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From Community to Humanity: Dance as Intangible Cultural Heritage

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Doctor of Philosophy in Culture and Performance

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Filip Petkovski

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

From Community to Humanity: Dance as Intangible Cultural Heritage

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Culture and Performance
University of California, Los Angeles, 2021
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Abstract

My dissertation project examines the gradual phases of recontextualizing, folklorizing, heritagizing, and choreographing dance in Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia, and in the Former Yugoslavia in general. In order to demonstrate how dance becomes intangible cultural heritage, I combine UNESCO archival materials with ethnographic research and interviews with dancers, choreographers, and heritage experts. While I trace how the discourses around folklore and intangible cultural heritage were used in the construction of the Yugoslav, and later in the post-Yugoslav nation states, I also write about the hegemonic relationship between dance and institutions. I emphasize dance as a vehicle for mediating ideas around authenticity, distinctiveness, and national identity, while also acknowledging how the UNESCO process of safeguarding and listing culture allows countries such as Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia to achieve international recognition. By studying the relationship between dance, archives, and UNESCO conventions, we can understand the intersection between institutions and issues

around nationalism, but also how discourses of dance shifted dance production and reception in various historical and political contexts during and after the existence of the Yugoslav state.

In the first chapter, I explore the creation of the folkloric discourse and the processes of constructing national archives, based on fears of disappearing culture amidst of modernization. I also elaborate on the institutionalization of dance through folklore research and the emergence of specific methods of study that conceptualized social dances as of national importance. In the second chapter, I discuss the transformation of the archive into a choreographed repertoire that depicts issues around authenticity, exoticism, and stylization. I show the development of amateur and professional dance ensembles that were responsible for popularizing dance as heritage and further demonstrate how heritage is safeguarded through performance. Finally, in the third chapter, I uncover the bureaucratic process through which dance becomes intangible cultural heritage. I demonstrate how through the process of heritagization, dance becomes both a commodity and a medium through which post-Yugoslav nation states can market their cultures in a global arena and affirm their national identities.

Keywords: dance, intangible cultural heritage, UNESCO, choreography, folkorization, heritagization.

The dissertation of Filip Petkovski is approved.

Elsie Ivancich Dunin

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University of California, Los Angeles

2021

I dedicate this dissertation to my dearest friend Ana Mojsovska,

my eternal ray of sunshine.

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In 1966, a young woman named Elsie Ivancich (now Ivancich Dunin) wrote her Master's thesis on the Silent Dances of Yugoslavia at UCLA. Later on, she would begin her career as an emerging dance ethnologist, conducting research in Croatia and Macedonia. Her work on the National Ensemble of Folk Dances and Songs of Macedonia "Tanec," as well as her works on Romani dances have been influential not only for me, but for many generations of ethnochoreologists in the Balkans and throughout the world. During my Master's studies at the Choreomundus Program, I decided to continue her research on "Tanec" and write about choreographing dance in Macedonia. While I was conducting research about my Master Thesis, I came across the works of Anthony Shay, who wrote about choreographing dance in the Former Yugoslavia and the Middle East. His works have inspired me to continue my research on the relationships between dance, ethnicity and nationalism. I thank Elsie and Tony for motivating me to continue researching dance in the Balkans, but also for reassuring me about the importance of my project. By writing this dissertation, I am continuing their legacy.

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Lastly, I would like to thank my parents Ljupcho and Rozeta Petkovski, my sister Jovana Petkovska, and my family. You are my everything and I love you forever.

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Introduction:

On the 9th of September 1951, the International Folk Music Council (IFMC), now International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) held its fourth annual conference in Opatija, Yugoslavia — a socialist country in the Balkans. The conference was attended by some of the most prominent Yugoslav ethnochoreologists and ethnomusicologists responsible for organizing the first Festival of Songs, Dances, and Rituals of the Yugoslav People, who were going to be a part of the conference, alongside other European music and dance researchers. This conference was important as it gave an opportunity to many Yugoslav dance researchers to present and share their work with colleagues from Europe and exchange knowledge about the music and dance of the Yugoslav people, in addition to their methodologies of studying dance. Among the participants of the Festival were eighty-six organized music and dance groups, and approximately 770 dancers, singers, and instrumentalists from all six of the Yugoslav republics: Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia.

Of special interest to me are three dance groups that took part in the festivals and performed three dances that I propose as case studies in this dissertation: Kopachkata, performed by the dancers from the dance group "Kopachka" from the village of Dramche in the vicinity of the city of Delchevo in Macedonia; Trojanac, performed by a group from the village of Sopot near the city of Mladenovac in Serbia; and Vrličko Kolo, performed by the Serbian dance group "Prosvjeta" from Cetina in the vicinity of the city of Knin in Croatia.[1] These performances would be the main source of inspiration for many Yugoslav choreographers who would create choreographic works that constitute what would later

[1] I would like to thank Professor Elsie Ivancich Dunin for making me aware of the existence of a video recording of the performances of this festival. The movie was recorded by Eddy Nadel, a physical education teacher who was interested in Yugoslav folklore. In 1951, he attended the Opatija conference and used a 33mm lense to film the performances. After his death in the mid 1960s, a large part of his collection went to the Duquesne University Tamburitzans, while the movie was also brought to UCLA. Elsie Ivancich Dunin digitized a video copy of the movie in 2020. The movie is now available on https://youtu.be/VTBqzmmJOpk .

become “the iron repertoire” of dances that are regularly performed by the former Yugoslav national ensembles.

These dances are locally known as *kolo* or *oro*, a popular genre of dance in the area that has often been translated in English as circle dance or chain dance. The term also refers to a collective form of a dance in which the dancers join their hands in a chain formation and move together towards the right or left, in an open or closed circle. As a derivative of the Latin word *circulus,* this dance formation is a uniting element not only among the South Slavs that populate the Balkan Peninsula (Mladenović, 1973:12), but for other ethnic groups that live in Eastern Europe. This dance formation appears in other Eastern European countries where it is known as *horo* in Bulgaria, *horon* in Turkey, and *horovod* in Russia and Ukraine, to name a few. Despite referring to a cyclic spatial arrangement of dance (round-shaped or circle dance), the word *kolo* is also used to indicate a group of people participating in dance, the dance event itself, and the kind of dance performed in accordance with a specific melody (Rakočević, 2005:1).

While the way that the performers are positioned makes these dances similar, what differentiates them is the fact that in Serbia, *kolo* is regarded both as a specific type of dance known as Kolo u Tri, and also as a name for a dance such as Srpsko Kolo, Užičko Kolo, Žikino Kolo, or simply Kolo. In Croatia, the *kolo* that is the subject of my research has been further explained with the adjective *nijemo,* which denotes a silent dance. In the case of Kopachkata, when used in official correspondence, it is often called *oroto* Kopachka, that further defines it as the circle dance Kopachka. The dance genre *kolo,* however, is located in all of the Yugoslav republics, as well as in the neighboring countries in the Balkan peninsula, and refers to a closed circle in which the participants perform the same steps in unison and are characterized by a feeling of equality; the open circle allows for more spatial improvisation while maintaining the spirit of collectivity over individuality. While social

performances of Kopachkata and Nijemo Kolo take place only in certain ethnographic regions and certain communities, Kolo performance can take part of any social occasion in Serbia as it is not associated with specific communities which makes everyone a potential Kolo dancer.

I have performed all three of these dances and they have been present in my informal and formal conversations for almost twenty years. Throughout my life, I have observed performances of them, in person, and on the internet for countless of hours. I have been involved with teaching Balkan dance heritage workshops and have taught these dances to many dancers in Europe and the United States of America. I have also choreographed and staged Kopachkata for several performance groups in the United States. My positionality as a practitioner of these dances allows me to take a reflexive approach and functions to counter the biases that I bring to my research. My lived experiences with these dances forms have also aided with my theorization of them. Furthermore, my emphasis on theorizing these dances grows out of my dissatisfaction with both their representation as exclusively folkloric symbols and the scholarly investment in studying their form in particular, as I elaborate in the first chapter.

In this research, I trace the dances' transformation into UNESCO-recognized intangible cultural heritage of humanity, in accordance with the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (referred to as the 2003 Convention).[2] Drawing on past conventions, proclamations, and attempts to safeguard natural, material and immaterial heritage, the 2003 Convention provided a platform for many cultural practices, including dance, to be safeguarded and listed as Intangible Cultural Heritage of humanity (ICH). It therefore confirmed the international visibility of these practices as examples of ICH and stressed the urgency of preservation in the midst of globalization and Westernization

[2] The full text of the Convention is available through the following link: https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention

of culture. Following the example of other countries that initiated safeguarding processes, Croatia, in 2011, safeguarded and listed *Nijemo Kolo, silent circle dance of the Dalmatian Hinterland* on UNESCO'S Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Macedonia has similarly safeguarded *Kopachkata, a social dance from the village of Dramche, Pijanec* in 2014. Finally, in 2017, Serbia officially inscribed *Kolo, traditional folk dance* for UNESCO's recognition. Despite their efforts to safeguard these practices and provide the communities of practitioners with the means to do so, these nation states are also invested in processes of safeguarding national identity and transforming local cultures into commodities of exchange.

Main argument and significance:

What do dances like Samba, Tango, or Waltz have in common with the Nijemo Kolo of the Dalmatian Hinterland in Croatia? What does pizza making in Napoli, the French gastronomic meal and the beer culture in Belgium have in common with the Serbian social dance Kolo*?* What do Yoga, Fado, and the Syrian Shadow Play have in common with the Kopachkata dance from Macedonia? The answer is that they are all officially listed as intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO. Focusing on Kopachkata, Kolo, and Nijemo Kolo, my dissertation explores the gradual development of researching, institutionalizing, canonizing, and heritagizing dance in Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia. I argue that the dances' gradual recontextualization, from local, to national, and finally internationally recognized cultural heritage, was dictated by national and global discourses and ideologies that allowed the dances to exist in three contexts as folklore, choreography, and UNESCO-recognized ICH. These series of shifts allowed for the dances that I study to assume greater import and magnitude and provide a source of pride and appreciation for the communities associated with their performance.

As the first scholar to conduct a comparative analysis between these three dances, I write about the discourses and practices that shaped their respective development. These discourses and practices were first developed through the study of folklore at the end of the nineteenth century, which preserved elements of the European Romantic obsession with disappearing traditions, and were further elaborated on through the development of the field ethnochoreology in the 1940s, which provided a platform for dance scholars to create their own discipline exclusively devoted to the study of "traditional" or "folk" dance. At the same time, led by Yugoslav socialist ideologies that glorified the collective cultural authorship of the people, these dances adopted a new dimension as they took the form of a choreographed spectacle. Finally, they were also affected by the discourse of intangible cultural heritage, which was a result of UNESCO's 2003 Convention. In this study, I reveal how these processes of recontextualization were initiated by ethnographers, practitioners, and choreographers who researched, archived, and turned peasant dance into folklore. This archival material was then engaged by choreographers who created staged pieces for the purpose of creating national repertoire, and utilized both the archive and the repertoire in their bid to make the dances suitable candidates for UNESCO recognition.

I argue that safeguarding but also valuing dance as UNESCO-inscribed ICH allows the post-Yugoslav nation-states of Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia to legitimize their local and national cultures, as well as their national identities, in an international arena. In each chapter, I elaborate on each of these gradual phases, studying the dances alongside the discourses associated with them. I argue that the idea behind collecting, studying, and preserving Kopachkata, Kolo, and Nijemo Kolo was to create an archive that would later translate into a national repertoire of dance that is imagined as heritage. I trace the written and oral histories of each of these dances, while at the same time, expanding on the reasons

behind singling out and validating these specific dance examples as worthy of recognition in order to demonstrate their significant capacity to affirm local, national, and cultural identities.

In sum, my research project elaborates on the discursive and aesthetic formations of producing, institutionalizing, and safeguarding dance as intangible cultural heritage, as I highlight the centrality of Kopachkata, Kolo, and Nijemo Kolo's scholarly research, national dance repertoires, and international cultural policy. I demonstrate how the production of dance as ICH fosters a better understanding of national ideologies associated with heritage appreciation. In my theorization of dance as ICH, I elaborate how different constellations of actors and institutions, whether informal or formal, come together as networks of agents with shared interest for the reason of safeguarding and listing heritage. Furthermore, in exploring the relationship between heritage and institutions — as archives, dance ensembles, or intergovernmental organizations such as UNESCO — I elucidate the institutional involvement in the process of constructing "national heritage" and raising awareness about its importance.

With this study, I intervene within the fields of dance studies, ethnochoreology, studies on the Former Yugoslavia, and critical heritage studies. The three dances that I analyze — Kolo, Nijemo Kolo, and Kopachkata — have been addressed by many folklorists and ethnochoreologists, whose works I analyze in my first chapter and who are largely responsible for creating a canonical approach to examining these dances as folklore. Yet, unfortunately, the research on these dances has not continued. Although Kolo is a current research topic of several Serbian ethnochoreologists, Kopachkata and Nijemo Kolo were mainly the research projects of Yugoslav researchers and there is no present scholarly work about them, despite few mentions in conference proceedings. As these dances, and other social chain dances in the geographical area have historically been undertheorized, I engage in a multi-sited ethnography and focus on the dance's socio-political context. My intent is to

investigate the function of these three case studies in creating dance prototypes that were, and still are, used in promoting the visibility of local, ethnic, and national identities. Furthermore, I write about dance heritage in the former Yugoslavia in general. By theorizing dance as intangible cultural heritage, I also broaden the understanding of choreographing the local, yet I also examine the processes of choreographing that differ from Western concert dance practices. In comparison to other scholarly literature produced by Macedonian, Serbian, and Croatian ethnochoreologists, who largely offer structural analysis, I approach the dances as rooted in nationalism and as productive of national identity.

While there is abundant scholarship that looks at the intersection between heritage and dance, there are only few publications that explore dance as UNESCO defined ICH (Dunin, 2014a). This project is one of the first to theorize dance as ICH, but also to focus this subject on the Yugoslav region, where these dances are performed socially and on the stage as choreography. Although my research is tied to a specific region and to specific dance examples, my concepts of dance heritage and heritage choreography, which I elaborate on throughout this dissertation, can be applied broadly. My effort to elucidate the importance of heritage does not follow the salvage ethnography ethos that positions dance and other cultural practices as "disappearing" in the face of globalization, hence creating a need for archiving and safeguarding the allegedly disappearing culture. Rather, I analyze the factors and influences that led to Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia, on behalf of the communities that live in them, to engage in the safeguarding process.

By theorizing dance as ICH, I incite future research on this phenomenon that has been a nascent scholarly interest since the early 2000s. Both dance and ICH are becoming powerful tools that are used for numerous purposes, whether it is affirming national identity, producing cultural capital, or driving exclusionary nationalisms. Dance, moreover, is an under-recognized topic within the literature of heritage studies, while, by contrast, ICH has

rarely been covered within the fields of performance and dance studies.[3] Therefore, my theoretical framework actively contributes to these scholarly fields and I imagine that my project will create productive conversation between the fields of dance studies and critical heritage studies.

The Balkans and Yugoslavia:

The communities that I write about are part of the South Slavic group of people that populate the Balkan Peninsula of Europe, specifically Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia. The Balkan is a region that was continuously conquered, whether by the Byzantine, Ottoman, or the Habsburg empires and has been fractured by wars and ethnic conflicts that resulted in constant reconfigurations of territory and political borders. When the Balkan peninsula was first mentioned in literature by European travelers in the late eighteenth century, the people of this region were often proclaimed "lost to the Western World" (Todorova, 1997). Throughout history, the Balkans have often been portrayed as semi-developed, semi-colonial, semi-civilized and semi-oriental by the authors who wrote about them (Todorova, 1997:16). Contrary to Todorova's thesis, which argues that the Balkans were imagined by European travelers, Victor Roudometof argues that the creation of the area known as "The Balkans" is the consequence of the adoption and the selective appropriation of Western ideas applied to the European part of the Ottoman Empire (2001:239).

Moreover, as Milica Bakić- Hayden asserts, the Balkans connote several negative attributes, such as an association with violence (1995:917) due to the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the Yugoslav Wars (1991-1998), and the concept of "Balkanism" as a variation of the Orientalist thematic (1995:920-921), as explored by Edward Said in his seminal study

[3] I would like to acknowledge that tradition and heritage have long been pressing issues that have been explored by numerous scholars throughout the world. My project, however, focuses on the alignment of dance with the UNESCO apparatus and its recontextualization into intangible cultural heritage — a concept that differs from heritage, as I explain later in this work.

Orientalism (1978). Milica Bakic-Hayden and Robert Hayden refer to a letter from the Serbian St. Sava to Irinej in the 13th century in which he states:

> At first we were confused. The East thought that we were West, while the West considered us to be East. Some of us misunderstood our place in this clash of currents, so they cried that we belong to neither side, and others that we belong exclusively to one side or the other. But I tell you, Irinej, we are doomed by fate to be the East on the West, and the West on the East, to acknowledge only heavenly Jerusalem beyond us, and here on earth-no one.
>
> (Bakic-Hayden and Hayden, 1992:1)

According to the authors, the links with the Byzantine and the Ottoman empires, Islam and Orthodox Christianity, position the Balkans as the cultural and religious "other" of the European proper (Bakic-Hayden, 1992:3). As these countries have been treated as "still bound up in 'tradition' and strangled in its efforts toward modernization" (Wolf, 1982:41), they were never regarded as keeping up with Western Europe's capitalist expansion and were therefore considered non-modern. Often referred to as "the 'weird cousin' of Europe, caught in an inescapable deadlock of history and identity," (Čvoro, 2014:26), the Balkans have always been economically dependent on the First World (Hobsbawm, 1987:16). Today, the countries in the Balkans, especially the western part, are considered to have developing economies. In the pages that follow, I claim that these characterizations and the foreign influences that exotified this region enhanced the projects of state institutions, which utilized these myths in order to position themselves as culturally distinct from the rest of Europe.

