dance is divided, first into large segments and then into ever smaller ones; few dances possess all the levels that the system identifies, so each dance is analysed at the levels that it does possess. There is not a parallel discussion about the levels of music. Giurchescu and Kröschlová propose how to examine whether the music has structures that are congruent with the units of the dance. One of their definitions of the dance/music relationship reads: "Full dimensional congruence occurs when the structural units of dance are concordant with those of the music on all hierarchical levels" (Giurchescu and Kröschlová 2007, 37). This comparison of durations of units in dance and music functions satisfactorily regarding the larger units down to the level of the bar of music. At lower levels, however, there are several problems with the comparison.

Striving for universal models usually complicates systems, so it does not suit our present purpose, except as a point of reference. For additional references, please refer to a DVD in which six of the contributors to the book *Dance Structures: Perspectives on the Analysis of Human Movement* (Kaeppler and Dunin 2008) demonstrate their analysis practically. The Hungarian dance researcher László Felföldi also discusses the connection between dance and music, summarising Hungarian research and generally keeping the discussion on a more general level than here (2001). A recent Asian anthology discusses the relationship between dance and music largely in terms of their role in the community rather than in terms of the relationship on a technical/practical level (Nor and Stepputat 2017; see also Quigley 2016; Mæland 2019).

6. Terminology and definitions

The analysis, comparison and survey of dance movement patterns need carefully defined terminologies if they are to be comprehensible and consistent. Analysis divides a dance into sections that can be seen as the building blocks of a dance. Comparison takes the blocks that analysis has identified and groups them into types or classes based on sets of criteria. The survey can then describe the dance content systematically by demonstrating what kind of elements it is built from, perhaps revealing the rules for how the elements may be combined into versions of the dance in question. Similarly, defined terminologies are needed when dances are to be described in words rather than in sign-based notation systems such as Labanotation, and even sign-based systems need terminology to explain the signs. I shall define here some sets of terminology required for the discussion about the dance/music relationship that follows.

7. Movements taking support and gestures

Movements that are done by a foot supporting the body weight of a dancer (supporting movements) are different from movements of body parts that do not carry the body weight (gestures). Here we will only discuss issues regarding supporting movements – that is to say, stepping – and leave the issue of gestures to one side.[4]

4 Emically, the footwork is considered to be the carrier of the choreo-musical relationship. A study of gestures might be of interest, but mainly from an etic point of view, and would hardly change the main picture significantly.

8. Paces and steps

The term 'step' has been used in two different ways:

I. For the act of stepping to transfer the weight of the body to a foot;

II. For a period of footwork that contains several "steppings".

To distinguish between these two meanings, we shall refer to meaning *one* as a pace, and meaning *two* as a step or a step pattern. A more precise definition is:

a. A pace is the period between a foot taking on weight and the weight being transferred to another foot.

b. A step is a repeated period of footwork that contains one or more paces.

Walking may thus be seen as a step with only a single pace. East European structural analysis considers it to be a step with two paces, because the two paces are regarded as a repeated cycle, the step for walking. We earlier defined the term 'pace' as the period between a foot taking on weight and the weight being transferred to another foot. We reserve the term 'step' or 'step pattern' for a repeated period of footwork that contains one or more paces. A step can have one, two, three, four and sometimes even more paces. We classify paces according to which vertical movement (*svikt*) they have (S, Ss or T) and steps according to their number of paces (one-pace step, two-pace step, three-pace step and so on).

9. The svikt

Svikt is a standard Norwegian word meaning an elastic bending. A floor can have *svikt* (pliancy), and when walking, one can have good *svikt* in the knees (be bending and stretching well). *Svikt* can also mean giving up or failing. The Norwegian folk dance pioneer Klara Semb began using the word in her manuals in 1935 (Semb 1935) with the sense of bending and stretching well. Egil Bakka (1970) established it as a defined technical term and used it for Jan-Petter Blom's findings about vertical movements in dance (1961). Physically, in order to locomote, to move our body from one place to another through walking or danced footwork, we move our body weight from one foot to the other. This requires us to lift and lower our body. When we walk, this lifting and lowering of the body is usually simple and regular. In dancing, however, many complex and irregular patterns may arise. Some styles of dancing have large and prominent vertical movements; others strive to hide the vertical movements in order to achieve a gliding dance, so that the vertical movements can be hard to spot. In any case, some play with the body weight will be there and influence the dancing.

10. The relationship between footwork and music

In Nordic dancing, the footwork is the most prominent kind of action, and we claim that the footwork is the most important link for dance/music coordination. The question raised here is whether it is the stepping (transferring weight onto a foot) or the *svikt* (the vertical movement of the body) that matters most.

Dance notation of footwork mostly registers when a foot touches the floor (making a step), and its duration is considered to be the time from when a foot takes the weight of the body until the body weight has been transferred to the other foot by the next pace/step. This "stepping" is in most cases what is compared with the musical notation. Musical notation of a bar indicates the beats of the bar only indirectly; the explicit content of a score is the relative duration of the notes, or the rhythm of the melody. In my experience, in traditional dance the patterns of supported movements and the rhythm of the melody rarely show any consistent correspondence, and it is rarely expected to or intended to, even if dancers sometimes do stress a mostly coincidental correspondence in order to achieve an effect.

If there were a congruence between the stepping and the rhythm of the melody, a waltz danced to the three first bars of the refrain of the song "Sous les ponts de Paris" (Under the Bridges of Paris)[5] would have to be danced with a three-pace step, a two-pace step and a one-pace step, which hardly ever happens. It seems evident that the steps relate to the beats in a measure, but when the waltz can be danced by stepping (changing support) three times, twice or once per bar and yet remain in time with the music, what keeps the three alternatives together? What elements relate to the three beats when the dancer makes a one-pace step? Our claim is that it is not the duration that matters.

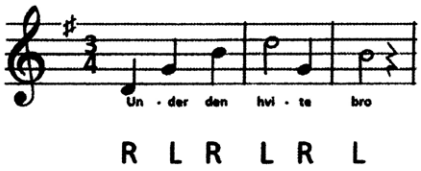

Fig. 1: The Norwegian version of the song "Under the Bridges of Paris" and its pace-step sequences, depicted by Egil Bakka (see AV 01).

bvAV 01: "Under den hvite bro" (Under the White Bridge, refrain). Provided by Warner Music Norway, 2016.

5 This is a popular song from 1913 with lyrics by Jean Rodor and music by Vincent Scotto. The Norwegian version used here has the same melody rhythm (see AV 01).

Units of step patterns, often called steps, often correspond to bars of music. A step in a waltz or polka, for instance, conventionally corresponds to one bar of music.[6] It is my view that we encounter problems when we compare the musical notes inside a bar to the duration of paces, since the vertical patterns of the dance are not included in the analysis.

11. Types of paces according to svikt

Labanotation describes the period from one change of support to the next – in other words, a pace – as a relative duration expressed in musical notation.[7] Our claim here is that paces can be and should be subdivided, and that this kind of subdivision is very important for the dance-music relationship when it comes to footwork. There must be vertical movements in footwork, and the downward and upward phases of paces can often be easily discerned. From analysis we know that a pace can have more or fewer down and/or up phases, and we would therefore like to identify different types of paces according to their downward and upward movements (see AV 02).

AV 02: Egil Bakka explains and demonstrates the concepts of pace and step (2022).

We have identified four main types of pace in the Norwegian material: the S, the Ss,[8] the rising T and the descending T (see Fig. 2).

The main challenge with understanding the *svikt* is to be able to recognise the *svikt* patterns in a dance, and also to be able to copy a *svikt* pattern and reproduce it in dance from a description. Therefore, in order to grasp this more than theoretically, studying illustrations on video and trying them out oneself are essential.

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6 In duple metre, this may depend upon the notation. If we take the usual three-pace step of a polka, it may be notated so that the two first paces take a quaver each, while the last pace takes a crotchet. If, on the contrary, the notation awards a crotchet to each of the first paces and still writes it in 2/4, the point with one measure per step pattern would be broken.

7 Labanotation counts an elevation in which the weight is taken off the foot in a jump and comes back on the same foot as a change of support. The definition of a pace considers this kind of "pause" in the support as belonging to the same pace. Only when the weight is transferred to another foot does a new pace start. There are some signs in Labanotation, such as the hold sign, that may add information in addition to duration, and there is a way to describe the level of a pace, but it is unusual to describe a change of level within a pace.

8 Paces with more than one S will most frequently have two of them, that is Ss, but sometimes a dancer may add even more *svikts* to a pace, resulting in Sss, Ssss, etc.

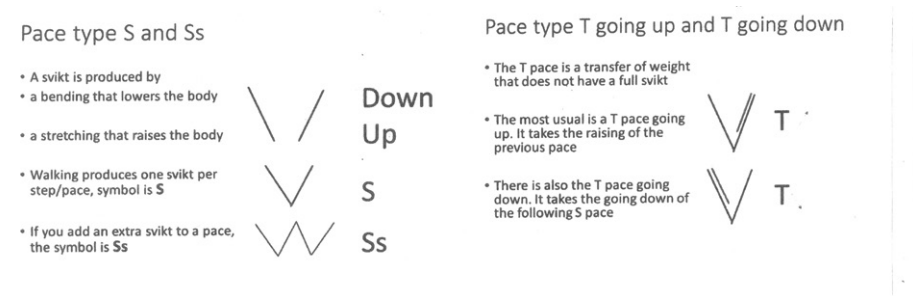

Fig. 2: Types of pace according to *svikt*, depicted by Egil Bakka.

12. Levels of the music-dance interrelationship

The pulse level: The music has pulses, or beats, to which movement patterns will most often relate. This is the most elementary level of correspondence, and it is a requisite for the following levels.

The metre level: The music is often organised in groups of pulses (written as bars). The dance may also be organised in groups of movement elements. Do the groups of pulses and the groups of movement elements correspond?

The phrase level: An example of a phrase in music is repetition, and dance may have similar segments that may or may not correspond to the phrases in the music.

These simple levels are generally used in work with music and dance, and they are suitable for my analysis. It is, of course, possible to identify other levels of relationships, but these three are easily observable levels. We shall examine examples from each level. This article is not based on the levels proposed by Giurchescu and Kröschlová in 2007 (see Figure 3), except for the phrase, but there are references to some of them.

Symbols for the structural units of dance (Form-units)

T = Dance	(Latin *totus*)	Dance name	
P = Part	(Latin *pars*)	(I)	[ ]
St = Strophe	(Greek *strophe*)	I	[[ ]]
S = Section	(Latin *sectio*)	I	[ ]
Ph = Phrase	(Latin *phrasis*)	A	( )
M = Motif	(Latin *motivus*)	a	
Mc = Motif-cell	(Latin *cella*)	a'	
Me = Motif-element	(Latin *elementum*)	α, β, δ, and so on.	

Fig. 3: Structural levels of dance as presented by Giurchescu and Kröschlová (2007, 46).

12.1 The pulse or beat level

At the level of the pulse, or beat, we can compare dances with step patterns that have one-pace steps, such as walking and running, and thus do not group the paces, even if the music is in the standard duple or triple time. When the dance paces are grouped, we are at the metrical level, even if there is also a correspondence between the step elements and the musical beat. We also encounter dancing in which the steps coincide with the beats and dancing in which they do not correspond.

12.1.1 Congruence at the beat level

Most traditional Norwegian dances are based on a correspondence between the musical beats and the *svikt* patterns, often combined with congruence at higher levels. Here we look at examples where the movement patterns consist of ungrouped paces, such as walking and running. An example of congruence may be seen on a video recording of the Polonese from a Norwegian folk dance party (AV 03). The dancers walk on the beats of the music, one pace to each beat.

AV03: Congruence at the beat level: Polonese at the folk dance party of the Springar'n folk dance club in the municipality hall of Ås, Norway (2017).

12.1.2 Non-congruence at the beat level

Non-congruence at the beat level may easily be considered a lack of skill, or as a way to avoid one's movements being perceived as dancing. The examples we give below would not be considered dancing in a traditional Norwegian context, but they may still be discussed within a broader understanding of dance. An example of non-congruence at the metre level may be seen in a film recorded in 1977 by Bakka et al. for the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance in which children from the Lilleby school in Trondheim are playing a singing game (AV 04).

AV 04: "I attenhundrogfem" (In Eighteen Hundred'n Five). Singing game (1997).

I attenhundrogfem	In eighteen hundred'n five
Da svenskan va så slem	When the Swedes were so vile
Da var det bare vi	Then it was only we
Som var så høffelig	Who acted politely
We tørka oss på matta	We brushed (our feet) on the mat, there
God morgen lille venn	Good morning, little friend
Og letta litt på hatta	And slightly tipped our hat, then
I attenhundrogfem	In eighteen hundred'n five

Having seen the piece, some questions arise: Why do the children not walk on the beat? Is it because they have not yet learned to do so, or because many of the children lack a sense of rhythm? Is it part of the norm for such games, and will this change when the children learn to dance other dances? In fact, we can confirm that it did not occur by chance, or for any of the reasons mentioned above. We find this free relationship in many singing games (Bakka 1995) and when Norwegians walk around the Christmas tree singing various kinds of songs. It is a widespread convention.

The example of non-congruence at the beat level called *Gang rundt juletreet* (Walking around the Christmas tree) can be seen seen on AV 05. This walking is not on the beat, but some of the pantomimic gestures, such as bows and curtsies linked to the song text, are on the beat.

AV 05: "Gang rundt juletreet" (Walking Around the Christmas Tree). 2017.

Through the analysis of hundreds of filmed singing games from around Norway, played by adults as well as children, we see that walking without following the beat dominates, although there are examples of the opposite. These games may also include sections of common dances and many other steps and movements that are done on the beat (Bakka 1995 and 2004).

12.2 The level of metre

The traditional music of Norway is to a large extent understood through the systematisation of conventional music notation, even if a large number of traditional musicians and dancers did not know how to read scores when I started my fieldwork in the late 1960s. Nonetheless, there have been discussions about how and to what degree the rhythmic aspects and elements of music notation and fundamental music theory mirror the way in which traditional musicians and dancers experience and conceptualise the relationship between music and dance. The core term used in colloquial language is *takt*, which has a spectrum of meanings that are not comprehended by

a single English word. To walk *i takt* is to walk 'in pace', while to dance *i takt* means to relate to the music in the expected manner. To dance *i utakt* is to not relate to the music as expected or to be off the beat or out of rhythm. To dance *i mottakt* or *baktakt* is mainly used for dances in triple metre and means that the dancer follows the beat, but has shifted the dance pattern so that a pace that should fall on the first beat falls on the third or second beat. One way of thinking about the epistemological basis is that there is a stream of pulses in the music, most often understood as organised in groups, which may be manifested by the musician tapping a pattern that is not merely an even tapping of each beat but emerges as a repeated pattern, since a difference is made between the beats. In triple time, the beats may receive different accentuations, or perhaps only the first and third beats are tapped. In the dance, there is a stream of paces that differ in *svikt* or accentuation and which also occupy a certain number of beats before being repeated. The two streams of grouped elements (in music and dance) relate to one another in different ways. There does not seem, however, to be a clear guideline or practice that might tell us which element is the first or the last in a group.

It is not unusual in archival recordings to see a dancer fall into *mottakt*, but it would be seen as highly inappropriate to publish such recordings, since missing the *takt* is considered shameful. For that reason we have asked some younger dancers to demonstrate what it looks like when one couple dances in takt and another one in *mottakt*, and at the same time how dancers from Telemark and Valdres would interpret each other's music differently (see AV 06 and AV 07).

AV 06: "Valdresspringar" in *takt* (the dancer in the red T-shirt and his partner) and *mottakt* (the other couple). 2022.

AV 07: "Telespringar" in *takt* and *mottakt* (the dancer in the red T-shirt and his partner). 2022.

Musical notation is forced to make a decision on this question by drawing bar lines, but on what basis are these lines drawn? How can we tell whether the first note of the melody is an upbeat or the first beat of the first bar? This was demonstrated in an interesting fashion when a musicologist, composer and traditional folk musician from Telemark attempted to notate a *springar* melody from the neighbouring region of Valdres, and realised that his fellow musicians from Valdres would place the bar lines differently than he had, hearing the melody through his Telemark ears (Bakka 1978, 44). The dancers would set their dance steps to the music differently. At the same time, it turns out that dancers who have not been taught the dance by an instructor who prescribed where the step pattern begins may not start dancing consistently on the same

element of the pattern every time. It may seem that the beginning does not matter, and that the dancer enters into the correct relationship with the music from any starting point in the two streams. I would thus argue that music notation and dancing masters have probably contributed to the definition of where the musical groups and the movement patterns should start, and also to instructions designed to keep both streams orderly and systematic (see AV 14, AV 15 and AV 16, where three dancers each start on different beats 1-2-3).

12.2.1 Bar and step congruence

Many dances have step patterns (groups of paces) that correspond to a single bar of music. The step pattern then is repeated for each new bar.[9] Examples of this are the waltz, the polka-mazurka, many versions of the *Ländler*, the *Zwiefacher*, many Norwegian springars and pols dances, although there are exceptions.

It is our contention that the vertical movement patterns are more important to the dance/music relationship than simple duration of paces, and this is particularly evident at the level of metre. Let us return to the question about the waltz that we did not answer above. In order for those three step patterns to appear as a waltz, each of them needs to be performed with a vertical movement as follows (see AV 08):

down on the first beat,
up on the second beat,
and down-up on the third beat.

AV 08: "Svikt Waltz" (2015).

My recent research documents these patterns in folk dance, but there are also similar versions of the waltz in ballroom dancing and ballet (Bakka 2021).

The three-pace step will therefore have an S-pace on the first beat, a T-pace on the second beat and an S-pace on the third beat. The two-pace step will have a long S-pace on the first and second beat, and a short S-pace on the third beat, whereas the one-pace step will be made with an Ss-pace, down on the first beat, up on the second beat, making a long *svikt*, and down and up on the third beat, making a short *svikt*. In this way, the *svikt*-curve will be the same for all the different step types.

9 Sometimes a step pattern will take two bars of music but can be subdivided so that each subdivision still corresponds to one bar.

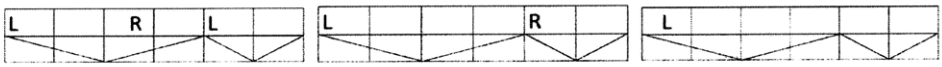

Fig. 4: The three different step types of waltz with the *svikt*-curve, depicted by Egil Bakka (see AV 01).

The vertical movements can be small or large, but they will be there in principle. If you dance along a wall while touching it with a pencil, the pencil will draw the rising and falling of your body as produced by your dancing.

We see that the waltz can have three different step patterns: a three-pace, a two-pace and a one-pace step. In order to keep the same *svikt*-curve, the steps used must contain different pace types, but each step pattern corresponds to a single bar of music. Some dancers dance a three-pace step beginning with the left foot and then a one-pace step on the left as a regularly repeated pattern. Variations of this pattern can be seen even in the earliest descriptions of the waltz. Other dancers may mix three-pace and one-pace steps more freely or only use one of them. The two-pace step is not that common in the ordinary waltz, but it is the basic step for the *Stegvals*, a dance found in Norway as well as Sweden (see AV 09).

AV 09: "Stegvals" danced by the Springar`n folk dance group (2017).

12.2.2 Alternative metre: a couple turning a polka

A frequent phenomenon in duple metre is what I have called alternative metre, in which there are two ways for the dancers to relate to the musical metre (Bakka et al. 1979). Dance teachers and folk dancers describe and dance this kind of polka starting with two quick paces on the first beat in the bar, and then with a long one on the second beat (Semb 1956, 47; Gilbert 1890, 23). Traditional dancers, at least in Norway, are just as likely to dance this pattern starting with the long pace on the first beat and the two quick paces on the second beat. They are not usually aware that there is a difference between the two alternatives. A 2/4 metre assumes a series of crotchets organised into groups of two, a difference being perceived between the first and the second beat of each group. The polka step could be seen as a series of alternating motif-cells,[10] one consisting of two paces and one consisting of a single pace. Dancing masters and folk dancers assume that the two-pace motif-cell is always the first[11] in constructing the full polka step. We do not know how traditional dancers perceive the grouping of musical beats and of motif-

10 As defined by Giurchescu and Kröschlova (2007, 46), see above.

11 That is, it falls on the first beat of each bar of the music notation in 2/4.

cells. They may not perceive that any of the groupings – the two beats or the two cells – have any pre-decided order. They are guided by their tacit knowledge or knowledge in action and have no need to verbalise, so we may observe what they are doing but not what epistemological basis they have for their choices. An example of alternative metre is given on AV 10. The first dance is with one-pace on the first beat, and the second dance, at 1:27, is with two paces on the first beat.

AV 10: "Hamborgar" (a version of a polka) from Jostedalen (1997).

A more complex version of alternative metre can be seen in the usual way of dancing the *reinlender* (schottische) in the Norwegian town of Røros (AV 11). Here, at the beginning of the dance, each three-pace step (which takes one bar of music), is followed by a one-pace-step taking only one beat, or half a bar. Therefore, the next three-pace step will be alternative metre, compared to the first one. The full complexity of the dance is discussed in the section "An Example of a Round Dance Transcription" in Bakka 2021.

AV 11: "Ringlenner" (1992).

12.2.3 Undivided metre

Undivided metre is found in springars in parts of western Norway, and I proposed the term for a relationship between dance and music, rather than as a term for musical metre (Bakka 1978, 61). Others subsequently adopted the term and used it for music, too. The folk music collectors of the 19th and early 20th century considered the springar to be a dance in 3/4 time, even if some of them had encountered springars in western Norway that, as one of them (Catharinus Elling) said, had "a strong inclination" towards shifting between duple and triple metre. In the regions of Jølster and Breim, the oldest layer of springar tunes could be fully duple; they were given names such as Jølstring or Gamalt and classified as belonging to the duple-time dance called the Gangar. It was only when I could observe the dance and music together that it became clear to me that this is a kind of springar with a peculiar dance-music relationship. The musical beats can be perceived as being grouped into groups of two or three, and in some cases a melody may even combine groups of two and three in the same melody, or it may be difficult to decide whether the grouping is two or three. The step patterns also can be one-pace running steps, two-pace, three-

pace or four-pace steps combined freely and with little attention paid to the grouping of musical beats. The grouping of the dance paces does not generally correspond to the grouping of beats in the music. The consistent correspondence is between each beat of music and each *svikt* of the dance. There is no grouping common to dance and music, and so the music and dance patterns are not consistently grouped or divided, hence the term 'undivided' (see AV 12).[12]

AV 12: "Springar" (undivided metre). 2015.

In the community of Breim, we find two versions of the springar in parallel: an old one (Gamalt), which belongs to the stratum of undivided metre, and a newer one, which has music and step patterns in triple metre, with one step per bar. The undivided version is now practised as consistently duple, which distinguishes it from the undivided springar further south.

AV 13: An example of undivided metre turned into duple metre (2013).

In the undivided springar, as I define it, dancers follow each beat of the music. Their step patterns do not coincide with what is often the three beats per bar of music, which is the most usual pattern today. In this way, the length of the dance step patterns is independent of the musical grouping. The melodies may be played in 3/4 or 2/4 time, and the melodies can in some cases combine metres. That does not influence the dance, which relates to the individual beats and not to their grouping.

Fig. 5: Undivided metre, depicted by Egil Bakka.

12 In Norwegian, the terms for triple and duple metre are *3-delt* and *2-delt*, meaning 'divided into (groups of) 2 (beats)' and 'divided into (groups of) 3 (beats)'.

12.2.4 Asymmetrical triple time, strict congruence

As we have seen above, many dancers in parts of western Norway do not relate to the bars of the music in their dancing, but only to the beat. In eastern Norway, it is regarded as shameful for a good dancer to not place the step correctly with regard to the music, and the metrical pattern has beats of slightly different duration, usually referred to as "long" and "short" beats. The difference in the length and order of long and short beats is considered to be one of the aspects that create different musical idioms of the springar in different regions of eastern Norway (see AV 06 "Valdresspringar" and AV 07 "Telespringar").

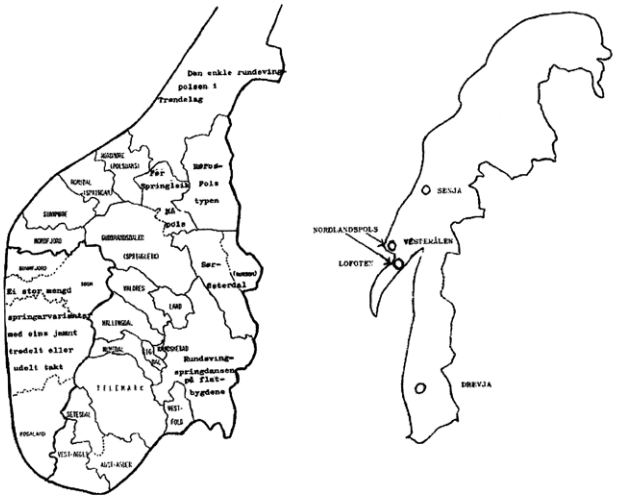

Fig. 6: Map showing the distribution of regional dances, created by Egil Bakka.

Jan-Petter Blom was the first to demonstrate the importance of vertical patterns in dance, describe them in a concrete manner and propose them as a basis for dance notation (Blom 1961, 1972). Blom was on the editorial board for the monumental collection of Norwegian fiddle music and wrote an article on dance for one of the volumes (Blom 1981). There he described the difference in the vertical patterns between dances from various regions. His descriptions were based on practical involvement with the music and the dances, and he discussed precisely and specifically the duration of the downward and upward phases in dancing rather than the duration of each pace alone. The rhythmic qualities of these dances and their music were already a focus of interest and were much discussed at competitions and in groups where dance and music were transmitted, although using vaguer terms and without Blom's analytical approach.

Blom provided a sharply defined ideal for the rhythmic patterns, in line with the pursuit of perfection that the competitions fostered (Mæland 2006). It is, however, questionable whether this

ideal is as consistently realised as described. Motion capture studies confirm the general thrust of Blom's hypothesis, but they also show that there are variations between different dancers and from step to step in each individual's dancing. What can be compared to Blom's hypothesis is an average of quite modest material (Mårds 1999, Romarheim 2015), but the measurements show us that what is perceived as a quite stable pattern is variable in relative duration, but not in the distribution of downward and upward movements. The question remains: is the dance/music relationship best understood as a brightly polished ideal, or as a new encounter in every new realisation?

12.2.5 Where in the music does a dance start?

We have discussed earlier whether there is a perceived beginning of dance and music patterns. In organised teaching, there is a defined first pace on which the three-pace step starts. Musical notation defines the first beat in a melody. These are the conventions we are referring to when we say that the first pace in the dance falls, for instance, on beat one or two. We have observed that the dancers begin their movement pattern at different points, but they drop directly into the pattern so that everyone immediately does the pattern in the same way. In this way, the flow of the pattern is established and coordinated. This coordination is considered to be vital for dances in asymmetrical triple time. It is an interesting question, however, if traditional dancers perceive some point in the pattern as the beginning, and this matter relates to the question of where to put the bar line when notating dance music. On films of older traditional dancers recorded in the 1970s and 80s we can see that the dancers do not take their first pace in a dance consistently on one of the beats, even if there is no extensive study.

Aud Manheim, a leading dancer and expert on the springar in Telemark, confirms these findings from her own long experience: "It will always be different on which beat in the bar you first step when you start the dance. Those who have learned the dance in direct tradition do not think about it. The point is to follow the music with your movement. Some go straight into the dance, and some stand bobbing a little to find the beat before they go ahead. Thus, the start will be different from one person to the next and from one dance to next."

The final illustration consists of three videos from competitions and a performance in the 21st century showing how three male dancers start on different beats but fall into the correct flow (AV 14, AV 15, AV 16). This is a feature of tacit knowledge that dancers of the present day still possess, and which has even been exported to the Canadian diaspora.

AV 14: An example of the first pace in a dance taken on beat 1 (National Competition 2016).

AV 15: An example of the first pace in a dance taken on beat 2 (Silk Road Festival in Vancouver, 2019).

AV 16: An example of the first pace in a dance taken on beat 3 (National Competition, Meisterkonserten, 2002).

12.3 The phrase level

Congruence and non-congruence at the phrase level or above has been well demonstrated by Giurchescu and Kröschlová (2007, 39). Examples of this have been cited, and they are many and easy to identify. Damsholt's article also provides a picture of the higher levels of the dance/music relationships (2008, 43–62).

12.3.1 Intended but not realised congruence

An example of intended but not realised congruence can be seen in a video of a *Pariserpolka* from Sauda in southern Norway (AV 17). This dance consists of a phrase of four two-bar motifs – eight bars in total – which is repeated with variations as long as the music continues. The dancers are not ready to start when the music starts; at a dance party of this kind you enter dancing along the way. Most dancers wait until a new eight-bar phrase starts, while some try to fall into the flow of the dance before it. There is a clear intention of dancing the eight-bar dance phrase in congruence with the eight-bar music phrase, but in this case it does not work due to the musicians, who do not have much experience in playing for dancers. The music is a popular American song tune from 1947 that does not have the same simple and clear structure as the traditional airs that are usually played for traditional dancing; it consists of eight-bar phrases as usual, but with one exception. After seven phrases, a four-bar section (the exception) is introduced, after which the music continues until the end as before, with eight-bar phrases. Most dancers continue the dance as if nothing has happened, even if their dancing is four bars out of sync with the musical phrase. Some dancers become confused and try to get back into sync with the musical phrases. When the music stops, however, most dancers are only halfway through their last dance phrase, which feels unsatisfactory.

AV 17: "Pariserpolka" from Sauda, in Rogaland, Norway (1989).

12.3.2 Non-congruence

The step pattern of the Faroese dance (see AV 18) may be seen as a phrase extending over six beats of the music. This dance phrase is used for all kinds of ballads and songs, irrespective of their time signature or structure, and some of them do function in congruence with the step phrase. In the present example, however, the ballad has 28 beats in total, which means that only every third strophe ends at the same time as the phrase of the step pattern. Giurchescu and Kröschlová would characterise this as non-congruence of dance and music at the phrase level.

AV 18: Faroese chain dance, Sumba, Faroe Islands. 1977.

13. Summary

The point of departure for this article is my earlier work in documenting, transcribing, analysing and describing dances, and in reviving and returning home those that have been falling into disuse. In other words, it is founded on work with empirical materials, based on dialogue and uses the results for practical purposes connected to the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (Bakka 2015). It also asks practical epistemological questions about how to access dance knowledge in general, comparing methods of access through the two dimensions of realisation and concept (Bakka/Karoblis 2010).

This presentation discusses the prescriptive and descriptive approaches in research and transmission. Do we see the dance/music relationship as a prescriptive, formulated, narrowly focused ideal to which a dance community complies, or do we see the concept as descriptive, meaning that the community has norms that accept a broad range of practised variations (the two sides of a coin or ever fresh encounters)? Do people really dance in the way they say a dance should be danced or in the way they say it is danced, or are there discrepancies? Some of this may be tacit knowledge or knowledge that becomes available to the dancers each time they act, but which they may not easily be able to explain.

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Music for Dance, Dance for Feelings: The Identity, Strategies and Values of Musicians and Dancer-Choreographers in Italian Tango

Abstract

Like some of their European neighbours, the Italians encountered the tango shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, like a mirror that reflected distant realities (tango had a new and daring form of choreography which the Italian upper classes found exciting). They thus fell into the trap that the seductive dance laid for them and made it their own through a process of stimulating and discontinuous adaptation, without ever completely depriving it of its initial charge of exoticism. The Italian tango is a variety of Rioplatense tango that passed through various historical phases to reach its own identity as a vocal, instrumental and dance genre. Over the last century, both musicians and Italian choreographers developed strategies for adapting the tango to local idiosyncrasies. This process took place in a dynamic of dialogue and interaction between stimuli arriving from abroad (France, Argentina, Britain and elsewhere) and the aesthetic tastes of Italian musicians and choreographers. Analysis of written, iconographic, sound, oral, multimedia and other sources makes it possible to observe several aspects of this process, including the struggle to assimilate tango into Italian cultural identity, negotiation between creative abilities and market demands, a permanent reconstruction of the meaning and feelings associated with the practice of tango, the presentation of the new dance with a choreography "adapted" to facilitate its acceptance by the Italian civil and ecclesiastical authorities, the practice of standard tango associated with DanceSport, dialogues which combine standard, *liscio* and tango from Río de la Plata in choreographies, and a dialectic between identity and diversity in the practice of tango in modern-day Italy.

1. Introduction

Like some of their European neighbours, the Italians encountered the tango shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, like a mirror that reflected distant realities (tango had a new and daring form of choreography which the Italian upper classes found exciting). They thus fell

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into the trap that the seductive dance laid for them and made it their own through a process of stimulating and discontinuous adaptation, without ever completely depriving it of its initial charge of exoticism.[1]

The Italian tango is a variety of Rioplatense tango that passed through various historical phases before becoming a distinct entity as a vocal, instrumental and dance genre. Over the last century, both musicians and Italian dance choreographers have developed strategies for adapting the tango to local idiosyncrasies. This process developed in a dynamic of dialogue and interaction between stimuli arriving from abroad (mainly – but not exclusively – from France, Argentina and Britain) and the aesthetic tastes of Italian musicians and choreographers. Analysis of the sources (written, iconographic, sound, oral, multimedia) allows us to observe several aspects of this process.

There have been four stages in the development of the Italian tango: the first stage began around 1913 with the arrival of the Rioplatense tango in Italy, as is noted in many sources from that time (see footnote 2 and several quotes in this article). It had a new and daring form of choreography which the Italian upper-classes found exciting. As a consequence of the socio-political situation of the time, the new genre caused mixed reactions and resulted in conflict between institutions, including the church and the government. Around that time, newspaper articles dealing with the tango are surprisingly exhaustive, sometimes even obsessive, when it comes to this new phenomenon. Many aspects of the socio-political situation of the country are reflected in these articles about the new South American dance recently imported from Paris. It is for this reason that the main sources I have used to study this first stage of the incorporation of the tango in Italy are written – mainly newspapers, but dance manuals as well – and iconographic materials.[2]

The hermeneutics of these texts allow us to reconstruct aspects of the first historical phase, such as the chronology and different stages of the arrival of the dance, the chronicle of an obsession, the locations and the performers of the tango, the prohibitions and condemnations that this danceable novelty was exposed to, the political negotiations of the social agents who used tango in their diatribes, and comments on the music and choreographic questions (which are the ones we are interested in here).[3]

After an intermediate period when little tango was either practised or produced, the second stage began in the 1920s, when lyrics were added and the tango experienced a kind of renaissance. Benito Mussolini had witnessed some performances by Argentine interpreters (such as Eduardo Bianco) and decided that the tango was a perfect means of counteracting the jazz fashion invading the country. Tango performances became very fashionable once more and took place in night clubs, on beaches and in competitions. Paradoxically, the tendency of fascism to

1 Regarding representation of exotic otherness as a Eurocentric construction, see Gore 2001.

2 The main newspapers consulted are *Corriere della Sera*, *L'Osservatore Romano*, *L'Asino*, *L'Illustrazione Italiana*, *L'Illustrazione Popolare*, *Il Teatro Illustrato*, *La Domenica del Corriere*, *La Nuova Antologia*, *Il Secolo XX*, *L'Italia* and *Rassegna Contemporanea*.

3 On the reception of the tango in Italy before the First World War, see Cámara de Landa 1995, 1996 and 2000.

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avoid the production of texts in languages other than its own became the catalyst for the creation of a vast repertoire of songs with tango rhythm and lyrics in Italian. The main sources for studying this period in the history of the tango in Italy are the scores and recordings of songs in "tango rhythm" composed during the fascist period.[4]

The third stage in the history of the tango in Italy began after the Second World War, when Secondo Casadei incorporated the tango into the *liscio* family (a name derived from the fact that the feet are dragged during dancing), which consisted of the waltz, the polka and the mazurka. The *liscio* dance gained enormous popularity among the middle and working classes of Italy. This type of tango is even now a highly widespread musical and dance practice throughout the country and deserves to be studied in its different aspects: creation, diffusion and reception (aspects of aesthetics, commercialisation, gender, social practice and even political negotiation can be analysed in this vast space of Italian popular culture).[5]

The fourth stage of this history began in the last decades of the 20th century and includes the creation of tangos by Italian singer-songwriters and composers of academic and jazz music, a growing hybridisation and fusion of styles, dialogues with the new avantgardes produced in the Rioplatense tango and other phenomena that testify to the vitality of tango in Italy and ensure its future validity. The large number of spaces in which the tango is practised as a sport and the fact that it is practised by people of all ages also guarantee the continuity of the genre.[6]

In carrying out the study of these stages of the tango in Italy and its progressive incorporation by Italian society through a series of adaptations, I have used both historical sources and the results of fieldwork research for over twenty years.[7] I have dealt with aspects of this very rich cultural process in its historical, social and individual aspects in other texts (see the reference to Rice 1987 below).[8] I shall not here refer to the music of Italian tango or the lyrics of its songs.[9]

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4 On this topic, which is not the subject of this article, see Cámara de Landa 1998 and 1999b.

5 I have dealt with some of these issues in Cámara de Landa 2009 and 2010.

6 On the history of couple dances from upper-middle class to working-class communities, "Crazy for Dancing in London", its commercial repercussions, venues for social dancing, the shift from social dancers to professionals and competitors, the competitions, the process of coding steps and standard figures arising from the *Dancing Times* conferences and the Ballroom Branch of the ISTD (Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing), the institutions, organisations and societies, and many other issues, see Marion 2008, Nott 2015 and Richardson 1947. The phenomenon of sport tango in Italy is treated in Cámara de Landa 2010.

7 I have presented a history of these four stages in Cámara de Landa 2009 and 2015, and in Cámara de Landa and Fornaro Bordolli 2010 as well as in an audiovisual edition (Cámara de Landa 2010).

8 On the topics, different types of sources, methodological principles, approaches and disciplines that I applied to the study of the tango in Italy, see Cámara de Landa 1999a and 2011. The hybridisation to which I will refer in the conclusions of this text is detailed in Cámara de Landa 2002, where I introduce a triple perspective on hybridisation: as an object, process and methodological and epistemological approach, respectively.