Throughout this dissertation, I pay particular attention to the former country of Yugoslavia and the post-Yugoslav independent countries of Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia. Prior to the creation of the first Yugoslav state in 1918, the people that lived in this region were conqured by the Austro-Hungarian (1867-1918) and Ottoman empires (1299-1922). Following World War I, and after the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empires, the countries in the region united under The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918, later renamed as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. With the

abolishment of the monarchy in 1945, the country was renamed as The Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia in 1946, while in 1963 it was renamed again as The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In 1948, Yugoslavia ceased its alliance with the Soviet Union and left the Communist Information Bureau.[4] Soon after the split, the country became open to the West and started to promote a type of "soft socialism" or "liberal socialism" (Hofman, 2011), followed by a process of liberalization that was of particular significance for cultural institutions and the cultural life of artists. As a socialist country that severed its ties with the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia abandoned the process of collectivization[5] and replaced it with a model of self-management[6] (Jakovljević, 2016), followed by a period of industrialization.

Yugoslavia was made up by six republics: Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia, as well as two autonomous provinces: Kosovo and Vojvodina. The country was multi-ethnic and multi-religious, while its inhabitants racially defined themselves as Caucasian with the exemption of Roma communities who are of South Asian racial descent. Within the country, there was a clear distinction between two concepts: *narodi* and *narodnosti.* As Franke Willmer writes

> *Narodi* signified the status of Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Macedonians, and Montenegrins, and, after 1971, Muslims, including only the Bosnian Muslims, as nationality groups who enjoyed equal constitutional status. They were known as "constitutive nations." *Narodnosti* referred to nationalities that existed in Yugoslavia as protected minorities, including Albanians, Hungarians, Turks, and Slovaks. *Narodi* were also distinguished by the fact that they had no homeland outside of Yugoslavia.
>
> (Wilmer, 2002:41)

[4] The Communist Information Bureau or the Cominform was an alliance of Communist parties in Eastern Europe that was founded in 1947 and operated until 1956. Directed by the Soviet Union, the main task of the Bureau was to coordinate the activities of other communist states, especially during the Cold War. As Yugoslavia split from this organization, Yugoslav officials founded the non-aligned movement and severed their ties with the Soviet Union.

[5] Collectivization refers to a process that mainly targeted the agricultural sector when individual landholdings became transformed into collective. This process took place between 1946 and lasted until 1952.

[6] As a distinctively Socialist form of management, self-management refers to work processes that are self-directed by the workers that make up an organizational workforce.

However, it is important to emphasize that these terms were used not as signifiers of national identity, but to denote ethnicity (Majstorović and Turjačanin, 2013:14). In a nation of three religions (Catholicism, Christian Orthodoxy, and Islam) and several different ethnic groups (Roms, Albanians, Turks, Slovaks, Hungarians, to name a few), the country was led by the Yugoslav socialist idea of culture, made possible through training of the population in Marxism. This education aimed to develop feelings of belonging to the Yugoslav nation, its culture, and its heritage and to acknowledge the common interests and goals of the Yugoslav socialist community (Wachtel, 1998:187). Due to its alignment with the Yugoslav slogan of *bratstvo i jedinstvo* (brotherhood and unity), the governing Communist party of Yugoslavia influenced its citizens to believe that they were members of a specific national group, or *narod,* through a process of imagining the nation (Wachtel, 1998:226). This politics primarily promulgated the notion that citizens were Yugoslavs before being, for instance, ethnically Serbs, Croats, or Macedonians; any type of separatist nationalism was to be persecuted and punished.

The breakup of Yugoslavia, as discussed by numerous scholars (Wilmer, 2002; Benson, 2001; Hudson, 2003; Malešević, 2008; Kecmanovic, 2002) was the product of the weakening socialist system amidst a rising sense of nationalism and separatism that resulted in bloody wars and ethnic cleansing. The Yugoslav republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia declared their independence in 1991, followed by Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, Montenegro and Serbia in 2006, and Kosovo in 2008. Following their independence, many of the post-Yugoslav countries have engaged in various processes of nation building and the production of national identity, using music, dance, and other cultural forms to express their originality and difference.

In order to distance themselves from their socialist past, among other reasons, Slovenia joined the European Union in 2004, while Croatia followed suit in 2013.

Montenegro, Serbia, and Macedonia are still considered potential candidates for inclusion in the European Union and are currently negotiating their accessions. As of February 2019, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, as it has been referred to in official correspondence, has formally changed its name to North Macedonia, following a long dispute with neighboring Greece, a country that vetoed Macedonia's application to join the European Union because the northern part of the Greek territory is also locally known as Macedonia. Throughout this dissertation, I use the terms "Yugoslav region" or "Yugoslav area" to refer to the countries that are geographically situated in what was once known as Yugoslavia, due to the fact that although they are independent states, they share a common history and culture.

Key discussions:

In my theorization of dance as intangible cultural heritage, I utilize several key concepts such as heritage, intangible cultural heritage, folklore, tradition, authenticity, identity, and choreography. I proceed with a brief theoretical overview of these terms, while at the same time, I propose new delineations of them. There are several definitions of heritage, its construction, and its meaning to people. Because these understandings tend to be contradictory, and even oppositional to each other, there can be no general consensus of what "heritage" or "cultural heritage" is. What can be determined is, as David Lowenthal notes, that "all at once, heritage is everywhere" (1996:ix). Truly, the concept of heritage has become a worldwide phenomenon—I would argue this is mostly, but not only, because of its association with UNESCO and the urgency towards safeguarding it from disappearance. For Rodney Harrison (2013), there are four phases that shaped the development of the discourses around heritage. The first phase is associated with the Enlightenment and the concerns around preservation of the natural and cultural environment; the second phase is the product of increased state control of heritage during the twentieth century that gave birth to the

concept of World Heritage; the third phase is related to UNESCO's World Heritage Convention in 1971; while the final phase is the result of the "heritage boom" in response to UNESCO's conventions and a greater public vernacular interest in the past (Harrison, 2013:43).

Etymologically speaking, the English word "heritage" is related to the concept of inheritance; however, the root of this term does not indicate a universal translation throughout global contexts. For instance, in the United States of America, which is one of the few countries that has not ratified the 2003 Convention, heritage is used in colloquial everyday talk to denote culture, ethnicity, and race (i.e. "what is your heritage?"). Such examples indicate, as Stuart Hall asserts, that the term has slipped innocently in everyday speech and is used frequently to refer to organizations, institutions, and practices devoted to preservation and presentation of culture, among other things (1999:3). The concept of heritage is also promoted and marketed by institutional structures and everyday locales such as museums, galleries, antique shops, tourist organizations, governmental and academic spaces, among others.

I theorize heritage as a Western European ideology that seeks to establish a relationship between the material and the immaterial past, producing an idea, object, or practice as worthy of preservation due to its attachments to the past. While tangible heritage is often produced by ethnographers and museum experts through exhibitions and museum displays, thereby giving these objects a "second life" (Kirshenblatt- Gimblett, 1998) cultural practices that are conceptualized as folklore or intangible cultural heritage are mediated and safeguarded through performance. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett approaches the topic of heritage from a performance studies perspective and defines the term as a new form of cultural production of the present that takes recourse to the past (1995:269). Similarly, Mary Lorena Kenny considers heritage as a dynamic way of understanding cultural production,

whereby the shifting political and social landscapes impacts public understanding of the past and what is considered authentic, valuable, and in need of preservation (2008:152). While it is metacultural production (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2014), cultural heritage can be considered a part of cultural and political performance, in which the meaning of the past is constantly recreated and reinterpreted to address the political and social needs of the present (Smith, 2006). Similarly, Rodney Harrison states that "heritage is not a passive process of simply preserving things from the past that remain, but an active process of assembling a series of objects, places and practices that we choose to hold up as a mirror to the present, associated with a particular set of values that we wish to take with us into the future" (2013:4).

It is worth noting that heritage cannot be equated with history (Lowenthal, 2000), as it is not an objective fact about the world, but instead, a social construction to which historical, cultural, and religious narratives, as well as customary law and individuals, have contributed in important ways (Gillman, 2010:66). Such theorizations demonstrate its constructed and contingent nature and the power of institutions to ascribe value to cultural practices by reconfiguring their status as heritage through close association with history, religion, the nation, and international law. Despite beliefs that the concept of heritage has existed for quite some time, several scholars (Bendix, 2002; Lowenthal, 1996; Hafstein, 2018) suggest that it has been formally coined and theorized only within recent decades. Contemporary interest in theorizing heritage is in part due to its involvement with cultural policy and institutionalization through UNESCO. In this dissertation, I suggest that nation states, and the institutions associated with heritage research and preservation, construct their versions of history and politics in order to grapple with the exigencies of their cultural and national contexts.

The idea of a common "world heritage" was first raised by The International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) through the Athens Charter[7] in 1931. In 1964, the Venice Charter[8] further elaborated on this notion, alongside growing public consciousness of an assumed unity of human values and an interest in regarding ancient monuments as common heritage (Logan, 2018:25). Specifically, the rise of heritage, as Marc Askew (2010) and David Lowenthal (1998) have shown was in reaction to campaigns that fought to save endangered material culture and natural sites from depredation, which initially led to the creation of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention in 1972.[9] This Convention has entrenched the use of terms such as heritage, cultural heritage, and natural heritage within the UNESCO discourse (Logan, 2018:26). Yet, in the 1990s, the word was still synonymous with descriptive accounts of estates, castles and houses, rather than with contested and dynamic perspectives (Meskell, 2015:3). In order to differentiate between its different usages, in 1999, UNESCO proclaimed that tangible heritage included monuments, groups of buildings and sites, in addition to environments as natural properties and immaterial culture as intangible cultural heritage.

Although it was officially institutionalized through UNESCO, the general idea of heritage has been present since the eighteenth century, when it was referred to as *Volkskunde*, folklore, or traditional culture— terms that I will explain later in this work. While the ideology of heritage is derived from western European Romantic nationalism (Bendix, 2002) and associated with architectural and archeological conservation and preservation practices (Kuutma, 2013:4), the emergence of heritage is also linked with the rise of European modernity (Pearce, 2000). Such affiliations with Europe and modernity point out that the idea

[7] The full text of the Athens Charter is available at the following link https://www.icomos.org/en/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments

[8] The full text of the Venice Charter can be accessed at https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf

[9] The full text of the World Heritage Convention is available at the following link: https://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/

of heritage is a product of the Eurocentric concern with salvaging cultural traditions that was driven by the fear of dying cultural practices due to the rapid industrialization and modernization.

Heritage played an important role in the formation of modern nation-states (Hafstein, 2007:91). Like Benedict Anderson, I regard the nation state as a modern European political construct. For Anderson, the nation state is "imagined by a group of people that see themselves as fellow-members, while in fact, most of them never met" (Anderson, 1983). Several scholars (Baruch Wachtel, 1999; Maners, 2006; Chatterjee, 1993) have emphasized the nation-state's use of peasant cultural expression as central to the construction of national identity, which, in turn, signifies a process of creating national modernity. In the Yugoslav context, Wachtel argues that the nation was imagined through language, folk poetry, and print culture, which resulted in South-Slavic nationalism (1998:32). In this dissertation, I assert that the nation is also imagined through the performance of dances that may incite feelings of authenticity, patriotism and nationalism. Related to Anderson's discussion, Stuart Hall argues that heritage is a discursive practice, as it serves as a medium through which a certain nation can construct for itself collective social memory, not unlike the way that individuals and families construct identities through selective narratives (Hall, 1999:5). My project specifically demonstrates how concepts such as heritage and folklore were used in the construction of the Yugoslav states, but also how the post-Yugoslav independent states of Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia drew on the nation's folkloric symbols for the purposes of creating distinct identities.

The links between heritage, ideology, and the nation state have been presented by numerous authors within the field of critical heritage studies. One of the most important developments in the field is Laurajane Smith's thesis on Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) which she defines as the dominant hegemonic discourse that is established by

Western European intellectual and institutional traditions (2006:11). Smith argues that the dominant heritage discourse comes from nineteenth century understandings of nationalism and liberal modernity, and an emphasis on the material past, such as monuments. The concept of heritage can therefore be assumed to originate in the colonial European states, developed through discussions about identity and race (Smith, 2006:16). As this discourse informs the way that heritage produces knowledge, the specific linguistic term also determines the recognition and perception of music and dance practices. Smith argues that people use heritage to construct, reconstruct, and negotiate a range of identities, social and cultural values and meaning in the present (2006:3) while she also adds that heritage promotes a consensus version of history by institutions that regulate cultural and social tensions (2006:4).

Like Smith, several of the authors that I have consulted link heritage with the concept of identity as a constructed and contested idea. While what constitutes identity can be ambiguous (Tilly, 1996; Calhoun, 1994; Peterson Royce, 1982), as it is used to frame an individual's affiliation with ethnicity, gender, sexuality, religion, or other social categories, I approach identity specifically in terms of ethnicity and nationality. Related to Benedict Anderson's discussion about imagining the nation, I consider ethnic and national identities to be imagined, much like the nation state. Furthermore, I argue that the construction of national identity is a political project of mobilizing groups of people under the idea of collective distinctiveness, based on language, religion, and their attachment to a specific land. National identity is therefore rooted in the idea of state discourse (Wilmer, 2002), as it relies on narratives that connect specific groups of people to a common past. However, because of examples such as Palestine, Tibet, and other indigenous communities who are not organized into state formations, national identity can also be expressed through state discourse, yet the state is not a necessary factor for developing a national identity.

I link processes of identity construction through heritage with Appadurai's concept of culturalism, which he summarizes as "identity politics mobilized at the level of the nation state" (1996:15). Appadurai associates this phenomenon with modern states that are trying to encompass ethnic diversities "into fixed and closed sets of cultural categories to which individuals are often assigned forcibly" (1996:15). As Frederick Cooper asserts: "Understood as a product of social or political action, identity is invoked to highlight the processual, interactive development of the kind of collective self-understanding, solidarity, or groupness that can make collective action possible" (2005:65). Collective identity focuses on the experience of belonging to a group and is designed to evoke feelings of commonality and solidarity. For instance, Laurajane Smith claims that heritage is a political negotiation of identity, place and memory, that includes, among many processes, remembering and passing on knowledge engaged with expressions of identity (2015a:460). Similarly, Antonio Machuca shares the opinion that heritage implies identity, whereby heritage produces the historical meaning of a social group in the form of an inherited good that must be passed on (2013:61).

Smith also argues for a process of re-constructing and negotiating cultural and social values and meanings through a performance, "in which we identify the values, memories and cultural and social meanings that help us make sense of the present, our identities and sense of physical and social place" (2015:140-141). When a community identifies with a certain heritage practice, it perceives and claims the practice as its own — as "ours" — and thus ascribes a sense of uniqueness and, by extension, a need for protection. Protection becomes essential, especially when heritage is interpreted as a national concern given the significant public identification with it; practices such as "national dances" and "national language," exemplify this approach to heritage and have been a subject of upheaval and conflict in many nations.

Given that heritage is produced, and not simply found, it is often commodified and plays an important role in tourist industries. As Georgiana Gore and Andrée Grau contend, heritage is constructed within the frame of Western consumer capitalism, where the cultural economy, which includes but is not limited to museums and cultural tourism organizations, package, price, and sell heritage to the larger public (2014:119). In the tourism industry, heritage can become a location or a destination (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2014:373). The association of heritage as the pride of the nation's past results in its commodification as it becomes a mean upon which the nation can capitalize on (Gillman, 2010:43). While heritage's value is often ascribed by people who personally identify with it (Salazar, 2010:136), specific iterations are also given additional value as they become cultural heritage: heritage experts elevate certain cultural practices by recognizing them as special and different than the others (Groth, 2015), mostly for the purpose of creating national inventory and satisfying UNESCO dossier criteria.

I now shift my discussion from the general understanding of heritage towards different constructions. When used without a proper adjective, heritage can refer to many things including objects, sites, and cultural practices. For that reason, UNESCO created the concept of intangible cultural heritage, which was first used in The Proclamation of the Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2001[10] and The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. As opposed to the tangible and immovable (objects and sites), ICH places emphasis on any non- tangible aspects of culture that were previously studied as folklore. A major event towards UNESCO's approach to safeguarding culture was the 1999 conference of the Centre for Folklife and Cultural Heritage at the Smithsonian Institution in the United States of America and UNESCO's

[10] The full text of the Proclamation can be accessed through the following link: https://ich.unesco.org/en/proclamation-of-masterpieces-00103

Intangible Cultural Heritage section, at which experts discussed taking a turn from the Western academic oriented folklorists perspective and giving voice to grassroot communities and their living processes (Bortolotto, 2007:22).

The official definition of the term intangible cultural heritage by the 2003 Convention states that ICH is "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage…manifested inter alia in the following domains: (a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; (b) performing arts; (c) social practices, rituals and festive events; (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; (e) traditional craftsmanship" (UNESCO, 2003). Several authors (Janeček, 2017; Mencin, 2004; Kuutma, 2013) however, point out that the concept of ICH can be regarded as a re-designation of previous concepts such as folklore and tradition that focus on intangible aspects of culture.

The need to safeguard ICH comes from the premise that heritage is disappearing in the face of globalization, as I elaborate on in the third chapter. Globalization is another key term in my dissertation and it is a concept that has often been linked to modernity (Appadurai, 1996). Characterized by free trade, liberalization of the international flow of capital, its ability to expand horizons (Long and Labadi, 2010), but also because of the accelerated movement in directions other than metropoles, one of the results of globalization is its ability to homogenize cultural practices that are eventually absorbed into political and cultural economies (Appadurai, 1996:42), but also to reinforce differences. For other authors (Lenzerini, 2011; Hoppal, 2012), globalization is also another form of colonization, given that it imposes cultural archetypes that are developed in dominant societies and universalizes culture through hegemonic relationships. However, as Long and Labadi point out,

globalization is not a new phenomenon but has been evident since eighteenth century European imperial expansions. What is new, the authors add, is the intensity, extent, and character of its new form (Long and Labadi, 2010:2).

The notion of intangible, as opposed to tangible, heritage can be attributed to the influence of Asian officials in UNESCO, who emphasized that heritage is the process rather than the product and thereby emphasizes heritage practitioners and the communities in which they live (Akagawa, 2015). Within this understanding, heritage is not only an object, or, in my study, not the dance per se, but also the communities who perform it, cherish it, and consider it as an important aspect of their cultural lives. Máiréad Nic Craith draws attention to heritage beyond the material by discussing a speech from the French Minister of Culture and Communication. During the launch of the heritage year in France in 1979, the Minister stated, "Heritage is no longer cold stones or the glass separating us from exhibits in museum. It is also the village *lavoir*, the little country church, local dialects, the charm of family photos, skills and techniques, language, written and oral tradition, humble architecture" (Nic Craith, 2008:55-56).

In addition to being a bureaucratic distinction (Blake, 2006:23), a major difference between tangible and intangible cultural heritage is its method of study; that is, tangible heritage is studied topographically, while intangible heritage is studied ethnographically (Hafstein, 2014:48). Moreover, tangible heritage is usually associated with territory, while intangible heritage is rooted in locality (Skhounti, 2008:75). It is worth noting that these binary oppositions might be meaningless to many indigenous cultures who have a more holistic view on culture (Blake: 2006:23). For instance, the division between the tangible and the intangible can often be disregarded, especially in practices associated with craftsmanship where the intangible aspect is the know-how and the techniques related to manufacturing,

while the tangible aspect is the product itself. Such examples indicate that the tangible and the intangible are closely related and often could not be regarded as separate categories.

Even though it is regarded as a more fitting term than folklore, ICH has also been criticized by a wide range of scholars. For instance, Renato Rosaldo regards it as a normative concept that has less obvious value than tangible heritage as it refers to immateriality and ephemerality, rather than the permanent and enduring (2013:37). Similarly, Kristin Kuutma argues that the term is a substitute for the concept of "culture" that is implemented in cultural policy-making and mediated at national and international levels through various agencies and organizations (2013:12). Related to her argument Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett adds that intangible cultural heritage is culture, and that like natural heritage, it is alive, so the task would be to sustain the whole system as a living entity as opposed to collecting intangible artifacts (2012:4).

As previously discussed, UNESCO has used the term folklore to refer to the intangible aspects of culture. UNESCO's involvement with the protection of this category is associated with the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore[11] that was adopted in 1989. For the purposes of this Recommendation, folklore was defined as "the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals... Its forms are, among others, language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts" (UNESCO, 1989). Prior to this Recommendation, UNESCO established the Non-Physical Heritage section in 1982, later renamed as the Intangible Heritage section, which resulted in the replacement of the term folklore with the term heritage. One of the reasons for this terminology change by UNESCO and the 2003 Convention was due to its European-derived vocabulary, which used terms such as "metropolis" and "the provinces" that did not seem completely fit for the

[11] The full text of the Recommendation is available at the following link: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13141&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

heritage model (Jacobs, 2014:266). The term folklore has also been rejected because of its ties with European colonization, as delegates attending the UNESCO/Smithsonian joint conference in 1999 brought to the fore (Nic Craith, 2008:56).

Yet folklore as a concept has been present much longer than its institutionalization by UNESCO. Coined in 1846 by the British antiquarian William John Thoms as an English translation of the German *Volkskunde* introduced in 1787 (Bauman, 1992:29), the concept of folklore dates to the Romantic period. Romanticism**,** as a European movement that developed in reaction to the Industrial Revolution and the Enlightenment, manifested aesthetically as a rejection of classical themes in favor of fantasy and melancholy and demonstrated an interest in folklore and national heritage. The birth of European Romanticism, according to Josefina Roma, was a direct response to the Napoleonic invasion of Europe: it was premised on a search for alternative models of expression that could better provide a distinctive concept of identity to oppose the process of standardization that was propagated by the empire (2005:138). According to Roma, Romanticism accentuated a re-emphasis on the beliefs of the Middle Ages, particularly expounding the notion that communities that shared a common culture and belief, as markers of their common identities (Roma, 2005:136). In my first chapter, I focus my discussion on the spread of Romanticism in the Yugoslav region and the discourses around folklore and *narodna kultura* (folk culture) and *narodna umjetnost* (folk art).

Folklore became popular through the works of the German Romantics like Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm and the philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder, who collected folktales and peasant folk songs, which they considered as expressions of creative and artistic sources of the nation (Giersdorf, 2013:28). The Grimm brothers and Herder became influential in the mission to revive national consciousness and establish national culture based on peasant art. William Wilson writes that Herder begged his people not to abandon their native traditions

and reach out to those of other nationalities, but rather to cherish their own ways of life inherited from their fathers (1973:114). Despite its mission of discovering and collecting traditions, folklore has been considered a scientific discipline since the 1950s, although, it may be starting to vanish as an academic specialization (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998:281).

Conceptualized as an interest of objectifying the past and the non-modern through documenting certain types of cultural otherness (Anttonen, 2005:13), folklore played an important part in the production of modernity by classifying the folk as a marginal group whose lore was treated as an object of discovery (Anttonen, 2005:32). Similar to the interest in the concept of folklore itself, the search for peasant dance and music was the result of an ongoing concern that certain dance practices were disappearing in the wake of modernization. The formation of folklore as a discipline was the product of a quest for collecting and archiving peasant cultural expressions that would be aligned with national spirit, and hence, used in the project of creating the nation state and national identity. Ethnographers endeavored to collect and archive dance knowledge, especially from rural and peasant communities and align it with the increasingly popular discipline of folklore.

Aligned with conversations around folklore, rituals, legends, and the lives of peasants, the idea of tradition was similarly popularized during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Folklore and tradition therefore developed within the same historical time frame and were both conceptualized around ideas about the transmission and the loss of cultural practices. Despite emphasizing different processes, both terms enforce a respect for the past and an interest in history and they function to accentuate belonging to a group.

Raymond Williams' (1977) critique of tradition aligns with the contemporary theorizations of heritage as everyday culture that relates to the past but is realized in the present. Williams states that culture is simply everyday life; given that tradition and heritage are aspects of culture, I regard tradition as part of the practice of everyday life also. The

dance practices that I explore were, and to some degree, still are, considered to qualify as part of the everyday lives of the communities in which they exist. Before the intervention taken by cultural theorists such as Raymond Williams (1977) and Michel de Certeau (1984), among others, the concept of tradition has long been interpreted as oppositional to the concept of culture: tradition is understood to operate as an unexamined force that places emphasis on collective consensus whereas culture—especially high culture, the cultivated aesthetic associated with "civilization," or as a hegemonic ideology in the Marxist sense— was associated strictly with the bourgeoise. In the context of folklore and heritage studies, tradition often implies communal or group activities that promote cultural cohesion and that at times can work against innovation, as it emphasizes links with the past (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2002). Because of its frequent use by nationalist projects in the Yugoslav region, tradition today is often regarded as a subaltern cultural mode, while the notion of high culture coincides with Western European and American aesthetics.

There have been several major theories of what tradition is. One of the most influential theories is Eric Hobsbawm's "invented traditions," which he defines as a "set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm, 2002:1). For Peter Shils, tradition and traditional — two terms that are most commonly used in the study of culture and society — often describe the recurrence of approximately identical structures of conduct and patterns of belief that are transmitted over several generations within a delimited territory and genetically continuous population that share a common culture (1971:123). According to him, the concept of tradition comes from the Latin *traditum* that points to a transmission process from the past to the present, without making any statement about what is, or for how long has been handed down, whether in oral or written form (1981:12).

However, it is important to stress that tradition signifies both the process of transmission and the elements themselves that are being transmitted (Bauman, 1992:31). While they are often regarded as national patrimony when elevated through festive occasions (Guss, 2000:17), they should not be solely understood as long-established customs rooted in "authenticity," but as an ideology "that attributes precedents to practices that may have recently been revived, recast, or reinvented, even if the label of contents refer back to a previous practice" (Hughes-Freeland, 2006:55). Since they do not make reference to the past nor the future, traditions are simultaneously atemporal yet have temporal structure, since they are beliefs with a sequential social structure (Shils, 1971:126). Moreover, tradition is inseparable from modernity (Anttonnen, 2005:12): the modern often signifies novelty and innovation whereas the traditional, by contrast, refers to belonging to the past (Anttonnen, 2005:37). Yet, tradition remains embedded in modernity in a position of servitude, as it satisfies nostalgic whims and it provides a sense of profundity for a modern theme (MacCannel, 1999:34). Anttonen further argues that the conceptualization of tradition has gone hand in hand with the process of folklorization by claiming that the study of folklore does not find or discover folklore, but the gaze that looks for folklore incorporates particular cultural phenomena into the discourse of folklore (2005:57).

What makes tradition especially important in my research is its involvement with folklore, heritage, and dance. As demonstrated throughout this dissertation, both folklore and ICH rely on the construction of an archive and a repertoire that are used to disseminate knowledge, but the ICH model also stresses the importance of cultural preservation to ensure its continuity. Both categories of folklore and heritage refer to the communally authored, the product of the people whose culture was and still is believed to be within the public domain; it is a category that supposes a common history and an origin that people imagine as "ours." One of the major differences between folklore and ICH is that the study of folklore

objectifies the past by focusing on previous cultural practices that might no longer be vital in the communities in which they were practiced. In contrast, the heritage model emphasizes current and living traditions which promise continuity and provide their practitioners with a contemporary sense of group belonging. While the folklore model does not, the ICH model avoids links with "freezing" culture by ensuring sustainability through providing support for cultural reproduction (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006:164). These conditions of support include recognition of culture on national and international levels, financial support from the state, and organizing festivals and workshops through which the dancers can learn or continue transmitting the dance. Hence, UNESCO strives not to preserve the dance that cannot be sustained without its practitioners but to provide the dancers with the necessary means of keeping the dance as a living practice and ensure its continuity in the future.

Despite the dominant and legible differences between folklore and ICH, I argue that the concept of ICH extends and elaborates on previous theorizations of folklore. While both folklore and heritage are often in service to the nation state to which they belong to, the project of safeguarding heritage mostly targets communities made up by heritage practitioners, rather than targeting the whole population of a certain country. By transforming folklore into ICH, cultural practices adopt values that are associated with the ICH model, as a product of global cultural policies that stress human rights, cultural diversity, and sustainable development. Yet, in order to be safeguarded, ICH must be considered to be long-lasting and must imply continuity between the past, present, and the future.

In the previous section I surveyed key debates related to the origin of the concept of heritage, its relationship to traditions, folklore, and the creation of the nation state and how the concept morphed into what UNESCO has labeled as intangible cultural heritage. In the following section, I address heritage's relationship with dance through a concept that I define as dance heritage. The main motivation for theorizing dance heritage is my rejection of terms

such as “folk dance,” “ethnic dance,” and “traditional dance,” which have become increasingly problematic with the development of post-modern and post-structuralist theory. These dances have been labelled as such because of some of their unifying characteristics, such as their transmission process from one onto the next generation, their collective and participatory nature that is realized through the chain formation and the open circle, the lack of recorded historical knowledge, and the treatment of the dances as authorless. I consider “folk dance,” “ethnic dance,” and “traditional dance,” to be unstable and inadequate terms, as they tend to associate the dances with tradition, folklore, and the past and thus imply that they do not exist as a vital and continuous cultural practice for the dancers associated with them. Furthermore, these categories tend to include dance practices of marginalized groups or peasant societies and are therefore often regarded as primordial, exotic, and authentic, as opposed to modern or contemporary.

According to scholars such as Curt Sachs (1933) and Felix Hoerburger (1968), folk dance is a construct that objectifies certain dance practice as non-modern. It also indicates a certain urgency, as it often positions the dance as on the verge of disappearance and in need of preservation. During the nineteenth century, the folk was understood only as oral, literary and historical; later, in the mid-nineteenth century, the term became associated with material objects through the influence of the World’s Fairs (Ó Giolláin, 2013:86-87). “Folk dances” were typically understood as dances that were practiced “in the field,” (Buckland, 1999) and thus the term “folk” usually referred to peasants who performed the dances on social occasions. With the onset of rapid industrialization and the emerging class divisions amidst nineteenth-century capitalism, the “folk” was also extensively used as a category to differentiate between the literate bourgeoisie and “the people” (Bendix, 1997:9).

Theresa Buckland links the construction of the category of “folk” with the dichotomy between town and country, in keeping with the transformation of rural into industrial

societies, where the communities associated with the former are seen as closer to nature and closer to the past (1983:316). She critiques the concept by arguing that it is loaded with nineteenth-century misconceptions about tradition and argues that such forms "may have their origin in popular or classical situations but their designation as folk must be determined by the environment in which the process is perpetuated" (Buckland, 1983:327). Folk dances were often regarded as original and unchanging due to the connection between the folk and European Romanticism (Nahachewsky, 2001:7): this association imbued the folk with the obligation to represent a custom or a culture that is "frozen" in time, enabling a historic construction of local and cultural memory that symbolized the certain continuity of society (Hardt, 2011:32). For Yvonne Hardt, the interest in folk dance after the turn of the twentieth century comes from a general re-evaluation of the status of the body due to encounters with cultures that were marked as "other" (2011:32).

For Daniel J. Walkovitz, the folk is an imagined subject from the rural past that is often used by revivalists in urban areas; the folk is also the urban culture of the revival dancers themselves (2010:3). He further states that the characterization of the folk as anti-modern often ignores the cosmopolitan outlook and commitment to progress that those deemed as "folk" actually promote and it confirms the tendency to see modernism and anti-modernism as binaries rather than as intermeshing tendencies (Walkovitz, 2010:3). Finally, he states that the folk does not only need to be tied with the peasantry, as "folk tradition is no less "real" for being constantly revised or "invented" in ways that are fundamental to its essence" (Walkovitz, 2010:4). Despite being used to refer to the dance practices of peasant societies, the concept can also be used to refer to different types of dance genres such as ballet, jazz, tap dance and so on (Ruyter, 1995:269). For example, the choreographers of the Irish dance company Riverdance develop their work from Irish peasant dance, yet the dancers themselves do not carry the illusion that what they perform is peasant dancing (Shay,

2016:9). Similarly, the term folk dance can also be a misnomer, especially when used by professionally trained dancers such as the ones in the Moiiseyev Dance Company, who largely utilize ballet techniques and aesthetics (Shay, 2019:42).

Similarly, the term ethnic dance can function in problematic ways. An early definition of ethnic dance came from Gertrude Prokosch Kurath in her piece 'Panorama of Dance Ethnology,' in which she makes a division between dances of folklore, which include religious, magical, occupational and war dances; dances of the folk, which are defined as popular recreational dances; traditional dances; step dances and; non-professional dances, which she understands as the broadest and most applicable category (Prokosch Prokosch Kurath, 1960:235). In her seminal piece 'An Anthropologist Looks at Ballet as a Form of Ethnic Dance' (1970) Joan Kealiinohomoku avoids Curt Sachs' ethnocentric approach to the world history of dance, in which he defines the folk as an evolutionary stage between the primitive and the civilized. Rather, she critiques the concept of ethnic dance, arguing that, from an anthropological standpoint, every dance is an ethnic form, as the word "ethnic" refers to a group which holds common genetic, linguistic, and cultural ties with special emphasis on cultural tradition (Kealinohomokou, 1970:39). Similarly, in her critique of western-centric views on dance, Theresa Buckland has noted that all dances are ethnic while some are more ethnic than others (1999), thereby extending Kealinohomoku's argument within a different time frame and affirming the urgency of these discussions, which have yet to adequately differentiate between non-Western dance practices.

Andriy Nahachewsky considers ethnic and folk dances as different, yet overlapping categories, whereby the category of ethnic dance signals a dance in cross-cultural situations (2006:165). He argues that the term folk dance literally explains that the folk is dancing and he sees it as a form or aspect of ethnic dance (Nahachewsky, 1995:2). Drid Williams, however, takes a different approach and points out that the term "ethnic dance" has never

been used to refer to Western forms of dancing. In her view, the ethnic "simply slavishly repeats an unexamined process treating history not as dynamic process from which we learn but as repository dogma that we tediously repeat" (Williams, 1991:171). Anthony Shay writes that in the United States, the term ethnic can have a pejorative notion since it is often used to allude to dances created by non-white Americans or to refer exclusively to the dances of immigrants (2016:9). Similarly, Francesca Castaldi agrees that the term ethnic can be interpreted as politically incorrect and mentions that it is often replaced with the concept of world dance. She agrees that such terms refer to non-Western dance forms, in that ethnic emphasizes the identity of the producers whereas world emphasizes the identity of the consumers (Castaldi, 2006:19).