9 In this article, references to the syntactic level of dance are only mentioned in relation to the ideological, socio-political, economic and cultural systems functioning in Italian society during the last century.

Instead, I will concentrate on the aspects of dance that participated in the process of the gradual territorialisation of the tango in Italy. I will cite written testimonies showcasing the enormous impact produced by the arrival of the new dance in Italian society (fashion, opinions, condemnations and defences), as well as several features of the process whereby it became assimilated into the Italian sphere of identity. I will also refer to the negotiation between creative competences and market demands, the permanent reconstruction of the meaning and feelings associated with the practice of tango and the assimilation of standard tango by competitive sports dancing of British origin. I will conclude with some personal considerations, even though I will leave the final words to some of the protagonists of this story.

2. A chronicle of a fashion furore

This section deals with the huge social impact of the novelty represented by the tango on Italian society (a phenomenon that we also find in other countries of the Northern Hemisphere). Indeed, the exhaustive printed media coverage of Italy's tango frenzy in the country's main cities is eloquent enough. Here are some excerpts from the numerous features published in newspapers and magazines in 1913 and the first months of 1914.

"Tango! Tango!" is on every tongue, the topic of all conversations, the dominant subject in all teatime talks among the aristocracy and the upper middle classes. You will hear it in the streets, on the tram, in the cafes and in the theatre stalls (...) Tango does not leave you alone even in the solitude of your room, at the end of your laborious day, because it leaps before your eyes from the columns of the newspapers (...) Everybody talks about tango, everyone has an opinion about tango: What is yours, dear friends? No offence: there are subjects, even futile ones, about which it is necessary, nay, it is mandatory, to have an opinion.

"tango! tango!" è il discorso del giorno, il tema di tutte le conversazioni, il soggetto imperante su tutti i five 'o clock aristocratici e borghesi. Vi affronta per le vie, vi accompagna nei trams, vi insegue nei caffe, vi assilla nei teatri (...) Il tango non vi lascia in pace nemmeno nella solitudine della vostra stanza, alla fina della vostra laboriosa giornata; chè vi balza sotto gli occhi dalle colonne del giornale (…) Tutti parlano del tango, tuti discutono sul tango, tutti hanno un'opinione sul tango: quale è, amici lettori, la vostra? Non vi ofendete: vi sono questioni, anche futili, sulle quali è necessario, è doveroso aver un'opinione. (Zucca 1914)

Journalists and commentators provide a wealth of information about the tremendous impact caused by the new dance on European society shortly before the start of the First World War:

On meaning, sense and power in dance as a multidimensional cultural text, its semiotic levels, social function and existence as a national symbol, see Giurchescu 2001, 109.

In all the main cities, tango immediately attracted general sympathy. Especially among the aristocracy, there was a great rush to take lessons so as to be able to dance the tango worthily in the upcoming season. The schools are crowded all day long, until midnight, with fans of both sexes who are enthusiastically dedicated to learning the mysteries of the new dance and who are eagerly ready to taste its sweetness. Many have already become perfect tangueros: some went to Paris to perfect themselves in one of those dance houses where only tango is now taught. On their return, they brought the latest news and made practical demonstrations of the latest variations by the most fashionable masters. Now the dance teachers do not feel they need anything more than the tango. The Boston and similar antiquities are no longer wanted. Sometimes it happens that a person, attracted by the charm of the new Argentine dance, turns up and asks to be initiated into tango dancing: they may have never danced before; they may be quite unacquainted with even the most basic steps, yet they want to learn the tango right away. The most passionate, of course, are the young ladies: they are the most indefatigable and fervent propagandists. With the warm eloquence of their youthful age and by their example, they overcome the fiercest reluctance.

In tutte le principali città si attirò in breve le simpatie generali e nella aristocrazia particolarmente, fu un grande affrettarsi a prendere le lezioni per essere in grado di ballare degnamente il tango nella imminente stagione. Le scuole sono affollate di giorno e di sera, fino a mezzanotte, di appassionati d'ambo i sessi che si dedicano con entusiasmo ad apprendere i misteri della nuova danza e che si accingono trepidanti a gustarne le dolcezze. Non pochi sono già divenuti tanghisti perfetti: taluno si è recato a Parigi, vi si è perfezionato in una di quelle case di danza—dove ora si insegna unicamente il tango—ed al ritorno ha recare le ultime novità, mostrando praticamente le variazioni più recenti dei maestri più in voga. Ormai gli insegnanti di ballo non si sentono richiedere che il tango. Da chiunque, boston e simili anticaglie non si vogliono più. Alle volte capita che una persona attratta dal fascino della nuova danza argentina, si presenta e domanda sen'altro di essere iniziata al tango; non ha mai ballato, non ha mai fatto coi piedi neanche l'un due tre, ma vuole imparare subito il tango. Le più appassionate, naturalmente, sono le signorine: esse sono le più infaticate e ferventi propagandiste e colla calda eloquenza della loro età giovanile e coll'esempio, vincono anche le più fiere riluttanze. (Berri 1913)

In those early days, the tango was not only performed at dances organised in private ballrooms and public institutions. It was also present in cinemas. While it is not possible to ascertain whether in those days pianists included tango music in their repertoire performed as accompaniment to the movies, there are some references to tango dancing taking place during the intervals between film screenings.[10] Moreover, the vibrant tango fashion inspired new films such as *Tangomania*, which was released in theatres in Italy.[11]

10 See "Tango, Tangis, Tètigi…" 1914; Zucca 1914b, 1914a.

11 See "Tangomania" 1914.

3. Opinions and value judgments

Italian newspapers of the day report many opinions about tango dancing expressed by members of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie in the major cities of other European countries. Some of the London personalities whose views were published included Lady Byron, who declared that tango was the vulgar expression of the "undisciplined, wild and ardent exuberance of young people"; Lord Lonsdale, who predicted that the opposition to the tango would die out as soon as it was danced in ordinary public places; Lady Troubridge, who claimed that the tango was the natural consequence of the modern way of life; Baron de Forest, who ironically compared the future disappearance of the tango along with that of ping-pong; Arthur Collins, who warned that the tango would become objectionable; Miss Marie Tempest,[12] who found the tango very boring; and Miss Gertie Millar, who danced the tango on the stage every night and even performed two or three encores to satisfy her audiences. The opinions of French celebrities were likewise voiced in the Italian press, including those expressed by Princess Luciana Murat (who found tango dancing relaxing and in no way dishonest experience when danced with an Argentine or a Spanish partner), the playwright Abel Hermant ("tango is disagreeable; the mothers who permit their daughters to dance it are stupid and crazy"), André de Fouquiéres ("the main defect of tango is its melancholy"), and the dancer Regina Badet ("it should be banned for public safety reasons"). The views of newsworthy Americans were similarly published.[13] In this way, the common Italian reader found out that *tangomania* was spreading across the Northern Hemisphere.

Two prominent Italian intellectuals expressed their opinion about the tango publicly at the time. One of them was Gabriele D'Annunzio. An anonymous journalist noted the following pronouncement by him in the article "D'Annunzio e il Tango" (D'Annunzio and the Tango), published in the *Corriere della Sera* on 28 December 1913:

> Last Tuesday, D'Annunzio, together with the sculptor Rodin, was present at the Ideist dances by Valentina di Saint Pont. In this situation he declared his strong admiration for the very modern dances of the Argentine tango, the maxixe brasilienne and ragtime, performed in an unbeatable way by Jahne de Lambrai together with Professor Max Rivera.
>
> *Martedì scorso D'Annunzio, con lo scultore Rodin, assisteva alle danze ideiste di Valentina di Saint Pont. In tale circostanza esprimeva la sua viva ammirazione per le danze modernissime tango argentino, maxixe brasilienne e rag-time, ballate in modo insuperabile de M.mme Jahne de Lambrai in unione al professore Max Rivera.* ("D'Annunzio e il Tango" 1913)

The second was Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, the author of the *Futurist Manifesto* published in January 1909 (Tonini 2011, 7). On 11 January 1914, he published another manifesto, as a loose leaf, which I

12 This name appears as "Miss Marie Temps" in the newspaper ("Il tango sotto processo" 1914).

13 See "Il tango sotto processo" 1914.

found in a box in the Marinetti Collection in the Biblioteca di Storia Contemporanea in Rome. This manifesto is entitled "Abbasso il tango e Parsifal!" (Down with the tango and Parsifal)[14] and is a clear example of the literary style developed by Italian Futurism, as the following excerpts show:

The awkwardness of the English and German tango, desires and spasms mechanised by bones and tailcoats that cannot express their sensitivity. Plagiarism of the Parisian and Italian tango, mollusc-couples, the wild felinity of the Argentine breed stupidly tamed, morphinised and powdered over. To possess a woman is not to rub against her, but to penetrate her.

—Barbarian!

A knee between the thighs? Eh away! two are necessary!

—Barbarian!

Well, yes, we are barbarians! Down with the tango and its cadences. Does it therefore seem very amusing to look at one another in the mouth and to examine one another's teeth ecstatically, like two hallucinated dentists? To tear off ... ... to plunge? ... Do you think it is so much fun to arch desperately over each other to spill out the spasm vicariously, without ever succeeding? ... or to fix the tip of your shoes like drowsy cobblers? (...) Tango, roll and pitch of sailing ships that have thrown the anchor in the waters of cretinism. Tango, roll and pitch of sailing ships soaked with tenderness and lunar stupidity. Tango, tango, pitching to make one throw up. Tango, slow and patient funeral of dead sex! Oh! it is certainly not about religion, morality or modesty! These three words make no sense for us! We shout "Down with the tango!" in the name of Health, Strength, Will and Virility.

Goffaggine dei tango inglesi e tedeschi, desideri e spasimi meccanizzati da ossa e da fracs che non possono esternare la loro sensibilità. Plagio dei tango parigini e italiani, coppie—molluschi, felinità selvaggia della razza argentina stupidamente addomesticata, morfinizzata e incipriata. Possedere una donna, non è strofinarsi contro di essa, ma penetrarla.

—Barbaro!

Un ginocchio fra le cosce? Eh via! ce ne vogliono due!

—Barbaro!

Ebbene, sì, siamo barbari! Abbasso il tango e i suoi cadenzati deliqui.Vi pare dunque molto divertente guardarvi l'un l'altro nella bocca e curarvi i denti estaticamente l'un l'altro, come due dentisti allucinati? Strappare?... Piombare?... Vi pare dunque molto divertente inarcarvi disperatamente l'uno sull'altro per sbottigliarvi a viccenda lo spasimo, senza mai riuscirvi?... o fissare la punta delle vostre scarpe, come calzolai ipnottizzati? (...) Tango, rullio e beccheggio di velieri che hano gettata l'ancora negli altifondi del cretinismo. Tango, rullio e beccheggio di velieri inzuppati di tenerezza e di stupidità lunare. Tango, tango, beccheggio da far vomitare. Tango, lenti e pazienti funerali del sesso morto! Oh! non si tratta certo di religione, di morale, nè di pudore! Queste tre parole non hanno senso, per noi! Noi gridiamo Abasso il tango! in nome della Salute, della Forza, della Volontà e della Virilità. (Marinetti 1914)

14 The Italian subtitle is "Lettera futurista circolare ad alcune amiche cosmopolite che dànno dei thè—tango e si parsifalizzano" (A circular futurist letter to some cosmopolitan friends who give tango-teas and parsifalyse themselves).

Even in these cases, it was not the music of the tango that triggered such strong Futurist expressions, but its choreography, which was responsible for *tangomania* in Italian society (as happened in other countries).

4. The struggle to assimilate a phenomenon of foreign origin – the tango – into one's cultural identity

As a consequence of the choreographic freedom and creativity that characterised the Rioplatense tango during this period of international dissemination, in Italy, as in other countries, dance teachers began organising conferences and publishing handbooks in order to produce a standard code of steps and movements.[15] This operation, which consisted in generating a "second existence" in the practice of tango (from informal to formal learning, Hoerburger 1968), produced choreographic changes that would later be discussed by the Argentines themselves. For example, in the lyrics of the song "Tango, te cambiaron la pinta"[16] (Tango, your appearance has been changed), we find the following verses:

They have changed your face in Europe	*Te cambiaron la pinta allá en Europa*
They have renamed you in French: "le tangó"	*y en francés te batieron "Le tangò"...*
...	*pero vos no has cambiado con la ropa*
but these things have not changed you	*y seguís siendo siempre como yo.* (*Todotango*)
and you are still always like me.	

Indeed, this text demonstrates the Rioplatense reaction to the transformation of tango choreography that happened in societies away from its place of birth – something that was considered a danger by those who advocated the unique and unchangeable identity of this dance. When tango choreography arrived in Italy in 1913, it was considered complicated by Italian society. Many references to the dance's kinetic elements were published in the newspapers. We find a very good example of the Italians' fascination with the choreographic side of the tango in the following quotation (which includes an ironic lesson in myology):

15 See Pichetti 1914 and 1935; Gavina and Giovannini 1914.

16 1929: Lyrics by Tabanillo (Rubén Nicolás Fernández Barbiery) and music by Richard Russo.

The tango favours alternative flexions and extensions of the muscles of the lateral region of the torso and of the anterior region of the breast, of the lumbar bundles and the extensors of the lower train, light torsion of the abdominal belt, and rapprochement of the scapulae towards the vertebral column thanks to the traction of the rhomboid and angular muscles. These traits are, from the point of view of physical nature, the only advantages the tango has over other non-modern dances. But to derive a little benefit from it, it is necessary that the movements be regulated by masters having profound knowledge of human anatomy.

Se il tango favorisce 'le flessioni ed estensioni alternative di muscoli della regione laterale del torso e della regione anteriore del petto, dei fasci lombari e degli estensori del treno inferiore, la torsione leggera della cintura adominale, il riavvicinamento degli omoplati verso la colonna vertebrale mercè la trazione dei muscoli romboidi ed angolari, quesi sono, dal punto di vista della natura fisica, i soli vantaggi che presenta su altri balli non moderni. Ma, per trarne un poco di vantaggio, è necessario che i movimenti siano regolati da maestri aventi profonda conoscenza dell'anatomia umana. (Spectator 1913, 508).

The choreographic difficulty is mentioned explicitly in texts such as the following one, in which the abundance of new kinemes and morphokines that must be learned by beginners in the practice of tango is mentioned once again ironically.[17]

The tango (...) is something too scientific, too arithmetical, too calculated: the small steps, the crawling gait, the crossed step, the overturning, the return, then again the well-counted and numbered little steps, the figure studied with geometric precision, the arm at the top, the arm at the bottom, the curvature measured at degrees ... auff! It is no longer a dance: it is geometry studied diligently with the feet. It gives the impression that sometimes the dancers have to stop to glance at the book.

Il tango (...) è una cosa troppo scientifica, troppo aritmetica, troppo calcolata: i passettini, l'andatura strisciata, il passo incrociato, la rovesciatura, il ritorno, poi di nuovo i passettini ben contati e numerati, la figura studiata con precisione geometrica, il braccio in alto, il braccio in basso, la cuvatura misurata a gradi... auff! Non è più un ballo: è geometria studiata afanosamente con i piedi. Dà l'impressione che ogni tanto i ballerini si devano fermare per dare un'occhiata al libro. (*Tango o Furlana?* 1914, 3).

This complexity of tango choreography led to the appearance of dance teachers and schools, as we can see in advertisements published in the newspapers of the main Italian cities:

17 About the definition of kinemes (basic units from which the dances of a given tradition are built) and morphokines (the smallest units that have meaning as movement in the structure of a movement system), see Kaeppler 2001.

"Do you want to dance the tango? Do you want to dance it well? You can take lessons from the famous professor Vincenti and Miss Zurmetta, from the Paris Academy, who are spending a few days in Milan, Ancona Hotel, Street Corso Vittorio Emmanuele 3.

Volete ballare il tango? Volete ballarlo bene? Potete prendere lezioni dal celebre profesor Vincenti e da Miss Zurmetta, dalla Academia de Parigi, che si trovano di passaggio a Milano, Hotel Ancona, Corso Vittorio Emmanuele 3. (*Corriere della Sera*, 19-12-1913)

Or the following:

To learn the tango and all the fashionable dances, buy the appropriate illustrated manual. It will be mailed to you by registered post upon sending L 1.15 (1.30 for deliveries abroad). Money orders or stamps should be sent to the Company Manualetti Utili, via Moscova 29, Milan.

Per imparare il tango e tutte le danze di moda comprate l'apposito manualetto illustrato. Spediscesi raccomandato inviando L 1.15 (per l'estero 1.30). Vaglia o francobolli alla Società Manualetti Utili, via Moscova 29, Milano. (*Corriere della Sera*, 20-12-1913.)

Other sources mention certain movements made by Italian dancers with rigid precision, something which was really a far cry from the improvisatory principles followed by the Rioplatense dancers of tango during the initial period of its history, as claimed by Vega (1956, 1977) and Cuello (1980) among others.

Even though in Italy Argentine teachers were more highly regarded than local ones, journalists pointed out that this European version had been born in Paris:

But the tango that is now danced in Europe, compared with the one that passed from the Antilles to Argentina, is almost unrecognisable. This tango, revised and corrected for the use of high society, was invented in Paris.

Ma il tango che si balla ora in Europa, confrontato con quello che dalle Antille pass˙ in Argentina, è quasi irriconoscibile. Il tango riveduto e corretto ad uso della buona società É stato inventato a Parigi. ("L'età del tango" 1914)

The tango's process of assimilation into Italian cultural identity left traces in many musical and literary features in later historical stages of the process. The song "Tango Italiano" (lyrics by Luciano Beretta and Bruno Pallesi, music by Gualtiero Malgoni, original editor Peermusic Italy S.R.L.), which was awarded second prize in the 1962 edition of the Sanremo Festival and was performed by the well-known singer Milva (Maria Ilva Biolcati), showed that the Italian people were reconciled to their awareness of the tango's ownership. At the level of choreography, this assimilation was consolidated in the *tango liscio* that emerged in Italy after the end of the Second World War, as we will see below. Long before that (at the beginning of the 20th century),

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the choreography of the tango in the Rioplatense area had undergone two parallel processes: a complication derived from the participation of dancers in competitions, and a simplification resulting from its dissemination among the different strata of the population (Cuello 1980, 90). The expression "tango *liso*" (smooth tango) was used in South America much earlier than in Italy, although in this European country it even now continues to characterise one of the main dance styles, as we shall see later.

5. The presentation of the new dance with a choreography "adapted" to allow its acceptance by the Italian civil and ecclesiastical authorities

An important factor in the choreographic transformation of the tango in Europe was the intention on the part of the dance masters to counter the criticisms that this dance received from the ecclesiastical and conservative sectors of the establishment by making it more acceptable according to standards of decorum. Some defended the new dance in statements like the following one:

> The reason for the reservations voiced about the tango in some quarters consists of the fact that it is generally ill-known and poorly presented. There is tango and tango, and the current versions of the new dance that the public is invited to attend differ enormously from the authentic, correct, measured [tango] ones, which can be received without danger within families and in the best society, to modernise and add gracefulness to dances.
>
> *La ragione delle prevenzioni che in qualche sfera incontra il tango consiste nel fatto che esso è generalmente mal conosciuto e mal presentato. C'è tango e tango, e le edizioni correnti della nuova danza alle quali il pubblico è chiamato ad assistere, si differenziano enormemente da quelle autentiche, corrette, misurate che possono impunemente penetrare nelle famiglie, nella migliore società a modernizzare e ad aggiungere grazia alle danze.* (*Che cosa è veramente il tango* 1914)

Nevertheless, in many cases the attempts to "cleanse" the tango failed to persuade the moralists, who, while acknowledging these efforts, pointed out that:

Wanting to reduce the tango to a moral dance, to make it harmless to good morals, is an affair that resembles very much the terrible labours or the *malum otium* of the Latins. I realise that there is a great desire to dance and make others dance, to play and make others play with dangerous and risky games. And everyone knows what risks you run in such games, not to mention the fact that if you want to play – say the spiritual masters – with the devil, you are bound to lose the game.

... volere ridurre il tango ad un ballo morale, a renderlo cioè inocuo ai buoni costumi, è un affare che io rassomiglio molto alle fatiche pessime o al malum otium dei latini e constato soltanto che c'è una grande smania di ballare e di far ballare, di giocare insomma e di far giocare con giocchi pericolosi e moltissimo d'azzardo. E tutti sanno quali rischi si corrono in sifatti giocchi, senza dire che a voler giocare, dicono i maestri di spirito, con il diavolo, si perde la partita. ("Annotando" 1914)

In this matter, opinions were divided, as we can read in the Italian newspapers. Some journalists relied on the future demise of prejudices and moral concerns:

Perhaps it is not the original tango. What is danced in our country could be a version ... how can I put it?... attenuated... checked and corrected. There are too many appearances to save, too many susceptibilities to avoid, before we can afford the luxury of an "authentic" tango. Time – that great leveller – will perhaps permit the disappearance of so many prejudices and so many... moral concerns.

Forse non si tratti del 'tango' originario. Quello che si balla da noi è probabilmente una edizione... come dire?... attenuata... riveduta e corretta. Ci sono troppe apparenze da salvare, troppe succettibilità da evitare, per non poterci concedere il lusso di un 'tango' autentico. Il tempo forse -grande livellatore- farà sparire tanti preconcetti e tante... preoccupazioni morali. ("Il Tango" 1913)

In some cases, this "cleansing" of the tango, coupled with the enthusiasm of the women who wanted to practise it, made it possible to overcome prohibitions, as illustrated by the following quote:

(...) the grand ball at the Naval League, [from which] the tango had been officially excluded: the Naval League refused to open the doors to this fashionable dance; conversely, the ladies insisted on having it, and thus the tango made its triumphal entry into this first great festival of the Milanese carnival. (...) Later on, nothing was danced but the tango, albeit a tango chastened by respectable people.

Il grande ballo alla Lega Navale [nel quale] ufficialmente il tango era stato escluso: la Lega Navale non aveva voluto aprire le porte a questa danza en boga: viceversa le signore lo chiesero insistentemente, così il tango fece il suo trionfale ingresso in questa prima grande festa del carnevale milanese. (...) Sul tardi poi non fu ballato che il tango, un tango castigato, corretto, da persone per bene. ("Il ballo della Lega Navale" 1914)

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The reluctance of the Naval League authorities to accept the tango followed a previous prohibition issued by Wilhelm II, the Emperor of Germany. Italian society received the news in a report by the Berlin correspondent of the magazine *Il Mondo Artistico*:

Regarding this cheerful dance (that is, the tango, which had received – thanks to Richepin – the honours of the Academy of France and the excommunications of the British bishops), the Emperor Wilhelm – in accord with the Empress Augusta – excommunicated it as well. An imperial cabinet order alerts regiment commanders and ship commanders that the respective officers are instructed not to dance in uniform either the tango, nor the "one step" or the "two step" (two dances competing with the tango) and are instructed to avoid families who dance such dances. Should they disobey these orders, they will be fired!

A proposito di allegro ballo (cioè il tango, che ha avuto—auspice Richepin—gli onori dell'Accademia di Francia, e le scomuniche dei vescovi brittanici), lo ha scomunicato anche l'Imperatore Guglielmo, consenziente l'imperatrice Augusta. Un imperiale ordine di gabinetto avvisa i commandanti di reggimento ed i comandanti di navi che gli ufficiali rispettivi sono invitati a non ballare in uniforme nè il tango, nè l'one step o il two step (due balli concorrenti del tango) e sono invitati ad evitare le famiglie dove si ballano tali danze. Se vi saranno dei disubbidienti, saranno licenziati!... (Spectator 1913)

In the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano*, this piece of news was reported and discussed at once:

Wilhelm II instructed, or rather commanded, the officers to refrain from dancing the infamous tango dance in uniform. In other words, he did what he could to prevent at least gentlemen from indulging in the low sensuality of blacks and whores. And some are saying that the tango is like many other dances when you do not dance it licentiously! The tango dance is at least one of those where you cannot in any way retain decency. So if in all the other dances the moral conduct of the dancers is in danger, in the tango decency is completely ruined. And Emperor Wilhelm has certainly forbidden it to uniformed officers.

Dunque Guillermo II ha invitato gli ufficiali, cioè, ha loro commandato di astenersi di ballare la malfamata danza del tango in uniforme. Ha fatto cioè quello che ha potuto per impedire almeno a gentiluomini che s'imbranchino con la bassa sensualità dei negri e dei metticci. E alcuni vanno diciendo che il tango è come tanti altri balli quando non si balli licenziosamente. La danza tango è per lo meno di quelle dove non si puó in alcun modo serbare neppure con qualche probabilità la decenza. Perciò se in tutti gli altri balli sta in pericolo prossimo la morale dei ballerini, nel tango la decenza è in pieno naufragio. E l'Imperatore Guglielmo l'ha senz'altro vietato agli ufficiali in divisa. ("Annotando" 1913)

Among the foreign authorities of the Church who condemned the tango was the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Amette, whose pronouncement unleashed a wave of comments in the Italian media. Italy's anticlerical weekly *L'Asino* published the following satirical poem:

David was dancing in front of the ark,	*Ballava Davide davanti all'arca*
Salome used to dance with St. John,	*Ballava Salome con San Giovanni*
The boat of St. Peter dances too,	*E balla di San Pietro anche la barca:*
All danced for thousands and thousands of years.	*Tutto balla da mille e mille anni,*
Because the Church was never lacking in dances.	*Chè di danze la Chiesa mai fu parca,*
Indeed ... what with fraud, evil and deception	*Anzi...tra frodi, malefici e inganni*
[The church] always made Humanity dance	*Fece sempre ballar l'Umanità*
To satisfy its voracity.	*Per saziare la sua voracità.*
While the most beautiful dance, the tango, is in fashion,	*Mentre è di moda il più bel ballo, il tango,*
We see that Don Amette...does not admit it	*Ecco che Don Amette...non l'ho ammette*
And he throws mud on those who dance.	*E addosso a chi lo balla butta fango.*
	(*Fra tanghi e tangheri* 1914, 7)

The lyrics continue with references of this type, applying metaphors to the subject of tango dance to denounce the alleged abuses and contradictions of the Catholic Church. The poem concludes with this pair of verses: "All the prudes dance the tango, / even the Pope with the name Gentiloni!" (*Ballano il tango tutti i bacchettoni / Fino al Papa col nome Gentiloni*. Ibid.) These two verses have a consonant rhyme in Italian. In fact, the surname of Pope Pius X was not Gentiloni, but Sarto. Count Vincenzo Otorino Gentiloni was the president of the Italian Catholic Electoral Union (Unione Elettorale Cattolica Italiana), which in the political elections of 1913 proposed that the Catholic people vote for the candidates who endorsed the seven points of the pact promoted by him (called "Patto Gentiloni"). This pact deals with the maintenance of the status quo for religious congregations and religious instruction in private schools, as well as expressing an absolute opposition to divorce. Because of this, Gentiloni was strongly criticised in certain secular quarters.

I would like to point out that this use of the tango as a reference to the Italian political situation constitutes one of several examples of the incorporation of the new dance into the local reality. Another example of this process is to be found in the book *Mezzo secolo di danze* (Half a century of dances) published in 1935 by one of the most famous dance masters in Rome, Enrico Pichetti.[18] Pichetti has left us a wonderful description of a presentation of the tango that he him-

18 In addition to teaching ballroom dancing at his school in Rome, in 1900 Enrico Pichetti wrote and published the *Manuale di Balli in Società* (Manual of Dance in Society), in which he recalled general principles of behaviour that dancers should respect and explained steps and figures of the different varieties of the waltz, polka, galop, cotillon, contradanzas and others. In his book *La Danza Antica e Moderna* (Ancient and modern dance, 1914) he expanded on some of these themes and added choreographic description of dances of the past, such as the minuetto, gavotta, pavana, "figurative dances", etc., and dances of his time (among which he included the tango).

self organised in the dance hall that bore his name and to which he invited important personalities of the Church and the upper middle class. Although the date indicated by Pichetti is 1912, it is very likely that his memory failed him here and that the event took place two years later (since the tango boom began in mid-1913). Here are some fragments of the detailed description of the event that Pichetti provided:

As the third dance, I announced the Tango, and it seemed immediately that there were no living people in the room: only open, fixed eyes. When we appeared, we did not even receive the usual applause, but there was a wave of expectancy that caused us some anxiety (...) And we danced the infamous tango: While we were diligently and gracefully articulating the most criticised figures and harbingers of debate, I felt that the preconceived aversion was being dismantled. I felt too that a sense of complacency, of true aesthetic joy, took over from the minds. This complacency brought a feeling of relief back to the already contracted faces, the eyes too open, the same nervous hands. A feeling of relief that was turning into a smile, enjoyment, approval; to end then in applause, which perhaps never so vibrantly and generally resounded in my room. (...) It was a real triumph! And here I must, for the sake of truth, recognise that the true victor was my wife, my incomparable dance partner, who knew how to conquer all hostility, presenting herself from the beginning with the grace and composure of her person. More than following me in the dance, she preceded me. She sensed my steps, even if they were new, inspired by the music, perhaps through the vibrations communicated by our hands, whose nerves vibrated in unison, the true vehicle of our own thoughts. Such was the lightness of the graceful movements of her flexible body, obedient to any necessary undulation, which seemed to me to be brought by her.

Per terzo annunciai il Tango: e parve subito che nella sala non ci fossero più pesone vive, ma solo occhi aperti, intenti, fissi. Al nostro apparire non ci accolse nemmeno il solito applauso, ma ci avvolse una ventata di spasimante attesa, che mise anche in noi una certa ansietà. (...) E ballammo il famigerato tango: io ben sentivo, mentre compivamo con diligenza e grazia le figure più criticate e foriere di discussione, che venivasmontandosi la preconcetta avversione e che un senso di compiacimento, di vera gioia estetica, subentrava negli animi, riportando nei volti già contratti, negli occhi troppo aperti, nelle stesse mani nervose, un sentimento di sollievo, che andava cambiandosi in sorriso, in godimento, i approvazione; per finire poi in un applauso, che forse non mai così vibrante e generale ha risuonato nella mia sala. (...)Fu un vero trionfo! E qui devo, per amore di veritá, riconoscere che la vera trionfatrice fu mia moglie, l'incomparabile mia compagna di ballo, che seppe vincere, al primo presentarsi, con la grazia e la compostezza della persona, ogni ostilità. Più che seguirmi nel ballo, mi precedeva; intuiva i passi miei, anche se nuovi, inspirati lí per lí dalla musica, forse attraverso le vibrazioni che si communicavano le nostre mani. i cui nervi vibravano all'unisono, vero veicolo dei concordi nostri pensieri. Era tale la leggerezza dei movimenti aggraziati del suo pieghevole corpo, obbediente ad ogni necessaria ondulazione, che mi pareva di essere io stesso portato da lei. (Pichetti 1935, 111–112)

The above reflects an accurate phrasing that deliberately eschews a superficial description of movements and figures in order to make explicit the psychological attitude that leads both members of the dancing couple to communicate emotion and harmony through the motions of tango. Pichetti continues:

> That which I expected, occurred. We were immediately surrounded by the most high-ranking people who came to congratulate us, not only on our art, but also on the correctness with which we had transformed a dance, which now, so understood and performed, could and should enter every house, even the strictest.
>
> *Quello, che io avveva previsto, avvenne. Fummo subito circondati dalle persone più altolocate che vennero a complimentarci, non solo per l'arte nostra, ma anche per la correttezza, onde avevamo ricestito una danza, che ormai, così intesa ed eseguita, poteva e doveva entrare in ogni casa, anche la piú severa.* (Pichetti 1935, 112)

This presentation of a choreography adapted for the use of noble and bourgeois families brought immediate benefits to the dance-master: "In my rooms the next day nothing but the tango was taught, danced and learned" (*Il giorno dopo nelle mie sale non si insegnava, non si ballava, non s'imparava che il tango.* Pichetti 1935, 112). Pichetti himself provides a list of people of high social rank who asked him for tango lessons. He adds some illustrative anecdotes, like the following:

> One evening I was invited to Willdaghen's, and the lady of the house, a passionate dance student of mine at the academy, had a Monsignor among the guests. After lunch, the Lady and I performed the tango, without imparting its name. The Monsignor, attracted by the novelty of the dance, followed closely every detail and in the end judged it very elegant. Observing its style, he considered it a dance of the 18th century. To which, smiling, I replied: "This, Monsignor, is the famous Tango." He started in wonder, and sincerely exclaimed: "How can one speak ill of this dance, danced so correctly?" These words of the good Monsignor summed up the fairest judgment of the tango and the opinion of its blind denigrators.
>
> *Una sera fui invitato in casa Willdaghen. La Signora, mia appassionata allieva di ballo all'accademia, aveva fra gli invitati un Monsignore. Finito il pranzo, la Signora ed io eseguimmo il tango, senza però dirne il nome. Il Monsignore, attratto dalla novità della danza, ne seguì attento ogni particolare e alla fine lo giudicò molto elegante; e, per il suo stile, lo ritenne una danza dell 700. Al che, sorridendo, risposi: 'Questo, Monsignore, è il famoso Tango'. Egli fece un balzo di meraviglia, ed equanime e sincero esclamò: 'Come si può dire male di questa danza, ballata in modo così corretto?'. Queste parole del buon Monsignore riassumevano il giudizio più giusto del tango e dei suoi ciechi denigratori.* (Pichetti 1935, 114–115)

In the same account, Pichetti recalls another anecdote: he received an invitation from "a lady from the Argentine Embassy to teach our 'Argentine tango' to her daughters, so that they could take it back to its homeland, now that it has become so graceful and correct" (*...una dama dell'Ambasciata*

Argentina di insegnare quel nostro 'tango argentino' alle sue figliole, perchè lo riportassero in patria, divenuto così aggraziato e corretto. Pichetti 1935, 115). This observation made him claim that:

> It is certain that the same dance acquires very different shades from the intellectual exquisiteness of the person who performs it. Because, as I have already noted elsewhere, dance is an expression of the feelings not only of every single person, but of an entire people throughout several historical moments.[19]
>
> *È certo che lo stesso ballo acquista tonalità ben diverse dalla squisitezza intellettuale della persona che lo interpreta. Perchè, come ho già altrove rilevato, il ballo è espressione dei sentimenti non solo di ogni singola persona, ma di un intero popolo nei suoi diversi momenti storici.* (Pichetti 1935, 115)

According to Pichetti's text, new presentations of the tango in other areas of Italy improved the dance's reputation, as well as that of his and his wife's performances. The tango had won the battle in Italy, and Pichetti attributed this to his own personal triumph. A triumph to which at that time he perhaps contributed, but which probably was ultimately due to stronger and more persuasive reasons than those claimed by him.

6. The negotiation between creative competences and market demands

Pichetti's case leads us to another subject: the kind of negotiation between creative skills and market demands that existed from the moment that the tango arrived in Italy. We see a clear example of this in the book *Balli di oggi* (Dances of Today) written by Francesco Giovannini and published in 1914, at the peak of *tangomania*.[20] The first three chapters of this small treatise are written by Giovanni Franceschini. They are dedicated to general choreographic aspects ("Psychology and aesthetics of dance", "Dance in art", "Dance hygiene", and "The aesthetics of the newest dances"). The fourth chapter, titled "L'estetica delle nuovissime danze" (The aesthetics of the newest dances), contains an anthology of paragraphs from journal articles on the topic of tango that are reproduced literally without specifying the source. The fifth chapter, "Le nuovissime danze" (The newest dances), is written by Giovannini himself and describes choreographies for fashionable dances whose names are faithfully transcribed from the original text, among them the Brazilian tango and the Argentine tango.[21] *Promenade*, *à coté*, *corta-jaca*, *les ballons qui tombent* and *la corbeille* are some of the figures included in the section dedicated to the Brazilian tango, while the figures belonging to the Argentine tango are explained and illustrated graphically: *corte*

19 The five tango figures explained by Pichetti in this text are: *paseo*, *el chassé*, *medio corte indietro*, *paseo argentino* and a combination of *medio corte* and *chassé*.

20 Giovannini 1914. This is the second volume of a series edited in Milan by Ulrico Hoepli.

21 The dances are: tango brasiliano, tango argentino, double boston, triple boston, boston reale, danza dell'orso, one step, turkey trot, maxixe brasiliana, mazurka russa, scotch time, passo del pesce, castle-walk.

(*départ*), *mediocorte* (*demi-départ*), *paseo* (*promenade*), *media luna* (*demilune*), *veteo* (*pas tourné*), *cruzado cortado* (*croisé-coupé*) and *cruzado porocho* (*croisé par huit*). Some of these names have since changed.[22] The content of this chapter is inscribed in the context of choreographic revisions carried out by dance masters in Europe, which included the exaggeration of gestures and even the creation of steps and figures partly taken from other genres or from academic dance.

Inés Cuello (1980) has pointed out the features of these choreographic coding operations, which include the adoption of new names for steps and figures (which were added to those already existing in the Rioplatense tango). She mentions the celebration of "academies", plebiscites and congresses of tango teachers, the publication of theories regarding their choreographies, and the effects these events taking place in the Northern Hemisphere had on the Rioplatense area (a topic beyond the scope of this paper). Today we can observe this type of negotiation between the creative skills of dance masters – or their aesthetic tastes – and the pressures they receive from the market, in people such as Antonello Lanzi, one of the best known dancers and dance masters of central Italy:

The music of the Italian tango, that is, the tango sung in Italian…I really like it. It may be easier for people to understand the intimacy of a song. When the voices of both singers build together that intimate atmosphere of the Italian tango, it is easier to feel its sensuality. This contrasts with the music of the Argentine tango: it is beautiful, but it may be difficult to arouse in the people who dance it here an awareness of the passion they can feel during that three-minute dance. (…) This is our main dance studio, where we teach, train for our performances, rehearse our shows and create the choreographies we dance on our tours. The activities I have been developing for many years involve various different situations: the Orchestra Casadei, town fairs, dance competitions, TV broadcasts and shows in all kinds of places, such as shopping centres, cinemas, municipalities, important theatres or TV channels. We hang the photos on the walls, so that the participants of previous years can have a look at them when they come to visit us. They are glad to see them and observe how time has passed.