When it comes to traditional dance, Pertti Anttonen argues that the word tradition must be situated in a historically specific discourse, since interest in tradition often connotes interest in history (2005:12). Similarly, Anya Peterson Royce considers the concept of tradition to imply conservatism, especially when considering cultural practices where the "traditional" way of performing or presenting a dance can be mistaken with "something unchanging" and "something that is passed from generation to generation in its original form" (1982:29). Diarmuid Ó Giolláin argues that terms such as folk, traditional, popular, and subaltern never correspond to high culture; instead, they exist to be geographically and socially circumscribed as the negative against which the modern must define itself (2013:79). Related to my previous discussion about tradition, the category of "traditional dance" automatically excludes modern and contemporary dances and marks them as unsuited to this label. However, we must consider that dance forms such as ballet and contemporary dance also have traditions of staging, modifying, and transmitting dance knowledge. For instance, with the creation of Matthew Bourne's *Swan Lake* (1995) or other contemporary approaches to staging *Swan Lake*, such as the one of Mario Schröder for Leipzig Ballet (2019), the

original choreography of *Swan Lake* choreographers, such as Lev Ivanov and Marius Petipa automatically becomes the traditional version.

Because the subject of folklore is the quest for tradition, the terms traditional or folk tend to refer to the same types of dances. However, the term tradition often refers to a mode of transmission, while the term folk refers to a social phenomenon (Ó Giolláin, 2013:79). The term folk does not specifically refer to inheritance, as the concept of the traditional does, but instead implies its connection to the study of folklore — although this field studies cultural traditions nevertheless. Furthermore, the term folk also implies collective authorship, as its literal translation refers to "the people." Many choreographies might be regarded as traditional at some point throughout their history, but they will not be classified as folk if they are not collectively authored. Because of its broad use by dance companies exploring alternative ways of performing what is known as folk dance, the concept itself no longer relates solely to peasant expression. The practitioners of folk dance are often in urban areas and engaged in the revival of stored dance knowledge and thus do not reflect the original emphasis on peasant experience.

In contrast to these terms, I propose that the term "dance heritage" as a more fitting category that can be used to refer to any dance that has undergone gradual phases of recontextualization, folklorization, and heritagization by being perceived as the local, national, or intangible cultural heritage of humanity. This category of dance heritage can include any type of dance that has been — and continues to be — transmitted from one person onto another, whether through participant observation, or taught by a choreographer or instructor in a studio setting. In contrast to folk dance, ethnic dance, and traditional dance, which are categories that often do not incorporate any type of Western-style dance, such as ballet, tap, modern, or contemporary dance, I suggest that the category of dance heritage is a more inclusive, as it can incorporate any dance practice that its exponents regard as heritage.

As I argue in my third chapter, in order to be considered as heritage, dances are subject to a process that has been referred to as heritagization by professionals associated with the safeguarding framework. The process of heritagization, preceded by the process of folklorization that I explain in my first chapter, is an attempt to valorize but also appropriate local culture and render it politically and economically useful, and therefore in service to the cultural and economic demands of communities and nation states. Hence, I argue that dance by itself is not heritage because it contains a certain historical and cultural value for the communities that perform it. Rather, it becomes heritage because of the discourses that recognize it as such, which are created and confirmed by professionals and institutions that are involved in the production and dissemination of these discursive terms.

Although it may allude to history and the past, dance heritage is always defined in the present. Once the dance is valued as heritage, it is regarded as significantly precious and of such importance to its corresponding community or nation states that it cannot be forgotten. In order to be valued as UNESCO-recognized ICH, however, the dances undergo a process where they are taken out of their cultural and geographical surrounding and recontextualized in relation to other elements such as rituals, music, theater, sites, and monuments that also carry historical and cultural significance to their nation states. I further argue that dance heritage is directly shaped by the social, political, cultural, and economic processes of the nation state where it emerges and where it is practiced, in addition to diasporic settings, while its value, meaning, and the way people think about their relationship to it, is dependent on both the communities who practice it and the national and international organizations such as UNESCO who legitimize its existence.

As stated in the title of my dissertation, my research explores how these dances transform from their status within an immediate community context to an ICH-recognized notion of humanity. The concept of community has been crucial, not only for me in this

analysis, but also to UNESCO and other heritage-related institutions, who utilize it to denote certain ownership of the cultural practice at stake. Yet, a specific definition of what consist a community has not been provided by UNESCO in its approach to intangible cultural heritage. Tatjana Aleksić argues that community is "a type of organization built on the basis of perceptions of shared commonalities (kinship, culture, territory), resting on solidarity among its members" (2013:10-11). As my dissertation focuses on communities that are in some ways associated with the practice and the safeguarding of cultural heritage, I also utilize The Council of Europe's[12] definition of community, as stated in their Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society[13] (also known as the Faro Convention). This definition conceptualizes community as "people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations" (Council of Europe, 2005). I am aware that heritage often exists outside of the context in which it was originally produced and thus I refer to two different communities of practitioners: local and village dance groups or organizations, often learned through social immersion, and performed in the context of everyday life in a participatory spirit; and amateur and professional national dance ensembles that are usually located in the cities, that undergo formal training and perform certain staged versions of the dance.

Based on the concept of dance heritage, I also propose a new term — heritage choreography. Even though all dances are choreographed, not all of them are considered to be choreographies per se, as I explain in my second chapter. In order to differentiate between choreography and dance, I follow local distinctions of the two concepts: many dance specialists regard dance to be the movement practices associated with social situations whereas choreography is the staged representation of these movement practices. Given that

[12] The Council of Europe is one of Europe's largest organizations devoted to promoting human rights, democracy, and rule of law.

[13] The full text of the Convention is available through the following link: https://rm.coe.int/1680083746

these theorizations of the terms dance and choreography might not align with those pertaining to Western concert dance, I define heritage choreography as a medium through which choreographers transform socially transmitted dance practices that were passed on as traditions in local contexts into a choreographic spectacle for display on the proscenium stage.

My theorization of the concept of heritage choreography is informed by prevailing discussions about tradition, ideology, and choreography in dance literature. According to William Forsythe, choreography simply means "'organizing things in space and time'" (Cvejić, 2015:8). For Anurima Banerji, choreography is "a set of instructions for arranging the body in time and space, in patterns of stillness and movement, according to an established regime of techniques" (2019:31). Mark Franko (2015) takes an etymological perspective and regards choreography as the writing of movement and dance as text. Franko's definition promotes the notion that movement originates in its record as text; for example, the dance notations of Baroque dances choreograph the dance as written, notated script. Janet O'Shea (2007) argues that choreography is a strategy, namely because it possesses the ability to negotiate globality and hybridity, along with local, regional, and national affiliations.

As one of the most prominent theoreticians of choreography, Susan Leigh Foster defines choreography as the planned and intentional selection of movement. She further adds that the concept of choreography is an activation of embodied kinesthesis, in that the choreographic prompts an experiencing of physicality and movement (2010:27), is now a widely-recognized term to refer to the structuring of movement, regardless of the involvement of literal human moving bodies (2010:29). She writes that

> In the last year, I have seen the word "choreography" used in our local newspaper, the Los Angeles Times, to describe troop movements in the war in Iraq, the motions of dog whisperer Cesar Millan, the management of discussion at board meetings, and even the coordination of traffic lights for commuter flow – all these applications of the term in addition to the patterning of movement observed in a dance. This variety of usages suggests that choreography has come to refer to a plan or

> orchestration of bodies in motion. And in this refined definition, the plan is distinguished from its implementation and from the skills necessary for its execution. Choreography would seem to apply to the structuring of movement in highly diverse occasions, yet always where some kind of order is desired to regulate that movement.
>
> (Foster, 2010:60)

In his review of the development of the field of dance studies, Jens Richard Giersdorf points to the works of Janet Adshead (now Lansdale) (1981; 1988) and that of Susan Foster (1986) that provide valuable methodological frameworks for the study of dance from a post-structuralist perspective. He writes that, "for our discipline it might be valuable to investigate choreography as a seemingly unmarked site of inquiry to understand its potential complicity in the globalisation process and both its positive and negative effects. Such reconsideration of choreography is especially constructive, because our discipline is still fairly young and the impact of changes in key concepts are felt acutely" (Giersdorf, 2019:442).

In addition to defining the term choreography, many authors have also been critical of the concept, especially when considering the socio-political and economic context in which choreography was defined or redefined. As Mark Franko notes, throughout the development of the field of dance studies, choreography has been studied as "a relatively unproblematic feature of the surrounding spectacle and its sociohistorical setting" (2015:2). Related to Franko's argument, Bojana Cvejić argues that the open-endedness of choreography's definition comes from a post- Fordist and post-conceptual development of art (2015:8). As she points out, there is an ongoing struggle to expand the meaning of choreography that surpasses its agenda of theatrical representation of movement in a form of spectacle (Cvejić, 2015:9). Marta Savigliano argues that choreography is a strategic tool that has been developed and claimed by the West. It is a process that makes anything into dance by capturing its constitutive movements (Savigliano, 2009:175). Similarly, André Lepecki adds: "If choreography emerges in early modernity to remachine the body so it can 'represent itself' as a total 'being-toward-movement,' perhaps the recent exhaustion of the notion of dance as a

pure display of uninterrupted movement participates of a general critique of this mode of disciplining subjectivity, of constitute being" (2006:7).

As I explain in the second chapter, the process of choreographing often raises issues around the authenticity of the dance. The term authenticity has long been criticized by scholars in the critical humanities because of the ambiguity linked to its conceptualization and its association with exoticism and originality. Furthermore, the term has been criticized because of tis deployment in identitarian projects of mythmaking and essentialism, for affirming the fantasy of cultural origins, and for propagating limited ideas of what cultural practices entail. For example, scholars like Yvette Reisinger and Carol Steiner argue that authenticity is "too unstable to claim the paradigmatic status of a concept" and advise for its replacement with concepts such as "genuine, actual, accurate, real, and true" (2006:66). Moreover, according to Ning Wang "Things appear authentic not because they are inherently authentic but because they are constructed as such in terms of points of view, beliefs, perspectives, or powers" (1999:351).

Susan Foster attributes the need for new sources of authenticity to the phenomenon of massification that invades and personalizes goods and services with the purpose to commodify them, thereby resulting in the impossibility of the authentic (2019:6). In a global world where cultural influences mix and contribute towards new artistic productions, authenticity is constantly marketed due to its ability to evoke feelings of belonging and of originality. For Foster, the constant need for new sources of authenticity that dance can manufacture is the response of capitalism and the massification that personalizes but also shortens the lifetime of goods and invades and commodifies domains (2019:6). Such processes also lead to an impossibility of the authentic, despite its constant marketing, which provides dance with a new array of values in the global marketplace (Foster, 2019:7). Denis Dutton differentiates between two modes of authenticity: nominal authenticity, which

questions the hallowed notions of origin, and expressive authenticity, which points to a representation (Dutton cited in Banks, 2013:161). Based on the local and national understandings of authenticity that is related to the dances that I research, only the spontaneous performances that take place during everyday social events can be regarded as examples of nominal authenticity, while the staged performances, although claimed as "authentic," are examples of expressive authenticity as they are only a representation of social events.

However, in the Yugoslav area, but also in Eastern Europe in general, the idea of authenticity has penetrated the discourse around folklore and heritage as a value nominator, while in choreographic composition and performance, it has become a specific aesthetic mode. I define authenticity as an aesthetic mode that is often used in order to mediate ideas of originality and distinctiveness. In my second chapter, I explore how choreographers and researchers used authenticity as a strategy to create a distinct choreographic approach that relies on ethnographic fieldwork. My discussion of this dance-making method offers valuable contributions to conversations about choreography and dance studies at large.

Methodology:

The methodological frameworks that I utilized for producing this work primarily consist of ethnographic research that involved participant observation, site visits, as well as recorded interviews with dancers, choreographers, and heritage professionals. I employed close-reading techniques to review European cultural policy, heritage conventions and proclamations, and current and past dossier files submitted to UNESCO for the purpose of listing and safeguarding dance as ICH. I have also utilized discourse analysis in order to understand the patterns of thought that link the various narratives and practices related to the dances that I am studying. Furthermore, I focused on institutional ethnography that I used as a method to observe the dancers and choreographers employed at national ensembles and

heritage professionals in UNESCO. I also conducted archival research of UNESCO cultural policies and applications. My research involved several trips to Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia where I observed performances of the dances during festivals and social occasions. I met and talked to scholars, heritage professionals, dancers, and choreographers and I also conducted a three-month internship at the Living Heritage Entity at UNESCO in Paris. Finally, I also conducted visual analysis of photographs, videos, and documentary films about the dances that I study to further develop my analysis of them.

In 2018, I conducted fieldwork in the village of Dramche and the city of Delchevo in Macedonia. I also undertook fieldwork in the villages of Vrlika and Muć in Croatia, and Belgrade in Serbia. However, I already have significant familiarity with the three dances that I research-and I have been observing them in selected dance groups. Despite having on-site experience, I also observed recorded performances and documentary movies about dance in the Balkans that are available on YouTube. My involvement with various dance ensembles, whether as a dancer or as a dance instructor has allowed me to travel extensively and participate in numerous dance festivals and competitions along with groups from Serbia and Croatia. In the summer of 2017, I interviewed the experts that prepared the applications to nominate the mentioned dances as UNESCO recognized ICH. During my visits in the aforementioned countries, I also observed rehearsals of the dances as performed by the national and professional folk dance ensembles of Macedonia, Croatia and Serbia.

For Randy Martin, ethnography is the most appropriate method for exploring the relation of agency and history, as simulated in performance (1995:111-112). While it is a method, ethnography is also a kind of performance (Taylor, 2003:75) that exists only in the present and cannot be saved or recorded, as its documentation will transform into representation, not performance itself (Phelan, 1993:146). Deidre Sklar argues that dance ethnography is unique among other types of ethnography because it is grounded in the body

and the body's experience rather than solely in texts, artifacts, and abstractions (1991:6). Similarly, in her seminal work *Reading Dancing: Bodies and Subjects in Contemporary American Dance,* Susan Foster has argued that ethnographic analysis is also possible through isolating and comparing choreographic projects as discrete cultural systems that are created by the combination of what the choreographers have written and said; what has been written about the dances; and her own experiences of observing and studying dance (1986:236). Like numerous scholars before me, I find this method as the most adequate, especially when researching dances that are transmitted as traditions.

Between September and December of 2018, I worked as an intern at the Living Heritage Entity at UNESCO and focused on conducting institutional ethnography[14] — a method that helped me understand the bureaucratic nature of heritage governance, as well as the process of formally inscribing cultural practices as UNESCO recognized ICH. Institutional ethnography is a framework rooted in Marxism and feminism that uses qualitative research methods and involves open-ended interactive interviews, participants observation and textual analysis in order to discover the social, rather than to theorize it (Campbell and Gregor, 2002; DeVault, 2006). It focuses on people's experiential knowledge and their relationship with their workplace.

Being present in the offices of UNESCO, I was able to attend meetings where UNESCO policies are discussed and participate at international workshops that focused on the implementation of the 2003 Convention. In order to understand the process of proclaiming ICH, I also observed UNESCO's annual Committee meetings. I also conducted archival work that focused on analysis of the previous UNESCO heritage conventions, past applications, and nomination files. The analysis of the dance applications (and of previous

[14] In her discussion about the differences in social and institutionalized ethnography, Dorothy Smith argues that sociological ethnography in general has a commitment to the careful and faithful description of people's everyday lives, while institutional ethnography goes further in seeking to discover and explicate the extra or translocal ruling relations and organization in which people participate, often without realizing (2005:43).

applications that were denied or returned on referral) revealed information about the criteria and rules that UNESCO imposes onto its member states, along with the standardized perimeters and rules that the dance must adhere to in order to be considered heritage. I have utilized institutional ethnography to focus on dancers and choreographers employed by the national ensembles in Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia and their experiences of rehearsing and performing, but also with living with these dances.

Chapter breakdown:

In the first chapter, I argue that, through their quest for collecting and archiving peasant music and dance expressions for the purpose of creating what I define as the heritage archive, folklorists and ethnochoreologists were invested in creating discourses that were directly dependent on the emergence and politicization of terms such as *narodna kultura* (folk culture), "folklore" and "tradition." I further argue that the need for the heritage archive comes from a desire to re-ignite local culture amidst threats of disappearance and define it as national in the interest of nation-building. While analyzing the development of these discourses, I explore the relationship between the archive and its production of knowledge. I draw upon Foucauldian discourse analysis, focusing on power relationships in the creation of knowledge that was utilized by folklorists and ethnochoreologists for producing dance heritage. I am concerned with how and why certain dance knowledge was selected, classified, and used in the creation of the discourse around heritage.

In order to support my argument, I analyze the work of dance researchers in Yugoslavia and in independent Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia, who collected and archived this body of knowledge and published some of the first texts that represent peasant dance as folklore. By exploring the formation of the archive, I also analyze the approaches and methodologies used by dance scholars to emphasize the act of collecting as demonstrative of their involvement in the creation of discourse that later shaped cultural policy. I show that,

instead of being studied as complex movement systems that produce theories on their own, these dances were studied structurally, with an emphasis on steps, form, motifs, and other elements that could be inscribed through dance notation, as well as an emphasis on the dance music, tempo, and rhythm.

In the first part of this chapter, I begin with an ethnographic overview of the dances, derived from my fieldwork and the work of other dance researchers. Following Foucault's genealogical approach that rejects the notion of origin (Foucault, 1977), I am not interested in the idea of authenticity as a key factor for determining the historical value of these dances. Rather, I examine the processes of transforming dance into folklore as the collectively authored knowledge of "the people." In the second part of the chapter, I trace the institutionalization of dance knowledge into an archive as the dances became incorporated into scholarly disciplines such as folklore, ethnomusicology, and ethnochoreology in Yugoslavia and in independent Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia.