La musica del Tango italiano, cioè il tango cantato in italiano… mi piace molto. Potrebbe essere più facile per le persone capire l'intimità di una canzone. Quando le voci di entrambi i cantanti costruiscono insieme quell'atmosfera intima del Tango italiano, è più facile percepirne la sensualità. Questo contrasta con la musica del Tango Argentino: è bellissimo, ma può essere difficile suscitare nelle persone che lo ballano qui la consapevolezza della passione che può provare durante quei 3 minuti di danza. (…) Questo è la nostra sala da ballo principale, dove teniamo corsi di ballo, ci alleniamo per le nostre esibizioni, proviamo i nostri spettacoli e creiamo le coreografie che balliamo nei nostri tour. Le attività che svolgo da molti anni coinvolgono diverse realtà: l'Orchestra Casadei, le fiere di paese, le gare di ballo, le trasmissioni televisive e gli spettacoli in ogni tipo di luogo, come centri commerciali, cinema, Comuni, importanti teatri o canali televisivi. Appendiamo le foto alle pareti, in modo che i partecipanti degli anni precedenti possano vederle quando vengono a trovarci. Sono contenti di vedersi e controllare come è passato il tempo. (Lanzi 2009)

22 See, for example, *Figures of Argentine tango* and the references given there.

The tango dancers Antonella and Daniele explain the semantic differences of both styles of tango dance (Argentine and Italian):

Daniele: "Our tango is probably connected with the Argentine tango. There must have been some influence. Some steps and movements are remotely related. However, the Italian tango is much more schematic. The Argentine tango is all about improvisation."

Daniele: Il nostro tango ha qualcosa a che vedere col tango argentino. Deve esserci stata una certa influenza. Alcuni passi e movimenti rassomigliano magari vagamente correlati in remoto. Tuttavia, il tango italiano è molto più schematico. Il Tango Argentino è improvvisazione.

Antonella: "The posture is also different. There is a great difference in posture between the Argentine tango and ours. There is a clear distance between the performers of the Tuscan tango, or whatever we choose to call it. In the Argentine tango though, there is contact. A direct relation between a man and a woman. In our tango, it seems that they barely look at each other."

Antonella: *Anche la postura è diversa. Tra la postura del Tango Argentino e la postura del nostro tango c'è molta differenza. Tra i ballerini del tango toscano, o come lo vogliamo chiamare, c'è un netto distacco nella posizione degli interpreti. Nel tango argentino però c'è il contatto. Una relazione diretta tra un uomo e una donna. Nel nostro tango, sembra che si guardino a malapena.*

Daniele: "There is a great communication between man and woman. In the Argentine tango there is passion, complicity, communication with the eyes, with the body... It is a series of things that makes it more exciting."

Daniele: *C'è una grande comunicazione tra uomo e donna. Nel Tango Argentino c'è passione, complicità, comunicazione con lo sguardo, con il corpo ... È un insieme di tante cose che lo rende più affascinante.* (Antonella and Daniele 2009)

7. The permanent reconstruction of the meanings and feelings associated with the practice of the tango

Some of the above statements by Lanzi lead us to refer to another feature in the process of incorporating the tango into an Italian reality. The three features of the social meanings generated in this country during the arrival of the tango (exoticism, eroticism and links with politics) survived during the second stage of the history of this dance in Italy, which developed in the interwar period dominated by fascism. The fashion for exoticism generated hybrid images, like that of Rodolfo (Rudolph) Valentino, who in the film *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (Ingram 1921) danced a tango in the international style dressed in a *gaucho* costume. Due to this prestigious model, many Rioplatense musicians of the time complained that in some European venues they were forced to play disguised as *gauchos*.

Later, the style of the *liscio* tango would eliminate the features of exoticism that were so prominent during the fascist period. Today, Italians dance the tango *liscio* without referring to non-Italian cultures. They practise this genre in dance clubs throughout the year, or in celebrations in the villages during the summer. On such occasions, tangos composed by Italians are danced along with others of Rioplatense origin. In both cases, the choreography is the same, regardless of the origin of the musical pieces.

In films by Italian directors, such as *Colpire al cuore* (Amelio 1983), the tango dance appears associated with the memory of older generations and intergenerational transmission.

Another aspect related to the reconstruction of the meaning and feelings associated with the practice of the tango is the rejection that certain choreographies provoke in some environments. This usually happens with the standard tango of DanceSport, which can elicit rejection among those who do not practise this kind of competitive dancing.[23] This refusal stands in clear contrast to the acceptance by those who dance the standard tango, for whom this practice has valid meanings and feelings. Antonello Lanzi wrote a letter to me in which he tried to express his feelings about the tango danced by him and his partner:

"Oh, my beautiful Valentino, I've dreamed about dying with you…," sings a splendid voice with deep emotion; and we on the stage, we are a man and a woman bringing to life the story of the song.	*«O mio bel Valentino, ho sognato di morire con te … » canta una splendida voce con una profonda interpretazione, e su queste note un uomo e una donna avanzano sul palco, dando vita alla storia della canzone.*

He goes on to mention the deep feelings that dancers experience while performing a tango and finally recalls the sincere applause of audiences "that awakes the pair of dancers from a hypnotic trance" (*che risveglia la coppia di ballerini da una trance ipnotica*, Lanzi 2008).

This testimony from Lanzi reminds us that, in the study of the Italian tango, the need to always consider the aesthetics of dance in relation to the thought systems of the specific groups to which it belongs in each case (Kaeppler 2003) is extended to the aesthetic experience of individuals. In the subject that I am developing here, the pertinence of studying the triple perspective proposed by Rice (1987) based on the tripartite proposal of Clifford Geertz (historical construction, social maintenance, individual experience) is particularly evident.

23 In relation to the intercultural study of dance, Andrée Grau (2001, 73) argues that "When we see modernisation as a sort of 'corruption' or 'perversion', it may say more about our aesthetic 'tastes' and cultural conditioning than about culturally valid responses by individuals to a changing environment." On a personal level, my exchanges with colleagues reinforce my impression that, in our case, the scholars' temptation to apply their own views and "taste" may not necessarily lead them to classify an alien cultural manifestation as "corrupt", but to consider the aesthetic patterns of insiders instead.

8. The practice of the standard tango associated with DanceSport

Italy imported DanceSport from Britain, where the steps and figures were coded in the 1920s and articulated into successive levels of difficulty (bronze, silver and gold).[24] In view of the abundant information circulating today about DanceSport (and especially about the five genres that make up the standard style, one of which is the tango), it is pertinent to note that in Italy this activity grew with such intensity that it even equalled the English schools in matters of social relevance and virtuosity of the dancers. The music used in this competitive variety may consist of Rioplatense tango, an International style of tango or the Italian *tango liscio*. Whatever the case may be, however, the patterning of the steps and the chaining of the figures must respect the established norms. In Italy, these and some other genres are taught in DanceSport schools whose programmes are regulated by the Federazione Italiana Danza Sportiva (Italian DanceSport Federation), which is recognised by the Confederazione delle Federazioni Sportive Nazionali (Confederation of National Sport Federations) and is also a member of the World DanceSport Federation.

In heavily populated Italian cities like Rome, numerous clubs and recreational centres are equipped with spacious ballrooms to allow couples to move with the comfort that DanceSport requires. In many places, couples practise the standard tango for their own entertainment, oblivious to the rigid codes of this style. In other spaces, dancers develop their choreographies respecting these codes, which consist of a carefully patterned chaining of steps and highly accurate figures. In Italy, a future for the standard tango seems to have been secured by the high number of children, teenagers and adults who are willing to meet the challenge of its rigorous rules and enjoy themselves when combining steps and figures with elegance. Many parents consider the practice of DanceSport as an educational activity for their children: a practice that forces them to respect a discipline that simultaneously combines physical sensitivity and aesthetic sensitivity, while allowing them to socialise with peers and take on healthy models proposed by adults.

Those who wish to enter the teaching profession in this field after obtaining an official qualification, must be examined by the Italian Federation of DanceSport Technicians (Federazione Italiana Tecnici Danzasportiva, FITD). In this sense, the practice of DanceSport is considered an educational resource insofar as it constitutes a means of transmitting cultural ideals and norms. In this case, the latter are not linked to nationalist ideologies, as claimed by Theresa Jill Buckland in 1991 in relation to the dissemination of Morris dance in the Northwest of England, but instead result from factors in the shaping of a behavioural ethics that is useful for social life.

24 The so-called "international tango" was included in the standard category together with the English waltz, Viennese waltz, slow foxtrot and quickstep.

9. Concluding remarks

In today's Italy it is possible to detect the existence of practices linked to a postmodern form of the tango that covers all kinds of subgenres and variants: from tango jazz to tango-disco in music to the dialogue between the standard, the *liscio* and the *rioplatense* brands in choreography, including fusion genres such as tango-rock and bachata-milonga, approaches by academic composers such as Francesco Venerucci, and the adaptation of the original spirit of the tango to a contemporary sensibility in the work of singer-songwriters such as Francesco Guccini and Paolo Conte. The explanations given to me by Francesco Lanzi about the strategies he uses to organise his shows on the basis of some of these sources are an example of the conversation between identity and diversity in the practice of the tango in modern-day Italy (see Cámara de Landa 2010). In some Italian dance schools, the teaching of the tango *liscio* coexists today with that of the Rioplatense tango and even sometimes with the standard sports tango. The teachers are Italian, Argentine or come from other countries.

In this paper, my focus on the study of the Italian tango is in line with other studies that take into account the process aspects of dance as a codified and affective dimension (Desmond 1993–94).[25] Several centuries of the dancing couple becoming increasingly intimate culminated with the total embrace in the tango. Later, in the 20th century, the couple separated and either the individual or the collective sense of the dance prevailed. Today, young people are returning to partner dancing, including the tango. But times have changed and some of the features that we have discussed in this paper are no longer valid. The dancing of the tango, which was the target of bans a century ago, is today recommended by doctors to their elderly patients.

Globalisation has exponentially increased the circulation of styles and proposals with regard to the tango. Exoticism is no longer a valid motivation for this dance. Resources on the internet are growing daily, and they challenge any attempt in the direction of philological purity while facilitating fusions and hybridisations resulting from the openness to experimentation that characterises an increasing number of creators and performers. Observation of physical, cultural, social, psychological, economic, political, and communicative behaviours (Hanna 1973) allows us to verify the changes that the Italian tango has undergone over time (in terms of dance and song, concept and practice), but also those of Italian society at large at the level of both the individual and the collective.

25 In the *Yearbook for Traditional Music* alone we may find the following texts whose authors study the change in dance as object and practice: Kaeppler 1972, Hanna 1973, Giurchescu and Torp 1991, Buckland 1991, Nahachewsky 2001, Grau 2001, Broecker 2001, Dunin 2001, Giurchescu 2001, Panopoulou 2009, Ozah 2010, Groemer 2011, Kartomi 2013, Kaeppler 2013. Regarding the diachronic study of dance practices, see also Buckland 2001.

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Mojca Kovačič

From Polka Dance to Polka Mass: Polka in the (Trans-)Cultural Identity Context Among the Slovenian Diaspora in the USA

Abstract

Based on the case of the Slovenian diaspora in the United States, the article presents how a connection with the historical past and ethnicity in music is constructed. Special attention is paid to Slovenian-style polka, which the Slovenian diaspora has been cultivating from the first generation of immigrants onwards. This music, which initially had a strong bond with Slovenian folk music, gradually became more and more adapted to the American reality in which the Slovenian community in the USA existed. With its remarkable popularity, it also surpassed the boundaries of ethnicity and became a cultural symbol of the American working class. However, the Slovenian diaspora maintained links with its past and its ethnicity through music in a special way, and the Slovenian-style polka still plays a major role in all social events of the community. An important link with ethnicity and the historical past in diasporic communities is also religion, whereby ethnic parishes present an important cultural, linguistic and social link for many of the community members. At the time of liberalisation in the Catholic Church, which included a freer approach to church music, the Slovenian diaspora devised a new form of liturgical practice – the Polka Mass. Numerous contradictions arose around these phenomena, emphasising the suitability and properness of this sort of musical expression through texts and instrumentation in an ecclesiastical context. Nevertheless, nowadays the Polka Mass has been adopted and is practised by many ethnic communities within their parishes. The article also places polka in a broader context of the concepts of transculturality, cultural homogenisation, postmodern ethnicity and religiosity and confirms its potential as counter-hegemonic practice.

1. Introduction

Most Western music and dance researchers know polka as one of the most popular dances and dance music genres in Europe and the USA. Since its expansion in the 19th century to the present, this music-dance genre has experienced many variations. During the time of the great Eu-

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ropean emigration to the United States at the turn of the 20th century, it also became a cultural synonym for the Central and Eastern European immigrant population in the USA. Different diaspora communities, such as Czechs, Poles, Slovaks and Germans, as well as Slovenians, identified with polka,[1] and for the Slovenian diaspora, polka remains at the forefront of ethnic identification practices and processes even now.

The Slovenian community in Cleveland, still the city where statistically the largest community of the Slovenian diaspora lives, has developed a unique polka music style – the *Slovenian-style polka* or *Cleveland-style polka*. The musical style has, on the one hand, strengthened the community's sense of belonging and recognition and, on the other hand, helped to transgress ethnic boundaries between different communities,[2] since the style achieved wide popularity in the USA. In addition to music and culinary experiences, religion is one of the most important ethnic markers among Slovenians in the USA. As the church also plays an important role in terms of social networking of the diasporic community, a merger of the two elements – religion and polka – appeared and resulted in a new subgenre called the Polka Mass.

In this article, I will shortly introduce the historical circumstances of the Slovenian diaspora in the USA, the appearance of polka in the social life of the diaspora, the introduction of polka to ethnic identity contexts, and finally, its use in a religious context. With respect to theory, the article touches upon the concepts of ethnic identity within the diasporic community, identification processes through music and religion, and the concept of the sacred and holiness in the context of a post-Christian society or spirituality. The interpretations are based on the existing scholarly literature, sources about the life of the Slovenian diaspora in the USA, some online representations of the Slovenian-style polka and the Polka Mass in the USA, and interviews with Slovenian immigrants and their descendants in Cleveland. These interviews were carried out in 2013 during my two-week visit to the Slovenian community in Cleveland. The ethnography of their musical life included numerous conversations with musicians, festival organisers and other protagonists of the Slovenian cultural community in Cleveland and the surrounding area. This wider research has unfortunately not yet been completed and has not resulted in any publications, but for the present article I have extracted some impressions and focused on the

1 Polka is an important part of the musical repertoire of other diasporic musical groups, but they are not classified under the name of the polka band. In this context, Richard March mentions the immense popularity of polka in Mexico and the Mexican diaspora, whereby they are "classifying themselves as *norteño*, *conjunto*, or *banda*, and polka is but one important dance rhythm in their repertoires" (Blau and March 2015, 155).

2 In using the term 'ethnic', I move away from an essentialist understanding of ethnicity as a cultural community that has a common heritage and is homogeneous in contrast to other communities. Instead, ethnicity is understood as a changeable and situational social category that is strongly embedded in social interactions. It is also understood as a self-defining category through which a community of people identifies with certain elements (e.g. music or food) that they define as ethnic.

understanding of the Polka Mass by this community. Since this phenomenon was not the focus of the fieldwork, I rely on additional material such as online videos, online discourse about the phenomenon, material subsequently provided to me by Joe Godina (who is a host of radio broadcasts for the Slovenian community in Pennsylvania), and material provided to me by one of the most successful protagonists of the Polka Mass, Father Frank Perkovich. Although in many respects my fieldwork is not the direct basis for the present article, the experience that I gained among the Slovenian community in Cleveland provides an important background for understanding their diasporic affiliation through music and religion.[3]

2. Polka and its migration from Slovenia to the United States

One must understand the double meaning of the term polka: polka as a dance and polka as a dance music genre. According to the *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, some basic characteristics of the musical form are: 2/4 metre and "eight-measure phrases in two parts, each repeated. There follows a two-part trio, also in eight-measure phrases, each repeated. The first part is then played again, ending in a coda. Often an introduction, more or less elaborate, precedes the dance itself" (Strobel 1998, 221). The precise origin of polka is unclear, but in any case, polka as a ballroom dance and music became the most popular in the 1820s, and it conquered the dancehalls of the biggest European cities, such as Prague, Vienna, Paris and London. Polka then crossed the Atlantic and became a popular dance in American ballrooms. After a period of silence, when other dances, such as tango, became popular, polka was popularised again during the Second World War (Strobel 1998, 221).

The massive economic migration of people from Eastern and Southeastern European countries, such as Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Slovenia, in the second half of the 19th century greatly contributed to the strong prevalence and popularity of polka among those ethnic communities in the USA. Polka as a "continually changing genre" (Walser 1994, 323) developed in various different styles, often linked to the ethnic identity of immigrant communities: i.e. Bohemian style, Slovenian style, German style, etc.

The beginnings of the Slovenian-style polka are attributed to The Hoyer Trio, a band named after the accordionist Matija Hojer (Americanised as Matt Hoyer), who immigrated to the USA from the Slovenian village of Sodražica in 1891, where he learned his first accordion tunes as a youth. In the USA, Hoyer formed his band with two stepbrothers, Frank and Eddy Simončič. They adapted the traditional Slovenian instrumentation of the time (bass or baritone horn as the bass instruments, violin or clarinet as the melodic instruments, and accordion as a harmonic instrument) to the American musical context, so the band also included banjo and guitar.

3 The author acknowledges the financial support from the Slovenian Research Agency (research core funding No. P6-0111, *Folklore and Ethnological Research on Slovenian Folk Culture* programme).

Fig. 1: Instrumentation common for folk music bands in Slovenia at the beginning of the 20th century, including double bass, violin and diatonic accordion. Source: Archive of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, photo number: F0011376. Used by permission.

The popularity of this musical ensemble was also promoted by the production of gramophone records, as the American gramophone industry recognised a market opportunity in the production and sale of so-called "ethnic" records to diaspora groups. In the 1920s, The Hoyer Trio, as well as Matt Hoyer in solo performances and duets, recorded many 78 rpm records; their music was extremely popular, as evidenced by many reissues.[4] The music influenced Slovenian musical ensembles in the diaspora as well as musical groups of other nations. What is interesting is that some of The Hoyer Trio's records were "published with translated or changed titles

4 For more information on the musical life of Matt Hoyer and the gramophone industry of 78 rpm records in the USA, see Rebeka Kunej and Drago Kunej: *Glasba z obeh strani. Gramofonske plošče Matije Arka in Hoyer tria*, published in 2016 and translated into English in 2017 (Kunej and Kunej 2016, 2017). These first recordings have only recently been recognised as an important source of folklore, ethnomusicology and ethnochoreological research into Slovenian folk music and dance. It was also recognised that "old gramophone records provide a sound image of instrumental folk dance music of a period from which there are no other direct sound resources" (Kunej 2014, 136).

Fig. 2: The Matt Hoyer Trio (Matija Arko and brothers Frank and Ed Simončič) performing on chromatic accordion, banjo and guitar. The photograph is held by the National Cleveland-Style Polka Hall of Fame and Museum. Used by permission. (Audio example: "Jaka Na St. Clairu-Polka", gramophone recording by The Hoyer Trio)

in order to make them more appealing to buyers of other ethnicities (e.g. Czechs, Poles, Croats, Lithuanians, Scandinavians, Italians, Mexicans) and expand the purchasing base" (Kunej and Kunej 2016, 99).

Another icon of Slovenian-style polka music needs to be mentioned: William Lausche (1898–1967) from Cleveland. He was a dentist by profession and an excellent musician who contributed immensely to the formation and recognition of the style and is also described as "a strong influence in the cultivation of greater sophistication and skill" (William "Doc" 1989). Lausche composed and arranged songs, including strong features from jazz, ragtime, Broadway and classical music, and also played the piano in various ensembles. His influence on other musicians and on the development of the style was even stronger, as Lausche personally tutored some later famous musicians (Johnny Pecon, Lou Trebar) and was one of the main protagonists of Slovenian "ethnic" music on gramophone records (William "Doc" 1989).

The Slovenian-style polka transgressed the boundaries of locality and ethnicity with its massive popularisation through radio and later on television in the 1950s. One of the first and most successful users of these new technologies was Frankie Yankovich (1915–1998), a second-generation Slovenian immigrant who came from the Slovenian community in Cleveland and became famous throughout the USA. Yankovich gained the title of "Polka King" at a competition in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1948, which was somewhat of a turning point in his career. His "coronation" was not only a recognition of his leading position among polka musicians, but also a sign "of the transformation of ethnic music over the previous century" (Green 1992, 231). Yankovich developed and represented the trans-ethnic polka style of the American working class that became widely popular all across the USA. Victor Green describes him as an "ethnic musician who by his musical arrangements and performance transformed that kind of music so it would appeal to all Americans" (Green 1992, 242), while the change in the musical style is more precisely described as "polished […] controlled, clean, modern, streamlined in the extreme" by Charles and Angeliki V. Keil (Keil and Keil 1992, 139).

Although the public media strongly associated him with Slovenian- or Cleveland-style polka music, there is some doubt about his representation of this style within the Slovenian diaspora community. Due to his mass popularity among the broader American population, as well as the changes in the style itself, debates about the correctness of his style are still ongoing within the Slovenian community living in the United States. Thus, we see how the Slovenian-style polka is part of a construct of authenticity in which a particular community accepts or rejects changes in musical style.

3. Analyses of the Slovenian-style polka

Compared to the polka as known in Slovenia, where the term denotes a musical style in a duple metre in instrumental folk music or the folk-pop genre, or as a dance style in which "pairs with triple steps in a two-part rhythm rotate in place or follow in a circle" (Baš 2004, 441), in the USA, polka represents more than these two labels. In the time of The Hoyer Trio, it was already possible to find other dances included under the term 'polka', such as schottisches, mazurkas, marches and waltzes. In the everyday language of musicians and those writing about polka music, the Slovenian-style polka is frequently mentioned, as it has an important place within the polka phenomenon, but any detailed musical analysis of the style is lacking;[5] neither has comparative (ethno)musicological work on different polka styles developed in the USA ever been performed. Perhaps it is exactly the characterisation of this music as banal that has deterred researchers from dealing with polka music for many years. In academic circles, there was almost no scholarly work dedicated to polka music until the 1990s, and even then the studies seem to be more sociologically than (ethno)musicologically oriented, with the exception of Charles and Angeliki V. Keil and Robert Walser.[6] Nevertheless, this tendency to ignore polka does not seem to be unique, as generally "scholars have long ignored the music of working-class ethnic groups. Not fitting well into either popular or art categories, polkas and comparable forms have provoked very little academic work … even though millions of people have placed this music at the centre of their lives" (Walser 1994, 323, see also Keil and Keil 1992, 79).

On a general level, we can highlight some characteristics that may be attributed to the Slovenian-style polka, such as playing Slovenian folk songs in Slovenian or English or in a mixture of these two languages, and playing modified folk dance tunes, newly composed musical works or rearranged popular American tunes. The instrumentation includes piano accordion, chromatic accordion or diatonic button accordion (called button box); a melody instrument such as clarinet or saxophone; and rhythm instruments, such as drums, bass, and guitar or banjo. The style also includes music from other musical genres, especially "standards". While the basic musical structure of the Slovenian-style polka or instrumental melody remains in 2/4 or 3/4 metre, the whole musical style flirts with other popularly accepted American styles, such as jazz, American standards and country music (Unterberg 1999).

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5 Some description of styles based on specific sound recordings is provided by Richard March in a CD review (March 1989, 81–85).

6 For similar reasons, the most popular musical genre in Slovenia, folk-pop music (Slo. *narodnozabavna glasba*), which is also strongly associated with polka music and dance style, has not been the object of much scholarly interest in its homeland until now. In 2020, two state-funded projects related to folk-pop music were accepted for funding: a project by cultural sociologists entitled "Slovenian Folk-Pop as Politics: Perceptions, Receptions, and Identities", and a doctoral project that will lead to a dissertation entitled "Polka in Slovenia between Politicisation, Popularisation, and Practice".

4. Polka as counter-hegemonic, transcultural and ethnic practice

Polka in its various styles remained an emblem of immigrant ethnic identity in the USA. Researchers of the phenomena emphasised its role in the context of the cultural construct of American immigration (Greene 1992; Keil 1992), as "various groups of people, especially ethnic communities in the United States have made and remade polka to suit their needs" (Walser 1994, 323). It might be said to have become one of the symbols of American cultural pluralism, as can be seen in the following lines describing the exhibition *Polka Music/Polka Culture* by the University of Wisconsin–Madison Libraries: "While honoring the diversity of ethnic heritages that have informed the music and dance and contributed to distinctive ethnic polka music styles, the selections also emphasize continuities and synthesis across cultural groups and the emergent 'polka culture'" (The Polka, s. a.). "Polka scholars" such as Robert Walser (himself a polka musician), Ann Hetzel Gunkel and Charles Keil all in their own way proposed the idea that polka is the answer, or the opposition, to the increasing cultural homogenisation in the USA. As Green wrote: "not that popular culture assimilated ethnic cultures but possibly the reverse, that ethnic music had become popular" (Green 1992, VIII). Gunkel considers polka a counter-hegemonic cultural practice for several reasons: on the one hand, because of the "elitism of ethnic scholarship, musicology, and academic discourse" (Gunkel 2004, 415) that does not want to deal with "people's music" (Green 1992, 3), and on the other hand, because of its success and persistence in opposing cultural homogenisation produced by cultural industries.[7] According to her, "polka people" represent the resistance, or "radical alternative", to "mainstream American mass culture" as well as to a post-Christian society (discussed further in the text) (Gunkel 2004, 413-14).[8]

Transculturalism as a concept of cultural encounter is often used to explain new cultural phenomena resulting from the processes of mixing, mutual exchange and syncretism of different cultures. The concept is also used to explain the emergence of new musical styles, genres and practices (Dennis 2012, Johnson 2013). In essence, culture itself is a transcultural phenomenon rather than an isolated entity, and the whole concept of transculturality was developed in opposition to the understanding of culture as single cultures and as a critique of recent concepts of multiculturalism and interculturalism (Welsch 2001, 59–86). Cultures or musical practices

7 Polka music also communicates with its consumers through mass media musical production, but this production is not of interest to big music companies and is maintained within the community. As Keil describes in relation to the Polish-American case of the polka phenomenon, Slovenians also control their own CD production and consumption as well as the production of their own radio shows, concerts and material items that symbolically maintain a connection with the music (t-shirts, awards, souvenirs, etc.).

8 In a wider context of polkamania from the 19th century on, Charles Keil stresses that the success of polka also means the recognition of the common culture of the working class in opposition to the waltz expressing "the spirit of the bourgeois revolutions" (Keil and Keil 1992, 13).

are very often given an ethnic adjective (e.g. we speak of Slovenian polka or Bohemian polka), but "what we really have in mind when speaking this way are political or linguistic communities, not actual cultural formations", as cultures are "characterized through to the core by mixing and permeations" (Welsch 2001, 67). In this sense, the Slovenian-style polka, or indeed any style of polka in the USA, has also always been a transcultural genre, even more obviously due to the merging of Slovenian and other ethnically based genres with globalised popular musical styles. Polka transcends its ethnic identity label and could be understood as a transcultural genre also because its fans or musicians do not necessarily identify with a given ethnicity, nationality or locality (Slovenian-style or Cleveland-style). Slovenian-style polka could be heard anywhere, for any kind of ethnic or other community, played by musicians from a mixture of different ethnic backgrounds and repertoires, and listened to by a diverse audience. Reading biographies of many distinguished polka people, I became conscious that providing no information about their ethnic origin means that they do not attach importance to it. Moreover, it is polka that maintains their sense of belonging to the (polka) community. Last but not least, an individual style that some recognise as ethnic is always flexible and subject to innovation, or as Walser asserts, "musicians create rhetorical and historical fusions that articulate communal identities, continuously reinventing ethnicity and community in powerful, sophisticated ways" (Walser 1992, 199).

Within some communities that cultivate a stronger sense of belonging to a particular ethnic or cultural entity (regardless of its transcultural character) polka remains an important element of ethnic self-definition. Within an ethnic community such as that in Cleveland, some musicians even distanced themselves from the popularised polka presented by Yankovich. This was either due to his musical expression and (lack of) musical skill or because through his popularity he surpassed the edge of the melting pot of American society. I have often come across opinions that Yankovich's popularity is by no means due to his excellent musicality, but to his successful commercial approach, which opened the door to the general American public. As one of my interlocutors from Cleveland said: "Yankovich? Well all musicians know that Yankovich was not a good musician. He was, he was, he was a showman [...] And he had good men to play behind him. And this is what made him so popular" (Cleveland 2013). Similar descriptions can be found in the conversations Keil had with musicians of Polish origin (Keil and Keil 1992, 138). Nevertheless, musicians of Slovenian origin recognise his credentials and are proud of his success and his ethnic origin.

Alongside the sausage, polka seems to be the most visible and recognisable element of publicly expressed Slovenianhood in the USA.[9] As such, it is in the forefront of many ethnic social activities and institutions, such as the Polka Sausage Festival, the Polka Awards, the National Cleveland-Style Polka Hall of Fame, polka radio shows and the Polka Mass, to mention but a few. However, as was very evident during my fieldwork in Cleveland in 2013, in this constant

9 For studies on the meaning of the Slovenian sausage in the USA, see Jernej Mlekuž's article "Zamišljena kranjska klobasa – v času, prostoru, jeziku in ustih" (2015).

process of "ethnic music production", neither the musicians nor the audience seek any clear reproductions of music from Slovenia; instead, they wish to create a new life for Slovenian music in America.[10] Polka reproduces ethnicity in its own, special way. Thus, polka's flexible position between transcultural and ethnic practice can also be understood in the context of the theory of postmodern ethnicity, where it is understood as a "provisional and partial 'identity' which must be constantly (re)invented and (re)negotiated" (Ang 1993, 11). Slovenian-style polka in the United States is a phenomenon based on historical realities that is constantly changing and adapting to political, social or, more accurately, music market realities and serving ethnicity as its users desire and imagine it. Although postmodern ethnicity is understood as the dissolution or deformation of the historical characteristics of ethnic traditions, these theorisations, as Walser notes, lack an ethnographic foundation. Thus, phenomena such as the polka or Polka Mass are shown to "rearticulate ethnic identity and form communal alliances based on shared values and musical 'families of resemblance'" (Walser 1992, 197).

5. Why polka and why Mass?

The bond of ethnicity with Roman Catholicism is historical among Slovenians. The church is an institution that is highly important for the maintenance of communal ethnic and social ties. At the end of the 19th century, the Roman Catholic Church of Slovenia was also very involved in the creation of ethnic Slovenian parishes abroad and sent priests to these communities in order to keep the emigrants close to the Catholic faith. By 1916, Slovenian immigrants had established 37 "ethnic or mixed Catholic parishes" (Friš 2009, 105) in the USA. Priests also played an important role in social and cultural life, as they were often "founders and leaders of choral societies, music bands and theatre circles" (Friš 1992, 210).[11] In addition to the social and cultural roles, the church also played an educational role.

However, the previously very strong social organisation has been in decline over the past decades, and one of the reasons is that not many people of Slovenian background still live in former Slovenian districts, such as Euclid or Collinwood in Cleveland, and many of the Slove-

10 This does not apply to the music reproduced and consumed by the post-war generation of immigrants in Cleveland. Their (and their descendants') sense of belonging is based on the folk-pop style of music popular in Slovenia. This generation has stronger ties to their country of origin as well as its music; therefore, the reproduction of this music in the USA is subject to fewer changes.

11 In the beginning, the Slovenian diaspora had a very strong ethnically connected social life: "We also know that most of the immigrants lived in solid Slovenian communities, where the knowledge of English was not needed at all. These were highly developed communities with a rich supply of cultural, religious, political, supportive, commercial and entrepreneurial institutions" (Milharčič Hladnik 2004, 125).

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nian churches were sold to other ethnic or religious communities. Most of the Slovenian diaspora moved away as they gained a higher position on the social and financial scale and as they integrated more into American society. They bought larger and more expensive houses in the wider Cleveland area, or even out of town. But one could say that the most important link for many "former neighbours" is the Sunday visit to the church in one of the still-existing Slovenian parishes (St. Vitus or St. Mary of the Assumption parishes), which maintain one Mass in the Slovenian language, the singing of Slovenian religious songs and a Slovenian-language Saturday school for children and adults. The main social venues as well as the biggest scenes for polka music around Cleveland are two institutions: the Slovene National Benefit Society (SNPJ) owned by an insurance company, and the Slovenska Pristava Catholic organisation. Thus, these two venues – the church and the aforementioned institutions – became and remain the centre of the spiritual, cultural and social life of the Slovenian diaspora in Cleveland and its surroundings. And if we consider the important place that polka holds in the social and everyday life of these people, the merger of polka and religious worship that results in a form called the Polka Mass is more understandable.

6. The (hi)story of the Polka Mass

The beginnings of the Polka Mass have been obscured by the media promotion of its most successful protagonist, Father Perkovich. He is also referred to as a Polka Mass pioneer by polka scholars such as Charles Keil, Victor Green and Richard March, with the exception of Robert Walser, a polka musician and author of the only academic article devoted to this phenomenon (Walser 1992, 183–202). Musicians I spoke to during my Cleveland fieldwork also warned me of this mistake and stressed the injustice done to the real initiator of the Polka Mass, Father George Balasko. So let us now begin its (hi)story with him.

It was in 1972 that Balasko (a Slovenian-style polka musician and priest) from Lowellville, Ohio, first introduced a new religious ceremony called the Polka Mass (Godina 1984). The Polka Mass is a Mass in which a polka ensemble accompanies the liturgy. The repertoire the musician uses usually consists of well-known Slovenian folk songs, folk-pop songs (called *narodnozabavna* music) and polka and waltz tunes; sometimes the music is newly composed in these styles. The lyrics of already well-known melodies are rewritten with sacred texts. Visitors receive lyrics sheets before the Mass so that they can actively participate in the singing. The Polka Mass songs correspond to the obligatory liturgical part of the ceremony: the Entrance Hymn, Gospel, Offertory Hymn, Sanctus and Communion Hymn.

The Polka Mass turned out to be a big success, even though it also upset a certain section of the congregation. A year later, Father Perkovich celebrated his Polka Mass in Minnesota (Godina 1984, Cleveland 2013). He soon released his first Polka Mass music album, later followed by others, and spread the popularity of the Polka Mass among the general public, including other

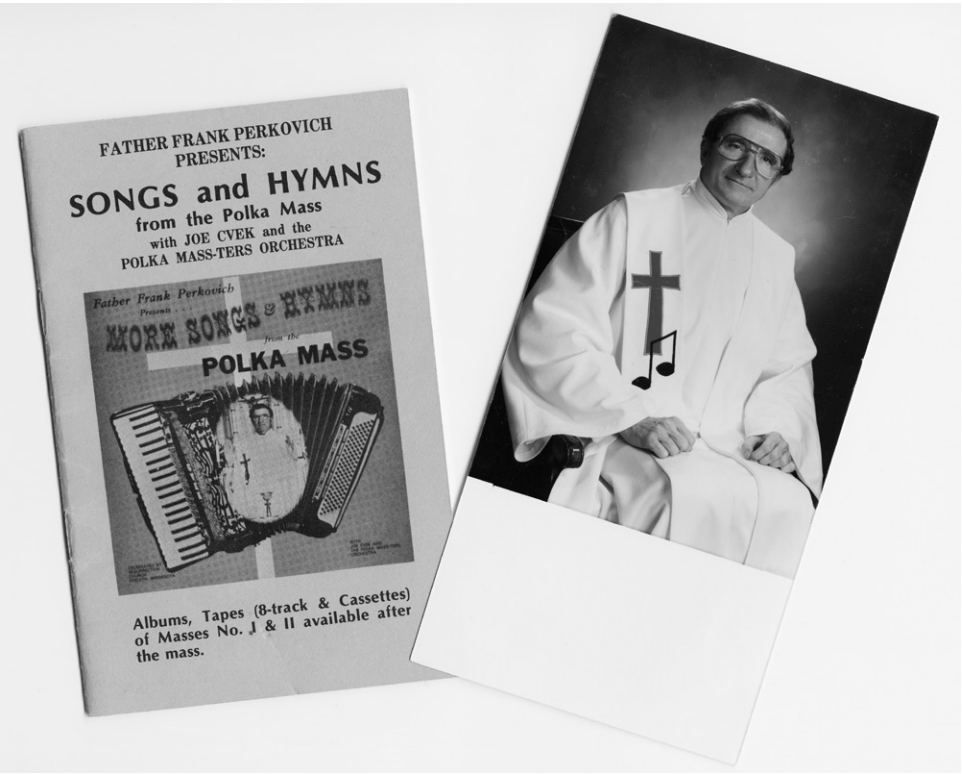

Fig. 3: Father Perkovich and a booklet of Songs and Hymns for the Polka Mass (gift of Father Perkovich).

ethnic communities who then adapted the music to their own popular music or adopted some songs from "related ethnic traditions" (Walser 1992, 189). Perkovich succeeded in popularising many songs through the mass media of CDs and videos, and many of those songs are now part of any sort of ethnic Mass that uses polka for musical content; for instance, one of the Lutheran churches uses Slovenian folk-pop tunes in its Polka Mass.

In his marketing of the music and church services, Perkovich uses the promotional techniques of commercial popular culture. Polka Masses are advertised in printed and online media, and Perkovich promotes his identification with the Polka Mass by dressing in special vestments with musical symbols. CDs and videos of the Mass are available in the marketplace. People from other parishes who come to enjoy the music combined with the liturgy also attend Polka Masses, and the rite is usually part of an all-day or afternoon event, followed by a culinary experience with, of course, polka music and dancing.

7. Community response and the concept of properness

The Polka Mass did upset many people, as it still does, but it also gives rise to positive feelings and an enthusiastic response from people. The still ongoing questions and debates around this sort of worship were raised immediately after the performance of the first Polka Mass and are mainly related to the concept of religious propriety. In this section I present the issues raised concerning the instrumentation and lyrics of the Polka Mass.