In the second chapter, I claim that, in order to embody the heritage archive and transform it into national repertoire, Yugoslav choreographers and artistic directors who dictated choreographic processes were guided by socialist ideologies of culture. I explain how choreographers utilized archival and ethnographic knowledge in making heritage choreography, relying on an ethnographic approach that was popular in researching the dances. In certain cases, when this dance knowledge no longer existed as embodied memory, artists utilized archival research to create choreographic representations of certain dance cultures. Concenptually, I separate dance from choreography by stressing the notion that these dances were mostly regarded as part of a communal and collective creation, in which no individuals were singled out.

The focus in this chapter is also on authenticity and stylization — two distinct aesthetic modes used differently in the process of heritage representation. In discussing the

process of making heritage choreography, I stress that authenticity and exoticism played an important role in creating spectacle. I assert that authenticity is choreographed in order to mediate originality and exoticism so that dance groups, on behalf of the nation state that they represent, can use this concept to strengthen the relationship between traditions and the people, and reassure them of the importance of heritage. I also illustrate how attempts to stylize and spectacularize dance are often regarded by locals as destructive, as they might entail change to the dance's structure that can ultimately distance the dance from its practitioners.

Cultural heritage, as I argue in the third chapter, is celebrated and valued worldwide because it contributes to the production of national and cultural identity, but also because of its ability to produce cultural and economic capital. The alignment of folklore and the formation of nation states in the nineteenth century, and, as I explain in this chapter, the alignment of heritage with cultural policies and conventions in the twenty-first century, indicate that folklore and heritage are similar concepts that are used for the construction and affirmation of national identity. As I argue in this chapter, one of the major differences between the folklore and the heritage model is the intent behind their production.

The process of listing the ordinary, the common, and the local as national produces a much-needed recognition for newly created national states who use their dance heritage to legitimize national culture and identity. Furthermore, the process of safeguarding ICH can be seen as a new version of the European Romantic quest for protecting cultural traditions, based on a modern anxiety of traditions being lost due to immigration and globalization. In this chapter, I focus on UNESCO's 2003 Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: I comment on and critique both its overall purpose and the centrality of the process of listing and safeguarding dance as ICH. In order to provide a better understanding of what these processes entail and how the concept of ICH is tied to various bureaucratic processes, I

focus on the work of heritage experts and facilitators who were involved in creating the applications for these dances to be formally recognized as ICH. I argue that in order to be transformed into ICH, cultural practices undergo a process of heritagization. This process implies the gradual re-contextualization and canonization of dance or any other cultural practice into a formal status of heritage by aligning it with institutional cultural policies and conventions and inscribing it on UNESCO's heritage lists.

Moreover, the process of safeguarding local or national culture, which my three case studies exemplify, is not only an attempt to safeguard local and national identity, but to make it visible within the European cultural arena and, through UNESCO's inscription, to establish a national and European identity and share that with the world. I base my argument on personal experiences of attending heritage related conferences, workshops, symposiums and events, sponsored by several European organizations, where the focus was spreading heritage awareness and the involvement and training of young heritage managers. I see these events as taking part of a larger plan to cherish and celebrate, not only the local and national, but also an European identity and acquire prominence on the global stage. Moreover, I argue that the process of listing culture through a platform provided by an international organization such as UNESCO is an attempt for these recently independent countries to affirm their national identities, but also, through the process of commodifying dance, to transform their dances into brands for the purpose of producing cultural and economic capital.

Chapter 1: Searching for Dance Heritage

The approach to culture begins when the ordinary man becomes the narrator, when it is he who defines the (common) place of discourse and the (anonymous) space of its development.

(de Certeau, 1988:5)

Kolo, February 22nd, 2015- Belgrade, Serbia.

My cousin is getting married in Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. In the reception hall, there are some four hundred guests, singing and drinking as they are waiting for the orchestra to start playing the music. Every guest's extended family is present, as this is a very important celebration for Christian Orthodox Serbs. As the orchestra starts their first tune, many of the guests approach the vast podium, join hands and form an open circle to dance Kolo. My cousin's husband is leading the chain dance and tells the musicians which kolo or song to play next. Not everyone knows the dance steps, but everyone participates. The skillful dancers join the first half of the chain, closer to the bride and the groom and improvise with the dance steps in order to show off in front of the crowds watching in amazement, while, in the other half of the chain, several individuals are trying to learn the dance steps by participating. While ten minutes ago they were only guests, the participants are now Kolo dancers. By watching the moving bodies, I sense different energies that are present through this collective movement. Individuals leave and join the open circle as they wish, some to get some rest, some to eat and drink, and some to admire the spectacle. The foggy venue poisoned by cigarette smoke now becomes this open space where every individual shows off their movement skills. As the music speeds up, the Kolo necessitates greater strength and endurance and the open circle becomes smaller and smaller. I finally join in and we dance for twenty minutes without stopping.

Kopachkata, November 21st, 2014- Dramche, Macedonia.

It took me two and a half hours, driving through unpaved roads and carefully avoiding a landslide, to get to Dramche, a village high up in the mountains in Eastern Macedonia. It is freezing cold and I am rushing not to miss the dancing that is about to take place. As I walk towards the loud beats of the two tapani (drums), I cannot help but notice the great amount of dust in the air that doesn't seem to bother the hundred people watching eight men digging in the ground with their feet as they dance Kopachkata. I guess I am late. But even without watching, and even though I have missed the first few minutes of the performance, I know exactly what is happening. Literally translated as "the digging dance," it is performed at the Archangel St. Michael's celebration, the patron saint of the village of Dramche where it is believed that the dance originated. The people around me are dressed in their festive costumes that they wear for such occasions, and have their eyes locked on the rapid movements dictated by the drums, performed by eight men, all above sixty years old, who do not seem to tire at all as the tempo increases. There are no mistakes made as they have been dancing the dance since they were very young, and their facial expressions tell me that no great effort is made to produce these seemingly complex movements. The rest of the people from the community are gathered around the dancers. They have seen the dance numerous times, but they are still carefully watching. As I approach the crowd, the drumming stops. "Hit it again, as hard as you can"- an audience member instructs the drummer who takes full control of when the dance begins and ends. After taking a brief second to breathe, the dancers reposition and wait for the drum beats to start the dance again.

Nijemo Kolo, July 21st, 2018- Vrlika, Croatia.

As I leave the seaside of the gorgeous city of Split, I am driving towards the town of Vrlika in Croatia's mountainous hinterland. Several dancers from the dance ensemble "Milan Begović" are waiting for my arrival to be interviewed and to show me their unique silent dances. After we shake hands upon my arrival, all of a sudden, to my surprise they start dancing in the parking lot. I rush to take my phone out of my pocket and start recording such rare instances when the movement is spontaneous, rather than choreographed for the stage. There are two couples of men and women. There is no music, just the sound of the village fountain and the dancers' footwork as they stamp hard on the ground, shaking the metal coins attached to their festive clothes that they put on for this occasion. While I admire the exhilarating dance, I am constantly reminded that they have been performing this throughout their entire lives. Stomping heavily on the ground in silence. "Do you want us to sing?" the women ask, and before I answer, they start performing the Ojkavica, a local style of singing, typical for the region. "We will dance some more, but let us have a drink and tell you about our dance"— they say, as we walk towards a local restaurant. "They call it Nijemo Kolo now, but we call it Vrličko Kolo"— the man tells me as he laughs and hops towards the restaurant, visibly excited that he is going to be interviewed. He is seventy-seven years old. We ended up talking for three hours, at a pace that prevents me from writing down my notes fast enough. As my interlocutors reflect on their lives as dancers and performers, I sense their pride and I admire their devotion to what they consider to be local practice. Before I leave, they thank me for showing interest in something very dear to their hearts.

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In the previously presented ethnographic excerpts, I refer to social performances of Kolo, Nijemo Kolo, and Kopachkata, while I also briefly exemplify their dancers' relationship to the practices and the dances' ability to unite people. Performed during social, festive or religious occasions, these dances remain integral not only in the lives of their practitioners but also among diaspora communities and by dancers interested in Balkan choreography in general. Given that most chain and circle dances are treated as the product of collective and communal authorship, they are conceptualized as traditional and folk, which made them a subject of folklore and ethnochoreological research, and after 2003, as UNESCO recognized Intangible Cultural Heritage of humanity (ICH). In this chapter, I prove that the ideas around intangible heritage existed in the Yugoslav region prior to the alignment of the concept with UNESCO's conventions, as they were manifested in the search for *narodna kultura* (folk culture), *narodna umjetnost* (folk art) and *folklor* (folklore) as early as the nineteenth century. These forms of peasant expressions that were later labeled as folklore developed as Romantic nationalisms in the Yugoslav area. Furthermore, as folklore and ethnochoreology research became institutionalized, social dances played an important role in the creation of the heritage archive.

I divide my discussion into three historical periods: the early development of the concept of folk culture or folk art at the end of the nineteenth century; the adoption of the folkloric discourse and the institutionalization of folklore research during the existence of Yugoslavia (1945-1992), as well as its important role in the study of ethnochoreology; and the research of "traditional dance" post-1992 in the former Yugoslav states of Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia and, in addition, the involvement of heritage in research and educational institutions. Moreover, I address these institutions, and the scholars who produce within them, in the process of creating folklore and advancing its public consumption.

I consider this search for folklore as an attempt to create the heritage archive that would be central to the production of national repertoire that functioned to mediate national identity in Yugoslavia. I base my discussion on Diana Taylor's seminal work *The Archive and the Repertoire* (2003), in which Taylor considers text to be a collection of material traces of culture that she identifies as an "archive." In addition to the archive, Taylor classifies the embodied memory of these materials, which are often activated through performance, as the "repertoire." For her, the repertoire can operate both in relation to the archive and on its own.[15] However, the heritage archive that I refer to exists both as a general system of knowledge, as Foucault (1970) theorizes it, and as an actual physical archive that is institutionalized in various research spaces and universities, where dance knowledge physically exists in the forms of transcribed interview material, video and audio recording, or notated scores of the dance.

Like Taylor, then, I agree that the heritage archive and the repertoire are interconnected, as both are used as means for communicating and transmitting dance knowledge. For the ethnographers who collected ethnographic data, the mission was often to salvage dance practices in their exact form as recorded at the time of their fieldwork. In keeping with this objective, many dances were imagined as unchanging and deemed static as a reference to their putative origin. Even though these dances continued to exist as embodied knowledge, they were, for the first time since their creation, also recorded as written knowledge, which facilitated the creation of the archive and legitimization of the nation.

While many of the ethnochoreologists who conducted research on these dances spent a great deal of time notating and carefully analyzing dance movement, these notations are problematic: they only represent the researchers' subjective perceptions of the dances.

[15] In contrast to scholars like Taylor and Rebecca Schneider (2011) who refer to the archive as a storehouse, philosopher Michel Foucault uses the term archive to refer to an organized body of statements that reveal the unwritten rules that produce discursive formations (1970:130). He links these discursive formations that shape individual and collective identities with ideologies produced by institutions of power.

Beyond notation, filmed recordings of dances must be understood as iterations of the dance only in its moment of recording. The record should, in no way, suggest the dance and the style of dancing did not evolve and change over time. At the time when the Yugoslav ethnochoreologists collected and archived these and many other dances, they also archived specific rules of performance and specific styles and forms of dancing that might not exist today.

Regardless of some of its problematic aspects, the archive remains immensely important in the production of the discourse around heritage. While the idea of heritage revolves around utilizing the past in order to make sense of the present, Laurajane Smith asserts that "The past can never be understood solely within its own terms; the present continually rewrites the meaning of the past and the memories and histories we construct about it within the context of the present" (2006:58). However, she adds that the past is not abstract but instead has a material reality that provides the community with a sense of identity and belonging (Smith, 2006:29). In terms of the dances that I research, their own status as folklore did not manifest in scholarly discussion until the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. This categorization identified these dances as exclusively associated with the past yet they existed as living social practices at the time of their collection— a gesture that had clear efficacy for the contemporaneous moment. For the researchers who wrote about these dances, it was prudent to present them as different from popular forms in urban areas, which were deemed oppositional to the national spirit, and to canonize them as dances of higher importance so they could become privileged signs of the nation.

In this chapter I excavate the written historical sources of the dances and elaborate on the authors' roles in producing the discourses that framed these dances as folklore. I regard this folklore- and ethnochoreology-oriented literature between the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as some of the earliest attempts to create the heritage archive, whose

content would become available to future scholars, curators, or later, choreographers, who could then use this knowledge to create an idealized portrayal of the past. More than anything, the idea behind these early ethnographic observations was to help create an appreciation of tradition as a key component in the concept of folklore. Before I engage in an analysis of the discourses around folklore, I present some of the most important characteristics about Kolo, Kopachkata and Nijemo Kolo.

Kolo

In Serbia, the term Kolo refers not only to a genre of dance, but also to the name of a specific chain dance that follows a 2/4 rhythmic model, accompanied by musical instruments such as *frula* (wooden short-sized flute), bagpipe, accordion, violin, or *tamburica* (stringed lute). This dance is performed during social occasions such as gatherings, weddings, and celebrations, and also on the concert stage throughout the country, by dancers of all ages and of all ethnicities.[16] According to Zdravko Ranisavljević, because of the loss of local repertoire amongst various communities in Serbia in the second half of the twentieth century, the dance pattern became a universally accepted model across Serbia (2017: interview).[17]

The chain formation of the dance does not allow for individuals to abandon the group and dance on their own, so the focus is on collective unison movement of the same dance motif for an unlimited amount of time. As opposed to other types of dances in the Yugoslav area, a distinct characteristic of dancing Kolo is the soft bending of the knees and bouncing (Rakočević, 2019:38). The most prominent roles in the dance are devoted to the first dancer

[16] Selena Rakočević argues that Kolo or Kolce has the ability to unite people of all ethnicities. She mentions that, "In those participatory moments when people dance Kolo, there are no societal differences amongst the members. It is not important if you are Macedonian, Rom, Croat or Slovak. I have attended Slovak festivals in Vojvodina and they all dance Kolce" (Rakočević, 2017:interview).

[17] According to him, one of the main reasons for the dances viability in the present moment is its popularity among all generations, including children, but also because it exists as a popular music genre, as new kolo music is continuously produced and played on the radios and TV (Ranisavljević, 2017: interview).

called *kolovođa* and the last dancer called *kec* who have to be skillful in their execution of the steps in order to direct the collective movement. In addition to being a popular dance practice in Serbia, Kolo also appears in the local dance repertoire of non-Serbian communities throughout the former Yugoslavia.[18]

In this work, however, I focus on a specific dance pattern that Olivera Vasić includes in a category of dances that she labels as Kolo u Tri.[19] Vasić defines Kolo u Tri as a specific ethnochoreological type of dance that involves the same dance pattern but under different names, based on its geographical location or the name given by its musical composer. However, as the dance spread throughout the Serbian territory, resulting in growing number of different names, it remained known simply as Kolo (Vasić, 1984:156). The dance is also known as Srpsko Kolo (Serbian Kolo) — a term that Serbian dancers use to differentiate between other kolo dances associated with different ethnic groups, such as Vlashko Kolo (Vlachs' Kolo) (Rakočević, 2019:20).

As opposed to the following dance examples, whereby I link Kopachkata and Nijemo Kolo with specific communities and regions, I refer to Kolo as a popular dance in the repertoire of diverse group of communities that live throughout Serbia.[20] Selena Rakočević argues that "Radio Beograd" influenced the popularity of Kolo as early as 1929, when the production of *kolo* as a music genre began to spread out due to an expansion of instrumentalists. However, even though the musical genre was developing and various composers created different *kolo* melodies, the step pattern has remained the same throughout the years (Rakočević, 2017:interview). One of the main reasons for the popularization of the

[18] For the wide spread of the dance, see Janković, L. (1969) 'Paradoxes in the living creative process of dance tradition.' *Ethnomusicology*. 13 (1), pp. 124-128.

[19] See Vasić, O. (1984) 'Kolo u tri Krstivoja Subotića [Krstivoje Subotić's Kolo u Tri]. *Istraživanja 1, Valjevska Kolubara.* Valjevo: Narodni Muzej Valjevo, pp. 155-182.

[20] I mainly derive my discussion based on performances of Serbian dance groups from Belgrade, the capital of the former Yugoslavia and now the capital city of Serbia.

dance, as well as its spread within and outside of Serbia was initiated with the replacement of traditional Serbian instruments such as the *frula*, with newer, factory produced musicals instruments such as the accordion, which gave opportunity to musicians to compose new melodies. Zdravko Ranisavljević (2012) considers Kukunješte, Moravac, and Žikino Kolo as some of the oldest know examples of Kolo whose step pattern was used as the base structure for creating new kolo dances,[21] which he locates under different names throughout the Serbian territory and amongst communities in the neighboring countries. Throughout the years, Kolo became the most dominant form of social and participatory dance, while in certain areas, it exists as the only or one of the few dances that are performed during social occasions.

Figure 1.1: Dancers performing Kolo during festive occasion in 2013. Photo courtesy of Miloš Rašić.

[21] Up to date, the dance has been recorded under 200 different names (Rakočević, 2019:20).

Kopachkata

Kopachka or Kopachkata is a chain dance from the region of Pijanec[22] in the eastern part of Macedonia. While Kolo is a dance that most Serbians and other ethnic groups in the Balkans know, Kopachkata, although considered a national dance, is not a popular social dance that is spontaneously performed during social occasions in other parts of the country, as it is tied to a specific community. The name Kopachka refers to a single chain dance, but also to a set choreography that contains four different parts: Shetanica, usually performed as the first dance in the choreography as a warm up, when the dancers form the open circle; Sitnoto, that contains swift and short steps where the dancers slide their feet on the ground; Prefrlachkata, a part when the dancers speed up the dance to its climax; and Kopachkata, which is the fastest and most dynamic dance when the dancers leap to the right foot and stand firmly on it while the left foot is repeatedly imitating digging into the ground. The dance also exists under different names in the neighboring regions of Pijanec in Macedonia such as Kalimanska, Istibanjska, Kosevichka, Kopachka na mesto, and Dramechka Kopachka, a form that engages other string instruments instead of being accompanied by drums only.

When performed socially, the chain formation allows for massive and unlimited participation of dancers. Similar to Kolo, the most important role is given to the first and the last dancers in the chain, who dictate the tempo and the movement pattern. However, the best dancers in the community tend to position themselves first in the chain, while the less experienced dancers form their own open circle. Following the lead of the first dancer in the

[22] Pijanec is a mountainous region in Eastern Macedonia, in which Delchevo is the biggest town and administrative center of the region. The ethnic group that populates this area is known as Shopi (In everyday speech, the name is also used as a pejorative term to refer to "people from the mountains" whose behavior is often "primitive" or "barbaric), regionally known as talented dancers who also live in Southeastern Serbia and Western Bulgaria. The area is mostly populated by Macedonians, but also Roma communities, known as some of the most famous drummers in the region. The dance repertoire in the region consists of chain dances that the communities have managed to keep as an ongoing social practice to this day, as opposed to other regions in the country where local repertoires have been forgotten due to migration of the communities into the bigger cities. A general characteristic of the chain dances in the region is their tempo that begins as moderate and speeds up by the end of the performance. During local gatherings, all of the chain dances are performed by men and women who dance together in an open circle, while in the past, according to my interlocutors, men and women danced separately in an open circle, as it was inappropriate for them to mix.

chain, who waves a handkerchief to give commands, the musicians know to speed up the tempo and the dancers know to switch to another section. Despite being treated as a choreographic form made up of the four chain dances that I mentioned, all of these dances can be performed separately and not in this order. The decision to treat this combination of four separate chain dances as one choreographic work named Kopachkata dates from the early 1950s when these dances were choreographically arranged for stage performances at various festivals throughout the country and internationally. Because these staged performances were danced by men, the dance has been known as a men's dance ever since, despite the fact that the dance was socially performed by women as well.[23]

Macedonian ethnochoreologists classify Kopachkata as a dance from the agrarian cycle, due to its reference to digging.[24] Musically, the dance is usually accompanied by two drums, and rarely by *tambura* or *kemene* (stringed lutes). When performed on stage, the dance is usually performed by eight dancers who hold each other by a waist belt, but it can also be performed by unlimited number of dancers during social occasions. Following a 2/4 meter, the dance is often explained as the fastest Macedonian dance,[25] characterized by quick and precise steps that are performed in an open circle where the dancers face the center and move sideways to the right. When talking about the act of dancing, Dimitar Uzunski, one of the most prominent dancers of Kopachkata explains that,

> Shetanicata is always influenced by the drummer's mood. He starts playing and tries to win as much money possible from the leader of the dance. The dance starts when the first and the last dancer gather and then the other people join. Shetanicata forms the dance and every dancer joins in a place where they belong. The best dancers are

[23] In 2010, Persa Stojanovska, a prominent dancer in the dance group "Kopachka" revived the women's version of Kopachkata, so today the women perform the dance independently from the men in stage performances. When performed during social occasions, however, the dance is performed by both men and women.

[24] In a section where she explores the connection between labor and rhythm, Ana Maletić writes about the existence of dances in which the dancers express the rhythm of their labor in the rhythm of their dances. As an example, she points out to the digging element of Kopachkata, arguing that the geophysical influence plays an important role in the creation of such dance expressions (Maletić, 1986:316).

[25] For further analysis of the dance, see Dimchevski, G. (1983) *Vie se oro Makedonsko* [*Oro in Macedonia*]. Skopje: Nasha Kniga.

> first or the very last and in the middle, we have the inexperienced dancers. When the drummer notices that the dance is formed, he starts playing the second part which is Sitnoto. This part is kind of a "getting ready" part for Prefrlachkata. Prefrlachkata is the third part where the weight shifts from the left to the right leg and that is why we call it that. The Kopnuvanje is the last part where we imitate digging. Some experienced dancers from Bigla or Dramche prepare the land before they dance the dance and when they dig they cause for the dust to fly in the air, which adds a bit of spectacle to the dance. In Makedonska Kamenica they dig twice and they manage to do it in one beat, which is great. We dance at weddings here in Pijanec but as guests, as the people want to form relation with the past.
>
> (Uzunski, 2018:interview)

While in the past the dancers learned the dance through immersion, current new dancers mostly learn it from dance instructors in local dance groups, where the instructor demonstrates the steps.[26] The dancers perform Kopachkata socially, at local gatherings, religious holidays, weddings, and on the stage. The dance also exists in a stage variant that is performed by the local dance group "Kopachka," as well as various other troupes throughout the country, including the national dance ensemble of Macedonia "Tanec." Because of its importance among the local community, the dance has often been tied to myths and legends about its origin.[27]

[26] For instance, Persa Stojanovska remembers that she learned the dance when she was a child from a local musician who played *kemene* (string instrument) and ever since, the dance has "stayed in her heart forever" (2018:interview). Dimitar Uzunski from the village of Trabovitishte learned the dance in the village of Dramche in 1959. According to him, at that time, only the best dancers of the villages were allowed to perform the dance, so he needed to prove himself as such before dancing. When asked about performing the dance, Uzunski responds: "There is nothing else I would rather do!" (Uzunski, 2018:interview).

[27] For example, according to Uzunski's interpretation, the dance dates from the time of Alexander the Great, who started every battle with an announcement by seven drums, the most frequent number of drums used in performances of the dance today (2014:62). Furthermore, he believes that the dance was choreographed as a response to the Ottoman occupation of the area: "Shetanicata with its slow tempo and the Kopachkata with its fast rhythm show the hard life of the people in this area. The hits of the drums as well express suffering and hardship. According to academia, it is hardship from hard work. But the other rhythms, the faster ones show some movement among the people. If the dance symbolizes the hard life of the people it should stay slow and hard until the end, but it changes. But the fast parts show dynamic, the dynamic of the people and the wish to set free from the Ottoman occupiers and the hard life they posed to us. The Prefrlachkata means shifting places from one to another. The last part when the drum plays a certain melody it sounds like a weapon. This is my own personal observation and hasn't been recorded" (Uzunski, 2016:interview).

Figure 1.2: Dancers performing Kopachkata during festive occasion in 2014. Photo courtesy of Folk Dance Group "Kopachka."

Nijemo Kolo

Nijemo Kolo,[28] translated as "a silent circle dance" or a "mute" dance, is a technical term coined by Yugoslav dance researchers to refer to a category of dances that are performed without musical accompaniment.[29] In the Dalmatian Hinterland,[30] these dances are

[28] As a result of these early ethnographic reports that refer to dancing kolos, some of the authors that I have consulted (Dunin, 1988; Lovrić, 1948; Ivančan, 2017:interview) believe that Nijemo Kolo is one of the oldest continuously practiced dances in Europe. For example, Elsie Dunin (1988) bases this assumption on engravings of tombstones from the 14th and 15th century, that show people dancing in the absence of musicians, while Andrija Ivančan (2017) argues that the Nijemo Kolo is a pre-Slavic heritage that the Croatians inherited, while for them, the lack of musical accompaniment confirms the assumption that this is an old dancing form. Ivančan comments that "The Nijemo Kolo is considered pre-Slavic heritage that Slavs and Croatians inherited. This, of course, cannot be proven but it is a popular opinion. Having in mind that those shapes of dancing can be spotted in all of Europe, even in Norway, then it can be considered as one of the oldest styles of dancing, and there is logic in it because there is no musical accompaniment" (Ivančan, 2017:interview).

[29] Most likely, this categorization was developed due to the discovery of many "silent" dances that exist along the Dinara mountain region that extends from Croatia to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania and Macedonia. According to Elsie Dunin (1966) who devoted her Master thesis on this type of dances, there were ninety-nine available descriptions of silent dances on the territory of Yugoslavia at the time of her research in the 1960s. Dunin points to an extensive study on silent dances by the Bosnian ethnochoreologist Jelena Dopuđa who focuses on examples of the Glamoč Valley, Kupres Valley, Bradina and Jajce areas of Bosnia as well as Ivan Ivančan who researched and notated silent dances from the Lika Valley, Vrlika, central Dalmatian coast-Trogir, Bukovica, Sibenik, Ravni Kotari, Zadar areas and the islands Pag, Dugi Otok, Pasman, Ugljan, Murter and Zlarin. Moreover, she mentions the Slovenian ethnochoreologist Mirko Ramovš who labanotated two silent

locally known as Mutavo Kolo (mute circle dance), Gluvo Kolo (deaf circle dance), Šuplje Kolo (empty circle dance), Vrličko Kolo (Vrlika circle dance), Sinjsko Kolo (Sinj circle dance) and other local names. While they exist in other Balkan countries, I use the term Nijemo Kolo to refer to silent dances from the region of the Dalmatian Hinterland only, while I specifically focus on the Vrličko Kolo from Vrlika, Šuplje Kolo from Muć, and Sinjsko Kolo from Sinj. Although in the past the term Nijemo Kolo might have been unfamiliar to local dancers, today many of the community members use the term due to its appearance on UNESCO's Representative List as "a silent circle dance" in relation to ICH.

As a "silent dance,"[31] Nijemo Kolo does not have any musical accompaniment, although music or singing might precede or follow the dance. What makes the arrangements from the Dalmatian Hinterland different than other silent Dinaric dances is that, despite the chain formation, the dance also features couples where men and women move together in a closed circle, and often independently, performing different dance variants in the 6/8 meter. The chain formation of the dance has transformed into couples, which shows the influence of

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dances from the Bela Krajina region in Slovenia, as well as the Montenegrin ethnochoreologist Vladimir Šoć who mentions silent dances in his book on old Montenegrin dances (Dunin, 1988:7). In my research, I have also located an article by Ivona Opetcheska Tatarchevska (2006) in which the author traces nine such examples of silent dances in Macedonia.

[30] The Dalmatian Hinterland (*Dalmatinska Zagora*) refers to the southern, non-coastal inland part of Croatia occupying the area around the towns of Šibenik, Knin, Drniš, Unešić, Vrlika, Sinj, Imotski, and Vrgorac. The Hinterland is a mountainous area populated by Croatian Catholic and Serbian Orthodox communities that live in close proximity to each other. Many of the Serbian communities that lived in the region were expelled from the area in 1995 during Yugoslavia's break up and Croatia's Homeland War, while some of them still live in the area and perform the same or similar silent dances as the Croatian communities. The people that live in the villages and small towns are mostly farmers, though many of them have migrated to live in the coastal cities of Dalmatia.

[31] There have been several hypotheses about the lack of music. One assumption is that the instruments produced sounds that were too weak to accompany the strong and loud movements produced by the dancers (Dunin, 1966:42). In her ethnographic observations of the Starobosansko Nijemo Kolo from the Glamoč region of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Jelena Dopuđa observes that during mass performances of the dance, the sounds produced while dancing the dance were heard from miles away. She further argues that the Nijemo Kolo started being performed in silence during the Ottoman occupation of area, where the dancers danced silently and secretly to avoid being discovered by the Ottoman soldiers. See Dopuđa, J. (1986) *Narodni Plesovi- Igre u Bosni i Hercegovini* [*Folk Dances in Bosnia and Herzegovina*]. Zagreb: Kulturno- Prosvietjni Sabor Hrvatske.

couple dances that were performed at the islands across the shore.[32] While there is a lack of music, there is no lack of sound during the dance. Due to the heavy amount of jewelry and metal coins woven into the costumes of the dancers (especially the women's dress), while jumping and stamping, the dancers produce sounds that imitate the rhythm of the dance.[33] As Tvrtko Zebec summarizes,

> It also happens that everyone is doing their own thing: people are singing, bagpipers are playing, but that has nothing to do with the performance of the dance. The dancers are not following anyone's rhythm but their own. At a past conference, I was asked what does a silent or mute dance mean? Because when you see them, you hear noise, you hear bodies moving, singing, music, but it has nothing to do with the rhythm of the kolo. You are never sure if the dancers can hear the rhythm of the music or if they follow that rhythm. I think it's all spontaneous. Everyone is dancing their own thing.
>
> (Zebec, 2017:interview)

While the lack of music and the presence of couple arrangements are uniting elements in many of the silent dances in the Dalmatian Hinterland, each local version of the dance has specific elements that make it unique. As opposed to the past, when the dancers performed during social and religious gatherings, weddings, and festivals, today they mostly perform on stage. When featured in social occasions, the dancers of Vrličko Kolo form a chain, holding their sashes and moving towards the left, switching between a walking-like movement, performed slowly; and as the tempo increases, they switch to more rapid stamping. At given times, couples of men and women leave the chain and dance independently, performing the same steps, but occasionally the women perform high jumps and the men lift them in the air.[34]

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[32] See Ivančan, I. (1981) *Narodni plesovi Dalmacije II: Od Metkovića do Splita* [*Folk dances from Dalmacija II: From Metković to Split*]. Zagreb: Prosvijetni Sabor Hrvatske.

[33] For instance, Ivančan noted that in Vrlika, the musicians played sudden melodies in the 2/4 meter, while the dancing was in a 6/4 meter, like the Mazurka, which did not bother the dancers as they do not listen to each other and they cannot recognize the meter (1981:13).

[34] In order to differentiate the Nijemo Kolo in the Hinterland from the rest of the regions on the Dalmatian coast, Ivančan adds that the *kolovodja* (the dance leader) does not have any specific role, such as giving commands of

The close contact between the couples in the dances prompted restrictions influenced by the patriarchal system dominant in the area.[35] According to Ivan Ivančan's observations:

> At the dance podium, the men, the women, and the married and old stand separately. In the middle there is an empty space. A man approaches a woman without saying anything and just gives her a hand and takes her in the kolo […] They proceed with jumping from one leg to the other, but the woman commands how long the dance will last. She signals to her partner, he turns her two or three more times and then she exits the kolo.
>
> (Ivančan, 1967:289)

In Sinj, instead of dancing in a chain, the dancers join in couples made up of men and women, or two women, but never two men. They start the dance by walking in couples in a circle by making circular movements with their hands. The steps morph into leaps and small jumps, as the tempo increases, and the dancers occasionally lift their arms in the air, as they alternate their positions. At a given time, the dancers join in a closed circle and continue performing the same steps. As the dancing is spontaneous, depending on the mood of the dancers, and open to improvisations, the dancers do not follow a specific order of what step to perform next. What is common about the dancing style in the Dalmatian Hinterland is the couple formation where the men supposedly test their female partners' strength by lifting them in the air. Despite dancing in couples or in an open circle, in Muć, the dancers move in groups of four or six while each of the dancers holds a *šunderić* (stick). While in the past, the dancers learned how to perform by immersion in a given habitus, today the dancers learn the steps from instructors in local groups, in which the dances are arranged and choreographed for the stage.[36] Because of the emphasis on staged rather than social performances, the dance

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what step to be performed next. Rather, he positions himself as the leader of the chain in order to take full control of the upcoming formations (Ivančan, 1994:62).

[35] See Ivančan, I. (1967) 'Narodni plesovi Sinja i okolice' [Folk dances from Sinj and the surrounding area]. *Narodna Umjetnost*, 5-6. Zagreb: Studije i građa o Sinjskoj krajini, pp. 277-302.

[36] Boja Režić, a dancer from Vrlika remembers that "Back then, we danced in front of the church every week before and after mass and during *dernek*. Now, we have members of our ensemble that can't do the Vrličko Kolo. They sing but can't do the dance" (Režić, 2018:interview). Božo Mrđan, a dancer from Muć remembers that "A month ago they called us to go to a wedding and they wanted to make the Nijemo Kolo alive again. We rarely dance the dance in the village. Maybe for some big events, we put on our folk costume and perform. We

today is mostly associated with local groups as well as the national dance ensemble of Croatia, "Lado."

Figure 1.3: Dancers performing Vrličko Kolo during festive occasion in 2017. Photo courtesy of Zvonimir Ćorić.

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Considered as folklore, that is, as the product of collective authorship, these dances are treated as the cultural property of a given ethnic group or a nation and hence a symbol of cultural and national identity.[37] It is important to add that dance by itself did not provide people with a sense of identity. Rather, identity appreciations were influenced by the state,

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are doing our best so we don't forget this dance. The older people know how to perform the dance, but thirty years and younger, they don't" (Mrđan, 2018:interview). When asked how she learned to dance, Blaženka Režić, a dancer from the town of Vrlika, responded "We are born with it, when a child is born here, he already knows how to dance kolo. It is in our genes, you can't learn it. My niece dances like the old people did. It means it is in her genes. She dances *izvorno*" (Režić, 2018:interview).

[37] According to Andrija Karaklajić, a soloist dancer at the state folk dance ensemble of Serbia "Kolo" "When parents bring their kids in my ensemble, it is important to them that the kid knows how to dance. They say their kids have to know how to dance kolo at weddings. Maybe its patriotism that guides them. For me being able to dance and learn how to dance is a subject of elementary culture. If I could, I would make it a necessary class in every elementary school. My sister is a teacher and I sometimes help her and go and teach the kids how to dance kolo. It is part of their physical training at school, but not all teachers do it" (Karaklajić, 2019:interview). Such connotations create the sense of "our dance" that can refer both to local dances from "our village," or national dances from "our country." As one of the dancers of Nijemo Kolo explains: "We can never dance Sinjsko Kolo because it is not ours" (Režić, 2018:interview), hence, exemplifying the accent on identity.

which promoted the dances' inclusion in the archive and school and research curriculums. Their treatment as folklore was due to the fact that they are transmitted from one generation to another, which also led to their characterization as traditional. Furthermore, the spread of these dances in specific geographical areas led to ideas of ownership and distinctiveness, framing the dances as a practice specific to the people associated with them, which was a crucial justification for their inclusion in the folklore category.