The accordion (an essential part of any polka band) is a part of every Polka Mass. This instrument created the largest controversy in public opinion about the Polka Mass. The accordion, a "quintessential polka instrument [which] has a [...] radical pedigree" (Gunkel 2004, 409), has been often characterised (much like polka itself) as having the attributes of banality and happiness (Gunkel 2004; Sonevitsky 2008, 102; Bibič 2014, 47–53). According to many (even polka fans), the accordion, polka, happiness and banality do not suit the expression of Catholic religiosity. The following example shows a dialogue between a disappointed believer and a radio host immediately after the performance of the Polka Mass in 1972, with the believer even attributing the properties of the devil to the accordion:

> "Well, I was a little disappointed, the words were just beautiful. But when it comes to church, the house of God, I think we should keep it that way and keep the accordion where it belongs ..."
> "What about a guitar?"
> "Well, guitar isn't so bad, but an accordion, I don't know why an accordion?"
> "I think an accordion has a closer sound to an organ than anything."
> "Well, I don't know, Tony, but have you ever heard of the Antichrist?"
> "Mhm."
> "Well, I think he is here already!"

That is exactly why Bobby Timko, an accordionist, used a *Cordovox* – an electric accordion attached to an organ tone generator to produce a more organ-like church sound – for his first Polka Mass. This indicates that the creators of the first Polka Mass were aware of the controversial nature of the Polka Mass as well as introducing the accordion into the church. Musical lyrics present a cognitive expression of language through which people's belief system is formulated. Promoting religious values through lyrics was already characteristic of polka music in general. Many polka lyrics contain "spiritual appeals" and promote Christian values, such as family and friendship, or strengthen traditional gender roles. This is also the reason why Gunkel again locates polka within a counter-hegemonic concept, believing that it "continues to create a culture of resistant Catholicism in an age largely assumed to be post-Christian" (Gunkel 2004, 415). However, the creators of the Polka Mass often gave preference to the music over the lyrics, so they did not look at taking "appropriate" lyrics from the general polka repertoire and instead chose popular tunes and transformed their lyrics into "proper" ones. Let us see an example of how a very famous Slovenian folk-pop drinking song is transformed into a liturgical song of glory:

Ej prijatelj (Lyrics in Slovenian transcribed from Slak (No year))	**Hey, buddy** (English translation from Slak (No year))	**RELIGIOUS ADJUSTMENT OF LYRICS** (transcribed from *Solemnity …* 2009)
Ej, prijatelj dvigni čašo *da postal boš pravi mož,* *hitro z nami, z družbo našo* *bo veselja zvrhan koš.*	Hey, buddy, raise your glass So you can be a proper man, Come on, hurry, all of us Are going to have a lot of fun.	We are brothers, we stand together, Lord, won't You come, and be with us On the mountain, and in the valleys, We praise You Lord, for all to see.
Ej, prijatelj pojdi z nami *gremo v zidan'co vince pit,* *tam na hribčku sodček čaka* *čep slabo ima privit.*	Hey, buddy, come with us We're off to the vineyard to drink wine, A jar is waiting on the hill, And it's so easy to uncork!	Oh la, oh lee oh, We sing and praise Your Holy Name, Oh la, oh lee oh, forgive our sins, forget our blame, Oh la, oh lee oh, please take our troubles for today, Oh la, oh lee oh, as we worship You and pray.
Prijatelj, glej kak zlata kapljica *v soncu se smehlja,* *rodila jo je dobra trtica očka našega* *na hribčku beli hram že vabi nas,* *vabi čričkov glas,* *le brž na pot,* *tam vinski sod že čaka nas.*	Buddy, see how the golden droplet's beaming in the sun, It was grown in our dad's fine vineyard. Up the hill, the white temple calls us, The cricket's voice invites us, Get going guys, full speed ahead, There's a barrel of wine waiting for us.	You have called us, to be Your people, Lord, won't You come, be with us, See us stand,'round Your altar, Won't You come and set us free.

However, these changes in the text did not satisfy the opponents of the Polka Mass. Their main argument against the Polka Mass was that, despite the adaptation of the lyrics to religious content, the music still establishes a relationship with the original "happy, joyful tunes with inappropriate lyrics". Thus, they emphasised the associative side of music, the link it has with the original musical work and which, in their opinion, is indelible.

The boundaries between the profane and the sacred are being negotiated, as the proponents of the Polka Mass see such lyrics as the most appropriate precisely because they connect the profane, earthly, real life of believers with the sacred, holy space, such as the church or religion. As explained in the words of Joe Godina, a polka musician and the host of a radio show for Slovenian Americans in Pennsylvania:

"One can be sacred and holy while being earthly as well; … when you celebrate, God is present, he is not present only at the ceremony … he is in the midst of his people; he is at the marriage ceremony as well as the wedding reception; this was a subconscious thought of Father Balasko that merges polka music and a mass" (Godina 1984).

In the context of such an understanding, a Polka Mass might be placed side by side with other spaces that consolidate the common beliefs of a community and correspond to what Greeley describes as the "analogical imagination of the Catholic world-view", where "God is present in the world. Thus the world and all its events, objects, and people [as well as music] tend to be somewhat like God" (Greeley 1990, 45). As Walser asserts, "the category of 'sacred music' is defined pragmatically by its effects, rather than by any essential features of its form or past history" (Walser 1992, 187).

8. Polka in relation to contemporary religiosity

In the end, we cannot overlook the relationship polka music has to contemporary religiosity and the phenomena that emerged out of this relationship. How can we fit the Polka Mass within the broader contemporary changes and transformations of religious life and practice that are occurring throughout much of the Western world? Two elements need to be exposed as a possible answer here:

1. The Polka Mass emerged at the time of the liberalisation of the Church and church music as a result of the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II), and the Polka Mass coincides with the period when other "folk or ethnic Masses" emerged in the USA (i.e. today, one can find a Mariachi Mass, Jazz Mass, Bossa Nova Mass, Rock Mass, Metal Mass, etc.). The process of liberalising the liturgy, including the liberalisation of the rules about what church music should sound like, was and is still understood quite differently and is under constant discussion, but a new type of church music or music in the church is nevertheless widely performed.[12]

12 Monique M. Ingalls, Muriel Swijghuisen Reigersberg and Zoe Sherinian propose using the term 'musical localisation' and critically shake up the previously used terms 'musical inculturation', 'contextualisation' and 'indigenisation' for the diverse localised music practices of Christian communities. They define "music localisation as a process whereby Christian communities take a variety of musical practices – some considered 'indigenous', some 'foreign', some shared across spatial and cultural divides, some linked to past practice, some innovative – and make them locally

2. At a time when there was an increasing tendency towards the secularisation of society (as evidenced, for example, in the declining number of attendees at church services), it was believed that the Polka Mass would attract a younger generation. This could also be placed in the wider context of the emergence of contemporary worship music, when many churches began to use adapted popular music, newly composed popular music and later also non-adapted popular music to address the believers of their church.[13] I could agree with April Stace's findings based on her research on popular music in churches, that the use of this sort of music is not capitulation "to an increasingly secularized society, the music leaders [...] understood themselves to either be battling against a secularizing society or denied secularization altogether" (Stace 2017, 107) by seeing the world as sacred *per se*.

9. Conclusion

In the American context, polka can be understood (as proposed by Green 1992 and Gunkel 2004) as a counter-hegemonic practice due to its marginal position within either the homogenised music industry or its position within academic discourse. Polka, on the other hand, constructs or maintains bonds to ethnicity in a very special way and is an important cultural identifier for different ethnic communities. Slovenian-style polka as seen in musical style, instrumentation, lyrics and in its popular perception interweaves the historical past with contemporary American reality. For someone coming from Slovenia, this connection to the country of origin seems unusual and almost invisible. By comparing the institutional nationalisation of folk music and dance in Slovenia with the "ethnicisation" of folk music and dance in the USA, one can see how a culture that is independent of cultural political institutions can develop its own path in creating a connection with the past and ethnicity and does not burden itself with the search for "authenticity or purity" (Keil 1987, 79). For them, polka is a cultural resource that preserves communal ties that must stay flexible if they are to remain intact (Walser 1992, 189). This may also be the answer to why the Polka Mass has been adopted by other churches whose congregations also consider polka an important part of their historical past and religious present.

meaningful and useful in the construction of Christian beliefs, theology, practice, and identity" (Ingalls et al. 2018, 9).

13 Miller points out in his study of the so-called new-paradigm churches that "music reflects the deep unconscious structures of a culture, and correspondingly, the music of social change movements signal discord with these routinized structures" (Miller 1997, 80).

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II. Music for Dancing and Music for Listening

Jasmina Talam

The Role of the Musician in the Performance of Traditional Dances in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Abstract

Music and dance performed a significant social function in the folk tradition of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the past. Instrumental accompaniment for dancing could be heard on various occasions, such as celebrations, parties and other types of gatherings for entertainment. The role of the musicians in the performance of dance melodies was of great importance. Social and economic changes that took place after the Second World War caused a migration of the population from villages to cities. During this period, former customs gradually faded from everyday practice, and with them also music and dance. Rural folklore groups were formed with the aim of preserving local music and dance traditions and presenting them at various events. At the same time, numerous cultural and artistic societies (Kulturno-umjetničko društvo, KUDs) were founded and soon became the most important performing ensembles presenting music and dance traditions (formerly from all former Yugoslav republics, and since 1995 only from Bosnia and Herzegovina) in public. Unlike stage performances by rural folklore groups, in which variation and improvisation are common, folklore ensembles of these cultural and artistic societies perform stylised folklore that focuses on artistic quality. This new manner of performance also meant a change in the musical accompaniment. Folk musicians were replaced by folk and *tamburica* orchestras performing arranged folk melodies. With the change of musical accompaniment, the role of musicians also changed significantly, especially in the sense that they had less interaction with the dancers. In this essay, I describe the role of performers who perform in the KUDs and separately from them, demonstrate the variety of musical instruments used to accompany dances in certain regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and address the performance of folklore both in its traditional variant and its stylistic transformation on stage.

1. Introduction

Dancing to music is found in a variety of forms and made up an important part of Bosnian-Herzegovinian rural culture. It is encountered during all village celebrations and other types of

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gatherings intended for recreation and pleasure. Among the questions often asked are: what is the primary activity, music or dance (Gregory 1997, 125), and what is the role of musicians in the performance of folk dances? According to John Blacking, "the close link between movement patterns and music-making is a process of enculturation and learning, of execution, of perception and of aesthetic appreciation" (1979, XIX).

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, playing instruments represented a tool that the musician used to transform intention into a musical sign. A specific type of instrumental performance might occur not only within the confines of a particular custom, but also as a part of an "unofficial" occasion. It is therefore difficult to answer the question of how the intention of the musician was understood by his (rarely her) listeners. These listeners, stimulated by the music, reacted via a process of decoding. Fieldwork has shown (Krajtmajer 1995; Talam 2013) that members of a specific community in which a particular instrument was used were "taught" to understand the playing in a standard fashion. The performance of a dance (*kolo*) melody led to the expected outcome – dancing – while playing a song melody was a signal that singing should begin.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the *kolo*, a ring or circle dance, is the fundamental form of dance. "It is an unbroken ring of dancers who grasp one another by the hand, the shoulder or the waist in an imagined circle, the kolo" (*To je neprekidni niz plesača koji se po zamišljenoj kružici – kolu međusobno drže za ruke, ramena ili pasove*, Zebec 2005, 124). The names of certain traditional dances directly indicate the gender, sex or age of the dancers, the occasion on which it is performed, its accompaniment, the direction of dancing, the ranking of the dancers, the number of steps, types of steps, the dynamics of dancing, the name of a place or region, the first line of the song sung during dancing, or the names of people who are believed to have originated the dance. A *kolo* may be performed with or without musical accompaniment, which may be vocal, vocal-instrumental, or instrumental. Instrumental accompaniment for dancing varies from region to region. In Herzegovina, dancing may be accompanied by the *dvojnice* (double-flute)[1] or the *diple s mijehom* (bagpipe),[2] and in the most southern area (Neum and surroundings) by the *lijerica*[3] as

1 The *dvojnice* consists of two tubes bored in a single piece of wood with a double mouthpiece that directs breath into both pipes. Two types of *dvojnice* exist, differentiated by the number and arrangement of their holes: the Bosnian type with four holes on the right side and three on the left, and the Herzegovinian type with three holes on the right and four on the left. The repertoire consisted of pastoral and travelling tunes, and traditional dances typical of particular regions (more in Talam 2013, 171–173).

2 *Diple s mijehom* has a double chanter with two separate single reeds. The double chanters vary by the number of holes in their pipes. The following variants have been recorded in Bosnia and Herzegovina: *diple* with six holes on each pipe (6:6), *diple* with six holes on one pipe and two holes on the other (6:2), and *diple* with six holes on one and one hole on the other (6:1) (Rihtman 1967, 131).

3 The *lijerica* is a chordophone instrument of the short-necked lute type. It consists of a resonant body covered by a wooden board, and a neck and head carved from a single piece of wood. The lijerica has three strings stretching from the lower part of the body to the top of the instrument. It is only used in

well. In central Bosnia, dancing mostly occurs to the accompaniment of the *dvojnice*, the *bugarija* or *šargija*,[4] and occasionally the *diple s rogom* (single pipe with a horn).[5] In the northwestern area of the Bosnian Krajina, dancing was generally accompanied by the *dvojnice* or *šargija* and in its central area by the three-stringed *tambura* as well. In addition to these instruments, the *muzikice* (mouth organ)[6] has had a presence in the musical tradition of Bosnia and Herzegovina for almost a century and a half. It was played in upper Herzegovina and central and northern Bosnia (Talam, 2013, 159). In the Bosnian Posavina and northeastern Bosnia, dancing was to the accompaniment of the *bugarija*, *šargija* or *polusaz*,[7] as well as ensembles of the *zurna* and drum.[8] It is important to mention ensembles consisting of the *šargija* and violin, or two *šargijas* and violin. These ensembles exist in central Bosnia as well, mostly in places near the Bosna River.

The role of musicians in dance performances was and is very important. The performance of a dance melody is judged by the performance of the dancers, as the quality of their dancing is dependent on the player and his performance. The role of musicians in this context has changed over time, but unfortunately, it has never been the subject of research by Bosnian ethnomusicologists. The research material for this study consists of sound and video recordings that I made during fieldwork between 2004 and 2016. In recent decades, local cultural and artistic societies have been working to revive the local dance tradition, in which folk musicians played an important role. Nahachewsky states that "'re-vival' suggests a dance tradition that 'lives again' as its participants try to invoke it from the past" (Nahachewsky 2006, 163). Different approaches are encountered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially when it comes to the role of musicians in performing traditional dances. In this paper, I look at two examples: the KUD "Biseri Bjelašnice" and the Croatian KUD (HKUD) "Rodoč" from Rodoč near Mostar.

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settlements in the southeastern part of the Neretva *polje*, Neum and its hinterland. In the last twenty years, this instrument can also be found in western Herzegovina (Talam 2013, 86–87).

4 *Bugarija* and *šargija* are chordophone instruments of the long-necked lute type. The *bugarija* has four strings, while the *šargija* may have four to six strings. The strings of both instruments are tuned to three pitches: g, c and f. Both are generally used as solo instruments. In some places the *bugarija* and *šargija* are played together. Over the last eighty years or so, the *šargija* has frequently been paired with the violin (Talam 2013, 211–212).

5 The *diple s rogom* or *rognjače* has a single chanter with an idioglot reed and an extension in the shape of a horn. Performance on a single *diple* has been unusual in live folk music performance over the last five decades (Rihtman 1967).

6 The *muzikice* belongs to the group of aerophones with rows of free reeds.

7 The *polusaz* belongs to the group of larger chordophones of the long-necked lute type. The number of strings varies, ranging from six to eight, and they are tuned to three pitches: g, c and f.

8 *Zurnas* (shawm with a double reed) and drums play together in ensembles (usually of two *zurnas* and two drums), and they have a completely new role in the folk music of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Zurna* ensembles are very distinctive in their attitude, appearance and behaviour, and they are followed by their audience with great interest (see Talam 2013, 174–176).

2. A glance into the past

Traditional dances and the music accompanying them are not just an expression of the need of humans for creativity, play and recreation, but expressions of the spiritual state of a person as well as his or her taste, character and skill at innovation. In different contexts they emerge as social and cultural needs. They play an important role in certain ceremonies, customs and festivals, as well as at public, social and other types of events enjoyed by people in particular communities.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina the most common type of village social gatherings on winter evenings were *sijela* or *prela*.[9] *Sijela* were organised for recreation, but also for the sake of communal activity. The villagers would gather in certain houses and perform certain tasks together, such as spinning wool, knitting, etc. Both older and younger persons would attend these gatherings. There was singing and playing of instruments on these occasions, while the younger attendees also danced. The circle dances were accompanied by songs or by musical instruments. The songs that were sung during dances were of varying content and were performed by all those present. At gatherings held indoors, the dancing was generally accompanied by *dvojnice* and later on by the mouth organ (Talam 2013, 218–219). The *dvojnice* seemed to have been "the most widespread and our favourite traditional musical instrument" (*najrašireniје i najobljubljenije naše pučko glazbalo*, Marić 1939, 73). Musicians always carried them with them so they could play whenever they wished, in order to express their own feelings or accompany traditional dances. The musicians were villagers who continuously upgraded their skills at playing an instrument. Their performing skills contributed to their social status. Special attention was given to the players who were invited to play during *sijela*. The assessment of a musician's quality and instrumental prowess called on special criteria, which reflected an aesthetics of sound. One of the important criteria was technical ability in performance. At such parties, musicians could play whatever they wanted, and their performance mostly depended on the mood of those present.

Dance parties represented the most heavily attended and the most compact gatherings in a village. They had unwritten codes of conduct determined by tradition and to which all of the attendees adhered. Both young men and women danced at the parties, as well as older people. In certain areas, tradition did not permit young men and young women to dance in the *kolo* together; instead, men and women danced in separate *kolo* rings. In the Dinara area, only the oldest female child was permitted to dance at these events. Her participation in the dance was a sign that she was of marriageable age; a younger sister could dance only after her older sister had married (see Ivančanin 1963, 99). Children never participated in the "main" *kolo*. They usually formed their own ring to one side, and acquired their first dancing skills in that way. Those who did not participate in the dancing – generally older people who spoke about the dancers and their behaviour as well as about other events related to their community – would gather

9 *Sijela* or *prela* (sing. *sijelo*, *prelo*, pl. *sijela*, *prela*) are traditional village winter gatherings at which peasants gathered to socialise and work.

around the dancers. One of the important determinants of these dances was a diminution in the usual social differences, as both the rich and the poor danced together. Such events were usually organised in the summer. Young men and women usually gathered at a threshing floor (*guvno* or *gumno*) – an ample open space and the main location for social events organised in the village (Talam 2013, 219).[10] In addition to these dances, *teferiči*[11] were organised in eastern Bosnia, and *derneci*[12] in central Bosnia and Herzegovina. These *teferiči* or *derneci* were organised in meadows or other spacious areas and involved various activities, from tournaments (shot put, tug-of-war, etc.) to singing and dancing and sometimes even bullfighting, in which bulls were pitted against one another in a test of strength and endurance. Nevertheless, dancing was one of the most significant activities and involved the largest number of participants (see Talam 2013, 219).

When attendees gathered in the dancing area, they waited until the musician arrived. The *kolo* circle formed around the musician, while the manner of dancing and its dynamics were adjusted to his performance. This all happens still today. Ivo Petričević (born in Šćit in 1938) stated that people wait until the musician starts to play, and "as soon as I start to play, everybody starts to dance the *kolo*" (*Čim zasviram svi se u kolo uhvate*, Petričević 2008). Stjepan Vrdoljak (Derventa 1927 – Zenica 2012) stated that between the two world wars, young people did not have much time or space for pleasure: "They gathered in an open space, and the party would begin only after the *šargija* player arrived. Then the playing and dancing would begin. If there was no *šargija* player, the young would leave and there would be no party" (*Okupljali su se na otvorenom prostoru, a veselje bi počinjalo tek sa dolaskom šargijaša. Tada bi počinjala svirka i pjesma. Ukoliko ne bi bilo šargijaša, omladina bi se razišla i ne bi bilo nikakve zabave.* Vrdoljak 2004). According to Hasan Bikić (Rahić 1963), the arrival of the *šargija* or *polusaz* player marked the beginning of the party. The attendees could decide whether a particular song or *kolo* was to be performed before the start (Bikić 2009). This was a more relaxed type of gathering compared to the *sijelo*, where young women and men expressed their feelings towards persons of the opposite sex. By singing comic or satirical verses, everybody could express their feelings. One particularly important dance was the *Biračko kolo*, which was always performed at such gatherings. This dance allowed young men and women to choose a partner and thus come into contact with the person they were attracted to. This type of dance thus played an important role, as it was used to choose a future husband or wife. According to Luka Medar (born in Sitnica in 1948), "people used to

10 A *guvno* or *gumno* is a place where grain is threshed. It is usually constructed of clay, but in areas rich in limestone, it is paved with flagstones and surrounded by a small stone wall. Grain is threshed on the *gumno* using a hand flail, or by using draft animals (horses or bullocks) tied to a wooden column in the centre of the *gumno*.

11 *Teferič* (pl. *teferiči*) is a word of Turkish origin denoting a mass excursion to the countryside for the purpose of entertainment.

12 *Dernek* (pl. *derneci*) denotes a social gathering attended by a large number of people. They were organised to celebrate religious holidays and other occasions (Vrdoljak 2004, Petričević 2008).

improvise rhyming verses on the spot. In that way, they 'outsang' one another to the accompaniment of the *tambura*. People engaged in courtship and rivalry by competing in song" (*Ljudi su u momentu smišljali stihove koji imaju rimu. Tako su se natpjevavali uz tamburu. Natpjevavanjem se i udvaralo i svađalo.* Medar 2008).

Dancing followed the dynamic of the music, and dance moves changed in response to changes in melodic motifs. In these situations, the task of the player was even more complex. Tomislav Kovač (born in Široki Brijeg in 1972) believes that on these occasions the *dvojnice* or *diple* player took the role of leader. He needed to analyse the situation minutely and determine which type of playing would best suit the dancers (Kovač 2008). Dances held in an open space, as well other types of public parties, demanded the participation of more than one musician. The role of leading player was always taken by an experienced musician who knew how to evaluate the situation and determine which type of performance would suit the dancers at any specific moment. This role could be performed only by capable and experienced players, whose playing skills were already respected by the members of the community. They were middle-aged and older players of which performance skills were based on many years' experience. Musicians who lacked sufficient experience and had not yet developed a personal style did not take an important role at larger gatherings. In order to be able to take the position of main musician, younger musicians observed and evaluated the situation and in that way developed their own opinions.

Music and dance had a very important role during weddings. A wedding is a very important event in the life of an individual, the moment when a couple formally commits to leading their lives together. Zebec states that "weddings are important rituals by which personal identity is confirmed, along with [...] collective, local identity" (Zebec 2005, 327). Weddings are therefore planned and organised with exceptional attention to detail. Preparations required the engagement of one or more musicians, depending on the financial situation of the family organising the wedding. Wedding songs and dances were functionally related to certain parts of the wedding, so the exact time and place for the performance of a specific song or dance were known. Guests at the wedding ceremony would gather in the groom's home and then leave to fetch the bride. In northeastern and eastern Bosnia, the custom was for loud music to be played on the journey from the bride's house back to the groom's house. At the front of the wedding procession was the *čajo*[13] with a *klepalo*, or wooden clapper:

13 The *čajo* or *čauš* is the leader of the wedding procession.

The *čajo* carries a clapper, which he uses to announce the beginning of the wedding ceremony, when the guests at the wedding ceremony are to take their seats, giving the wedding presents to the bride, the wedding revenue and to produce a rattling sound which used to have a ritual meaning, but is only used today to entertain the guests.

Čajo nosi drveni čekić kojim lupa da bi najavio polazak svatova, oglašava kad svatovi treba da sjednu, izvikuju mladine darove, svatovski prinos i uopšte pravi lupu i galamu koja je nekada imala ritualno značenje, a danas služi za uveseljavanje svatova. (Kajmaković 1974, 78–79)

In parts of the Bosnian Posavina and northeastern Bosnia, the wedding procession was led by an ensemble of *zurnas* and drums. Omer Bikić believes that without these ensembles, the wedding would not be complete: "It is said that if drummers are present, it is a big *pilav*,[14] and if there are no drummers, it is a bit weaker" (*Kaže se – ako imaju bubnjari to je veliki pilav, a ako nema bubnjara to je malo lošiji*. Bikić 2007). Loud and uninterrupted playing was demanded of the players. According to Krajtmajer, the term "travelling" (*putničke*) refers to the music performed on the way from the groom's home to the bride's home and back.[15] From a musical point of view, wedding tunes, vocal melodies and music played on journeys have no substantial differences. Apart from the "travelling" tunes, instrumental performances with a vocal background are present only during dancing. For this reason, a slightly greater degree of freedom and expertise was present in the performance of *zurna* players, as these were related to movements, and the sound of drums could be heard uninterruptedly, with elaborate introductions and interludes (see Krajtmajer 1995, 122).

After the wedding and wedding breakfast came the distribution of gifts to the bride. This part of the custom was followed by singing or a *kolo* danced to songs, which was performed by young women, who moved in a circle to the song (*kolanje*). These were mostly performed without any instrumental accompaniment. The songs that were sung for such dances were functionally tied to the custom of gift-giving. During the song, certain members of the wedding party

14 *Pilav* is a part of the wedding ceremony.

15 Vinko Krajtmajer's research covers the area of northeastern Bosnia. In other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a "travelling song" (*putničke pjesme*) denotes a style of old-fashioned singing performed by one or two men while they are walking or travelling. One of the singers calls to the other with his singing, while the latter responds, also in song. According to Matija Murko, travelling songs were sung by travellers, shepherds tending their flocks or workers performing certain jobs. "That kind of player puts a finger in his ear or places his palm on it, so that his singing would be louder (in that way, it is very loud)" (*Takav pjevač turi prst u uho ili na nj položi dlan, da bi mu pjevanje jače odzvanjalo (tako mi vrlo zvoni)*. Murko 1951, 225). Travelling songs were sung on other occasions as well: family celebrations, weddings and during the celebration of religious holidays.

(best man, father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother of the groom and others) were called on to give gifts to the bride and other young women in the *kolo*. This was followed by a dance to sung accompaniment inviting the brother of the groom to lead the bride into the dance. Such dances functioned as an introduction to the wedding dance, during which different *kolos* with alternating vocal-instrumental or instrumental accompaniment succeeded one another. The musician frequently took on the role of leader during the performance of the dance. Dancers followed the dynamic of the playing, while their dance steps changed in line with changes in the melodic motifs of the dance melody.

The role of wedding musician could only be performed by experienced and competent players who were already known to their community. They continuously improved their playing in their own fashion and thus developed an individual style of playing. Gifted individuals composed new tunes to which the dances were performed. Those new tunes were usually named after the musician who composed them, or after the occasion at which they were performed for the first time, and thus became part of the tradition. Such musicians were not only tradition bearers but also its transmitters and intermediaries in the teaching of new generations.

The broad socio-economic changes that occurred in the period after the Second World War had a significant impact on the life of people in smaller communities. The number of people living in villages declined. Adverse economic conditions and migration caused cultural changes. Customs slowly disappeared from traditional practice and the music and dance that had been a part of a patriarchal way of life along with them. *Sijela* are still organised today, but their function is not the same. They consist of gatherings of middle-aged people who meet to socialise and relax and do not involve dancing. Dances as once organised have not been present in traditional practice for a long time, but *teferiči* and *derneci* continue to take place, albeit in a different form. Unlike in the past, *teferiči* are now organised by individuals or groups whose aim is to make a profit. They are advertised in the media and on billboards erected where they can be seen by the public. Professional traditional musicians, popular singers from Bosnia and Herzegovina and neighbouring countries, and sometimes local cultural-artistic societies are invited to perform at *teferiči* and *derneci*. Unlike in the past, when musicians stood in the middle of the circle of dancers or nearby, the new type of *teferič* assumes that the music will be performed on a stage with heavy amplification. Because the musicians do not interact with the potential dancers, a dance begins when those present feel the need to dance. It is therefore irrelevant whether a particular dance melody is played or whether the song follows the dance, only whether a dance can be performed to the existing music. The performance of the musicians on these occasions is no different from their performance on other occasions. Musicians do not assume the role of leaders, nor do they adjust their performance to the attendees. They perform a pre-rehearsed repertoire to a predetermined programme. In the years that followed the 1992–1995 war, Bosnian refugees who made their new homes in western Europe or the USA have organised *teferiči* that in their form and content resemble those held today Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Wedding ceremonies, which were once highly complex with regard to their detailed composition, are no longer organised according to rules established by custom. Over the last few decades, weddings may be civil (where the marriage ceremony is conducted before a municipal official), religious (where the marriage ceremony occurs before a minister of religion), or both, with the reception that follows being held at a home, restaurant or wedding venue. Small, professional vocal-instrumental ensembles consisting of three to five players are hired for the wedding celebrations. Musicians do not usually have a formal music education but are either self-taught or have acquired their skills as members of cultural-artistic societies. Such ensembles lack a standard composition in terms of instruments. Some have an accordion, guitar, *basprim* or *brač*, double bass and violin, while others consist of accordion, synthesiser, guitar, violin and drums. These ensembles are designed for performances at different types of parties, including weddings. Their repertoire is very diverse and consists of traditional songs from Bosnia and Herzegovina and other ex-Yugoslav countries, urban standards and newly-composed songs, as well as local pop music. It is evident that the music does not function formally as part of the wedding ceremony itself, although the musicians know from personal experience how to evaluate the situation and determine which performance suits the attendees at any particular moment. Each set lasts for about an hour and is followed by a 10- or 15-minute break. This type of schedule – longer sets followed by shorter breaks – is followed throughout the whole celebration. Musicians perform a well-known repertoire with a pre-determined set list. It is interesting to note that traditional circle dances (*kola*), mostly from Serbia (for example, the *Moravac* or *Užičko kolo*), constitute only a small portion of the repertoire and are mostly performed at the end of each set. The dances are preceded by songs of varying content to which it is possible to dance the *kolo* or other types of dance that do not belong to the tradition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

3. Social status of folk musicians

Traditional musicians played a very important role in society. That role was especially notable when they took part in customs and different types of celebrations. Generally speaking, in the past, the social status of musicians depended on the community of which they were members, the instruments they played, and the contexts of their music-making. *Dvojnice*, *diple* and *šargija* players were never professionals nor did they receive money for their playing. Rihtman concluded that playing for reward "was tolerated when penniless musicians played, but such a musician would never enjoy high social status in either rural or urban areas no matter how talented he was, because professional performance was not considered to be an honourable job" (*tolerisalo kada se radilo siromašnom sviraču, ali takav svirač nije mogao da postigne svojom svirkom neki ugled ni u seoskoj ni u malovaroškoj sredini, ma kako on bio obdaren, jer se profesionalno bavljenje svirkom nije smatralo časnim zanimanjem,* Rihtman 1982, 264). Recent research has demonstrated that the status of musicians has changed over time. Since the middle of the 20th century, good musi-

cians have been able to make money at dances parties. Dancers would "order" a musician to play a particular dance, which meant paying in advance, and the price was not precisely determined. The practice of "paying for a dance" still exists today, especially at weddings.

Zurna players and drummers had a special status. According to the data available, these were Roma musicians, and playing these instruments was not considered an honourable occupation. Omer Bikić explained his father's attitude towards traditional musicians and his own social status:

> In the 1960s, one of the drummers spotted me and said that they needed a musician. I tried playing with them and it went well. I had rehearsed with them for two months, and then on the first of May, 1962, we went to a *pilav* (part of the wedding ceremony). We earned so much money that when I came back home and took the money out of my pocket, my father said: "I cannot take it, my child; you must have stolen it somewhere." I said that we did not steal it, but that we earned it. My father did not let me play because he considered it to be a job for Gypsies. Usually, Gypsies played more than Muslims, but that changed – I guess because of money. And that is how I learned how to play an instrument with my friends, musicians. They were all older people and they were dying, but I started to teach others, and when the time came, I taught my son. We sometimes play on these pipes. From the 1970s to the 1980s, I could make a living from my music, and it was a good living. When this war came, it messed up everything.
>
> *Šezdesetih godina me vidio jedan bubnjar i rekao da im fali jedan svirač. Prob'o ja s njima i dobro ide. Probavo ja s njima dva mjeseca i onda 1.05.1962. iđemo negdje na pilav. Zaradili para toliuko puno da kad sam donio pare kući i istreso iz džepa, otac viče: 'Ja to ne smijem dijete uzeti, vi ste to pokrali neđe.' Ja mu kažem nismo pokrali, mi smo zaradili. Otac mi nije davo svirat jer je to bio ciganski pos'o. Obično su prije više svirali Cigani nego muslimani, pa se to onda počelo prenositi valjda radi para. I tako sam ja oto naučio sa otijem mojijem sviračima. Oni su bili stariji ljudi, pa su oni ondar umirali, a ja sam ondar počeo druge podučavat i došlo je vrijeme da sam i ovog mog sina podučio. Znamo mi zasvirati na ovim sviralama. Od sedamdesetih do osamdesetih sam mogao živjeti od muzike i živio sam dobro. Kako je doš'o ovaj rat, on je to pobrk'o.* (Bikić 2007)

Krajtmajer's research showed that in the second half of the 20th century the musicians in ensembles consisting of *zurnas* and drums were members of various different ethnic groups. The reason for this is the great popularity of these ensembles as well as the money they could earn at weddings and other celebrations.[16] However, their social status has not changed because there

16 To emphasise their social and material status, wealthy people hired ensembles that were very popular outside their local communities as well. In addition to the financial compensation they received from the hosts, the musicians were often also rewarded by the wedding guests.

has been no change in the public perception of music and musicians. In the past 20 years, two categories of musicians can be found in practice. The first category consists of middle-aged and older musicians. They normally play only one instrument and their performance is based on orally transmitted knowledge and many years' experience of playing. Their skill as performers contributes to their social status. The second category is made up of musicians who usually play several different instruments. They often perform before an audience as members of folklore groups or cultural-artistic associations (KUDs).

The strict social and moral norms of patriarchal life included the unwritten rule that the use of traditional musical instruments was not acceptable for women. Female musical practice took place "between four walls", far from the public eye. In order to enrich their musical expression and to compensate for the missing instrumental accompaniment, women used various household objects to produce sounds, such as *kašike* (wooden spoons), *fildžani* (coffee cups) and *tepsija* (a low-sided baking pan). Jelena Dopuđa noted that some dances are performed to the accompaniment of spoons and *fildžans* being struck. She stated that "women danced with this kind of accompaniment when they did not have any other" (*ženske osobe igrale uz ovakve pratnju kad nisu imale drugu svirku*, Dopuđa 1951, 30).

Ethnomusicological research has shown that in some local communities women did play musical instruments, including the *muzikice*, *gusle* and *harmonika* (accordion) (see Talam 2013, 159, 210). Dopuđa noted that dancing to mouth organ accompaniment also occurs "in villages if there are no players there, so the women themselves accompany their dancing with this instrument. We observed this in Pale in the 'Ravno' and 'Romanijsko' dances, which were performed only by girls from that area" (*i u selima ako nema u selu svirača, pa i same ženske osobe na tom instrumentu prate igru. To smo vidjeli u Palama u igrama 'Ravno' i 'Romanijsko', koje su izvodile same djevojke iz toga kraja*. Dopuđa 1951, 30).

In the last thirty years, women in some rural communities have also been playing chordophones of the long-necked lute type as well as aerophone instruments. One such female musician is Marica Filipović (born in Lug-Brankovići in 1965). As an eight-year-old girl, Filipović taught herself to play the *dvojnice*. In her village, as in many others, women did not play musical instruments whatever their ethnic background. Filipović said that she had problems with her father because it was considered "shameful for women to play an instrument". She learned to play the *dvojnice* while looking after the sheep. "It is best to play while you are with your flock of sheep. Shepherds' *dvojnice* tunes are slower and you can make as many mistakes as you want to until you have learned. Later, I started playing traditional dances. Now I play everywhere, and everyone is proud of my playing today" (*Najbolje je svirati dok si sam sa stadom. Čobanske svirke na dvojnicama su sporije, a možeš i griješiti koliko hoćeš dok neuvježbaš. Kasnije sam počela svirati kola. Sada sviram svugdje, ali danas se svi ponose mojom svirkom*. Filipović 2008). Besides the *dvojnice*, Filipović also plays the *bugarija* and *šargija*. She is very popular, is the president of the local KUD and often plays at local celebrations, folklore festivals and other events where the folk tradition is presented.

Fig. 1: Marica Filipović, *bugarija* player. Photograph by Kristina Čustonjić. Lug-Brankovići, Bosnia and Herzegovina. 21 July 2016. Used by permission.

Generally speaking, modern times have created a somewhat different picture. Instruments nowadays can quite often be found in the hands of women. This has led to stereotypes and conventional thinking being abandoned, as well as to creative impulses in new generations of women who, unlike male performers, feel that they can nurture and transmit forms of playing with the same devotion.

4. Folklore on stage

Performing folklore on stage has more than a century of history in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first ethnic national cultural and singing societies were formed during the period of Austro-Hungarian rule (1878–1918), such as the "Napredak" Croatian cultural association, the "Prosvjeta" Serbian educational and cultural society, the "Gajret" Muslim educational and cultural society, the "Lira" Jewish choral society and others. After the Second World War, the new Communist government banned the activities of societies formed on an ethnic basis. The goal was to develop the idea of the "brotherhood and unity" of the people of Yugoslavia. Following a cultural policy model from the Soviet Union, the creation of a socialist culture in Yugoslavia was

dependent upon folk heritage and folklore societies. It was believed that folk art, and especially music and dance, would provide the best foundation for the popularisation of amateurism and the development of a "culture of the broad masses", by which workers, peasants and the "advanced intelligentsia" would be brought together and united into a single "working people" (Marošević 2010, 14). Numerous local folklore groups were established in rural areas and KUDs in the towns.[17] The folklore ensembles of these associations became the most important performing ensembles to present the dance tradition:

> A few KUDs (the minority) were categorised as *izvorni* KUDs (meaning "from the spring or a pure source", signifying traditional) because they performed using traditional instruments and costuming and focused on the preservation and performance of a single repertoire, while others (a majority) were called *stilizatsia* KUDs (meaning stylised, that is, allowing the use of modern instruments and stage costumes), which performed a pan-Yugoslav programme of two hours in length. Village folklore ensembles, existing outside the urban-oriented state system, were encouraged to preserve and perform their own folklore, meaning that associated with the ethnicity of their village (Maners 2006, 83).