In time, the dances became nationalized and popularized, resulting in a widespread practice where the population of a certain nation identifies with the dance (such as the case with Kolo). These characteristics made the dances important tools for nation-building. Their inclusion in state archives, school curriculums, and national dance repertoires supports the prevailing focus on cultural preservation. Other efforts aimed at the prevention of the loss of cultural knowledge include the constant search for new dances to be added to the archive and the organization of workshops and seminars through which the dance is transmitted as embodied knowledge.

In search for folk culture (19th and early 20th century research on dance)

The earliest research on folk culture that included collecting and archiving folk tales, poetry, and language is associated with the Romantic period, marked by the end of the eighteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century, and German authors such as Johann Gottfried Von Herder and the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. Romantic philosophers tried to locate and formulate the *volk* (the folk in German), believing that, through this newly developed social construct, the masses could gain awareness of their own identity as a people. According to Regina Bendix, the term had two distinct meaning: it had a political-national (*populous*) significance, which connoted the entirety of the population, and a social-civilizational (*vulgus*) meaning, which referred to the low, primitively-thinking folk who reflect the community's authenticity and originality (1997:109). With rapid

industrialization and emerging class divisions as capitalism took force, the "folk" was extensively used as a category to differentiate the literate bourgeoisie, who shifted the so-called authentic "folk" into a nobler yet distant past (Bendix, 1997:9). Through the development of print capitalism (Anderson, 1983), Romantic writers subsequently initiated the search for national culture, which manifested in the production of print publications that contained local peasant songs and oral expressions. Although court dances in Western Europe had been notated and produced as written knowledge since 1680 (Franko, 2015; Foster, 2010), it was not until the Romantic interest in the folk that peasant dances were considered important enough to catch the attention of researchers, despite several mentions of European travelers who visited the region.

Before some of the first attempts by folklorists to collect and publish folk songs, most of the knowledge about the dances was transmitted and sustained as oral culture. To a degree, these processes of collecting were also attempts to create a sense of national language and culture that were used to unite the people of South Slavic descent. Prior to the development of Romanticism in the Yugoslav region in the nineteenth century, the earliest known historical sources and mentions of *kolo* and its dissemination come from church diaries and the writings of travelers who visited the region. For instance, the earliest source dates from a thirteenth century travel account of the Dalmatian writer Juraj Šižgorić, who writes about a wedding *kolo* in his *De Situ Illyriae et Civitate Sibenici a 1487* (Mladenović, 1978:31). Another such author is Stephen Gerlach who briefly wrote about the dance in the area of Bela Palanka and Niš in present-day Serbia in 1567 and 1573.[38]

One of the first records about dancing Nijemo Kolo dates back to 1774, evident in Alberto Fortis' *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (Travels Across Dalmatia) (Ćaleta, 2001). Although

[38] For more detailed overview of early dance records in the Yugoslav region, see Mladenović, O. (1973) *Kolo u Južnih Slovena* [*Kolo Among the South Slavs*]. Beograd: Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti.

mentioned very briefly, Fortis refers to a dance event in Dalmatia, populated by the Morrlachi, a native mountain-dweller population. In his travelogue, he writes that the Nijemo Kolo is constantly changing its shape: the dancers create couple formations in which they can physically withstand the high jumps and they dance without any musical accompaniment.[39] Fortis described the region as a rough and uncivilized country in whose customs are exotic and unexplored and presented his findings to the Venetian public (Baycroft, 2012:13). Another important record about dance in Croatia is the Zagreb bishop Maksilian Vrhovac's *Pleszopiszen,* published in 1809, in which he writes about a staged performance of Croatian dances in Zagreb in which he portrays the *kolo* dance as a symbol of unity (Sremac, 2002). Although not necessarily treated as folklore research, these writings are important because they provide some of the first written records of these dances and thus offer useful information about the origin and context of the dances. Furthermore, they are a proof of some of the earliest Romantic interest about the local culture of the people that populated the region and were influential in the process of folklorization that followed.

In keeping with the early folklorists' aim to collect local expressions for the purpose of conservation, folklore research intensified as certain marginalized groups, including the peasants, were labeled as "folk."[40] Equivalent to the German *Volkskunde* that referred to the purity of national culture that was ostensibly preserved in the rural (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998a:297), these attempts of documenting, describing, and representing the past provided a new discourse, used in the process of making modern Europe. The mission to target what was considered a lower class of society was due to the perception of a less educated and primitive group with weaker individualities – yet, this demographic was also understood as free from

[39] See Lovrić, I. (1948) *Bilješke o putu po Dalmaciji opata Alberta Fortisa i život Stanislava Sočivice* [*Notes on Alberto Fortis' Trip Across Dalmatia and the Life of Stanislav Sočivic*]. Zagreb: Publishing Institute of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts.

[40] See Anttonen, P. (2005) *Tradition through modernity: Postmodernism and the nation-state in folklore scholarship.* Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

the evil of civilization and therefore functioned as a metaphor for everything that was not modern, both in positive or negative terms (Bendix, 1997:7). This "true" and "authentic" expression of the "people" (Shay, 2008:15) was immediately linked to the emergent nationalism that brought up questions of national heritage, its preservation, and later, folklore research and its institutionalization as an academic discipline.

For instance, in 1815, the German writer Jakob Grimm came up with specific suggestions of how to collect oral traditions. He asserted that: "One should, above all, be concerned with conceiving these items faithfully and correctly from the mouth of the narrators, without make-up and addition, where possible in and with their proper words…" (Grimm cited in Dundes, 1989:44). Influenced by the works of Herder and the Grimm brothers, European Romantics saw peasant expressions as "the rapidly vanishing virtues of simplicity, naturalness, and cultural authenticity" (Chatterjee, 1993:158). Moreover, they treated peasant culture as a subject of endless exploration, as they desired to appropriate the peasant into the folkloric in order to align that knowledge with the ongoing processes of nation building.

One of the main reasons for these ethnographers to regard this culture as vanishing was the fear of its elimination in the pursuit of modernity, which subsequentially created the need for folklorization — in other words, prompting a need to transform music and dance manifestations into collectable objects for an archive. These historical processes impacted the creation of the discourse of folklore, which first developed as a response to literature that regarded music and dance through an ethnographic prism. Due to its ability to create social bonds, folk culture was regarded as a necessary component in the discourse around nationhood and the foundation of national identity (Roudometof, 2001:9). The major task of the early study of folklore was to set up a clear distinction between the cultural opus of each nation in opposition to others. Furthermore, folklore was praised and promoted as it provided

people with a sense of belonging and identity. However, this early research on dance is, to a degree, problematic: folklorists studied or described dance in the same way they studied language or music, which resulted in vague descriptions and a focus on form and structure. As folklorists were often considered to be members of the intellectual elite, they tended to exoticize the dances that they studied, given that the forms were the product of peasant culture or a lower class of society; they often presented biased and ambiguous descriptions of what the dances looked like.

While political Yugoslavism, as an idea for a national movement, first appeared during the Habsburg Monarchy in the 1820s (Roudometof, 2001:80), the search for and the collection of peasant culture manifested as a cultural movement that was directly influenced by Western European folklorists like Herder and the Grimm brothers. Herder greatly admired Slavic folk poetry and predicted that because of their carefully preserved traditions and customs, the Slavs might go on to a glorious future (Ergang, 1966:261). While Romanticism was a movement that was particularly popular in Western Europe, Romantic Nationalism developed as a popular movement in Central and Eastern Europe as a response to the constant changing of political borders (Wilson, 1973:109). Two of its important features were the focus on national differences instead of similarities, and the utilization of traditions and folklore in building the political reality of the present (Wilson, 1973:110).

Related to the processes of imagining the nation, the South Slavs were able to construct their own nation-state and a sense of nationality through the use of language and folk poetry.[41] Following in the footsteps of the Grimm brothers, the Serbian philologist Vuk Karadžić produced the first collection of Serbian folk songs in the period of 1814-1815 that

[41] Andrew Baruch Wachtel comments that "In addition to shared ethnic background, they could and did point to linguistic similarity (if not identity), to shared cultural traditions (folk song in particular), as well as to the wisdom of a larger national grouping as a defense against demonstrably rapacious neighbors, and to the impracticality and danger of separating closely related peoples who, in many regions, lived side by side" (1998:13).

also included music from the neighboring Yugoslav states that he labeled as Serbian.[42] The spread of oral traditions pointed to the linguistic similarities between the languages used in the state (Wachtel, 1998:13).[43]

In his *Male Prostostonarodne Slaveno-Serbske Pjesnarice* (*A Small Folk Slavic-Serbian Songbook*) (1814) and *Života i Običaja Naroda Srpskoga* (*The Life and Customs of the Serbian People*) (1867) Karadžić identified dance songs, in addition to folk songs, mentioning some dances and dance rituals, as well as information about the style of dancing. These processes of canonizing folk poetry and music placed *Kneževina Srbija* (The Principality of Serbia) on the European cultural scene and played an important role in the establishment of its national identity (Wachtel, 1998:101). Even though still not regarded as a nation-state, such literature fostered a sense of ethnic consciousness — a process that was evident in other European countries as well. While the nation was continuously imagined and connected through print newspapers and novels, as Anderson (1983) argues, a sense of the "national" could also be imagined in works devoted to promotion and praise for local expressions. It is essential to mention that while Serbian and Croatian researchers collected folk music and tales in the nineteenth century, dance did not yet play an important role in establishing national identity.

Following Vuk Karadžić's works, in which he labels the songs as *narodne* (folk), some of the more elaborate writings about dance events in the area of Vojvodina in Serbia throughout the Habsburg Monarchy were produced by the officer Stanislav Šumarski

[42] According to Karadžić, all people who spoke the Serbian language were Serbs, regardless of their ethnic and religious affiliation. According to Leslie Benson "In an essay entitled 'Serbs all, and everywhere', he argued that the Serbs were the most ancient inhabitants of the Balkan lands, a true aboriginal people; even the Muslims in Bosnia (he called them 'Turks') were in fact Serbs. Vuk's vision of Serbdom as united by immemorial ties of blood and language exerted a powerful hold on the collective consciousness of succeeding generations, and more than any statesman or general he symbolizes Serbian national identity to this day" (Benson, 2001:2-3).

[43] Romanticism, however, was brought between 1807- 1815, particularly in the Slovene ethnic territory, through the work of Jernej Kopitar who, as Johann Gottfried von Herder, was interested in folk tales and customs. In the search of a Slavicist who will lay the foundations of the Slovene language, he allied with the Serbian Vuk Karadžić, who is now considered as the leading reformer of the Serbian language (Kropej, 2013:224).

between 1843 to 1847 in the journal *Serbski Letopis* (Serbian Chronicles). In his text *Građa za Povijesnicu Serbsku* (Materials for the History of the Serbs) (1846), Šumarski writes about the lives of the soldiers in the region, mainly Serbians and Croatians, and mentions several kolo dances as well as brief descriptions of the dance styles and the names of some of the best dancers.[44] Another Serbian author who followed the ethnographic model of the previously mentioned authors is the ethnographer Milan Milićević who did research in multiple regions throughout Serbia and provided some short descriptions about the dance patterns, as well as the names of the kolo dances in his works on *Kneževina Srbija* [*Principality of Serbia*] in 1876 and *Kraljevina Srbija* [*Kingdom of Serbia*] in 1884.[45] As in the previously mentioned travelogues, the invocations of kolo dancing are brief but important, as they point to the widespread practice of kolo throughout the region of Vojvodina and the region of Slavonija in Croatia.

While Karadžić primarily focused on what he regarded as Serbian music and dance, some of the more studious writings on Croatian peasant dance were produced by the ethnomusicologist Franjo Ksaver Kuhač. He was primarily interested in collecting folk songs not only in Croatia, where he was born, but also across Europe. In 1881, he published his collection of 5000 songs in his *Južno- slovjenske Narodne Popievke* (*South- Slavic Folk Songs*). Kuhač's task was to collect, archive, and study "disappearing" peasant music, focusing on what he labeled as "authentic expression." Alongside his interest in music notation, Kuhač also recorded dances and "dance games", and divided the forms in several categories, paying special attention to the circle kolo styles that were most popular in the

[44] See Rakočević, S. (2010) 'Historical sources about traditional dance practice of the Serbs in Austro-Hungarian Empire.' in Talam, J., Hadžić, F. and Hadžić, R. (eds.) *Muzika u društvu*. Međunarodni simpozij. Sarajevo: Muzikološko društvo BiH i Muzička akademija u Sarajevu, pp. 228-235; Mladenović, O. (1964) 'Jedan istorijski izvor za proučavanje naših narodnih igara 18. veka.' [One historical source for studying our folk dances from the 18th centiry]. *Rad vojvođanskih muzeja*, Novi Sad: pp. 204-209.

[45] See Rakočević, S. (2013) 'Tracing the discipline: Eighty years of ethnochoreology in Serbia.' *New Sound*, 41 (1), pp. 58- 86.

country (Zebec, 1996:92). Focusing on the structural and social characteristics of the *kolo*, he also performed comparative analysis with other dances in the country and the neighboring countries (Zebec, 1996:93). In addition to these early ethnographic texts, the newspapers *Danica* (Morning Star) and *Narodne Novine* (Folk News) occasionally wrote about various balls, dance events, parties, and celebrations that were taking place in the bigger cities in Serbia and Croatia where Narodno Kolo was performed as early as 1840 (Niemčić and Katarinčić, 2016:151).

Many of these sources foreground *kolo* as one of the most popular social dance forms in the region. The authors' analysis of the dance indicates that many of the characteristics, such as the quality of collective participation, in addition to its form and structure, were stable over time and remained similar to this day. Furthermore, the emphasis on researching and writing about music and dance points to the early manifestations of folklore research in the region and the development of the folkloric discourse. Even though these authors did not necessarily label their research as "folklore," they were researching *narodna kultura* (folk culture) or *narodna umjetnost* (folk art), a phenomenon that paved the way for the process of folklorization and institutionalization of folklore in the late 1940s.

The earliest mentions of Macedonian peasant dances date to the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries in the writings of Serbian ethnographers such as Mihailo Velić, Jeremije Pavlović, Svetozar Tomić, Atanasije Petrović and Jovan Hadživasiljević. These ethnographers also worked as teachers in many of the towns in Macedonia, and while they were educating the peasants, they collected folklore, as they were interested in the lives and the culture of the people of "Old Serbia" (present-day Macedonia). The studies provide geographical, historical, and anthropological data about the areas they observed and report on the lives of the peasant communities. These researchers refer to several dance events that took place during religious holidays or village gatherings when the people danced *oro*.

The authors provide the names of the local dances and address some of the social aspects of the dance events, such as who is allowed to participate in the dance and during which occasions. They emphasize that dancing was a popular social activity. Additionally, these ethnographers commented on the musical instruments used in the performances (Velić, 1899; Tomić, 1905), and noticed the importance of gender roles in dance participation (Hadživasiljević, 1909; Petrović, 1907). Even though the authors do not provide any dance notations, they did document musical notations of the dance music (Hadživasiljević, 1909), and wrote about the shape of the dances and the dance formations (Hadživasiljević, 1930; Pavlović, 1928). Hadživasiljević makes an important comparative analysis between the *oro* dances he observed in the pastoral regions surrounding the cities of Kumanovo and Skopje along with other areas in the country; he also comments on the acceptance of "foreign" dances in the local repertoire of the villagers, which, he believed, originated in other countries.

The folklorists' ethnographic observations were intended to be used as an idealistic representation of the local cultures of the people in which dance was essential to their religious and social lives. By the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, these early attempts at raising awareness of the local traditions, linked to patriotism and nationalism, indicated that dance was fundamental to the construction of national heritage and national culture. For instance, in the Macedonian context, some researchers would often change the last names of their interlocutors in order to resemble Serbian last names, and treated their collected materials as expressions of Serbian rather than Macedonian folk culture. What they stressed is that, like language, dance is also part of a culture that can be adopted as national property for the purpose of creating a national inventory.

Related to this development, it is also important to stress the use of the concept of *narodne* (folk), evident in the works of Vuk Karadžić and Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, and later

adopted by Tihomir Đorđević in his work *Srpske Narodne Igre* (*Serbian Folk Dances*) published in 1907. Đorđević's study is one of the first works in the region devoted specifically to dance, as opposed to the works of other authors, in which dance events are briefly mentioned. In his study, Đorđević focused on differentiating between religious and secular dances, while his primary task was studying *orske igre* — a term that he used to explain the chain formation of the circle dances. The need to conceptualize these dances as *narodni* can be translated as an influence of the developing discourse whose quest was to folklorize certain elements of culture in order to turn them into collectibles.