In 1966, the Union of Cultural-Educational Associations of Bosnia and Herzegovina was formed, which was responsible "for administering and distributing funding to the more than four hundred KUDs in the republic", but also to evaluate the work of cultural-artistic associations and organise folklore festivals (Maners 2000, 303). The repertoire of the folklore ensembles of cultural-artistic associations of the city of Sarajevo was prepared by employees of the Institute for Folklore Studies of Sarajevo. There were no formally educated ethnochoreologists or choreographers in Bosnia and Herzegovina at that time. Jelena Dopuđa was in charge of studying folk dances at the Institute.[18] She acquired her knowledge through ongoing informal education and long-term field research. She created a large number of choreographies calling on a combination of knowledge and experience gained through field research, and the creativity with which she set her special stamp on stage settings of folk dances. For many years, this work was done by amateur folklorists.[19]

17 In urban areas, KUDs were often sponsored by large companies.

18 The first Bosnian ethnochoreologist, Jelena Dopuđa (1904–1987), devoted almost her whole working life to collecting and studying the folk dances of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of the 43 choreographies that are in her legacy, only twelve were performed. A large number of these choreographies have not been in the repertoire of folklore ensembles for a long time.

19 They conducted field research together with ethnomusicologists and ethnologists and conducted education informally through folklore schools or seminars organised in Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia. In addition to Jelena Dopuđa, Hajrudin Hadžić Hadžija (1927–2008), Vaso Popović (1936–2005) and the still active Miroslav Šilić were also well-known Bosnian choreographers.

When folklore is presented on stage, folk art becomes separated from the immediate cultural context, and there is no interaction between folklore processes determined by tradition and the lives of individuals and communities. The stage performance involves the artistic shaping of folklore material, meaning the creation of a choreography as a unique phenomenon in which music, dance, costumes and dramatic elements are combined. Ethnomusicologists, musical pedagogues, and sometimes composers were in charge of the artistic transformation of the musical accompaniment, arranging the melodies of folk songs and instrumental melodies of folk dances for folk[20] or *tamburica* orchestras. Research has shown that the arrangements were more or less distant from the stylistic and performance features of the original melodies.

Folk ensembles of cultural-artistic associations performed exclusively choreographed dances. The dancers in the folklore ensembles were amateurs, younger people who learned dances at rehearsals. Professional leaders were in charge of the work of folklore ensembles, music sections and orchestras. As stated by Pettan, "Ethnomusicologists assumed various roles in these processes: providing the ensembles with musics and dances collected in the field, writing musical arrangements and/or choreographies, singing, playing instruments and/or dancing, leading the ensembles and touring with them" (Pettan 2008, 86). Folklore ensembles have made a great contribution to the shaping "of the experience of urban folk, giving them a cultural memory of a time and a place (premodern rural life) they may not have personally experienced" (Maners 2006, 86). Analysis of the available recordings and other documentation demonstrates that most of the choreographies were performed to musical accompaniment by an orchestra or band. The repertoire of the folklore ensembles of cultural and artistic societies included representative choreographies from each of the Yugoslav republics, which leads to the conclusion that "in the post-World War II era of socialist Yugoslavia, folklore performance became not so much celebration of ethnic identity as celebrations highlighting the cultural diversity within the unity of the new Yugoslav nation" (Maners 2000, 305).

Unlike urban folklore ensembles, rural folklore groups performed dances spontaneously, as an actual memory of the music and dance that was a part of everyday life. Village folklore groups were oriented towards rehearsal and stage performance of a single programme consisting of local songs, instrumental melodies and dances. The folklore groups were led by prominent individuals who were deeply versed in the local folklore tradition. Folk musicians who were considered the best in a certain local community were given charge of the musical accompaniment. At the end of the 20th century, certain stylistic procedures found in choreographies and arrangements of music created by the artistic transformation of local traditions were adopted in some rural areas. These changes were more evident in the dance performance than in the musical accompaniment.[21]

20 Folk orchestras are non-standardised ensembles consisting of one or more accordions, violins, clarinets, guitars, bass guitars and sometimes other instruments.

21 There were rare examples of rural folklore groups dancing to the accompaniment of a folk or *tamburica* orchestra.

Ceribašić believes that stage performance is an inseparable and unquestionable component of the concept of stylisation (Ceribašić 2009). The stage as a unique space replaced the space of tradition that took place in everyday life. By performing folklore on the stage, the spontaneity of folk musicians and dancers was replaced by amateurs who expressed their love for folklore by performing choreographed dances or their musical accompaniment, or as a professional activity by people who created and trained folklore ensembles and orchestras.

5. Revival of the tradition through stage performance

Over the past two decades, a large number of rural folk groups and KUDs have been founded in villages with the intention of preserving and performing their local folkloric tradition (see Maners 2006, 83). Some of these rural groups went further, as they "sought to return to an earlier lost but retrievable past, reinterpreting and discovering source material" (Buckland 2006, 206). Unlike the repertoire that consisted of choreographies and stylised traditional scenarios, it is now more often presentations of traditional customs or a part of a custom once characteristic of the community within which the rural group or cultural-artistic society functions that are given stage representation. Of the numerous examples that I have seen at folklore festivals, special attention should be paid to the following: a stage performance of the wedding ceremony from Umoljani (a village on Mt. Bjelašnica near Sarajevo) performed by the KUD "Biseri Bjelašnice", and a stage performance of a celebration performed by the Croatian KUD (HKUD) "Rodoč" from Rodoč near Mostar.

The stage performance of a wedding from Umoljani was an attempt to reconstruct a traditional wedding, which is no longer practised. At the present time, only a few people live in the village, and they tend be from the older generation. The KUD "Biseri Bjelašnice" was founded in 2004 in Trnovo, a small place about 30 kilometres from Sarajevo, by people from Umoljani and nearby villages. Several enthusiasts, using their own recollections and information collected from older people, recorded the way the wedding was once performed. They devised a presentation on stage using the music and dance that were functionally linked to parts of the wedding custom.

At the point when a dance should have occurred with instrumental accompaniment, no musician appeared on stage. The accompaniment, played on accordion, was pre-recorded and played back during the performance. After the festival, I asked the leader of the ensemble why the accompaniment had been recorded on accordion, and why the musician was not on stage. I received the following responses: a) Dancing was always to the accompaniment of an accordion. b) Their association does not have a musician, so they found someone to play the dance melodies so that they could be played back during each performance. The directors of the performance on stage had therefore disregarded two very important details: the extremely important role of the musician in wedding customs, and the fact that accordion was not a traditional instrument in rural practice.

Fig. 2: Stage performance by KUD "Biseri Bjelašnice". Vogošća, Bosnia and Herzegovina. May 2008. Photo archive of the association. Used by permission.

The stage presentation of a *dernek* performed by the HKUD "Rodoč" was intended to represent a local celebration at which dance was one of the most important activities. Unlike the performance by "Biseri Bjelašnice", which had been prepared by people of the middle generation, the presentation of the *dernek* had been organised by younger people (up to 30 years old). The performance had been preceded by research into the existing literature and available sources, as well as years of field research. The result of these efforts was a well-developed stage performance in which all details were taken into account. Dance and the music accompanying it were continually present, as they had been traditionally performed during a *dernek*. The performance began with "travelling" singing followed by the *Kolanje* and *Biračko kolo* sung round dances followed by round dances with instrumental accompaniment. The musician (Jure Miloš) stood in the middle of the ring of dancers and very skilfully changed melodic motifs, which the dancers followed by changing their dance moves. He first performed dances on *dvojnice*, and later on *diple* (bagpipe). While he was changing instruments, the *mala trusa* circle dance was performed, with no accompaniment.

The stage presentation of the *dernek* demonstrated that choreographer Vedran Vidović (also the leader of the folklore ensemble) has a broad knowledge of folklore in all of its aspects and has practical experience field research as well as the ability to understand, develop and apply

the principles of staged folklore. Although Miloš is still very young, he demonstrated that he has sufficient experience for the task and has developed a personal style of playing. Through his performance on stage he underlined the important role of the leading musician.

6. In place of a conclusion

It may be concluded that, in the past, the performance of traditional dances in Bosnia and Herzegovina was closely connected to their function within the boundaries of custom and public celebrations. In more recent practice, dancing almost never occurs in the context of custom and the role of musicians has therefore changed significantly. Musicians who perform at public parties and weddings are mostly professionals with their own repertoire that they perform at every occasion. Given that they are present to perform a task, their professional behaviour does not allow them the possibility of interacting with dancers.

The presentation of folklore on stage in an organised and choreographed fashion, which began between the two world wars, was adopted by socialist Yugoslavia and upgraded with "a distinct promotion of folklore ensembles (located mostly in smaller and larger cities) (*izrazitim promicanjem folklornih ansambala (lociranih pretežno u gradićima i gradovima)*" whose repertoire consisted of original arrangements of folk music and dance (Ceribašić 2013, 63). Folklore ensembles and orchestras were led by prominent individuals whose work was honoured. Unlike leaders, the dancers and musicians in ensembles are amateurs and are not paid for their engagement, hence nurturing heritage is an amateur activity. It may be concluded that rural folklore groups and KUDs have become institutional bearers and promoters of the music and dance tradition. The transfer of folklore from its traditional environment to the stage has had certain negative consequences. Research has shown that in certain rural communities only the dances that were part of the repertoire of folklore groups have survived. Most of the local folk dances are no longer part of the living dance tradition. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, most KUDs retained only music and dance from Bosnia and Herzegovina in their repertoire, but because not many Bosnian dances had been choreographed, their repertoire became reduced in scope. In the late 1990s, well-known choreographies were to be found in the repertoire of KUDs, as were new choreographies that were often produced by former dancers whose knowledge of folklore (and general level of education) was very modest. Most of the new choreographies were created on the basis of already existing ones. They contain similar or the same choreographic patterns and also "adopt" sections of well-known composed choreographies.

Over the last ten years, significant changes have been observed in the work of certain rural folklore groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As in other countries, "concerned individuals began to take steps to preserve not only what they have learned from their own parents and grandparents, but cast their nets wider and deeper in order to preserve and bring back into the living tradition some forms of music and dance on the verge of extinction" (Kaeppler 2001, 194).

Thanks to individuals who initiated the revival of the music and dance tradition of their own local communities, new stage settings have been created that hark back to former days. Stage performances reviving earlier customs or gatherings at which the people would dance are now the only reminders of past times.

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Ulrich Morgenstern

Textural Event Density and Solo Multipart Instrumental Music for Dancing

Abstract

Observations on different local traditions of solo multipart instrumental music reveal a general tendency toward alternating textures, understood as comparatively short sections with a different number of simultaneous pitches. Absolute and relative *textural event density* are simple analytical parameters to measure the frequency of textural changes in a given piece of music in time or in relation to the beats. The mathematical procedure is close to Dieter Christensen's "inner tempo", even if the validity of the latter to measure "rhythmic vividness" is questionable.
In the present article, I compare local styles of traditional music for dancing with other socially meaningful non-dance genres with regard to their textural event density. I use historical recordings of a Russian double-hornpipe player and a Belarusian double-flute player, as well as two collections of Belarusian and Lithuanian solo violin (fiddle) tunes, representing dance and non-dance genres. The preliminary results of these necessarily small samples show that absolute and relative textural event density in dance music is higher than in instrumental (or mainly instrumental) genres with other behavioural contexts. This provides a reason to use and refine the analytical concept of textural event density for further corpus-based contrastive studies as well as for ethnographies of music-dance interaction in actual choreomusical events.

1. Introduction

Music and dance, as fundamental modes of human expressive behaviour, are interrelated in many ways. Music "is virtually universally associated with dance" (Nettl 2000, 468). Dance can be described as a "physical response" (Merriam 1964, 219–227) to musical impulses but also as an essential part of "intermodal choreomusical action" (Quigley and Mæland 2020, 83). A strict distinction between music and dance is contrary to anthropological evidence (Nettl 2015, 24; Fitch 2015, 7) – and to everyday experience. It is obvious that certain dance movements and gestures (stepping, hand clapping, slapping) are effective means of musical expression in their own right ("body music"). At the same time, essential playing techniques (drum beating, strumming, bowing) can be visually attractive to audiences and to fellow musicians as well. But playing

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techniques are only one aspect of musicians' bodily behaviour: "Many of the movements that musicians make as they play are not strictly necessary in order to produce the musical sounds. Instead, their movements seem to reflect their expressive intentions and the music they are playing" (Demos and Chaffin 2017, 342). Ethnomusicologists and researchers of popular music know from many different behavioural contexts that audiences may expect musicians to dance while performing on their instruments.

Dance is an important function of traditional instrumental music. For instance, historical evidence from 18th- and 19th-century Austria (ethnographic accounts, musical manuscripts) indicate that a great deal of instrumental repertoire was played for dancing. Dance is the third of Izaly Zemtsovsky's *three pillars* of music from oral tradition (lit.: *tri kita* – the "three whales" that the universe rests on in Nordic mythology). While "the sphere of 'narration'" (Zemtsovskii 2006, 7)[1] is associated with rhapsodic recitation, and the "sphere of the *raspev* [drawn-out chant]" (ibid.), with the melodic extension of the syllable, dance is based on "motoric and further rhythmo-melodics" (ibid.) and with "motifs [*popevki*] of instrumental dance tunes" (ibid., 7). When dance is a "core component of human musicality" (Fitch, ibid.), it is not surprising that the behavioural context of a given piece of dance music can very often be identified by listeners regardless of their cultural background (Mehr et. al. 2015).

In the present article, I shall discuss some texture-related expressive qualities of instrumental music for dancing. (Strictly speaking, the somewhat old-fashioned and superficial notion of "dance accompaniment" would be too narrow. Notably, traditional music does not accompany dance but is directly involved in it and interrelated.) For comparison, I will include non-dance genres of the individual or regional repertoires in question. I shall take my source material from selected traditions of solo instrumental music in Russia, Belarus and Lithuania. Furthermore, I shall consider insights in recent and contemporary dance music in Austria. I am particularly grateful to the untimely deceased Rudolf Pietsch (1951–2020), who was a highly experienced Viennese and Austrian dance musician, and also to Volker Derschmidt, Hermann Fritz and Stephan "Stoney" Steiner (*Hotel Palindrone*, Vienna) for their personal statements.

2. Music for dancing and music for listening

Instrumental dance music is frequently contrasted with other genres, such as music for listening, which may or may not share general features with dance music. Dance music can give birth to a whole repertoire, or even genre, in which the motoric character is reduced or entirely eliminated. The Carpathian Ukrainian *Hutzulka*, for example, is known as a dance tune but may also be played for listening: "Even the compositions for violin solo (such as 'music for listening' […]), re-

1 According to editorial standards, I use the transliteration *Izalii Zemtsovskii* in bibliographical references to Russian texts.

tain, beside the melodic line, rhythm-harmonic elements including double notes, chords, open-string drone, and foot-tapping on every strong beat of the bar" (Macijewska 2022, 190–191).

Other prominent examples from traditional music are the southern Norwegian *lydarslåtter* (listening tunes). In Austrian folk music, instrumental yodels, played at a very slow tempo and reminiscent of *Ländler* melodies only in their overall structure, are called *Arien*. The predominant function of the *Weana Tanz* (Viennese dances), which flourished in the late 19th century, was not to accompany dance but to entertain guests of taverns and *Heurigen* (Deutsch and Weber 2010, 19–21).

However, the distinction between dance and non-dance music is anything but trivial. While the dominant function of dance music is, naturally, to stimulate dance, Rudolf Pietsch, observed that even at a full-fledged dance event not all those attending share the same priorities:

> Of course, music is made for "listening", and very frequently, at a dance party, you can observe persons who are only listening to the music, and not dancing. They do pay close attention to the musical-artistic quality of the music performance.
>
> *Natürlich ist Musik zum „Anhören" gemacht, und wie oft kann man bei einem Tanzfest Personen beobachten, die nur der Musik zuhören und nicht tanzen! Sie achten sehr wohl auf die musikalisch-künstlerische Qualität der Musikausführung.* (Pietsch 2012, 135)

In other words, a traditional musical event does not necessarily determine a hierarchy of functions valid for every participant in a similar way. The polyfunctionality of traditional music sometimes leaves the door open to different individual preferences and decisions. Pietsch's case for the aesthetic dimension of music for dancing is convincingly confirmed by the astonishing melodic variability of dance music in many parts of Europe and beyond. In one single small region of the Upper Austrian Salzkammergut, in the early 19th century, Johann Michael Schmalnauer notated 181 variants of the *Ländler Tänze*, 318 of the *Steyerer Tänze* and 125 of the *Schleinige Tänze* (Deutsch and Gschwantler 1994). This is far more than local musicians would need to provide a dance event with sufficient instrumental music. Melodic variability of traditional music is a powerful argument for the "function of aesthetic enjoyment" (Merriam 1964, 223) and against socio-centric determinism and the somewhat naïve preoccupation with the "primary function" (*Primärfunktion*) of vernacular music, developed in the tradition of German folklorist Ernst Klusen and his followers.

3. Structural characteristics of music for dance: inner tempo and absolute tempo

On which means of expression and which structural parameters does the danceability of a piece of music depend? Obviously, dance-related music genres depend on – and are recognisable through – *tempo*. When asked about how a performance changes from a non-dance to a dance

section, nearly all of the musicians mentioned above indicated an increased tempo. A rough estimate of the tempo of dance tunes (improvised *pliaska*) from four central raions (districts) of Pskov Oblast in Morgenstern 2007b reveals a range of between 82 and 163 bpm. When dance music was played not for the fieldworker but for dancers, the range narrowed to 114–152 bpm.

Ethnomusicologists long ago tried to develop measuring methods for rhythmic expressiveness. Discussing Günter Kleinen's measure of *event density*, Werner Goebl and Simon Dixon admit that "[s]imilar approaches linking performance tempo and the rate of performed notes were used also for ethnological approaches (Christensen, 1960)" (Goebl and Dixon 2001, 65). Dieter Christensen tried to objectively measure "factors of musical velocity" (1960, 9). However, his "melodic tempo", i.e. "No. of progressions x 60 / duration in seconds" (1960, 9), prioritising melodic movement "is too one-sided and mechanical to yield satisfactory results" (Kolinski 1960, 15).

Christensen's "inner tempo" ("No. of tones x 60 / duration in seconds", 1960, 10) takes into consideration all rhythmic impulses regardless of their melodic pitch quality. The problem of measuring the actual "intensity of music" (ibid., 9) in this way is not only the possible different rhythmical density in different parts of a piece (Reinhard 1959, 230) and the neglect of the dynamic articulation of rhythmical impulses. The weakest point in Christensen's method is his assumption that the intensity of music depends on a high number of rhythmic impulses. I test this assumption below (Figs. 1–4) by analysing two emblematic pieces, a dance and a non-dance tune from traditional instrumental music in northwestern Russia, and considering the individual repertoires of balalaika and button accordion players.

Russian traditional instrumental genres (including instrumental-vocal performance with the leading function of the instrumental part) can be divided into non-dance music – typically a local tune played for processions at parish fairs, for sitting together in spinning rooms, or to bid farewell to recruits – and music for dancing, particularly for male solo or competitive dance (*pliaska*). The expressive character of the former genre (often called *pod pesni* 'for songs', as opposed to *pod pliasku* 'for dance') is dominated by emotions of sorrow and suffering (*zhalostlivost'*, cf. Morgenstern 2018, 48–50). Song texts indicate intimate dialogue and lyrical narration. This is also the most suitable genre for solitary music making (Killick 2006, Morgenstern 2018, 36). The tempo is moderate. The *Novorzhevskaia* to be discussed here ranges from 93 to 116 bpm (cf. Morgenstern 2007b).

To compare the inner tempo of the *Novorzhevskaia* and *pliaska* tunes, I took all the transcriptions in Morgenstern 2007b from those musicians who demonstrated both tunes, or genres. There are five balalaika players and four accordionists. For the analysis I have not considered a few sections with too unstable tempo. In the case of slight tempo variations (up to 7 bpm), I used the average tempo for the calculation of the inner tempo. I have also not included sections in which the instrumentalist is singing and (maybe) is not able to fully concentrate on his playing.

Musician	Russkogo / Pod pliasku	№	Novorzhevskaia	№
V. Afanas'ev	341.05	84	369.43	16
	281	89		
	392.73	96		
A. Leonov	353.63	90	401.04	19
P. Matveev	336	92	434.7	20
L. Ivanov	353	86	347.58	18
A. Sandalov	387	100	364.69	21
	247.5	105		

Fig. 1: Inner tempo in dance and non-dance music (balalaika).[2]

Musician	Russkogo / Pod pliasku	№	Novorzhevskaia	№
I. Efimov	391.37	79	374.22	9
	447	107		
A. Fedotov	336.38	93	403.22	10
N. Grigor'ev	285.25	8	351.98	11
F. Vasil'ev	325.5	83	399.13	13
I. Vasil'ev	412	95	420.82	14

Fig. 2: Inner tempo in dance and non-dance music (accordion).

Musician	Russkogo / Pod pliasku	№	Novorzhevskaia	№
V. Afanas'ev	132–138 (135)	84	100–107 (102.75)	16
	150	89		
	144	96		
A. Leonov	130[3]	98	100–101 (100.25)	19
P. Matveev	144	92	108–116 (114)	20
L. Ivanov	144	86	97	18
A. Sandalov	129	100	97.25	21
	120	105		

Fig. 3: Absolute tempo in dance and non-dance music (balalaika).

2 № indicates the transcription number in Morgenstern (2007b).

3 Measured from line 10.

Musician	Russkogo / Pod pliasku	№	Novorzhevskaia	№
I. Efimov	138	79	100	9
	149	107		
A. Fedotov	138	93	99	10
N. Grigor'ev	163	80	100–107	11
F. Vasil'ev	93	83	92–95 (93)	13
I. Vasil'ev	103	95	98–101 (99.75)	14

Fig. 4: Absolute tempo in dance and non-dance music (accordion).

The comparison shows that two of five balalaika players prefer a higher inner tempo in the Novorzhevskaia than in the *pliaska* tune, two others maintain both a lower and a higher inner tempo in different *pliaska* renditions, and only one (L. Ivanov) prefers a higher inner tempo for the dance tune. Three out of five accordion players play the Novorzhevskaia at a higher inner tempo than the dance tune. It follows that Christensen's inner tempo is not necessarily an indicator of "rhythmic vividness" (*rhythmische Belebung*) as Kurt Reinhard (1959, 229) believed. Quite often the inner tempo is higher in performance situations where participants are not dancing but sitting together and sometimes are even close to tears, given the intimate situation of the *pod pesni* genre.

The idea that event density is inversely proportional to tempo is not new. Austrian conductor Stephan Höllwerth (2007, 237) paraphrases Sergiu Celibidache's claim that pieces with a higher event density require a lower tempo: "According to this understanding, a process with a high event density requires more time to be perceived and comprehended than one with a lower event density" (*Nach dieser Auffassung benötigt ein Geschehen mit hoher Ereignisdichte mehr Zeit, um wahrgenommen und verstanden werden zu können, als eines mit niedriger Ereignisdichte*).[4] In the case of our balalaika and accordion players, the same logic works in the opposite direction. Of course, they do not depend on the decision of a conductor who prescribes a suitable tempo. The initial impulse is the traditional social situation, which encourages or requires music of the *pod pesni* genre. Its moderate tempo offers the performer a possibility for elaborating event density with frequent and extended semiquaver passages.

Much more important for the vividness of a choreomusical event is not the inner but the absolute tempo, which is directly interrelated with the tempo of the dance rhythm. However, even from the perspective of musical style, it is likely that a quick alternation of short quaver and semiquaver sections must be much more stimulating than extended semiquaver passages. All the Austrian musicians I was able to consult emphasised the importance of an appropriate choice of

4 Höllwerth has borrowed the concept of *Ereignisdichte* (event density) from Kleinen's dissertation (1968).

the tempo by dance musicians. This is a critical issue in contemporary practice, as many experts complain about an excessively fast tempo in concert as well as in dance performances (Pietsch 2012, 136–137). Like many others, Pietsch strongly recommends that dance musicians need to be familiar with the dance steps if they are to engage in a successful interaction with the dancers.

Articulation. Besides a suitable tempo, Pietsch identifies a strong articulation of both the melody and the supporting rhythm section as a condition for a successful choreomusical collaboration: "Sharply detached tones and accentuated staccato playing alternating with short slurs raise the joy of dancing and also give the musicians the necessary pleasure in the effect of their playing" (*Scharf abgerissene Töne, betontes Staccatospiel im Wechsel mit kurzen Bindungen heben die Tanzlust und bringen auch dem Musikanten selbst die nötige Freude an der Wirkung seines Spiels*) (ibid., 137). (Pietsch's description of effective dance music again indicates an inner tempo which is not too high: expressive effects emerge from short, not long, slurs.) When musicians want to transform a non-dance section into a form suitable for dancing, beside the tempo, the rhythm section (bass and off-beat, in Austrian German: *Nachschlag*) has to accentuate the metre (dance musician and musicologist Hermann Fritz, Vienna, e-mail 13 March 2018). Similarly, Stephan Steiner emphasises the "use of bass, percussion or a loud, prominent melody instrument" (*Einsetzen von Bass, Percussion oder einem lauten, deutlich markierenden Melodieinstrument*) (e-mail 19 March 2018).

Melodics. Musical stimuli for dancing are not necessarily always linked to rhythmic expression. As Felix Hoerburger puts it: "Dance music in its initial meaning is first of all stimulation, not a timekeeper and formal prescription. The dancer doesn't want to be regulated but animated and excited" (*Tanzmusik in ihrer ursprünglichen Bedeutung ist in erster Linie Stimulanz, nicht Taktgeber und Formvorschrift. Der Tänzer will nicht reglementiert, sondern angeregt und aufgeregt sein*) (Hoerburger 1966, 85). One marker of (and stimulus for) heightened emotion in dance music is a prolonged (or repetitive) high pitch in the framework of instrumental dance music with a narrow range. An audio recording of the *Diplós Horós* by Wolf Dietrich (CD 2005, № 17), with the *tsabouna* player Jorgos Katsapháros and the drummer and singer Stélios Antonákis from Chios, clearly shows the emotional response (a shout) of the latter to the prolonged and repeated higher fifth played by the bagpiper. Precisely the same type of *instrumental exclamation*, as I would call it, is known from a historical audio recording of a bagpiper from the Suiti region of Latvia, playing for dancing, with similar response (yelling) from the dancers. Balalaika dance tunes in the old drone style very often include similar sections with the repeated and ornamented fifth (an octave above the dominant drone).[5] Another melodic trait of traditional instrumental music that is clearly interrelated with dance is the continuous repetition and microvariation of short motifs or motif pairs. Such instrumental styles are or were widespread in the Mediterranean, the Balkans, Eastern Europe, the eastern Black Sea region and Scandinavia.

5 Examples are the *Kamarinskaia* (Fig. 5), and Aleksei Leonov's *Sumetskaia*, mentioned below.

Multipart texture. The choreomusical significance of a clearly articulated main melody has consequences for the economy of musical texture. According to Pietsch, unison and octave unison are preferable to an "overloading with accompanying and contra voices" (*Überfrachtung mit Neben- und Gegenstimmen*) (Pietsch 2012, 138). It follows that elements of multipart texture, stimulating dancers, sometimes have to be more subtle. This is particularly true when we consider "solo multipart instruments" (Morgenstern and Ahmedaja 2022b, 14). These instruments can be bound to a stable "unified texture" (Morgenstern 2015, 23) or employ a capacity for "alternating texture" (Morgenstern 2015, 30–37). Given the nearly total dependence of contemporary traditional Austrian dance music on an ensemble encompassing one or more melodic voices and a rhythm section,[6] we have nevertheless to keep in mind that, from an historical perspective, solo multipart playing for dancing was very widespread and doubtless effective (Morgenstern 2017, 79). Hermann Fritz has convincingly shown this not only by drawing on 18th-century sources (cf. ibid.) but also in his own practice as a violinist at dance workshops with Simon Wascher.

Less obvious is the *drone* as a stimulus for dancing. However, the ubiquitous presence of drone instruments in traditional music of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period is indicative of this functional connection. During my fieldwork in the Pskov region in 1995, the balalaika player Aleksei Leonov (1927–2008) made clear statements about the significance of the drone (the open middle string) for the danceability of his music (Morgenstern 2007a, 99–100).

In the following section, I will discuss a particular aspect of *multipart texture* in dance music of different types and propose a possible analytical parameter. In doing so, I will use the term in a narrower sense, referring to the number of pitches used simultaneously, i.e. as monophonic, biphonic, triphonic, etc. textures. The source material will be drawn from selected local traditions of solo instrumental music in Russia, Belarus and Lithuania. The main focus will be on instrumental styles with *alternating textures*. With the chosen parameter, the frequency of textural changes in dance music compared with non-dance genres can be measured.

4. Textural event density

Textural change is fundamental to the expressive quality of a piece of music and extensively discussed in music theory, notably in the works of Wallace Berry: "Within structural segments both large and small, the rate at which texture changes in the course of progression and recession is a vital aspect of expressive effect" (Berry 1976, 201). The significance of textural change in solo multipart instrumental music entered my mind quite a long time ago when I encountered comparatively rare ethnomusicological transcriptions of balalaika tunes – and since 1988 also

6 Following Pietsch, "the use of a rhythm section (bass and [harmonic] accompaniment) in Austrian dance music is a must" (*ist der Einsatz der Rhythmusgruppe [Bass und Begleitung] in der österreichischen Tanzmusik ein Muss*) (Pietsch 2012, 136).

in direct contact with traditional musicians from Belarus and Russia, starting with button accordion and balalaika player Ivan Iŭleŭ (Haradok Raion, Vitsiebsk oblast), who was invited on the initiative of Alexander Romodin to Leningrad for concerts and audio recordings. I noticed that (unlike concert balalaika players) traditional balalaika players have a taste for a continuous change of texture, which cannot be explained by the playing techniques of the instrument or the direction and character of the main melody. In the *Kamarinskaia*, which Andrei Kabanov recorded in the upper Don region from Ivan Konovalov (Fig. 5), the player switches from a diphonic to a triphonic texture, even if the instrument (tuned in the older unison-fourth tuning, here e^1 – e^1 – a^1, and continuously played in strumming technique) offers both possibilities. For instance, the second melodic degree b^1 most often is included in the triad e^1-$g♯^1$-h^1 but sometimes can be supported by the continuous drone e^1 alone – and the same with e^1-$c♯^2$ and e^1-a^1-$c♯^2$. In other balalaika tunes, the melody switches from the a-string to one of the lower e-strings or initially is located on the tetrachord e^1 – $f♯^1$ – $g♯^1$– a^1, and a melodic tone $g♯^1$ is framed by a higher b^1 and the lower e^1 (Fig. 6, lines 1–3). Here the triad is a by-product of the melodic movement and not the result of the musician's taste for textural contrast. Sometimes textural contrast (bi- or triphonic rendition of one and the same tone) emerges from improvisation (see the chordal accents in Aleksei Leonov's *Sumetskaia* in Morgenstern 2007b, 370–372).[7]

Contrasting texture in balalaika playing was new to me, since for many years I had been more familiar with the largely over-virtuousic, concertante arrangements for balalaika and piano and the derived (simplified) styles of Western balalaika enthusiasts. Even a short glance at ethnomusicological transcriptions of old-time *pliaska* tunes with balalaika tuned in unison plus fourth (for instance, Sokolov 1962, № 9, 12, 13, 16, 17; Morgenstern 2007b, № 86, 87, 88, 92, 96, 98–100, 105), as well as drone-based tunes from other genres (Morgenstern 2007b, № 39, 73, 74) on the one hand and arrangements for concert balalaika (with the same tuning) on the other, indicates that the occurrence of changes in texture (monophonic, biphonic, triphonic, etc.) is higher in traditional music.

7 However, it is not always easy to distinguish dyads from triads in balalaika paying by ear. That is why, I have to admit, in an older transcription of the same *Kamarinskaia* (Morgenstern 1995, 203–204) I overlooked a certain number of full triads that were recognisable only in the spectrogram, notably the full triad e^1-a^1-$c♯^2$ on beat 3. Consequently, the texture of the piece looks more improvised than it is in reality.

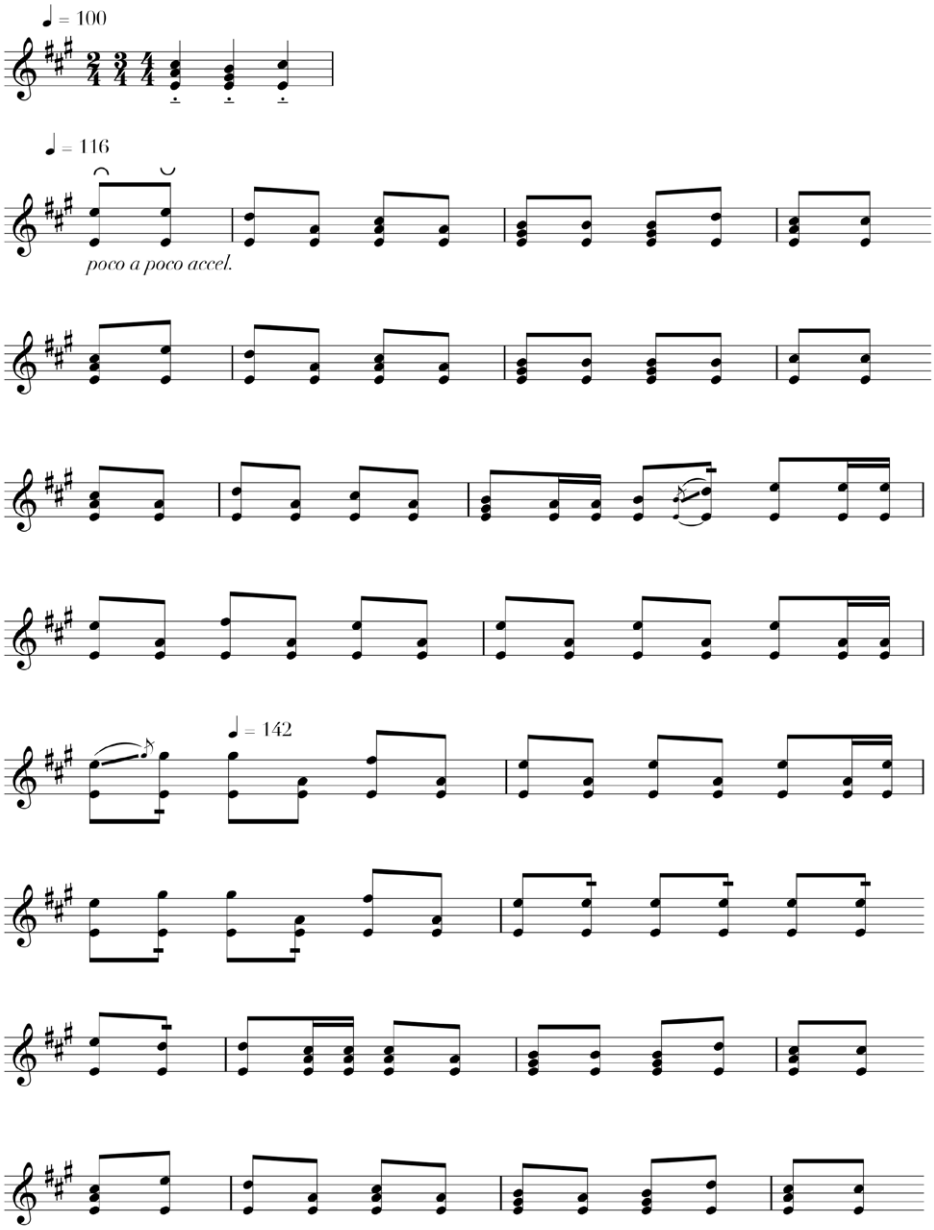

Fig. 5: *Kamarinskaia* (balalaika, e^1 – e^1 – a^1), played by Ivan Konovalov (1904–). Field recording by Andrei Kabanov in Migulinskaia, Verkhnedonskoi Raion, Rostov Oblast, 1983. Transcription by Ulrich Morgenstern (cf. Morgenstern 1995, 203–204).

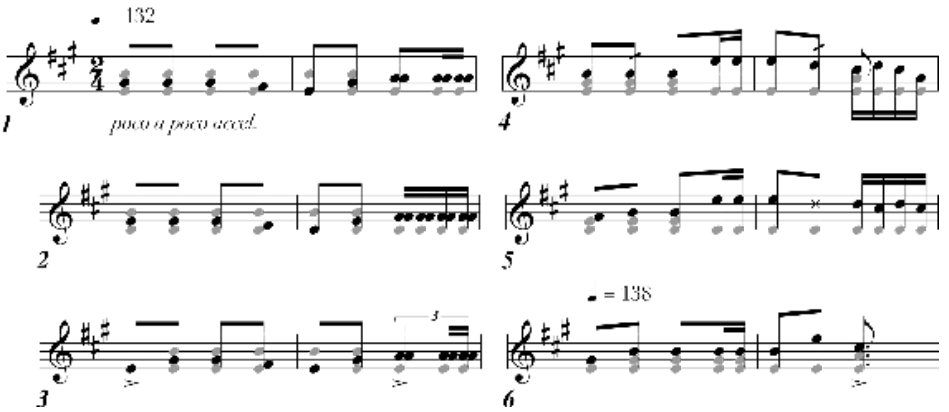

Fig. 6: *Barynia* (balalaika, c¹ – c¹ – f¹, here transposed a major third higher), played by Vasilii Afanas'ev (1922–). Field recording by Ulrich Morgenstern in Vëska, Novorzhev Raion, Pskov Oblast, 30 November 1995 (Morgenstern 2007b, № 84). What can be identified as the main voice is shown in black noteheads.

The occurrence of changes in texture, evident from the example cited above, can be easily measured as *absolute textural event density* in changes per minute (cpm) with the following formula:

$$\text{Absolute textural event density} = \frac{\text{no. of changes x 60}}{\text{seconds}}$$

The formula is derived from Christensen's inner tempo and corresponds to Kleinen's event density (*Ereignisdichte*) (Höllwerth 2007, 237, fn. 184), the only difference being that it measures not melodic progressions (Christensen) but textural changes. It raises methodological questions when applied to music with different event densities (and therefore, different dynamic intensities) in different parts of a piece (ibid.). These differences may be not too high in traditional dance music, as "folk musicians often keep intensity at one level" (Slobin 2011, 12), and the same holds true for instrumentation, texture and playing techniques.

Let us briefly return to another Russian example as represented in fundamentally different styles. Compositions and arrangements for the concert balalaika, unlike traditional music, are based on sharp textural contrasts between phrases and longer sections but with fewer textural contrasts within short units such as motifs, motif pairs or short phrases typical of traditional dance music. Comparing the arrangement of the *Kamariskaia* by Aleksandr Shalov (1927–2001, cf. Konov 2012, 44–50) with Kabanov's field recording from the Don region, we find that the textural event density of the field recording is nearly three times higher than that of Shalov's arrangement:

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Absolute textural event density of Konovalov's *Kamarinskaia*:[8]

$$\frac{61\text{x}60}{36.62 \text{ seconds}} = 99.95\text{cpm}$$

Absolute textural event density of Shalov's *Kamarinskaia*:[9]

$$\frac{72\text{x}60}{127.14 \text{ seconds}} = 33.98\text{cpm}$$

Textural event density is calculated in relation to the absolute duration of a given piece of music. It is necessarily always dependent on the tempo of that piece. To eliminate the factor of tempo, it is possible to measure only textural changes in relation to the beat. The *relative textural event density* is expressed in changes per beat (cpb):

$$\text{Relative textural event density} = \frac{\text{no. of changes}}{\text{no. of beats}}$$

The comparison shows that the *Kamarinskaia* from the oral tradition still has a textural event density more than double that of the concert version in regard to the beats, regardless of the actual tempo:
Relative textural event density of Konovalov's *Kamarinskaia*:

$$\frac{61}{90} = 0.67 \text{ cpb}$$

Relative textural event density of Shalov's *Kamarinskaia*:

$$\frac{72}{246} = 0.29 \text{ cpb}$$

In the following section, I shall compare textural event density in dance and non-dance genres of traditional instrumental music of Russia, Belarus and Lithuania. I will analyse both individual repertoires of particular musicians and larger corpora, based on existing collections. The categorisation of the behavioural context (the presence or absence of the dance function) is based either on my own fieldwork or on general knowledge presented in the respective collections. I will choose solo instrumental styles in which textural change is clearly recognisable and constitutes an independent expressive quality, based on deliberate actions by the player, who can choose between different textural qualities.

8 The piece is measured from the fifth (full) line onwards, where the tempo becomes more stable. Here and in the following, all values are rounded off to the second decimal place.

9 I used the score in Konov (Ed. 2012). As the composer has not given precise tempo indications, I have measured a performance by Mikhail Senchurov on the *YouTube* channel ФНИ СПбГК of the Faculty of Folk Music Instruments of the Saint Petersburg Conservatory (see Shalov 2021).

Russian and Eastern European double reedpipes with single reeds[10] (mostly hornpipes called *dvoinaia zhaleika*, locally: *pishchiki*, *trost'ianki*, cf. Shchurov 1983, Morgenstern 2010) are of particular interest to the study of textural change. Anthony Baines, in examining Armas Otto Väisänen's transcription of the *Kazachëk*, speaks with great admiration of the textural work of the Mordovian hornpiper: "The players achieve a rich mixture of drone, harmony, and true polyphony" (Baines, 1960: 49, cf. Morgenstern 2019, 444). The construction of the Mordovian *nud'i* is identical to that of the southern Russian *pishchiki*. Like many droneless double-chanter bagpipes (ibid., 443), they consist of two parallel pipes, tuned in unison and with an uneven number of finger holes, typically 5+3. Because the player nearly always covers or opens two adjacent holes simultaneously with one finger, the four lower tones can be played in unison, while the next higher tones can be played only in combination of one tone of the lower tetrachord. South Russian double-hornpipers made use of unison only rarely. In other words, the textural event density of their tunes is generally very low. From northwestern Russia we know transcriptions only of one double-hornpiper (Morgenstern 2010), Alexander Sokolov (1900–) from the Pushkinskie Gory Raion in the central Pskov Oblast. These recordings represent the two main genres of traditional Russian instrumental music: *pod pesni* and *pod pliasku*. Only the *Russkaia pliasovaia* belongs to the latter genre. The *Opochenskaia zadornaia* (a jaunty tune from Opochka) belongs to a functional variety of the *pod pesni* genre, the notorious *pod draku* ('for brawling'). It can be related to a rather clumsy fight dance (Morgenstern 2020),[11] which, however, has less in common with the virtuosic Russian *pliaska*. The comparison between dance and non-dance (non-*pliaska*) music in Sokolov's repertoire exhibits a significantly higher textural event density in the former.

10 Before the revision of the Hornbostel-Sachs system (MIMO 2011), instruments of this type were also known as "double clarinets".

11 Here I have to step away from the topic of this article for a moment. In referring to a recent article on a Russian combat dance and "martial arts" revival (Morgenstern 2020, 271), I admit that, in view of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, and in some way against the very idea of liberal democracy, the lines of conflict between Russian traditionalism and Western postmodernism have to be assessed differently. The Russian government, and even Patriarch Kirill I, who infamously celebrates the "metaphysical significance" of the current war, now use cultural criticism for the justification for war crimes unprecedented in Europe since the end of the Nazi regime. Notwithstanding this new context, the horrors of the Russian war give reason to reaffirm the case for an *ethnomusicology of violence* that does not ignore the deeply rooted cultivation of violent practices in pre-modern and non-Western societies (ibid., 265). The idealist credo "culture is not to blame" is no less selective and irrational than the postcolonialists' beliefs: "Since they look at oppression only in terms of colonialism, colonialism is all these scholars and activists are equipped to find" (Pluckrose and Lindsay 2021, 87). It is very hard to generalise on issues of Russian culture and violence. On the one hand, an unbiased folklorist can find disturbing analogies between jokes, popular narratives, *chastushki* and song texts, and sadistic practices (group rape and sexual torture) committed by Russian soldiers in the past and in the present. On the other hand, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Bulgakov remind us that horror in the face of violence is part of Russian culture in the same way that violence itself is.

Title (№ after Morgenstern 2010)	Beats	Textural changes	Tempo (bpm)	Textural event density	
				Absolute (cpm)	Relative (cpb)
Russkaia pliasovaia (7)	46	39	167	141.6	0.85
Starinnaia sviatogorskaia devich'ia (3)	67	33	155	108.83	0.49
Novorzhevskaia (4)	63.5	37	161	93.82	0.58
Opochenskaia zadornaia (5)	48.5	27	146–152 (149)	82.95	0.56
Starinnyi dedovskii motif (6)	32	15	182	85.31	0.47

Fig. 7: Textural event density in dance and non-dance (non-*pliaska*) music (double hornpipe).

In 1973, Belarusian ethno-organologist Inna Nazina (1937–2021) recorded the repertoire of I. A. Muraŭioŭ, the last known player of the local double duct flute (*parni dudki*) in the Mtsislaŭ Raion of the Mahilioŭ Voblast in eastern Belarus. The instrument was formerly known as the *svirel'* or *dvoichatka* also in the Smolensk Oblast, at the borderland of Belarusian and Russian dialects. The *parni dudki* consists of two flutes of different length, with 2+1 finger holes each. Due to the divergent playing position, and consequently separate fingering of the flutes, the player can freely combine monophonic and biphonic sections.

The two pieces published in Nazina 1989 (№ 141: *Rėkrutskaia*, №. 219: *Kamarytski*) represent a genre opposition (in terms of social function and musical style) more typical of European Russia than Belarus. According to the collector, the instrumental melody of the *Rėkrutskaia* (Fig. 8) corresponds to a local recruiting song (ibid., 628). However, there are striking parallels to other local instrumental forms of the *pod pesni* genre, for instance, in the northern Russian Komi region, the accordion part of the so-called *old pripevki of Ust' Tsyl'ma* (*Starinnye ust'-tsylemskie pripevki*) (Krasovskaia 1972, № 14): 4/4 | I I ii ii | I I IV IV | IV I ii ii | ii I I I |. This harmonic formula is very close to the second phrase of the *Novorzhevskaia*: 2/4 |: I ii | I IV :| and many other local tunes of the same genre in northern and northwestern Russia (sometimes with V instead of ii).[12] The *pliaska* tune *Kamarytski* (Fig. 9) can be easily related to the pan-Russian dance tune Kamarinskaia, known in eastern Belarus also as Old-Time Liavonikha (ibid., 639).

The textural event density of the dance and non-dance genre in the two eastern Belarusian flute tunes again confirms the considerably higher density of the former:

12 See also the tune *Pod rasskaz* ('for storytelling'), played on the southern Russian *pishchiki* double hornpipe (№ 1b in Shchurov 1983, 273).

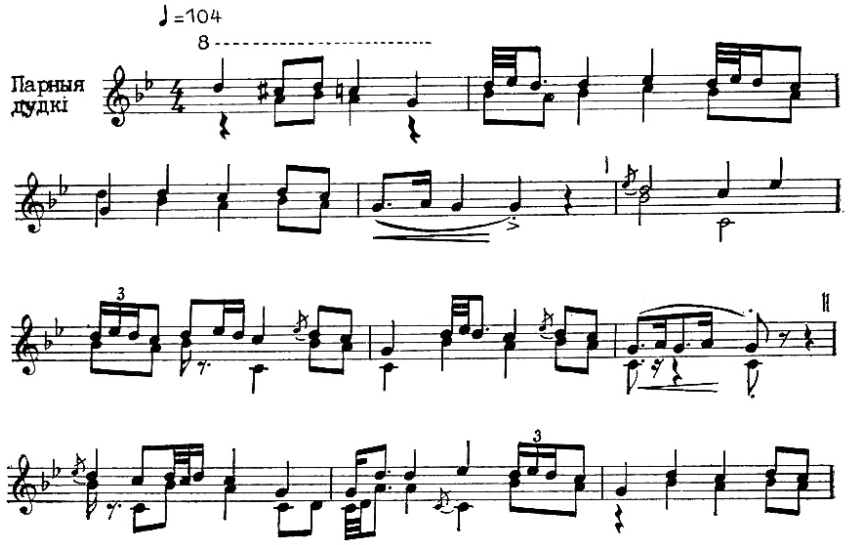

Fig. 8 *Rèkrutskaia* (double flute, lines 1–4), played by I. A. Muraŭioŭ (1895–). Field recording by Inna Nazina in Mtsislaŭ Raion of Mahilioŭ Voblast, 1973 (Nazina 1989, № 141).

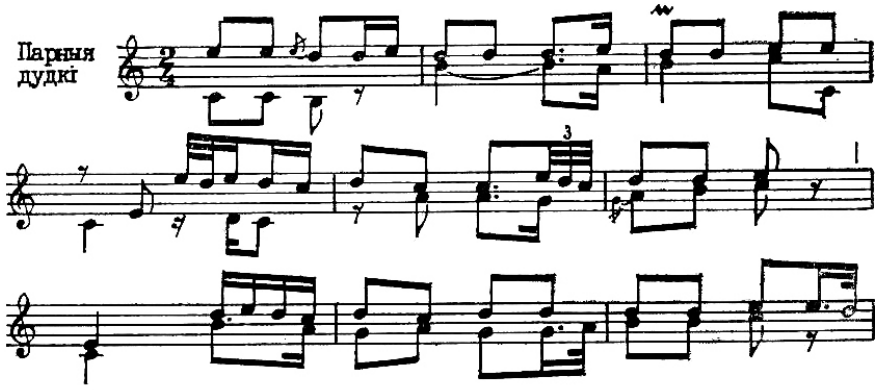

Fig. 9 *Kamarytski* (double flute, lines 1–4), played by I. A. Muraŭioŭ (1895–). Field recording by Inna Nazina in Mtsislaŭ Raion of Mahilioŭ Voblast, 1973 (Nazina 1989, № 219).

Title (№ after Nazina 1989)	Beats	Textural changes	Tempo (bpm)	Textural event density	
				Absolute (cpm)	Relative (cpb)
Kamaritskii (219)	96	56	128	74.67	0.58
Rekrutskaia (141)	172	43	104	26.3	0.25

Fig. 10: Textural event density in dance and non-dance music (double flute).

Until recently the violin was a widespread instrument in the traditional music of Belarus. In some regions, however, it only became fashionable in the late 19th century. The instrument was played in small ensembles, but also solo. When playing solo, the fiddler sometimes prefers biphonic texture (typically with a harmonically regulated drone on the next open string below the melody, cf. Morgenstern 2016, 105–108, cf. Fig. 11) but more typically produces a mixed monophonic-biphonic texture with occasional (and often improvised) use of the open strings (Fig. 12).

The genre system of traditional music in most parts of Belarus differs greatly from the Russian one. In the dance repertoire, pan-European dances such as the polka and the waltz have much more weight in Belarus than in Russia; however, the *pliaska* repertoire is highly developed as well. The non-dance sphere of instrumental music is largely dominated by the European tradition of wedding marches, which are nearly unknown in Russia. The main function of wedding marches is to mark the marriage as a public event when the participants of the ceremony move from one place to another. It appears that in most regions of Russia it is a group of female singers, rather than instrumentalists, who perform what Wolfgang Suppan describes as "annunciatory sounds" (*Bekanntmachungsschall*) (1983, 93–94).

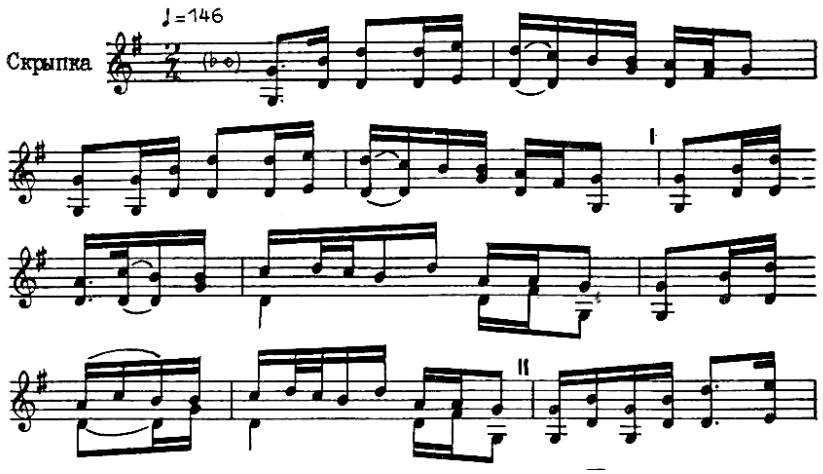

Fig. 11: *Miatsėlytsa* (violin, lines 1–4), played by I. I. Lychkoŭskii (1902–). Field recording by Inna Nazina in Cherven, Minsk Voblast, 1977 (Nazina 1989, № 198).

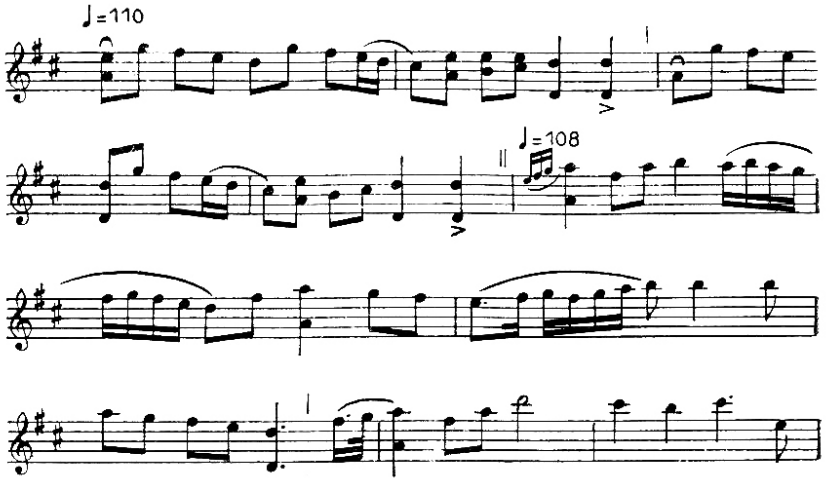

Fig. 12 *Pakhoŭdnyi marsh* (violin, lines 4–7), played by S. I. Stral'tsaŭ (1909–). Field recording by Inna Nazina in Tsitva, Pukhavichi Raion, Minsk Voblast, 1977 (Nazina 1989, № 163).

Summarising historical sources from Scandinavia and other European regions, Jan Ling has noted the historical dynamics of wedding dances: "Many creators of wedding marches tried to be modern, thus taking up the stylistic traits of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century popular music. The peasant fiddler was often aware of the new developments in art music, and assimilated and adopted them to his own musical environment." (Ling 1997, 56)

While Swedish wedding marches (*brudmarsch*) are typically far from military marches, Ling has observed a certain impact of this repertoire in a larger European context: "Sometimes nineteenth-century wedding marches can be found to have similarities to military marches" (ibid.). This is certainly true for some Belarusian wedding marches from Nazina's seminal collection, published in 1989. In that same year, during fieldwork conducted by Alexander Romodin in the village of Vyraŭlia (Haradok Raion, Vitsebsk Voblast), our group witnessed a wedding at which Nikalai Danilaŭ played Vasilii Agapkin's patriotic march *Farewell of Slavianka* (*Proshchanie Slavianki*), composed in 1912, on the button accordion.

As the behavioural context of wedding marches is typically walking and only rarely (if ever) dancing, it is not surprising that the average tempo of all wedding marches in Nazina's collection is 125.6 bpm. The tempo of the solo violin tunes analysed below is 105.36 bpm for five wedding marches and 139.93 bpm for the dances. To compare textural event density in solo violin paying in the main dance and non-dance genres of traditional music of Belarus, I used the 20 first dances and all five wedding marches in Nazina's collection. Textural changes based on units of a semiquaver or shorter are not considered, to exclude possible unintended textural events. Figures 13 and 14 show that in this repertoire, too, textural event density, which is largely

based on contrasting monophonic and biphonic sections, is strongly pronounced in dance music.

№ after Nazina 1989	Beats	Textural changes	Tempo (bpm)	Textural event density	
				Absolute (cpm)	Relative (cpb)
157	32	16	145	72.5	0.5
159	32	35	160	93.23	1.09
161	19	8	130	54.74	0.42
179	80	13	85	13.81	0.162
180	134	66	146	71.91	0.49
181	45	32	132	93.87	0.71
183	40	2	152	7.6	0.05
184 (from bar 21)	104	82	160–168 (164.62)	130.04	0.79
188 (from bar 48.5)	115	14	158–160 (159)	18.49	0.12
189	67	37	132–134 (133)	73.45	0.55
190	32	30	152	142.5	1.07
191	63	45	144	102.86	0.71
192	66	6	156	14.18	0.09
193	48	13	132	35.75	0.27
194	32	15	108	50.63	0.47
195	96	65	156	105.63	0.68
196	64	45	100	70.31	0.7
197	32	28	138	120.75	0.875
198	33	8	146	35.4	0.24
199	33	24	160	116.36	0.72
Average			139.93	71.2	0.54

Fig. 13: Textural event density in Belarusian dances (solo violin).

№ after Nazina 1989	Beats	Textural changes	Tempo (bpm)	Textural event density	
				Absolute (cpm)	Relative (cpb)
163 (from beat 33)	64	24	110–116 (110.82)	41.56	0.375
164	80	31	100	38.57	0.39
165	103	45	104	54.63	0.43
171	127	74	128	75.58	0.58
177	42	8	84	16	0.19
Average			105.36	45.27	0.39

Fig. 14: Textural event density in Belarusian wedding marches (solo violin).

In Lithuania, the traditional style and repertoire of the violin resembles that of Belarus in some ways; the playing techniques, however, are more elaborate. For instance biphonic playing is achieved not only by using open strings. According to Gaila Kirdienė "[t]he combination of a drone on the open one or two lower strings and sometimes on the upper string is very typical for eastern Lithuania, especially Dzūkija, and is also known in western Lithuania" (Kirdienė 2022, 106). Such a continuous shift from a lower to a higher drone is well known from Scandinavian solo fiddle traditions.

№ after Kirdienė (2007)	Beats	Textural changes	Tempo (bpm)	Textural event density	
				Absolute (cpm)	Relative (cpb)
14	128	91	120	85.31	0.71
15	288	115	120	47.92	0.4
16	192	97	120	60.63	0.5
17	192	63	120	39.38	0.33
18	128	31	120	29.06	0.24
19	128	58	124	56.19	0.45
20	192	54	122	34.31	0.28
21	288	166	120	69.17	0.58
22	160	69	120	51.75	0.43
23	64	21	122	40.03	0.33
25	48	29	124	74.94	0.6
26 (from beat 5)	328	162	152	75.07	0.49

27	104	45	132	68.54	0.43
29	144	62	126	54.25	0.43
30 (from beat 5)	252	153	120	72.86	0.6
31	63	39	116	71.8	0.62
32	64	29	132	59.81	0.63
33	64	42	116	76.13	0.65
34	64	41	122	78.16	0.64
35	96	57	126	74.81	0.59
36 (from beat 3)	128	43	131	44	0.34
37 (from beat 3)	97	75	125	96.65	0.77
38 (from beat 5)	80	54	126	85.06	0.68
39	122	53	122	28.13	0.31
42 (from beat 5)	72	30	148	61.67	0.42
Average			125.04	61.43	0.5

Fig. 15: Textural event density in Lithuanian *polkas* (solo violin).

№ after Kirdienė (2007)	Beats	Textural changes	Tempo (bpm)	Textural event density	
				Absolute (cpm)	Relative (cpb)
1 (from beat 9)	196	27	126–132 (127.59)	17.52	0.14
2	116	36	134	41.59	0.31
3	64	17	134	35.54	0.27
4	96	70	138	100.63	1.01
5 (from beat 2)	96	12	122	15.25	0.13
6	64	35	116	63.438	0.55
7 (from beat 2)	64	30	132	61	0.47
8	128	60	126	59.06	0.47
9	80	44	116	63.8	0.55
12	191	77	133	53.62	0.4
Average			127.86	51.14	0.43

Fig. 16: Textural event density in Lithuanian wedding marches (solo violin).

5. *Conclusions*

Textural event density, absolute and relative, is an analytical parameter which may reveal correlations of the musical texture of traditional solo instrumental music with its choreomusical function. Our preliminary samples seem to indicate an interdependence between the frequency of textural changes and the behavioural context of dance, both within individual and regional repertoires. Of course, this does not mean that increasing danceability is the only motivation for a musician to increase textural contrast. Even a cursory glance at traditional musics of Europe show that whenever a musical instrument offers the possibility for changing the number of pitches played simultaneously, alternating textures (cf. Morgenstern 2015, 22–23, 29) are more common than homogeneous, unified ones. Like the instrumental styles presented here, the *hardingfele*, the hammered dulcimer, the Uilleann pipes (with regulators), the accordion, and some types of the *launeddas* very often expose the musician's taste for textural contrast.

Considering the perspectives for further research, I have to admit that the parameter of absolute or relative event density itself, as an indicator of the average occurrence of textural change in a given piece of music, has at least four limitations.

First, it does not say too much about the textural rhythm, to be understood as "changes in texture […] expressive, in timing and in the nature of change" (Berry 1976, 201, cf. Morgenstern 2015, 37–38). Graphically representing and modelling these rhythmic qualities by refining the analytical concept of textural event density would be useful, notably for evaluating the degree of improvisation in this kind of music for dancing.

Second, texture, as measured in cpm and cpb, is defined by the number of simultaneous pitches. In this sense, the "rich mixture of drone, harmony and true polyphony" (see above) that Baines admired in the style of the double hornpipers of Mordovia would qualify as biphony. Distinguishing several biphonic sections, according to the underlying multipart technique, is not always easy, due to their inevitable ambiguity. It would be, nevertheless, a demanding task for the future to develop analytical procedures for alternating textures of every kind.

Third, the analytical concept proposed here is limited to solo instrumental performance, and it is not even applicable to every solo instrumental style. Thus the relative textural event density of a wedding march played on an accordion (Nazina 1989, № 174) would be close to 0.5 cpb, while the average in violin solo versions is 0.39). The reason is the stereotypical left-hand bass and chord accompaniment – not a deliberate choice between textural options, as in the case of the solo fiddler. Any participation of an accordion player or a guitarist with a similar accompaniment in an ensemble would considerably increase the measured textural event density. But the question is, would this necessarily increase the rhythmic expressiveness and danceability of the music performed?

Fourth, a correlation between instrumental texture and dance behaviour does not say too much about interaction in concrete choreomusical processes or about multipart techniques as a stimulus for choreomusical interaction.

There is no doubt that ethnomusicology could greatly benefit from including textural event density and textural rhythm in the multimodal analysis of traditional dance events. Unfortunately, with regard to the local and regional instrumental styles discussed here, this is not possible. Most if not all musical examples presented in this article were recorded outside their original contexts. Fieldworkers typically documented expressive practices of the past, and even if they did have the opportunity to witness a traditional dance event or a wedding celebration, portable recording equipment was not always available.

Regardless of all these limitations, an extended corpus analysis of solo instrumental multipart music at the analytical level proposed here would be desirable. But the question of choreomusical stimuli in instrumental music can only be solved on the basis of audiovisual *in actu* documentation. There are many regions in Europe and elsewhere where solo multipart instrumental music is regularly used for dancing, even if this is no longer the case in most parts of Eastern Europe and the Baltic states. All in all, choreomusicology provides promising opportunities for studying the real impact of textural event density and textural rhythm on danceability and, conversely, the possible impact of the dancers on these expressive qualities.

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Stefan Hackl

The So-Called *Zigeunerstimmung* – An Old Tyrolean Style of Playing Guitar

Abstract

During my research on the history of the guitar in Tyrol in the 1990s, I came across an old style of playing guitar, far away from the mainstream of Alpine guitar playing. It took time to discover the last witnesses of this formerly widespread tradition – a few old people, some of them no longer able to play. Encounters with individual guitarists scattered throughout the Tyrolean Unterland (the districts to the east of Innsbruck) were like pieces of a puzzle which, when put together, showed a picture of a former tradition that was unique in the Alpine region. Its main characteristic is an open tuning that allows a two-part melody to be played accompanied by open bass strings and a "bourdon" (drone).

Playing the guitar as a solo instrument (which is not very common in Alpine folk music because it is technically very demanding) can be realised here in its simplest form with two fingers of each hand, in the style of a diatonic instrument. This playing style is most commonly called *Zigeunerstimmung* (literally, 'Gypsy tuning'), which may be an expression of the strange and exotic, or it may refer to its dispersion by travelling musicians, but it has no link with ethnic groups such as the Sinti or Roma. Other designations are *freie Stimmung* (free or open tuning), *Tanzlstimmung* or *Melodiestimmung* (dance tuning or melody tuning, as opposed to the standard tuning for accompaniment) and *Weana Stimmung* (as a reference to the "Viennese tuning" of the zither).

The style most likely originates from the first decades of the 19th century, when the technique and sound of the older zither was adapted for the guitar – the Tyrolean *Urgitarre* (primordial guitar). This particular tuning is ideal for making music in an intimate setting: at home, in the alpine pasture, in the tavern. The repertoire mainly consists of song arrangements (also melodies from operettas and popular music) and dances.

In the course of my research, some musicians who had already given up playing were encouraged to play again, and some young musicians became interested in this almost forgotten way of playing. Now, two and a half decades after my first publications on the subject, the old players have largely died, but numerous musicians have been inspired by this old Tyrolean style of playing guitar and continue to spread it.

1. Introduction

Over the last three decades, Austrian guitar music has been a major part of my work as a musician, teacher and researcher. In the course of my activities I have also addressed local music practices, which are an important root of the classical guitar repertoire. Very little reliable information and few editions of guitar music concerning traditional Alpine music have been available hitherto, and so I started a project to explore and document the role of the guitar in the Alpine traditional music, systematically drawing on historical sources and fieldwork. Here I came across some traces of an almost forgotten tradition, one that is very different from the mainstream guitar style of the present: the so-called *Zigeunerstimmung* (literally, 'Gypsy tuning').[1]

This is the most common among a couple of different terms I came across. Some people called it *freie Stimmung* (free or open tuning), *Tanzlstimmung* or *Melodiestimmung* (dance tuning or melody tuning, opposed to the standard tuning for accompaniment), or *Weana Stimmung* (as a reference to the "Viennese tuning" of the zither, which is different from the *Münchner Stimmung* or "Munich tuning" used in Bavaria and western Austria), while some names referred to locations (*Angerberger Stimmung*, *Zillertaler Stimmung*). *Zigeunerstimmung*, for its part, may be an expression of the strange and exotic, or it may refer to its dispersion by travelling musicians (as reported by several people), but it has no link with ethnic groups such as the Sinti or Roma.

Zigeunerstimmung was almost unknown even among experts in Tyrolean folk music. Peter Reitmeir, Peter Moser and Otto Ehrenstrasser were aware of the fact that some guitarists had formerly played in different tunings, but they had no specific idea of the sound or style. It was only when Thomas Nußbaumer introduced me to his recent recording of the 80-year-old Willi Gianmoena (1919–2010) from Kitzbühel that I realised it was a document of a very special and fascinating tradition about to disappear. I set off immediately in order to find the last witnesses and to document and research the rest of this very individual guitar style.

2. A look back: traditional guitar music in the Alps

The guitar was established in its present shape and tuning around 1800. At that time, Vienna was a melting pot of different cultural influences from musicians from all parts of the Danubian Monarchy and also a metropolis of "Guitaromanie".[2] Numerous sets of *Ländler* and many ad-

1 Though political correctness of language was not an issue at that time, I have always tried to use this term with caution. But in practice and in reception by the media, *Zigeunerisch* ('Gypsy-like' or 'Gypsy-style') has prevailed as a popular phrase. Today the use of terms with a connotation of racism may be considered problematic, but it would not make sense to avoid this particular term or replace it with a different name. It has become strongly associated with the style we are dealing with.

2 "Guitaromanie" was the title of a publication by Charles de Marescot (Paris, 1829), which ironically

aptations of folk songs (variations on folk song melodies) by guitarists such as Anton Diabelli, Mauro Giuliani, Andreas Oberleitner and others were published at that time. After a crisis in the second half of the 19th century, the guitar saw a revival around 1900, which was inspired not least by the diverse practices of local music.

In traditional Alpine music up until the present, the guitar has been assigned the primary role of an instrument for accompanying songs and being part of various instrumental formations/ensembles. Images of Tyrolese minstrels such as the Rainer Family may serve as evidence for the use of the guitar since at least the 1820s.[3]

As a melody instrument, the guitar appears quite rarely. On the one hand, it is difficult to play, and on the other hand, it is not loud enough to compete with other melody instruments. Guitar solos are very unusual and mainly reserved for musicians with a background in classical guitar: Sepp Karl (1913–2003, Upper Austria), Fritz Engel (1904–2004) and his pupil Michael Haas (*1962, Tyrol). There are a few recordings with the guitar as a solo instrument, and there are some guitar duos and trios as well as some other formations in the genre of *Saitenmusik* (meaning plucked strings such as the zither, harp and dulcimer) or *Stubenmusik* (which may also include bowed instruments or woodwinds). It was largely Tobi Reiser (1907–1974, Salzburg) who determined the style of guitar accompaniment as well as of the guitar as a melody instrument in the 20th century. His influence on Austrian and Bavarian musicians was so dominant that other local styles were almost stifled.

This may be one of the reasons why the old Tyrolean style (the *Zigeunerstimmung*) fell increasingly into oblivion. Furthermore, this kind of guitar playing always belonged to the private sphere, inside the *Stube* (the living room of a farm house) and the cabins in the mountains. In public life (weddings and other social events), most of the musicians preferred louder instruments. Due to this lack of exposure, few guitarists were among the better-known musicians who broadcast on the radio or performed in front of a large audience, and it was therefore difficult to locate the last exponents of the old tradition. Little by little, often by chance, I was able to find a few people, most of them already in old age and sometimes no longer able to play. Lois Landegger (1916–1996), probably the most renowned of the old Tyrolean guitarists (and the only one to be documented on a vinyl record, see Landegger (No year), B), died a few weeks before my call. So it was high time to document the last remnants of this formerly widespread style.

It was exciting work. Much like a jigsaw puzzle, encounters with individual guitarists scattered all over the country formed the image of a singular tradition unique in the Alpine region. Nowhere else did the guitar as a solo instrument appear with such frequency.

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illustrated the enormous popularity of the guitar in the early 19th century. The rise of the six-string guitar in general and particularly in Austria is represented in detail in Hackl 2011, 27–90.

3 For the history of the guitar in Tyrol, see Hackl 1996a.

3. The research project

Supported by Thomas Nußbaumer, I was commissioned for a research project by the Institut für Musikalische Volkskunde at the Universität Mozarteum Salzburg (department Innsbruck, led by Josef Sulz). In 1995 I began searching for information and documents in the main archives – the Tiroler Volksliedarchiv (Tyrolean Folk Song Archive) and ORF Radio Tirol – and consulted widely recognised experts on local traditions and guitar music in the Alps.

I found a few recordings of Tyrolean guitarists in the archive of the regional broadcasting studio of the ORF (Österreichischer Rundfunk, or Austrian Broadcasting Corporation) that obviously had been played in old tunings but had been adapted to the modern style by the addition of an accompaniment by another guitar. Wolfgang Neumüller, a well-known Bavarian guitarist and teacher, gave me a copy of a live recording of Hermann Landegger, broadcast but unfortunately not archived by the ORF; he also knew Willi Gianmoena because he had organised folk music workshops in his house in Kitzbühel. René Senn, a Swiss-born guitarist from Munich, took part in one of these workshops and was aware of the particular nature of Gianmoena's playing. He also indicated that one member of the Bavarian guitar trio Eitzenberger/Greiner played in the same manner. Seppl Eibl, another Bavarian guitarist who made numerous broadcasts of great importance for the BR (Bayerischer Rundfunk, or Bavarian Broadcasting), had recorded Hubert Marksteiner and Ernst König, two guitarists living near the Bavarian border.

Gerlinde Haid, a professor at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna (MDW), had recorded two guitar pieces in a different tuning played by Klara Knoll (Kundl) some years ago, and she enthusiastically encouraged me to explore this style. Joachim Weißbacher, a guitarist and the vice president of the Tiroler Volksmusikverein (Tyrolean Folk Music Society), gave me a private recording of Hermann Kluckner (Telfs), whose playing was easy to identify as in the old Tyrolean style. Weißbacher also knew that some people in his home valley of Wildschönau used to play in a different tuning, and this was to become the first destination for my fieldwork.

In August 1996, Weißbacher introduced me and Thomas Nußbaumer (who assisted me in the early days) to Stanis Moser (*1930), the innkeeper of the *Sollererwirt* in Thierbach, the highest settlement in the valley. Moser had not played the guitar for at least a decade because it had fallen completely out of fashion or, as he expressed it, "because nobody has any interest in it any more" (*weil es niemanden mehr interessiert*), but he was still able to play some tunes. He explained his way of playing and the context of the guitar in this environment. The following day, we visited Gertraud Klingler (*1934) and Josef Siedler (1937–2006), who had been taught to play guitar by Moser. Toni Silberberger (*1947) from the neighbouring village of Auffach had learned from Ernst Wischatta ("Alpboden-Ernst", 1913–1986), a mysterious foreigner living in the neighbourhood whose exciting biography I got to know some years later. Rosa Hörbiger (1919–2006) from Auffach, a native of the Ziller valley, was introduced to the guitar in her childhood by a beggar. She had been unable to play for decades because her children had broken her guitar, but she started again at the age of 77, when they bought her a new one.

My next research trip, in September 1996, led me to Brandenberg, where Rudolf Neuhauser, a well-known singer and musician, introduced me to his brother Willi Neuhauser (*1928) and to Felix Kaindl (1925–2007), the last of a group of guitar players he knew there. Three different tunings had been used in this region.

Otto Ehrenstrasser, the official *Volksmusikpfleger* of the Land of Tyrol at the time,[4] remembered that his uncle Peter Ehrenstrasser (1924–2010, Angerberg near Wörgl) played in an open tuning. We made some recordings with Peter and Otto Ehrenstrasser senior and with Josef Madreiter (1926–2011) from the neighbouring village of Niederbreitenbach. We received a lot of interesting information – what a pity that we were so late! Madreiter's father (Josef Madreiter senior, 1900–1980) was said to have known more than a thousand songs, and his living room was full of guitars…

From the first days of my research it was clear that all these individual examples of guitar playing, coming from different sources and using different tunings and techniques, belonged together and to the same tradition. This was strongly confirmed by the following meetings with guitarists in the eastern districts of the country (mainly the districts of Kitzbühel and Kufstein, see Figure 1).

The search for more guitar players was not easy; most of them had never played in public. For example, Hermann Kluckner (*1926) from Telfs was unknown even to Peter Reitmeir, who was the president of the Tiroler Volksmusikverein and lived in the same village. Working independently from guitarists from the eastern districts, he invented a special tuning for playing solo: the first two strings tuned to the interval of a minor sixth and the second and third string to a major third, so he could play the main intervals very easy with adjoining fingers and open bass strings. Since injuring his left hand with a circular saw some years ago, he had given up playing. Fortunately, he had previously recorded some pieces on cassette. Rudi Mair (1912–2000) from Schwoich near Kufstein could also no longer play due to a stroke, but a piece recorded on cassette recalled his previous skills (AV 19). Ernst König (*1936, Figure 2) had also given up playing after a hand injury, but he was able to demonstrate his technique with some pieces. He used an

4 The term *Volksmusikpfleger* derives from the concept of *Volksmusikpflege*. With it are meant "cultural activities and institutions which are referred to in Austria, as well as in Bavaria, as *Volksmusikpflege*. The German term *Pflege* can be translated as *care*, *nurture* or *maintenance*. It can refer, for example, to the work of a nurse or a gardener, i.e. to a well organized process of regular observation and intervention which is necessary for the good condition or even the existence of the object in question. "*Volksmusikpflege* does not really aim to revive expressive practices of the past, but to set conditions for the survival of local music making, frequently in controlled and modified forms. It is generally a process which unites individual enthusiasm within a framework created by official cultural policy. This includes the organization of festivals and competitions, the publication of sheet music and teaching materials by professional *Volksmusikpfleger*. Consequently, a high degree of standardization and reglementation both of style and repertoire is typical for these activities. However, unlike the socialist model of *Revival III*, local diversity has a high priority in *Volksmusikpflege*" (Morgenstern 2017, 278).

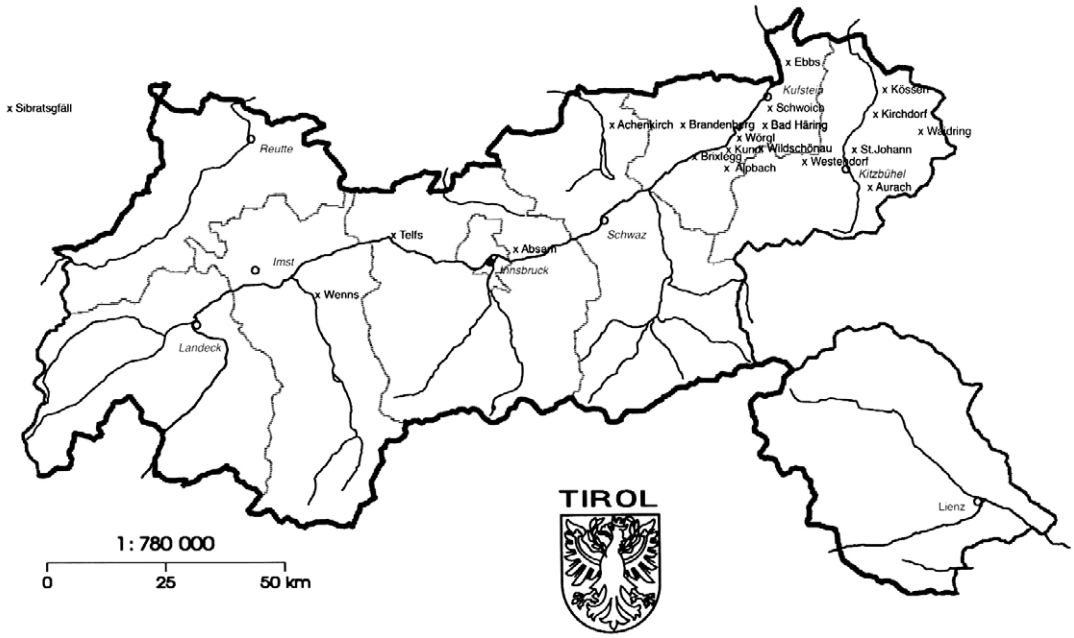

Fig. 1: A map of Tyrol, Austria, showing the main area of the *Zigeunerstimmung* in the eastern districts with only a few exceptions in the west. © Stefan Hackl.

archtop jazz guitar with a cutaway, which enabled him to play in higher positions than with a normally shaped acoustic guitar. This was a crucial advantage, given that the range of the melody is limited by the use of the first and second strings alone. König had moved from Achenkirch to Kössen (as I discovered by chance), where Willi Gianmoena and Lois Landegger came from, but he was unaware that several guitar players lived there. Hermann Landegger (1922–2012), Lois' youngest brother, was the only one who was still quite active, and he played very well.

Anton Steiner (1919–2015) from Brixlegg was discovered accidentally by one of my students. In his youth, he had been impressed by a guitar player named Hetzenauer from Kufstein; fifty years later, he tried to find somebody to teach him this old style, but unfortunately failed. So he started to reinvent it himself. He remembered the open tuning and arranged some songs and dances. It was a similar case with Sepp Wörgötter (1922–2016, Figure 3) from St. Johann, who also learned this way of playing in his youth and returned to it after retiring from his profession as an agricultural expert. He made a large number of arrangements and private recordings in C tuning and took the trouble to put older and younger players in touch with one another.

Fig. 2: Ernst König with his jazz guitar in *Zigeunerstimmung*. Unknown photographer. Achenkirch, Tyrol, Austria. July 1988. Private archive of Ernst König. Used with permission of Ernst König.

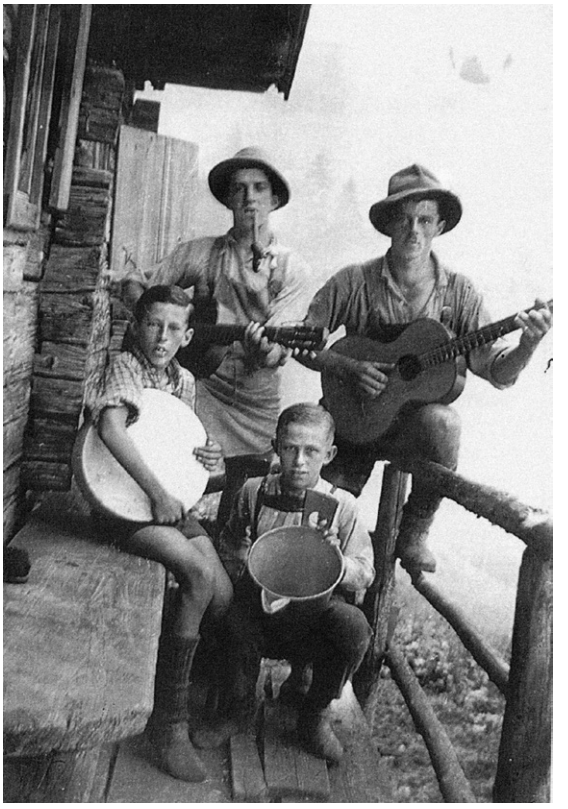

Fig. 3: Sepp Wörgötter (standing left) as a young man on a mountain pasture in Jochberg near Kitzbühel, with unidentified persons. Unknown photographer, Jochberg, Tyrol, Austria. Circa 1938. Private archive of Sepp Wörgötter. Used with permission of Sepp Wörgötter.

This constituted the first phase of my research, from autumn 1996 to spring 1997. After that, the Tiroler Volksmusikverein organised some meetings at which guitarists could exchange their knowledge and play together. I taught the old Tyrolean style at several workshops and also instructed some of my students. Romana Hauser, who was 14 years old at the time, played some tunes from her home village of Kössen at the *Alpenländischer Volksmusikwettbewerb* (Alpine Folk Music Competition) in October 2002, an important competition. She had great success and was selected to play in the final concert, which was broadcast by Austrian television.

I published an article in the *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Volksliedwerkes* (Yearbook of the Austrian Folk Song Society, see Hackl 1998 and 1999a) and a book of guitar tunes in *Zigeunerstimmung* (see Hackl 1999b and 2016). I also had several opportunities to talk about it on the radio and to participate in an ORF television feature called *Zigeunerisch g'spielt* (Playing in Gypsy Style, 1999). This publicity encouraged some of the old guitarists to refresh their skills and inspired others to try the old tunings. It also helped to get more information and to discover several other players, not only in the eastern districts.

Karl Obleitner (*1929) from Absam near Innsbruck, a well-known performer on various instruments, learned to play in the key of G (D-G-d-g-b-d') from his father while herding in the mountains. In his youth, he had known some more guitarists who used different tunings; they called it *Zigeunerstimmung* or *Bauernstimmung* ('peasant's tuning').

Gottfried Reinstadler (*1931) from Wenns in the Pitztal was still able to play, although he had lost the middle finger of his right hand. I heard his tuning G-A-d-a-c#'-e' (for the key of D) for the first time, but he assured me that several guitarists he knew had used it for playing solo. There was obviously only one village east of Innsbruck where some guitarists played in a different tuning, and he was the last of them.

Another exceptional case was Guntram Natter (*1939) from Sibratsgfäll in the Bregenzerwald (Vorarlberg) – the father of Martina Natter, who worked at the Tiroler Volksliedwerk. Tyrolean woodcutters had apparently introduced the *Zigeunerstimmung* to local players, two of whom are still playing. Their tuning is a variant of the widespread C tuning (F-G-c-g-b-d'), and in terms of style the influence of Alemannic folk music is evident.

Siggi Steixner (*1956) from Innsbruck may serve as an example of a musician without any connection to traditional Alpine music (he played only blues and American folk music), who was infected by the old Tyrolean style. Now he arranges every kind of melody in C tuning, often in a very refined way with extended harmonies and interesting technical solutions.

Eugen Bär (*1951) came from Kazakhstan and lives in Dortmund (Germany). When he saw the film *Zigeunerisch g'spielt* on German television, he was strongly reminded of the musical tradition of his homeland and the approach musicians had taken during his childhood. He has dealt intensively with Tyrolean folk music and arranged numerous tunes in different styles, including that of classical guitar music, what is known as "folk music style" (*Volksmusikstil*) and popular music, for C tuning. One of his arrangements was published in *G'sungen und g'spielt*, the magazine of the Tiroler Volksmusikverein (Hackl 2007). He teaches *Zigeunerstimmung* to his pupils in Dortmund.

The most interesting person I discovered in the eastern districts in the second phase of my research was Maria Duftner (*1946) from Kundl. She remembered a couple of tunes she had learned in her childhood in Angerberg municipality. Inspired by the revival of the old guitar style, she began to arrange and invent melodies in C tuning. She expanded the traditional playing technique by also using the third string for the melody and by occasional bass lines.

Some others whom I got to know in these years were no longer capable of playing, but they contributed a great deal of information regarding the context of *Zigeunerstimmung*. Alois Pletzer (1919–2009) from Kitzbühel, a skilled performer on several instruments, reported that in his youth the guitar was very popular, a guitar hung on the wall in almost every house, and it was not used simply for accompaniment. The C tuning was not an exception but was standard for playing melodies, and thus there was no need for it to have a special name – it was simply called "playing the guitar".

On several occasions I encountered the name of Karl Koidl (1913–1971) from Wörgl, who was considered the finest guitar player in Tyrol. Unfortunately, no documentation has survived; his recordings from the 1950s were thrown out in 1970, when the ORF radio archive moved from the Landhaus to the new building at the Rennweg in Innsbruck (this was the fate of many other recordings which represented an outdated style). At a guitar meeting in St. Johann organised by Sepp Wörgötter, I met Sepp Berger from Kitzbühel, who had learned some pieces from Koidl in his childhood. Berger, a classically trained guitarist, was able to reconstruct two pieces and preserve them for the future. My student Martina Kranebitter-Mayr transcribed it and wrote a bachelor's thesis on Koidl (Kranebitter-Mayr 2012).

Interesting information about the life of the mysterious "Alpboden-Ernst" (Ernst Wischatta), who taught Toni Silberberger in Auffach (Wildschönau), came from several sources. In the course of recording Tyrolean guitarists alternating with the Weerberger Maultrommler (Jew's harp players, see CD *In oaner Dur…*, 2004) Hans Knapp told me that "der krumpe Ernst" (Limping Ernst) had been living in Weerberg for some years. He was a poacher and had been shot in the knee by a hunter and did not dare to go to the doctor. Eventually, his injury worsened, and his lower leg had to be amputated in hospital. His first inquiry after waking from the anaesthetic was about his guitar. Because the doctors didn't allow him to play guitar in bed, he bargained to get a mouth organ at the very least.

After a concert in Navis, a member of the audience told me that Wischatta had lived there some time. According to this man, he was born in Bad Häring and had been sent to Fulpmes to learn blacksmithing (there was a well-known industry for the production of iron tools). But he disliked this job and fled to Navis (in the neighbouring valley), where he survived by doing odd jobs and poaching. He was appreciated and famous for his musical skills. German tourists recorded some pieces and songs with Wischatta in the 1960s; I obtained a copy of this tape, which contains some very exciting material (AV 20 and AV 21). From the 1970s onward, he lived in the poorest of circumstances on the Alpboden farm in Auffach (Wildschönau). Biographies like Wischatta's might have contributed to the legend that the origin of *Zigeunerstimmung* was

somehow connected to Gypsies, vagabonds, beggars and outlaws. A brief statistical summary of my fieldwork shows that between 1996 and 2002 interviews were conducted with 27 persons (three of them women), and about 35 hours of audio and video were recorded containing 368 different tunes (138 dances, 180 folk song arrangements and 50 arrangements of popular music). My questions concerned the origin of the playing (teachers and models), the context (settings and occasions) and future prospects.

4. Tuning and playing technique

Deviations from standard tuning are quite common tools to facilitate the work of the left hand in all kinds of stringed instruments and in all musical cultures; furthermore, open tunings also function to achieve more resonance (see Rônez 1998). We know them primarily from the practices of Anglo-American traditional music and country blues, and also from the Irish D-A-d-g-a-d' tuning. But *Zigeunerstimmung* is more than a *scordatura*; it is a style. At first sight, the variety of different tunings and playing techniques may be confusing, but a closer look reveals that they share a common principle: they all enable the performance of a two-part melody supported by open bass strings and auxiliary off-beat notes. In other words, the guitar is used as a diatonic instrument. This can be executed in the simplest way with two fingers on each hand: the left hand plays mainly thirds and sixths, one or two fingers of the right hand are used for the melody and auxiliary notes, and the thumb plays the bass notes. This way one can play melodies easily in a schematic way, but only in the main key and in the key of the subdominant.

Regarding right hand technique, we see a special manner of string attack that determines the typical sound; in it, the two upper strings are plucked together with one finger in a kind of clawing reminiscent of the zither style. Some players use the index finger, other use the middle finger, while Rosa Hörbiger played the two-part melody by alternating both fingers (AV 22). The auxiliary notes on the third string are always played with the index finger, the bass notes with the thumb.

The use of the fingertips is standard, and the use of fingernails is almost unknown. Occasionally, tools such as metal rings, toothpicks, matches or quills are used as a plectrum, in another reference to the zither style. An example is the recorded performance of a polka by Alois Wildauer senior and Alois Wildauer junior in the above-mentioned ORF television feature *Zigeunerisch g'spielt* from 1999. Musicians who also played the harp plucked the strings in the usual way, also using the ring finger on the first string (arpeggio style, see Figure 4). Figure 4 shows the notation of a simple *Ländler* in *Schüttelterzen* (a pattern of thirds alternating with a drone, typical of accordion players) as played by Ernst König, who learned the piece from Sepp Moser in Achenkirch. The second part can also be played in the key of the subdominant.

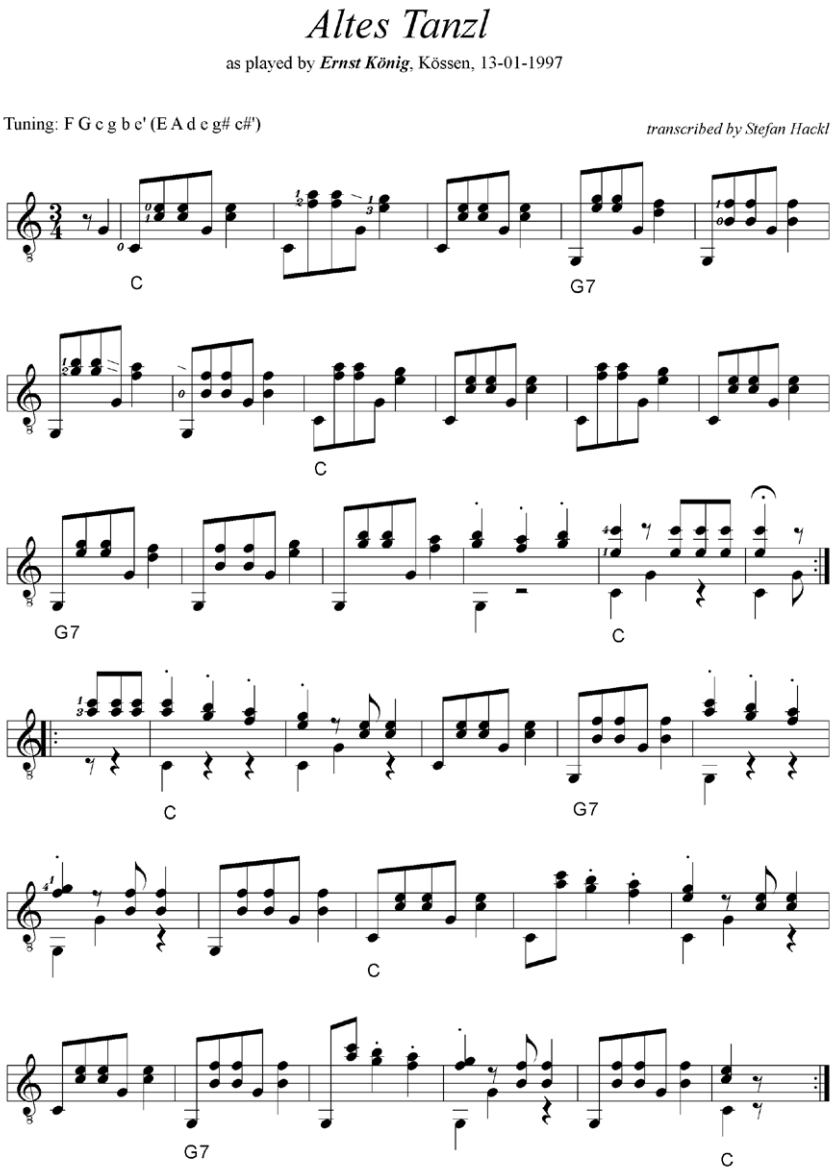

Fig. 4 "Altes Tanzl". Performed by Ernst König. Kössen, Tyrol, Austria. 13 January 1997. Recorded by Stefan Hackl (Source: Universität Mozarteum, Institut für Musikalische Volkskunde, Zigeunerstimmung, video tape 6). Transcription by Stefan Hackl.

Fig. 5: Detail of playing technique in *Zigeunerstimmung*: left hand. Rosa Hörbiger (and some other guitarists) uses only the index and the ring finger for thirds and also for sixths. Auffach, Tyrol, Austria. Photograph by Stefan Hackl. 1 May 1998.

Fig. 6: Detail of playing technique in *Zigeunerstimmung*: barré. Gertraud Klingler plays sixths in high positions with a cello-like barré using the thumb. Oberau, Tyrol, Austria. Photograph by Stefan Hackl. 7 August 1996.

In the left hand, the thirds and sixths can be played with only two fingers (as Stanis Moser and Rosa Hörbiger did, see Figure 5) – a primitive but effective way to establish simple patterns which work for almost every melody. Playing sixths on the first and second strings is typical of the tunings in C and D and rather different from the standard technique; normally, guitarists use the first and third string to avoid stretching.

Most of the players use at least three fingers, sometimes using the thumb on the fingerboard as well. The barré with the index finger is used quite rarely; Gertraud Klingler and Gottfried Reinstadler play with a cello-like barré using the thumb for positions above the twelfth fret (see Figure 6).

The playing position is generally similar to that of other guitar styles – usually seated with the instrument supported on the left thigh (classical position) or right thigh (customary with acoustic guitar or flamenco), sometimes standing and using a strap. Josef Siedler held the guitar at a very steep angle in order to have easier access to the high positions.

The most common tuning is the C tuning (F-G-c-g-b-e'). The treble strings remain the same as in the standard tuning, while the bass strings are tuned in the key of C. This tuning is used mainly in the regions of Kufstein, Kössen and Wörgl (Angerberg).

The D tuning (G-A-d-a-b-e') is common in the regions of Wildschönau and Wörgl (Brandenberg). Only two strings have to be changed: the left hand patterns are the same as in C but two frets higher. In fact, this tuning frequently appears in the pitch of C, because the high tuning of the sixth and third string means they are at risk of breaking.

The A tuning can be found in three variants. In E-A-d-e-g#-c#' (Ernst König, Achenkirch), the bass strings remain the same while the treble strings are tuned a third lower – the left hand patterns are again the same as in C tuning. In the E-A-d-e-b-e' *Weana Stimmung* (Viennese tuning, according to Klara Knoll (1921–2014), who was a native of Wildschönau), only the third string is lowered for the drone. On the first two strings, the left hand plays as it would in normal tuning. In Hermann Kluckner's E-A-e-e-g# e' tuning, almost everything is different, but it enables a comfortable performance with no stretches.

Alois Wildauer (*1931, Ebbs) normally plays in E-A-d-a-c#'-e' tuning, in which the melody strings are tuned in the A-major chord and the bass strings support the main harmonies. Sometimes he lays the guitar flat on a table to play (Hawaiian style); in this case, he tunes the fourth string to e for a complete A-major chord.

The G tuning D-G-d-g-b-d' is quite rare. I found examples in Hall and in Piösmes (Pitztal), but none in the eastern districts.

There are a few more special guitar tunings used also in folk music, such as Drop D tuning (to expand the range of the bass), tunings in open chords (E or D) for easy accompaniment, and the normal tuning completely raised or lowered a semitone for accompaniment in the flat keys, but these have nothing to do with *Zigeunerstimmung*.

The origin of *Zigeunerstimmung* is certainly Tyrolean, resulting directly from the requirements of Alpine multipart music (two melody parts and a bass, see Deutsch 2017), and may date back to the 19th century, when the sound and the playing technique of the older zither was imitated by the emerging guitar. The fact that the old guitarists had learned to play from older people in their youth may suggest that *Zigeunerstimmung* is at least 120 years old. Sepp Wörgötter aptly called it the *Urgitarre* (primordial guitar). The zither style is reflected in the use of steel strings, in the occasional use of tools such as rings and plectrums, the principle of open bass strings, and in techniques such as lateral vibrato and arpeggiation from the first string downwards. Certain players' technique of laying the guitar on a table may also be inspired by the zither.[5] The different roles of the strings for melody, bass and auxiliary notes ("bourdon" or drone) resemble the technique of plucked instruments from the Orient, and sometimes country blues and ragtime as well.

5 The close relationship between the zither and the Tyrolean guitar is also evident in the Swiss Halszithers (Grienser Zither, Glarner Zither, Toggenburger Halszither), which are equipped with steel strings and played like a guitar in a similar way as in the *Zigeunerstimmung* (Bachmann Geiser 1981).

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5. Repertoire, style and social background

The repertoire of the Tyrolean guitarist includes dances (polka, march, waltz, *Ländler*, *Boarischer*), folk song arrangements (see Figure 7) and arrangements of popular music (*Schlager*, operetta, tango, foxtrot).

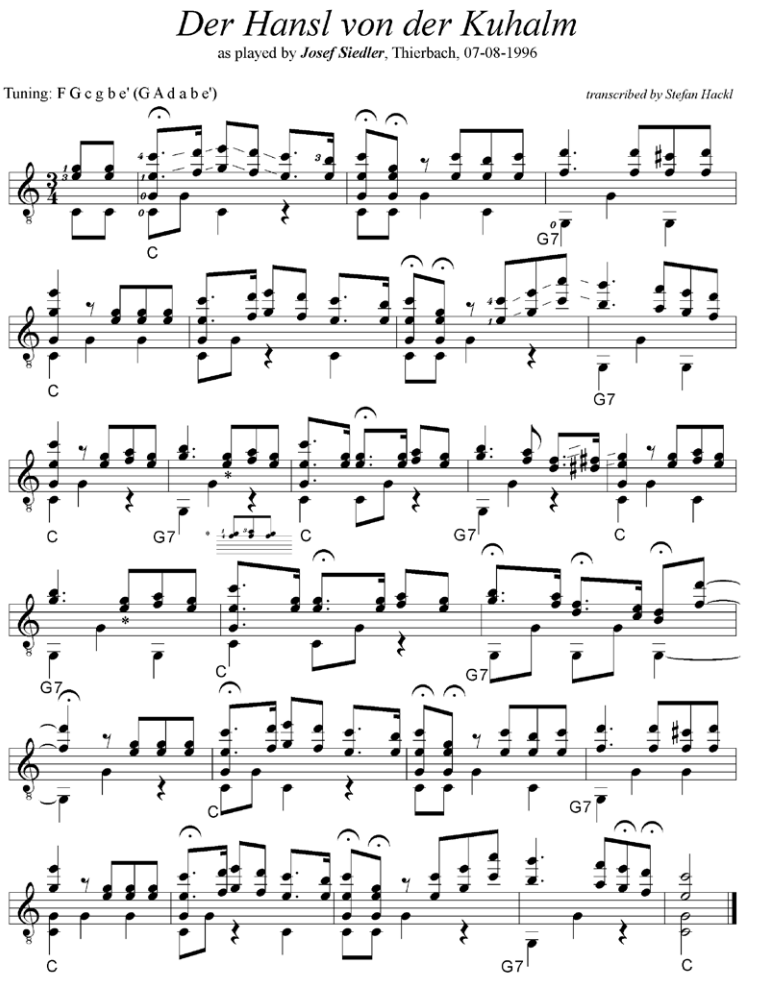

Fig. 7: "Der Hansl von der Kuhalm". A folk song arrangement by Josef Siedler. Performed by Josef Siedler. Thierbach, Tyrol, Austria. 7 August 1996. Recorded by Stefan Hackl (Source: Universität Mozarteum, Institut für Musikalische Volkskunde, Zigeunerstimmung, Video tape 1). Transcription by Stefan Hackl. Siedler played it very freely, in the manner of a singer.

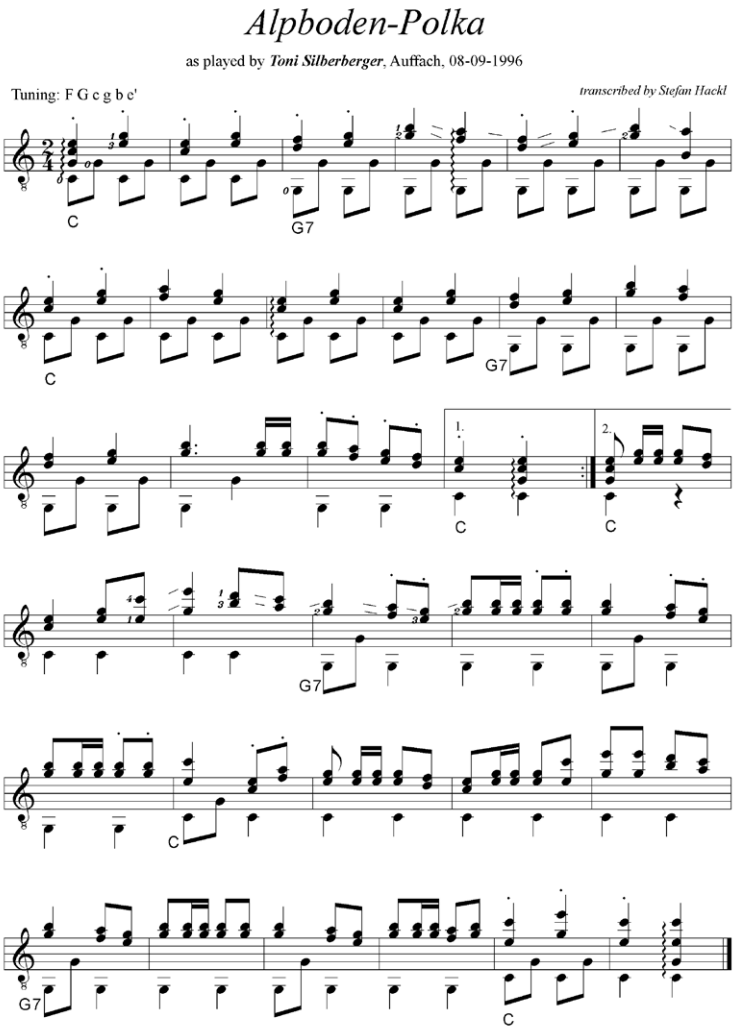

Fig. 8: "Alpboden Polka". Performed by Toni Silberberger. Auffach, Tyrol, Austria. 8 September 1996. Recorded by Stefan Hackl (Source: Universität Mozarteum, Institut für Musikalische Volkskunde, Zigeunerstimmung, Video tape 4). Transcription by Stefan Hackl.

Only a few genuine guitar pieces designed for particular tunings have survived. I was able to preserve some hours of audio recordings and, to a lesser extent, video recordings. A selection of pieces has been published in my own edition and in new recordings (e.g. *In oaner Dur…* 2004 and *200 Jahre…* 2004). The most frequent tunes are "Des Jägers Abschied" (Hunter's Farewell), "Då drunt im Stoanagråbn" (Down There in Stoanagråbn), "Achenseelied" (The song of Achen-

see), "Die Gamslan schwarz und braun" (The Chamois Black and Brown) and the "Schneewalzer" (Snow Waltz). "Am Strande von Rio" (On the Beach in Rio) and "Seemann, wo ist deine Heimat" (Seaman, Where Is Your Homeland) are examples of adapted German Schlager melodies, while "Wiener Blut" (Viennese Blood) and "A lauschige Nacht" (A Cosy Night) are arias from operettas. Furthermore, pieces from the zither repertoire like "Der Weg zum Herzen" (The Way to the Heart) by Georg Freundorfer and "Der dritte Mann, or the Harry Lime Theme" by Anton Karas, brass music, like the traditional "Angather Ostersamstagsmarsch" (Easter Sunday March from Angather), and marches by Gottlieb Weissbacher, were probably adapted for the guitar.

Limited by the open tunings, most of the pieces have only two sections, either in the same key or with one part in the key of the subdominant (in an AABB or AABBAB structure). Some pieces combine different traditional melodies with each other or with self-composed sections. The modern three-part structure (AABBACCAC) rarely appears, because the dominant key normally used in the second part is difficult to play in open tuning. Some pieces have a special structure, e.g. the "Hopfgartner Boarischer" played by Willi Gianmoena with four sections (ABCBDBC) – three in the key of C alternating with one in F (section B). Figure 8 presents a polka as played by Toni Silberberger. In the first section, the auxiliary notes effect the characteristic rhythmic pattern of *Zigeunerstimmung*; the second part is an arrangement of a traditional song ("Du himmlischer Vater, schau oba auf mi"). In a recording from the 1960s, Ernst Wischatta, who taught the piece to Silberberger, plays two more parts, one of them in the key of F (AV 21).

For accompaniment, most of the players use the standard tuning, because the open tunings only work easily in their main keys. The use of alternating basses – a fashion of recent decades, unsuitable for most of the old tunes – is rare in solo arrangements as well as in accompaniment. When guitarists playing in open tunings are accompanied by other guitarists, the melody player often omits the bass to avoid collisions of different bass notes.

The melody is usually played in two parts – mainly thirds and sixths, occasionally also fourths, and sometimes seconds, sevenths and augmented fourths as a part of the dominant chord.

In terms of harmony, the music generally remains within the context of Alpine folk music – mainly tonic, dominant (7^{th}) and (not too often) subdominant, with minor chords used infrequently. Influenced by popular styles represented by the "Oberkrainer" or Viennese "Schrammelmusik", these harmonies can be more or less extended, for example, by an added sixth, a major seventh or chromatic movement. In arrangements of modern music, the harmonic style is adopted as far as possible.

The auxiliary notes played between the melody notes provide a rhythmic profile and enrich the sound. This is the main difference between the guitar solos of Fritz Engel or Sepp Karl (both classically educated musicians playing in standard tuning) and the *Zigeunerstimmung*. The auxiliary notes are always the fifth in the tonic and the octave in the dominant, and they serve as a drone. In the key of the subdominant, the open string can be used for the dominant alone;

Fig. 9: Guitarists meeting at the *Sollererwirt* in Thierbach: Hermann Landegger (foreground) with his stiff middle finger and Otto Ehrenstrasser senior (background) with his mutilated thumb. Thierbach, Tyrol, Austria. Photograph by Joachim Weißbacher. 20 March 1998. Used with permission of Joachim Weißbacher.

the tonic (e.g. F in C tuning) requires one more finger for the auxiliary notes. Some guitarists achieve this with a partial barré, while some play the open string in spite of the dissonance in order to avoid rhythmic discontinuity.

Most of the players used simple and cheap factory-made guitars – today, Spanish models of Asian origin, and formerly, *Volksgitarren* (folk guitars) from German manufacturers (Markneukirchen, Klingenthal). Only a few played instruments that equalled the standard of a good factory guitar. As far as the stringing is concerned, only steel strings can guarantee the sound ideal of the zither. Steel strings were also common among the other guitarists in folk music until the late 1950s, when nylon strings came into fashion. These supplanted not only the sensitive and expensive gut strings (which were preferred by some classical musicians, especially in the Innsbruck area (see Hackl 1996b, 4–5) but also steel strings. The modern factory guitars are equipped with nylon strings as standard and are often difficult to convert for use with steel strings, while genuine steel-string guitars are barely in stock nowadays. Nevertheless, the majority of players prefer steel strings for *Zigeunerstimmung*.

As previously noted, the open tunings mainly serve for solo performance. Here the characteristics of *Zigeunerstimmung* have the best effect. Naturally, a single guitar is not an instrument for big public events in large rooms, but it is ideal for private occasions at home, at a cabin, or in the mountains. Nevertheless, skilled guitarists could entertain a small audience; Lois Landegger, for example, was said to have played for dancing at his inn. Hermann Landegger and Ernst König often played for tourists at "Tyrolean evenings" (König even acquired an amplifier for this purpose), and Gertraud and Alfred Klingler were often hired for weddings, birthday parties and other family celebrations. The guitarists from Wildschönau used to visit each other to play and talk. When local women met for spinning (they called it *Rocknhoangart*), somebody played

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guitar in the background. But many guitarists never took their guitar out of the house, playing only for themselves at home. Music was primarily a male domain, as women usually did not play in public. But the guitar also served women very well for private use at home.

When playing together with other musicians, the open tunings are more limited than the standard guitar tunings. I rarely heard a guitar in *Zigeunerstimmung* combined with different instruments. When a guitar plays the melody, the best instrument for accompaniment is another guitar (Figure 9).

6. Future prospects

A great deal has happened since I began my project more than twenty years ago. Over the course of the research, some musicians who had already abandoned playing were inspired to resume. The research has sparked the interest of young musicians to discover this almost forgotten way of playing; some of my students teach it in the music school. Romana Hauser, who was introduced to *Zigeunerstimmung* as a young girl, has visited elderly guitarists in her home region of Kössen and has played with them. She has also made some beautiful recordings and has inspired many young musicians (see *200 Jahre…* 2004; *In oaner Dur...* 2004; *Tirol isch lei oans..* 2009; Kaiserspiel… 2017). She is currently a professor at the Pädagogische Hochschule Tirol (University College of Teacher Education Tirol).

The *Sollererwirt* in Thierbach (Wildschönau), the original location of my research, now hosts an annual guitar weekend, a folk music workshop that attracts participants from the entire Alpine region. *Zigeunerisch* is always present here. Stanis Moser, the old innkeeper, can no longer play since injuring his middle finger, but Gertraud and Alfred Klingler are regular contributors to the final concerts (see Klingler 2010).

Only a very few of the last representatives of this style are still alive, but many musicians have discovered a new perspective in the open tunings. During the current "ethno world music" fashion, some may have learned that original "ethnic" sounds can be found not only far away, but also right on their doorsteps.

The story of this project may therefore serve as an example of how research into and engagement with musical practices which are thought to have vanished can inspire and enrich current musical life.

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III. Ballet as a Particular Practice of Music for Dancing

Oliver Peter Graber

Ballet Music from a Practical Perspective

Abstract

The creation of a "danceable" ballet score that can be successfully used on stage requires special knowledge as well as experience. Many elements of ballet music are purely "functional", and the collaboration between choreographers and composers is a highly specific task that is often reflected in the formal structure of the resulting score.
Based on more than 30 years of experience as a composer and dramaturge on the ballet stage and in the ballet studio, the author summarises key aspects from the perspective of daily practical work. Among these are the relevance of technical language, a "screenplay", the adaptive formal structure and the energetic (according to Kurth) level of the ballet. The focus is on the full-length story ballet, a genre that receded into the background during the 20th century, especially under the influence of the ballets by Igor Stravinsky, but is currently regaining importance and demand, for example, among ballet companies in the USA.
Regarding the history of the full-length story ballet, the article underlines the exemplary effect that emanated from the collaboration of Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840–1893) and Marius Petipa (1818–1910). This outstanding partnership between a composer and a choreographer remains particular to this day, especially from the practical point of view of the creative process. In the case of Sergei Prokofiev's *Romeo and Juliet*, also the role of the performers (namely, Galina Ulanova) as important protagonists in such partnerships is outlined.
The present article is based on a text prepared for presentation at the 5th European Voices symposium and additionally summarises earlier lectures and now out-of-print programme booklet contributions by the author in revised form.

1. Introduction

I began my engagement with ballet music in 1987 – at the start of my studies at the current University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna – and therefore look back on long experience. The following lines are first and foremost very personal comments, reflecting some of the key points of a ballet composer's as well as a ballet dramaturge's daily routines that have emerged over the years in response to busy "field research" on stage and off, and in the ballet studio.

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2. Ballet music – a functional genre

Whenever I have to introduce the term "functional music", I take a comparative view of Viennese architecture (see Fig. 1 and Fig. 2) as my starting point:

Fig. 1. *Das Hundertwasserhaus* (Hundertwasser House), Vienna, Austria. Photograph by Oliver Peter Graber.

The *Hundertwasserhaus* (Hundertwasser House, Figure 1) is a prime example of absolute architecture: the greatest degree of creative freedom with a minimum of functional consideration. By contrast, the *Wiener Allgemeine Krankenhaus* (AKH, Vienna General Hospital, Figure 2) constitutes an ideal model for purely functional architecture: maximal functionality with a minimum of creative freedom, which is mostly to be found in design elements (e.g. the lighting fixtures based on Art Nouveau elements in the central staircase/escalator). The comparison of these two buildings is particularly conclusive, because we have to think and speak about the human body from the very beginning of our consideration. Creative residential or functional hospital architecture which fails to take account of multiple physiological parameters is as point-

Fig. 2. Interior of the *Wiener Allgemeine Krankenhaus* (AKH, Vienna General Hospital). Photograph by Oliver Peter Graber.

less as a functional ballet composition, given that a ballet composition cannot be created without considering the "instrument" (meaning the human body) of the dancers.[6]

Ballet music is a strictly functional genre, and all my attempts over the years to remove ballet music from this realm and consider it as "absolute music" have had to face the daily routine of the theatre, which always brought these approaches very quickly back down to earth. It is and it remains an unalterable fact that the closer ballet music, and especially its underlying compositional strategies, follow the conditions of the human body as well as the rules and requirements of classical ballet and its dramaturgy, the more successful and usable the resulting score will be.

In addition to the anatomy and physiology of the dancing body (variations on full pointe, for example, should not exceed, as a guideline, a duration of 90 to 120 seconds, and in exceptional cases

6 Nowadays, radiology in particular offers enriching insights into the dancing body; even a full weight-bearing upright MRI (magnetic resonance imaging) of pointe dance can be performed (see Graber and Oberthaler 2008).

180 seconds, as otherwise the limits of physiological capacities would be reached[7]), the dimension of the stage as well as the number of dancers are – amongst other things – important factors. The solemn entry of 80 dancers on a 600-square-metre stage takes, for example, longer than the same action in identical tempo of eight dancers on a 60-square-metre stage, and thus it requires more bars of music. Consequently, if the ballet is intended to be suitable for performance in many different theatres as well as by many different ensembles, a compositional concept that implements the "natural" possibility of repetitions or omissions without destroying the formal structure or reducing the intrinsic musical quality of the work is advisable from the very beginning.

This trivial example shows how intimately dramaturgical and choreographic considerations are embedded in the compositional decision-making process. That is why "organic" and functioning cooperation between choreographers and composers is indispensable when creating a ballet score.

Over the course of ballet history, there has been an astonishingly low percentage of really exceptional creative partnerships. Those between the choreographer Marius Petipa and the composer Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, and that between the choreographer George Balanchine and the composer Igor Stravinsky are two examples that immediately come to mind. These two creative partnerships represent not only the heyday of classical-romantic as well as neoclassical ballet, but also the majority of the repertoire of international ballet companies. The most outstanding fruits of these two highly acclaimed congenial "pas de deux" are the full-length story ballet *The Sleeping Beauty*[8] (op. 66, premiered in St. Petersburg 1890) and the one-act, neoclassical masterpiece *Agon* (Sherr 1988; Stilwell 1994) that was premiered in New York in 1957. Moreover, the "trademark" Petipa-Tchaikovsky achieved exemplary success from the middle of the 19th century onwards (see below).

3. *Culture of artistic interaction*

But what should one really pay attention to during the collaborative process between choreography and composition? First and foremost, and no matter how banal this might sound, to the development of a common language. Nothing puts the success of any cooperation in the musical-choreographic field more at risk than a reduced ability to communicate. As long as the "musical side" remains at a loss when it comes to terms like *arabesque*, *grand jeté* or *fouetté*, or as long as the "dancing section" confuses the clarinet and the oboe, the collaboration will hold many unpleasant surprises in store for both sides.

7 The article "A dance to the music of time: aesthetically-relevant changes in body posture in performing art" by Daprati et al. (2009) gives an overview with regard to the significantly increased requirements for ballet performance technique in the past decades.

8 The best source of information regarding this cooperation is still Rebling 1980.

It was Jean-Georges Noverre who claimed several times in his epoch-making textbook *Lettres sur la danse, et sur les ballets* (1760) that both disciplines involved should not only approach each other but moreover should guarantee the indispensable transfer of knowledge from one to the other – a piece of advice that can only be emphasised once again at this point.

Outstanding compositional mastery alone, and even compositional genius, does not therefore always lead to a successful outcome in ballet music and even more rarely does it lead to successful compositional-choreographic partnerships. One should not overlook the fact that the success of the highly specialised ballet composers towards the end of the 19th century (who were often permanently employed in theatres – what a luxury!) was based exactly on the fact that they were willing to forgo "playing first fiddle". Instead, they were used to adapting and reworking their scores right in the ballet studio during rehearsal for as long and intensively as necessary, until the resulting score was suited to serve the choreography as a perfect "acoustic wallpaper".[9]

At this point a ballet-specific trap emerges, which is referred to as "Mickey Mousing".[10] When each choreographic event is combined with precisely corresponding acoustic signals, boredom or even a sense of caricature quickly arises. Ballet music and choreography should be perfectly coordinated with one another, but not to excess. The music needs to be in resonance with the dancing body, and this is achieved most effectively by means of phrasing[11] (i.e. breathing) and tension without copying the dancing body. Ballet music needs to support and "carry" the ballerina and to emanate artistic physical expression, but not mirror the movements.

Another trap, and the most common mistake, is so-called (over-)length – the worst enemy of all artistic success on stage and in the concert hall. For example, one must never overlook the fact that relationships between figures (as well as specific actions or simply the mood in which a stage character finds her- or himself) can be represented by the means of dance in a few seconds, even in a moment, but in the language of music they can only be expressed by means of a few bars – a huge dissonance at the level of time. One finds that most ballets/ballet-scores are too long, and that the main task of (musical) dramaturgical action is to "kick out" superfluous material in order to expose the core of the structure which is suitable for the stage and make it tangible.

9 This expression has been *en vogue* in the context of film music since the mid-1990s. Before that time, one would have called it an "acoustic carpet".

10 Another term from film music!

11 Research in the field of the impact of music on the human physiology (Germ: *Musikwirkungsforschung*) carried out at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna was able to show that the breathing (phrasing) of performers correlates either actively (driving) or passively (driven) with the phrasing of the correlated musical score and thereby represents the most significant physical counterpart of musical (and hence dancing as well) activity (see Laczika et al. 2013).

4. The screenplay

The most important tool for any form of artistic collaboration in the field of music and choreography is some sort of "screenplay". Both (or all artists involved) discuss and describe all the planned scenes in detail and together write down the final result based on a timeline that also specifies all the corresponding musical requirements in detail. While doing so, the following elements and criteria in particular should be included: all roles/characters (including their entries and motivated exits), the duration of the individual sections, the plot (if there is one) and/or the mood of the individual sections and – of special significance – the tempi of the individual sections. It is also advisable to add a few more details regarding costumes, lighting design and stage design: a very important task of ballet music is to hide other sounds! Nothing is more embarrassing than a wonderful pianissimo passage that is interrupted by the clumsy rumble of the revolving stage or a silence (general pause) accompanied by the hum of the lights moving. Dancing on full pointe always requires special attention: pointe suggests weightlessness and should never be affected by any sound that might destroy this illusion in a fraction of a second.

It is also highly recommended that a single system of "notation" is agreed on and used from the very start of the collaboration. All members of the leading team should be familiar with the symbols that answer questions like: Where is the front of the stage? Where do the individual characters stand when their music begins and in which direction are they looking?[12] Male or female dancer(s)? Light/blackout?

Throughout history, ballet has suffered terribly from its lack of a common notation system, although several systems of dance notation have been developed over the centuries.[13] In reality, every choreographer makes use of a very personal one that is usually indecipherable for other people. Labanotation (which is usable for many different forms of movement) and Benesh Movement Notation (which is especially suitable for ballet and also known as "choreology") are quite popular, but unfortunately they are not really in extensive use. Films/videos and, to a much more limited extent, photographs can be a valuable tool but have to be handled with care: all movements are usually shown from the front and therefore have to be "turned around 180 degrees" while rehearsing. Software solutions (e.g. *DanceForms*, which also offers the playback of MIDI files) create outstanding possibilities but are not available in theatres and are extremely time-consuming; their use is nevertheless highly recommended.

12 Never ever forget when writing down how to start: 1. Dance starts without music and the music follows (when exactly?), 2. Music starts first and the dance follows (when and how exactly?) or 3. Both start simultaneously!

13 An overview is given by Claudia Jeschke (1983).

5. *The role of energy*

On the one hand, (originally composed) ballet music is a strictly functional genre; on the other hand, choreographers (e.g. Balanchine) very often make use of music that was neither originally written nor intended for dance or the stage in general. Is there perhaps any general rule or natural law, a kind of "marker" by which one could recognise whether music is suitable for engendering a ballet? The answer is yes, but this is unfortunately not widely known. In the last three decades, during which my artistic work and research has been largely based on the concept of "energetics" (*Energetik*), I have not found any other publication on this subject with reference to ballet.

It was the Viennese music theoretician and music psychologist Ernst Kurth who established the terms "wave" (*Welle*) and "energetics" (*Energetik*). If we assume that Kurth's theories are correct, we may rewrite the famous quote by Eduard Hanslick ("music as sonically moving forms", Hanslick 1854) as "music as sonically moving energy" – and this concept is the one and only meaningful guide one will ever need for successfully composing or choosing ballet music!

Usable and especially "danceable", and therefore successful, ballet scores have a number of specific basic parameters in common (for example, not too many or no changes of time signatures within a single musical section, tempi that are suitable for whole-body movement, etc.), but the bottom line is that it is almost without exception their inherent energy alone that makes them suitable for ballet music.

If the amount of sonically unleashed musical energy is too high, a dancing human body will no longer be able to integrate this "sonic movement" or co-express it in a suitable way, and therefore it will not be possible to successfully create a convincing choreography based upon such music. If we inspect them more closely, we will easily find that these scores represent the genre of programme music, but not ballet music.

If, on the other hand, the amount of the musical energy is too low, the possibility of any corresponding movement is simply absent and the dancing in general literally "dies". The proper level of musical energy for ballet music is found between these two extremes. To find the right way to compose ballet music is an art which is, on closer inspection, more complex than composing for word- or image-bound genres.

Ballet music, to quote the music theorist Diether de la Motte, may be painted "with a broad brush" (de la Motte 1976, 192). In those thrilling moments when, on an otherwise dark stage, the spotlight is reduced to just one or two people, it also offers excellent opportunities for tenderness and soulfulness that hardly any other musical stage genre offers. However, only the most experienced ballet composers dare go deeper into this intimacy. Those who, on the contrary, are obsessed with superficial appearances (that is, ballet as it is often unfortunately viewed) tend to create scores that sound like circus music instead of ballet music. This well-known phenomenon can unfortunately be observed very frequently in new orchestrations of purely functional ballet music of the 19th century, notably in scores by Ludwig Minkus.

6. The masterworks of the full-length story ballet in the 20th century[14]

As already mentioned above, dramaturgical-choreographic collaboration offers the most extensive possibilities for artistic development and thus also places the greatest demands on the musical composition. It is perfected in the full-length story ballet, which has always held the greatest attraction for me from an artistic point of view. Developing a character dramaturgically and musically as well as choreographically over the course of an entire evening is a completely different challenge to introducing it in just a few brief scenes in the context of a one-act ballet.

Based on the core repertoire of international ballet companies, the specific musical and historical situation of the 20th century, and assuming the "standard works of the 19th century" (*Giselle*, *Coppélia*, *Sylvia*, *Swan Lake*, *The Sleeping Beauty*, *The Nutcracker*, *Raymonda*, *Don Quixote*, *La Bayadère*, etc.) as given, I would like to discuss some of the most important full-length works, limiting myself entirely to original compositions for ballet, as all too often full-length ballets created in the 20th century were based on compilations of the music of past eras or drew on collages of sounds and noises.[15] Moreover, I often recommend selected works (see below) to composers and dramaturges as models for "best practice" in the 20th century.

It seems almost ironic that during the 20th century the most outstanding full-length ballet scores were written mainly in Russia, respectively in the Soviet Union, since it was above all due to Igor Stravinsky's model of one-act ballets (*The Firebird*,[16] *Petrushka* and *Le Sacre du Printemps*), followed by so many composers around the globe, that the full-length ballet was de facto "branded as outdated" overnight. Although it was from a Russian composer that these developments stemmed, between 1910 and 1913, the tradition of full-length ballet was preserved in Russia itself, and subsequently within the borders of the former Soviet Union and its satellite states. The artistic doctrine of socialist realism took possession of it, thus turning the originally aristocratic genre of full-length ballet, dedicated to the highest honour of the Tsar, into a vehicle for the crowds.

The number of full-length ballet compositions produced during the course of the Russian Revolution initially declined. Instead, efforts were made to free the existing ballet repertoire

14 This and the next two paragraphs are based on lectures I gave in the 1990s.

15 For the sake of completeness, it must be said that this approach is not a 20th-century (re-)invention: earlier choreographers such as Charles Didelot and Ivan Walberch and composers such as Cesare Pugni, who even remodelled *Le désert* by Félicien César David into a ballet (*Lalla Rookh, or The Rose of Lahore*, London 1846), had already been very prolific in this respect.

16 With regard to the initial success of Stravinsky's *Firebird*, I would like to point out once again that he very smartly incorporated a lot of effects that were invented by his teacher, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov. One example is the famous flageolet-glissando passage of the *Introduction* that was originally written by Rimsky-Korsakov for his opera *Christmas Eve* (1895) and also discussed in Rimsky's textbook on orchestration.

from memories of Tsarism and to save popular and established works from destruction, either by writing new librettos or by underpinning old ones ideologically. When the waves of this "purge" began to abate, the result was the so-called socialist-realist ballet style, the centre of which, however, was no longer the Mariinsky Theatre in St. Petersburg – the heart of Russian ballet in the 19th century – but the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow.

The choreographic characteristics of this Bolshoi style, as it was soon called, were a great use of force, athleticism, speed, frequent high and long jumps, high and long lifts of the partner above the head, mass scenes as well as extremely risky physical actions, and an intense emphasis on character dance through incorporating and cultivating the folk dances of the eastern republics of the Soviet Union. This cultivation of character dance followed a Russian tradition: in the 19th century it was Petipa who had considered it an important reason for the leading position of Russian ballet (Rebling 1980). Action was dominated by the "revolutionary subject"; the princesses and princes, knights and fairy-tale characters of the 19th century became communal workers, industrial clichés and heroes of the revolution.

Despite the shift of interest to Moscow, with the exception of the ballets by Reinhold Glière, the significant premieres in terms of the history of music as regards the full-length ballet took place at the Mariinsky Theatre in Leningrad, which operated under several different names over the 20th century until the name was changed back to the Mariinsky in 1992.

Although Glière defined Soviet ballet with his work *The Red Poppy* (see below), it was Dmitri Shostakovich who was to become the key initial figure. He wrote a total of three ballets: *The Golden Age*, op. 22 (1927–30), *The Bolt*, op. 27 (1930–31) and *The Limpid Stream*, op. 39 (1934–35). All three were first performed in Leningrad. *The Golden Age* was the result of a competition for new ballet libretti, and the author of the libretto was Alexandr Ivanovsky. It was choreographed by Vasily Vainonen with the help of Leonid Yakobson and Vladimir Chesnakov, directed by Emmanuil Kaplan, and the stage design was by Valentina Khodasevich. Fyodor Lopukhov provided the choreography for Shostakovich's two other ballets, *The Bolt* and *The Limpid Stream*.

Another important composer of Soviet ballet is Boris Asafyev, who was also active as a writer on music under the name Glebov.[1] Despite his other activities, Asafyev found the time to compose almost 30 (most sources mention 26) ballets, which is quantitatively one of the most extensive catalogues of full-length works from the 20th century. Even if most of them have been forgotten, three ballets should nevertheless be highlighted. This trio of popular works began in 1932 with *The Flames of Paris*, a work with four acts. The libretto was by Nikolai Volkov and Vladimir Dmitriev, who also designed the set. The choreographer was Vasili (Vasily) Vainonen. This was followed by *The Fountain of Bakhchisarai*, again with a libretto by Volkov, but Rostislav Zakharov was the choreographer and Khodasevich the designer. The libretto draws

1 Asafyev's reference work *The Musical Form as Process* is very well-known (in Russian in 1930, new editions in 1947, 1963, 1971; German edition in 1976).

on a poem by Alexander Pushkin which had already served as the basis for a ballet in the 19th century. It is generally noticeable that Asafyev (like other ballet composers of the Soviet Union, including Rodion Shchedrin with his *The Little Humpbacked Horse, or The Tsar Maiden*) often chose for his subjects literary sources that were already successful in their own right and "only" called for new music and design. This was also the case with Asafyev's third and last ballet to be mentioned here, *The Prisoner of the Caucasus*, premiered in 1938, with choreography by Leonid Lavrovsky and set by Khodasevich.

A work which is even less well known in its entirety is the three-act *Laurencia* (1937/1939) by the composer Alexander Krein, who, like Shostakovich, wrote a total of three ballets. The choreography was by Vakhtang Chabukiani, the libretto by Evgeny Mandelberg and the décor by Simon Virsaladze. *Laurencia* is regarded as the composer's most famous work. It was also very successful in terms of performance statistics and entered the repertoire in some former Eastern Bloc countries.

Krein's *Laurencia* was not the only new full-length work to appear in 1939; the same year also saw the first performance of the first of three ballets by Aram Khachaturian, namely, *Happiness* with choreography by Ilya Arbatov. The work was premiered in Yerevan and was an important precursor of Khachaturian's next full-length score, *Gayane*. This work exists in two versions. It was first performed in 1942 in Molotov-Perm, the city to which the Kirov ensemble was evacuated during the Second World War due to German air raids (see Gregory and Ukladnikov 1990 [1981]. The original choreography was created by Nina Anisimova, who also supervised the reproduction of the ballet at the Kirov Theatre in 1945. A new version of the composition – commonly referred to in the literature as the second version of the ballet – was completed by the composer in 1957.

Spartacus first saw the light of day on stage in 1954. The drama about the Slave War provided a dramatic spectacle on stage in Leningrad in Yakobson's choreography, but it was not initially very successful, and a new choreography for the Bolshoi Ballet by Igor Moiseyev in 1958 did little to change this. In the case of *Spartacus*, the composer also decided on a new musical version, which premiered at the Bolshoi Theatre in 1968 with choreography by Yury Grigorovich and which marked a long-desired breakthrough for the work.

One can clearly see that the process of composition was not an easy one for Khachaturian; all of his ballets underwent several compositional reworkings.[2] Nevertheless, in Russian or Soviet ballet history of the 20th century – or the ballet history of the 20th century in general – there is hardly any other composer besides Khachaturian of whom one could claim that individual musical numbers from the ballets achieved worldwide and almost universal popularity.

The "Sabre Dance" from *Gayane*, for example, is still part of the popular repertoire of spa orchestras and musical request programmes, and the "Adagio by Phrygia and Spartacus" (in its suite version) became the theme music of the once popular British television series *The Onedin*

2 For a better understanding see Biesold 1989.

Line (see Graber 2019, 739–750).[3] If Tchaikovsky embodies the Russian ballet music of the 19th century and thus successfully made the "leap" not only into the concert halls but also into pop genres as well, only Khachaturian has succeeded in so doing in the 20th century. We can see from this example how important picturesque melodic elements are in such processes.

Compared to Khachaturian's scores, *The Creation of the World* by Andrei Petrov, which premiered in Leningrad in 1971, is one of the more rarely seen Soviet ballets (it should not be confused with the ballet op. 81 by Darius Milhaud, written in 1923). Nevertheless, like Gara Garayev's *Path of Thunder*, premiered in 1958, which dealt with the problem of racial segregation in South Africa (the Moscow Bolshoi Ballet took over the ballet in 1959, after which it became part of the repertoire in the former Eastern Bloc), or Arif Melikov's *Legend of Love*, premiered in 1961, it has received numerous performances.

The prototype of the Soviet ballet was, as already mentioned, Glière's *The Red Poppy*. Like Khachaturian, Glière created several versions of the ballet, which premiered in 1927. The second was created in 1949, and the third came out in 1955 under the title *The Red Flower* – probably to avoid associations with opium. The original choreography was created in 1927 by Lev Lashchilin and Vasily Tikhomirov, and the libretto and décor were by Mikhail Kurilko. The choreographer of the Moscow version of 1955 was Lavrovsky; the so-called second version of 1949, choreographed by Zakharov, was staged in Leningrad.

7. Ulanova and Prokofiev

In the Soviet Union, the name of one ballerina became a legend and a synonym for the art of ballet: Galina Ulanova. Moscow's victory over "Leningrad's ballet" seemed incomplete until the decision was made to move her unceremoniously to Moscow in the mid-1940s. The most important of the Soviet ballet composers, Sergei Prokofiev, moved to the Bolshoi at the same time.

Yet the relationship between Ulanova and Prokofiev was by no means an unclouded one. Prokofiev's first and most successful full-length ballet score was *Romeo and Juliet*. When he presented his score to the management of the Leningrad Theatre, it was rejected; among other arguments, Ulanova found it "unsuitable for dancing" (see, for example, Hertgen 1999/2000, 32). Since the Moscow Bolshoi Theatre did not find it to its liking either, despite the composer's revisions, the premiere finally took place in Brno on 30 December 1938. The courageous choreographer who dared to contradict the opinion of Ulanova and to find the work "danceable" was called Ivo Váňa Psota. In an ironic way, it was Ulanova, of all people, who ultimately helped the ballet to victory: the Leningrad premiere danced by her and Konstantin Sergeyev in 1940 raised

3 As I have demonstrated in this analysis of the use of ballet-specific themes and ballet music in TV series, the cliché of Russian ballet clearly dominates. A particularly sad example in this respect is *The A-Team*, Season 4, Episode 14: "The A-Team is coming. The A-Team is coming".

Lavrovsky's choreography to a standard that remained definitive for many years – at least until the version by John Cranko created for the Stuttgart Ballet in 1962.

Prokofiev's second full-length ballet, which also belongs to the international standard repertoire, was *Cinderella*, premiered in Moscow in 1945 with choreography by Zakharov. According to Horst Koegler, the belief that the title role was danced by Ulanova is a widespread error. In reality, this honour belongs to Olga Lepeshinskaya (see Koegler 1982, 425).

Ulanova, on the other hand, shone again in 1954 at a premiere in Moscow, where she played the title role in Prokofiev's third and last (full-length) ballet, *The Tale of the Stone Flower*, with the original choreography by Lavrovsky. Although *The Tale of the Stone Flower* was not very successful at the time, despite new versions (including choreography by Grigorovich), the score is currently enjoying increasing interest once more (see *Die Schneekönigin* 2015/2016).

A brief overview of Soviet ballet may disregard all the other full-length scores that were premiered in Moscow or Leningrad from 1954 until the dissolution of the Soviet Union, with one exception: the ballet *Anna Karenina* by Shchedrin, which premiered in 1972. Although the work was not immediately a resounding success at its premiere – once again it was Ulanova who stood out during rehearsals (Plisetskaja 1995, 419) – according to a tour manager, it was the most expensive production the Bolshoi Ballet ever put on stage. In terms of the musical means used (including an almost exuberant orchestral cast), the work reached an almost unsurpassable limit, which drew criticism. At the time it was said to be "too loud" and "too massive"; nevertheless, the qualities of the score speak for themselves.[4]

8. Tchaikovsky-Petipa as a model for 20th-century full-length ballets outside of the USSR

The full-length ballet also remained a central interest to composers outside Russia or the former Soviet Union, although this is the exception rather than the rule during the 20th century.

The Prince of the Pagodas by Benjamin Britten, to which John Cranko contributed the libretto and choreography, was premiered in London in 1957. The work is entirely in the tradition of Tchaikovsky (Britten's model) and Petipa (Cranko's model)[5] and was the first ever full-length British ballet score. *Ondine* by Hans Werner Henze followed in 1958, for which the libretto and choreography came from Sir Frederick Ashton, again following the example of Tchaikovsky-Petipa. Even if both works established a British tradition of full-length story ballets, which in the course of history has led to numerous works (e.g. by Kenneth MacMillan), they remain isolated cases when viewed in terms of ballet music on a large scale. Finally, one could mention also Alfred Schnittke's *Peer Gynt*, premiered in Hamburg in 1989, for which choreographer John Neumeier – also following Petipa – co-created the musical score.

4 An analysis of the work from the perspective of music theory can be found in Graber 1997, 99–150.

5 More in Graber 1997, 39–98.

9. The return of the full-length story ballet

Nowadays the situation is changing: audiences have once again recognised the potential of the full-length story ballet and are pushing for corresponding productions. In my personal experience, interest is currently increasing steadily, especially in the USA, Australia and Asia. In the 1990s, it was hardly possible to inspire choreographers and theatres with full-length works (for example, only individual parts of my first full-length score, *Camille*, could be presented on stage around that time), but now full-length commissions are the rule. Most recently, my scores *Dorothy and the Prince of Oz* (partly orchestrated by Ardian Ahmedaja; Tulsa Ballet/BalletMet 2017 with choreography by Edwaard Liang) and *Tchaikovsky: The Man behind the Music* (Tulsa Ballet, choreography by Ma Cong, 2019) were created in this way. In any event, choreographers very often ask for a compilation of pre-existing music that simply has to be supplemented with newly composed music, quite often "in the style" of the pre-existing sections, and we composers are still challenged to stand up for musical quality and completely new works.

10. Curtain

Immersing oneself in the universe of ballet music is an experience that will last a lifetime. Collaborations with choreographers and daily work on stage and in the ballet studio increasingly teach me the immeasurable importance of theatrical practice; without it, one cannot write "playable" ballet music. The most important aspect is to combine this purely practical approach with the immediate creative drive and the very personal aesthetic approach – in short, not to sacrifice indispensable standards of artistic quality to routine. The best way to learn ballet composition is in the ballet studio, watching the daily "class" and rehearsals. The ballet studio is also the place where the magic really happens for me. Often the aesthetic experiences are more impressive in the studio than on stage. Above all, one must always think of the ballerina and Balanchine's outstanding quote: "Dance is music made visible." One should take ballet music to heart and, as the oldest and most venerable functional genre, turn one's attention to it, because it only reveals itself when one takes a closer look.

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List of audiovisual examples

Egil Bakka
Dance and Music in Interplay:
Types of Choreo-Musical Relationships in Norwegian Heritage

AV 01 (p. 35, 42)

Under den hvite bro (Under the white bridge), the refrain
Music composed by Vincent Scotto. French lyrics *Sous les ponts de Paris* written by Jean Rodor. The author of the Norwegian text used in this album is unknown.
Performers: Inger Jacobsen (singing) accompanied by the Arnt Haugens Kvintett and Willy Andresens Kvartett
Date of the recording: 1967
Source: *Inger Jacobsen og Thore Skogman*. Refrenget 1. EMI – 8 C 054-37353 Vinyl, LP (A5.). Reissue, Stereo Released: *Inger Jacobsen og Thore Skogman. Arnt Haugens Kvintett (Quintet) og Willy Andresens Kvartett (Quartet). Refrenget 1*. Track 5. 1977.
Provided on *YouTube* by 2016 Warner Music Norway AS on 29 January 2017: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hub-dZXA8D8&ab_channel=IngerJacobsen-Topic (Accessed on 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 1:05

AV 02 (p. 36)

Egil Bakka explains and demonstrates the concepts of pace and step
Performers: Egil Bakka and Ivar Mogstad (violin)
Place of the recording: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Dragvoll campus, Trondheim, Norway
Date of the recording: 22–23 May 2007
Recorded by: Erling Flem, Kari Margrete Okstad and Siri Mæland, edited by Johan Magnus Elvemo
Source: *Dance Structures: Live Illustrations* (DVD). Addition to the book *Perspectives on the Analysis of Human Movement* (Kaeppler and Dunin 2007). Provided on *YouTube* by the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance: https://youtu.be/pxWxjHJ57Ow (Accessed on 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 7:39

AV 03 (p. 38)

Polonese at the folk dance party of the Springar'n folk dance club at the municipality hall in Ås, Norway
Performers: Folk dancers participating in the party
Place of the recording: The municipality hall in Ås, Akershus county, southeastern Norway
Date of the recording: 1 April 2017
Recorded by: Svein Arne Sølvberg
Source: *YouTube*. Uploaded on 3 April 2017 by Svein Arne Sølvberg: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9pQCraDsHQ (Accessed on 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 46:21

AV 04 (p. 38)

I attenhundrogfem (In eighteen hundred n' five), singing game
Performers: Children of the Lilleby School in Trondheim
Place of the recording: Lilleby School in Trondheim, Norway
Date of the recording: 23 April 1977
Recorded by: Egil Bakka, Berit Østberg and Bruce Taylor for the LP record *Og vil du være kjæresten min*
Source: The 16mm film collection at the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance. Film number 366,1c. Uploaded *on YouTube* by the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance: https://youtu.be/rTlEWm3_4YY (Accessed on 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 1:32

AV 05 (p. 39)

Gang rundt juletreet (Walking around the Christmas tree)
Performers: Pupils, their family members and teachers of the Straumsnes Skole
Place of the recording: Straumsnes Skole, Tingvoll, Norway
Date of the recording: 2017
Recorded by: Tomas Eikrem

Source: *YouTube*. Uploaded by Tomas Eikrem:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YjxJQotwxfA&ab_channel=TomasEikrem (Accessed on 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 12:11

AV 06 (p. 40, 45)

Valdressspringar i takt og mottakt (Valdressspringar in takt and mottakt)
Performers: Neri Bakkjen (red T-shirt) with Marta Bartholomew dancing *Valdressspringar* and Torjus Bakken with Birgit Haukås dancing *Telespringar* (in mottakt to the music). Sivert Holmen on Hardanger fiddle in the audio recording.
Place of the video recording: University of South-Eastern Norway, campus Rauland
Date of the recording: 2 March 2022
Recorded by: Birgit Haukås (filming)
Source: *YouTube*. Uploaded by the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance: https://youtu.be/zN-I49-iDec (Accessed on 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 00:44

AV 07 (p. 40, 45)

Telespringar i takt og mottakt (Telespringar in takt and mottakt)
Performers: Torjus Bakken and Birgit Haukås dancing *Telespringar* and Neri Bakkjen (red T-shirt) and Marta Bartholomew dancing *Valdressspringar* (in mottakt to the music). Knut Buen on Hardanger fiddle in the audio recording.
Place of the recording: University of South-Eastern Norway, Rauland campus
Date of the recording: 2 March 2022
Recorded by: Birgit Haukås (filming).
Source: *YouTube*. Uploaded by the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance: https://youtu.be/8ODO8dlTPEI (Accessed on 11 March 2022.)
Duration: 00:43

AV 08 (p. 41)

Svikt Waltz (analysis of a short excerpt)
Performers: Competitors at Gammaldansfestivalen 2015. Music by John Oddvar Kandal from Breim (fiddle) and Helene Myklemyr Bolstad from Jostedalen (accordion)
Place of the recording: Gammaldansfestivalen 2015. Qualification for the folk music and folk dance competition in couple dances. Lom, Innlandet county, Norway.
Date of the recording: 6 August 2015
Recorded by: Jostedalvideo. The excerpt was selected and uploaded with permission by Egil Bakka.
Source: *YouTube*.
Pardans runddans: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fPu2bHa1IVg
The 4:03–4:09 excerpt of the full recording: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C2ZQAIyYWe8&ab_channel=Jostedalvideo (Accessed on 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 1:28

AV 09 (p. 42)

Stegvals
Performers: Members of the Springar'n folk dance group and Michael Furulund (accordion)
Place of the recording: Follo, Akershus county, Norway
Recorded by: Svein Arne Sølvberg
Source: *YouTube*. Uploaded by Svein Arne Sølvberg on 27 October 2017: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5BLkV4nCW-M (Accessed 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 1:20

AV 10 (p. 43)

Hamborgar (a version of the polka)
Performers: Leiv Fåberg and Johanna Kvam dancing, Liv Fridtun playing Hardanger fiddle

Place of the recording: Dølaheimen, Jostedal, Norway
Date of the recording: 1997
Recorded by: *Jostedalvideo*
Source: *YouTube*. Uploaded by Jostedalvideo on 28 November 2015: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kGenW4UV2vs&ab_channel=Jostedalvideo (Accessed on 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 2:37

AV 11 (p. 43)

Ringlenner
Performers: Dancers from the Røros region, Magne Haugom and Jørgen Tamnes playing fiddles
Place of the recording: Sangerhuset (the singer's house) in Røros, Trøndelag county, Norway
Recorded by: Egil Bakka, Ivar Mogstad, Erling Flem
Source: The video collection of the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance. Video number 879,1b: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IGj6k7jVd5U&ab_channel=NorwegianCentreforTraditionalMusicandDance (Accessed on 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 1:53

AV 12 (p. 44)

Ulvikaspringar (Springar from Ulvik) (undivided metre)
Performers: Torkjell Lunde Børsheim and Eli Børsheim Kvåle dancing, Torkjel Bruland Lavoll playing Hardanger fiddle
Place of the recording: *Landskappleiken* (National Competition), Fagernes, Innlandet county, Norway
Date of the recording: 24 August 2015
Recorded by: Atle Utkilen
Source: *YouTube*. Uploaded by Atle Utkilen:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G90M2a2szTQ&t=46s&ab_channel=AtleUtkilen
(Accessed on 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 4:07

AV 13 (p. 44)

Gamalt, springar (in undivided meter, turned duple)
Performers: Nordbygda Spel- og dansarlag (Nordbygda music and dance group), Nordfjordeid, Sogn og Fjordane (dancing); Arne Sølvberg playing fiddle
Place of the recording: Skei Hotell, Jølster, Sogn og Fjordane, Norway
Date of the recording: 5–6 April 2013
Recorded by: Arne Aasen Hauge
Source: Uploaded to *YouTube* by Jostedalvideo: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C4GsyQUwH08 (Accessed on 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 3:29

AV 14 (p. 41, 46)

Telespringar (dancers take the first pace on the first beat)
Performers: Ingebjørg Bø and Ola Narverud dancing, Ottar Kåsa playing Hardanger fiddle
Place of the recording: National Competition 2016, Vågå, Innlandet county, Norway
Date of the recording: 22–26 June 2016
Recorded by: Jostedalvideo
Source: *YouTube*, uploaded by Jostedalvideo on 26 June 2016: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UL2SPT31Ohw&ab_channel=Jostedalvideo (Accessed on 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 4:42

AV 15 (p. 41, 46, 47)

Telespringar (dancers take the first pace on the second beat)
Performers: Soren Huber and Ross Schipper (dancing)
Place of the video recording: Silk Road Festival in Vancouver, Canada
Date of the recording: 6–7 July 2019

Source: Uploaded to *YouTube* by *scandiperformers* on 15 September 2019: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I-Iqv_hKKYY&t=15s (Accessed on 17 March 2022.)
Duration: 2:19

AV 16 (p. 41, 46, 47)

Telespringar (dancers take the first pace on the third beat)
Performers: Hæge Manheim and Øystein Romtveit dancing, Per Anders Buen Garnås playing Hardanger fiddle
Place of the recording: National Competition (Meisterkonserten) 2002
Date of the recording: 30 June 2002
Recorded by: Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance
Source: *YouTube*. Uploaded by the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance on 27 May 2011: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GkzEitcBvc0&ab_channel=NorwegianCentreforTraditionalMusicandDance
Duration: 2:58

AV 17 (p. 47, 48)

Pariserpolka (intended but not realised congruence)
Performers: Dancers from Sauda and the *Sauda Trekkspillforening* (Sauda accordion club/association)
Place of the recording: Folkets Hus, Sauda, Rogaland, Norway
Date of the recording: 13 March 1989
Recorded by: Egil Bakka, assisted by Berta Sørstrønen
Source: The video collection at the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance. Video number 181d. *YouTube* link: https://youtu.be/ADduoOQ78MM
Duration: 1:53

AV 18 (p. 48)

A Faroese dance to the song *Hjalgrimskvæðið* (non-congruence at phrase level)
Performers: Inhabitants of Sumba, Faroe Islands
Place of the recording: Sumba, Faroe Islands
Date of the recording: 30 January 1977
Recorded by: Egil Bakka with Eyðun Andreassen and Pauli Nielsen
Source: The 16mm film collection at the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance. Film number 502. In cooperation with Fróðskaparsetur Føroya (University of the Faroe Islands). https://youtu.be/eIfOXPv65HA
Duration: 5:51

Stefan Hackl
The So-Called Zigeunerstimmung – An Old Tyrolean Style of Playing Guitar

AV 19 (p. 147)

Waltz
Performer: Rudi Mair
Place: Kufstein, Tyrol, Austria
Date: c. 1970
Private audiocassette recording by Martha Mair
Source: Private archive of Martha Mair
Duration: 1:56

AV 20 (p. 151)

Polka
Performer: Ernst Wischatta
Place: Navis, Tyrol, Austria

Date: c. 1965
Private tape recording by Alf Roeper and Renate Prehm-Roeper
Source: Private archive of Malte Roeper
Duration: 1:20

AV 21 (p. 151, 158)

Schneewalzer
Composer: Thomas Koschat
Performer: Ernst Wischatta
Place: Navis, Tyrol, Austria
Date: c. 1965
Private tape recording by Alf Roeper and Renate Prehm-Roeper
Source: Private archive of Malte Roeper
Duration: 1:03

AV 22 (p. 152)

A Ländler played by Rosa Hörbiger, Auffach 1997 (recorded by Stefan Hackl)

Ländler
Composer: Traditional (a mouth harp tune from Rosa Hörbiger's father)
Performer: Rosa Hörbiger
Place: Auffach, Tyrol, Austria
Date: 01 May 1998
Recorded by: Stefan Hackl
Device: Canovision Ex1Hi video camera
Source: Universität Mozarteum, Institut für Musikalische Volkskunde, Zigeunerstimmung, Video tape 11.
Duration: 1:17

Notes on Contributors

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Egil Bakka was the founding director of the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance (1973–2013) and is a professor emeritus of dance studies at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. With colleagues from France, Hungary and the United Kingdom, he initiated the Choreomundus Erasmus international master's programme and served as its first academic coordinator. He has conducted extensive fieldwork and worked in the UNESCO environment regarding the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage. Recent publications include: Bakka, Egil et al., *Waltzing through Europe: Attitudes Towards Couple Dances in the Long Nineteenth-Century* (Open Book Publishers, 2020); and Bakka, E. and G. Karoblis, "Decolonising or Recolonising: Struggles on Cultural Heritage" (2021, *Dance Research*, *39*: 247–263).

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Oliver Peter Graber is active internationally as a composer, pianist, dramaturge and author. His artistic oeuvre includes orchestral and electronic scores commissioned by renowned festivals, ballet companies and choreographers. He was dramaturge of the Vienna State Ballet and has taught at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna (music effects research) and elsewhere. He is currently responsible for the artistic aspect of the Research Institute for Music Medicine with a focus on Arts for Health at the JAM Music LAB Private University in Vienna, which he heads together with intensive-care physician Klaus-Felix Laczika. Interdisciplinary projects at the interface of music/dance and science, such as "piano/dance and brain health" and "functional composition for clinical settings", form the research focus of the institute.

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Mojca Kovačič is an ethnomusicologist interested in the cultural, social and political aspects of music and sound practices. Through studies of different music practices, she explores the principles of musical structures and performances and illuminates their relationships to issues such as gender, nationalism, cultural politics, folklorisation, identifications, migrations and minorities. Her studies have also focused on the study of urban soundscapes, particularly in terms of how they are perceived by audiences and the role of national and local politics in shaping them. More recently, she has expanded her studies by exploring the affective potential of sound, encompassing both the physical experience of the listener and the intertwining of affective experience with social, historical, personal and political aspects.

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