While in the languages of the Croatians, Serbians, and Macedonians, the word "dance" translates as *tanc* or *igra* (Macedonia), *igra* or *ples*, (Serbia) or *ples* (Croatia), these ethnographers decided to differentiate these types of dances from other types shaped by Western European influence, such as the waltz and the polka, by conceptualizing them as *igre* — an in-between category that refers both to various forms of human kinesthetic expression that involves playing games and dancing. Đorđević considered all those *igre* forms as games, and as a manifestation of superfluous, unnecessary energy that appears in the human body (Rakočević, 2013:61). Olivera Mladenović, however, traces the origin of the word *igre* as pre-Slavic, used to express various modes of having fun. She further argues that, among the South Slavs, the dance is associated with not only social but also other aspects of dancing. Despite its choreographic meaning, the word can be used to refer to playing instruments and acting; while related to dance, it is most often used to refer to *kolo/oro* (Mladenović, 1973:76). In direct translation, the performers do not "dance" but rather "play," as they refer to the act of dancing as *igram kolo/oro* rather than *plešem/tancuvam kolo/oro.*

Researchers and the general public alike began to refer to these dances as "folk" (*narodni*), in light of their assumed connection with long-lasting tradition and, by extension, their qualification as examples of folklore. The concept of "folk" stresses a collective

authorship, whereby the creator is not an individual but the community, or the *narod* (the folk) as a whole. By imagining these dances as folk, ethnographers believed that they evolved spontaneously alongside the everyday activities of the people that perform them. "Folk" dances, particularly in the Yugoslav area, often existed in rural regions in which the community had little contact with the outside world; the dances were therefore believed to be created in isolation, according to the beliefs and standards of the community in which they took shape.

As the folkloric discourse was developing, Yugoslav ethnographers were forming national research institutions and museums where they documented collections of songs and narratives, and turned them into compilations. The established discourse around *narodni* is evident in the establishment of *Narodni Muzej* (Folk Museum) in Belgrade in 1844 and Zagreb in 1846. Furthermore, the Ethnographic museums founded in 1904 in Belgrade and 1919 in Zagreb were strictly devoted to the study and exhibition of folk culture. The early development of these institutions, whether museums or research institutes, played an important part in developing modernity and making this knowledge accessible to the masses. Such projects, happening throughout Europe as well, were crucial in the development of modern nation states, as they required folk culture that demonstrated their histories.

Developing the "folk dance" discourse through the formation of ethnochoreology

Peasants played an important part in the political developments of the newly emerging states in the Balkans. One example is the Croatian Peasant party, formed in 1904, which had a significant impact on Yugoslav politics and presented a typical example of the radical and populist parties that were prominent in the region after World War I (Hudson, 2003:20). For instance, the ideologies of the peasant party profoundly influenced fundamental questions about what constitutes Croatian culture and folk culture broadly. Croatian culture must be

old; it must represent everything that the peasants have created without any foreign help; it should be "homemade," or, put differently, it should include only the culture that has been created locally; and it must be different than the foreign and the cosmopolitan culture that was visible in the cities (Ceribašić, 1998:75). What made the dances of the peasants an important segment for mediating ideas around authenticity, tradition, and identity was their transformation into literature that had national character.

In the context of increasingly popular ethnographic research before World War I, a few researchers sought to separate the study of dance from folklore. Despite Đorđević's attempts, until the 1930s, in the Yugoslav area, as well as in the rest of Europe, there were no serious attempts to institutionalize the study of dance in the form of an academic discipline, probably due to the fact that research was still carried out by ethnographers, folklorists, and ethnomusicologists, whose approach was descriptive and brief, lacking a theoretical framework and methodological analysis. Furthermore, dance was not regarded as important in its own right and was seen as merely symbolic of other social relations.

Of special interest for the development of the study of dance heritage[46] in Eastern Europe was the work of the sisters Ljubica and Danica Janković, who are considered as the founders of ethnochoreology as a discipline in the region.[47] Employed at the Ethnographic

[46] In Great Britain, Cecil Sharp started his early research on folk songs and English country dance, while in 1911, he was the founder of the English Folk Dance Society (EFDS), which was the first English institution devoted to research on dance, where he promoted English Morris dancing. As a student of Cecil Sharp, Maud Karpeles who was later associated with the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS) used similar methods of notating, describing, comparing and analyzing dance and music as her mentor. The relationship between the Janković sisters and Maud Karpeles is of particular importance, since for the first time, as Elsie Dunin writes, due to long correspondence, dance scholars from "the East" and from "the West" were able to share and compare their research methods and theoretical frameworks. Dunin adds that "Karpeles moved forward to develop an international constituency of music and dance scholars in the mid-1930s, which is when the Janković sisters become involved with the EFDSS and its journal" (2014: 200), an occasion for dance researchers from Eastern Europe to publish their research on Serbian, Macedonian and Croatian dances in Western European dance journals. One of the reasons for the lack of participation at international conferences and publishing in international journals was the language barrier, since not a lot of the scholars spoke other languages that were different than their native language. To a degree, this barrier still poses a problem for post Yugoslav dance researchers today.

[47] For the development of the field of ethnochoreology, see Dunin Ivancich, Elsie. (2014) 'Emergence of ethnochoreology internationally: The Janković sisters, Maud Karpeles, and Gertrude Kurath.' *Muzikologija,* 17,

Museum in Belgrade where they later founded the Department of Folk Dances, in 1934 they published their first book called *Narodne Igre* (*Folk Dances*), which later became a volume of eight books that focused on the *kolo/oro* of the Christian Orthodox Serbians and Macedonians who lived in the Yugoslav area, and introduced the modern era of ethnochoreological study.[48]

Continuing their uncle Tihomir Đorđević's research, the Janković sisters searched for the "true" folk dances, demonstrated by the oldest and best performers who would provide relevant information about the origin and the transmission of these dances (Rakočević, 2016:345). Through these attempts to institutionalize their dance research on peasant forms and to develop an ethnochoreological discourse, the Janković sisters made the earliest attempts to transform the study of *kolo/oro* into an academic discipline, by basing their work on structural analysis and developing their own system of dance notation.[49] Moreover, they wished to affirm the study of *kolo/oro* as equally worthy of academic attention as any Western dances and thus they sought to gain attention by promoting their research at international conferences and publishing in international journals.[50]

In addition to their activities of collection and structural analysis, the Janković sisters adopted a participant-observation research method and therefore became very involved in dance ethnography (Rakočević, 2014:237). It is specifically important to mention that the sisters engaged with the pre-established discourse on *narodne* (folk) dances but also

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pp. 197-217.

[48] For more detailed outline of their work, see Rakočević, 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2018.

[49] The research on dance heritage in Western Europe, as well as the United States was greatly influenced by the German musicologist Curt Sachs' ethnocentric *World History of the Dance* (1933). Sachs' book was written on the paradigms of German ethnology, which, at the time, differed from American and British anthropology and inspired many dance researchers in the United States.

[50]Dance scholars Ann Dils and Ann Cooper Albright write that in the West, dances that did not fit the Western standard were not studied as history, but rather as anthropology, which characterized some dances as art, while other as social behavior (2001:xv- xvi).

distanced their study of dance from folkloristics by creating a new ethnochoreological discourse and method. Trying to separate the study of dance from the study of music, in a letter to the International Folk Music Council (IFMC)[51] in 1958, Danica Janković mentions the differences between ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology, given that dance research was, until then, often carried out by ethnomusicologists:

> My sister and I work more on ethnochoreology than on folklore. We consider ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology as two different scientific branches (though closely connected) each one of them deserving to be designated by the name to avoid confusion. As we suggested in one of our letters some years ago, the term 'folk music' (consequently the term 'ethnomusicology') can by no means cover all of what is to be worked on in the frame of folk dance study, and ethnochoreology.
>
> (Danica Janković, 1958, cited in Dunin, 2014:203-204)

Before Janković, the earliest attempts in Croatia to institutionalize dance research — as well as to stage dance heritage — are linked with the establishment of *Seljačka Sloga* (The Peasant Concord) in 1925 as a cultural branch of the Croatian Peasant Party. This institution was mostly invested in organizing festivals and staging peasant music and dance, given that its main mission was to promote, spread, and raise awareness about Croatian peasant culture. The emphasis on peasant culture was also aligned with the state national project, which endeavored to construct a Croatian culture that was distinct to the other European nations. These concerns are made evident in *Seljačka Sloga*'s attempts to battle foreign influences on peasant culture and collect only what they interpreted as "pure" Croatian and traditional culture (Ceribašić, 1998:83).

While the Janković sisters wrote about different *kolo* patterns in several of their books, they refused to record Kukunješte or Žikino Kolo — types of *kolo* dance in other parts

[51] In 1947, researchers that were working on the research of "folk" music and dance, mainly in Britain and Western Europe, were involved in the formation of the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) that held meetings once a year. This organization can be regarded as one of the earliest attempts to institutionalize research on folk music and dance internationally, with the mission "to promote the study, practice, documentation, and dissemination of folk music in all its guises" where researchers from The United States, Western and Eastern Europe can participate together (Gore and Grau, 2006:3).

of Serbia — as they felt that the dances were "degenerate," given their changes in speed and uncontrolled jumping (Janković, 1937:43). They saw the spread of Kolo in other parts of the country, such as Kosovo, as a new type of dance, and did not regard it as the authentic version that originated in central Serbia. As Selena Rakočević argues, the Janković sisters were searching for the "true" folk dances which would provide relevant information about the origin and the transmission of these dances (2016:345).

In relation to creating an archive, these attempts also point to the conscious process of creating national identities on the premise of emphasizing originality in autochthonous culture.[52] Along these interests, *Seljačka Sloga* officials made an early attempt to include folk culture in the primary school curriculum, whereby every teacher would have to assemble an ethnographic scrapbook that would enable them to teach students about local customs and traditions (Sremac, 2010:274). As Zebec asserts, the models and canons of researching and performing heritage were largely influenced by the dominant political ideologies in the 1920s, which attempted to popularize this type of culture (2013:315-316). The work of *Seljačka Sloga* is a prime example of the alignment of folklore and dance research with state politics and emerging nationalism. Furthermore, such examples gesture to the power vested in dance researchers and folklorists by state institutions to mediate ideas around separatism, which *Seljačka Sloga* demonstrates, and to highlight shared heritage and cultural traits for the purposes of transmitting nationalist ideas. For instance, the Janković sisters only focused on conducting research in the areas where Christian Orthodox Serbs lived, including parts of Croatia and the majority of Macedonia, yet disregarded the dances of other nationalities and ethnicities that lived in the same geographic area. Their treatment of Macedonia as *Južna*

[52] Ceribašić writes that the foreign styles of music such as *šlageri* and jazz, foreign dances such as polka, tango, foxtrot, waltz, and foreign musical instruments such as accordion, and guitar were thought to be ruining the heritage of the people and must not replace Croatian songs, Croatian *kolo,* and the Crotian *tamburica* (1998:176)

Srbija (South Serbia) or *Vardarska Banovina* (Vardar Banate) and the purposeful Serbification of the dancers' last names reveal such nationalist agendas.

According to ethnomusicologist Naila Ceribašić, further development of the discourse around studying peasant dance shows that, while the Croatian peasant culture was *narodna*, it was also treated as "traditional, old, homemade, collective, unchanging, unprofessional, original, autonomous, clear, real, and honest" (2003:24). The collected and staged dances were also referred to as *starinski plesovi* (old dances), thereby suggesting that all of the apparently folkloric and traditional qualities of these dances were the basis for their interpretation as national and hence linked to Croatian identity and national Croatian culture. Similarly, the Janković sisters alternated between using concepts such as *narodne igre* but also *orske igre* (oro dances), identifying the dances as "anonymous, traditional, collective, ethnographic, folkloric, a mirror of the old traditional culture, and an expression of our people's soul" (Janković, 1939:13-14). These examples prove that what was considered to be *narodno* or folk, was often joined by epithets that expressed originality, distinctiveness, autonomy, clarity and other similar concepts used by the Romantic folklorists — all important aspects of building national culture.

Institutionalizing folklore and dance research

Folklore research was institutionalized with the establishment of the Yugoslav Socialist State, which witnessed the expansion of national folklore research institutes. While the main task was general folklore research, dance research was conducted since the very beginning, and it was carried mostly by ethnomusicologists interested in dance. Some of the most prominent ethnochoreologists, who produced some of the first and in-depth works on dance, were affiliated with these institutions. One of the most important developments was the official use and the institutionalization of the term *folklor* (folklore) that previously

operated as *narodna kultura* or *narodna umjetnost*, but never *folklorna kultura* (folk culture).[53] It is important to mention, however, that dance became the subject of ethnochoreological research as a separate discipline. However, dance continued to be considered as an important segment of folklore, while dance research continued to be published in journals devoted to folklore research.[54] Even though dance researchers aspired towards developing their own methods of study, which included structural analysis and dance notation, their folkloric training made their approaches towards studying dance differently from researchers in Western Europe and the United States, who generally placed emphasis on dance anthropology.[55]

Even though Yugoslav folklorists did not specifically define what folklore is and what folklore research entails, they made attempts to separate folk art from the negative

[53] In her doctoral dissertation where she analyzes these discourses, Naila Ceribašić (1998) provides detailed analysis of the perception and some of the definitions of folklore. By citing several authors from Yugoslavia who made some attempts to differentiate *folklor* from the already existing discourses, she points out that, as opposed to *narodna umjetnost*, *folklor* involved the overall culture of the peasants, not only what was preserved since past times, but that which reflects the lives of the people that live in villages today. Moreover, *folklor* was also the contemporary, the forward, and the refined art of the people, a segment of culture that the people were supposed to get to know, cherish, and apply in their contemporary lives.

[54]To date, ethnochoreologists publish their work in journals devoted to folklore research such as *Narodna Umjetnost* (Folk Art) in Croatia and *Makedonski Folklor* (Macedonian Folklore) in Macedonia.

[55] Following the trend of the early anthropologists who were studying ethnographic objects and race in the colonized states in Africa, the British dance researcher Cecil Sharp was the pioneer of what would later become framed as dance anthropology. He started his early research on folk songs and English country dance, while in 1911, he was the founder of the English Folk Dance Society, which was the first English institution devoted to research on dance, where he promoted English Morris dancing. As a student of Cecil Sharp, Maud Karpeles who was associated with the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS) used similar methods of notating, describing, comparing and analyzing dance and music in England (Dunin, 2014:198). The research on the anthropological study of dance in Western Europe, as well as the United States was greatly influenced by the German musicologist Curt Sachs' ethnocentric *World History of the Dance* (1933). Sachs' book was written on the paradigms of German ethnology, which, at the time, differed from American and British anthropology and inspired many dance researchers in the United States. The earliest attempts in the study of dance heritage in the United States were made by Gertrude Prokosch Kurath and Franziska Boas who showed interest in collecting and recording cultural practices of marginalized groups. As Janet O'Shea argues, despite its claims to scientific knowledge, the fascination with cultural difference and with fetishistic display that characterized Europe and North America informed literary and scholarly production from the eighteenth century until well into the twentieth century (2010:4). While in Eastern Europe dance scholars were concerned with collecting, transcribing and analyzing, American dance researchers utilized theoretical knowledge produced by anthropologists such as Boas and Malinowski. The development of dance anthropology in the 1960s, was the result of the dance research of scholars such as Allegra Fuller Snyder, Anya Peterson Royce, Adrienne Kaeppler, Judith Hanna and Joann Kealiinohomoku, who were primarily students of anthropology with interest in dance, influenced by the work of Kurath, Sachs and Boas (Kaeppler, 1978:41).

components of the public understanding of folk culture and to broaden the concept by introducing new content (Ceribašić, 1998:390). In sum, folklore was supposed to be an improved and more inclusive category than its predecessor *narodna kultura* or *narodna umjetnost* that was popular by the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Yugoslav folklorists continued with the activity of collection, under the assumption that certain elements of culture were disappearing; they required a new conceptualization that would make these cultural terms worthy of preservation. As folklorists became affiliated with government institutions, they were endowed with the authority to control the development of these discourses in order to construct the national histories that would structure the establishment of the new Yugoslav state.

The expansion of folklore institutions in Yugoslavia included The Folklore Section (*Folklorna Sekcija*) at The Institute for Ethnography within the Serbian Academy of Science in Belgrade, founded in 1947; The Institute of Folklore (*Institut za Proučavanje Folklora*) in Sarajevo, founded in 1947; The Institute of Folklore (*Institut za Folklor*) in Skopje, founded in 1950; The Union of Folklorists of Yugoslavia (*Savez Udruženja Folklorista Jugoslavije*) founded in 1955; The Folklore Section of Glasbena Matica (*Folklorni Oddelek Glasbene Matice*) in Ljubljana, active since 1934, later renamed as Institute of Ethnomusicology (*Glasbeno Narodopisni Institut*). In 1948, the Institute for Folk Art (*Institut Za Narodnu Umjetnost*) was founded in Zagreb, and the Institute for Ethnography (*Institut Za Slovensko Narodopisje*) was established within the Slovenian Academy of Ljubljana. The establishment of these institutions indicates that the Yugoslav state regarded folklore research as an important activity: it focused on the culture of the common and the working people, which aligned it with the Marxist-Leninist understanding of culture that was predominant in the country at that time.

In opposition to other European countries where peasant expressions might have disappeared in the face of migration, industrialization, and modernization, the Yugoslav peasant culture was viable; that is, the dances and songs that were the product of tradition were still performed by the peasants, whether during everyday social occasions or at festivals. Driven by the fear that what was viable could soon disappear, which was also a popular premise in salvage ethnography, there was a palpable feeling of urgency attached to collecting and archiving. This sentiment is best depicted in the following passage by Milko Matičetov, who writes that:

> In a situation like this, however, we could not sit with folded hands while the valuable documentary traditions were passing away before our very eyes; therefore we have instinctively thrown ourselves into work. The task of collecting seems to us to be of particular importance. In the course of fieldwork we have heard several times and even more often have felt the reproaches that with our observation and with our presence we delay the process of the ideal renewal and encourage, though unwillingly, the conservative elements who are clinging to tradition. We have stood fast, fought back the attacks as well as we have known how. Each time we have returned home enriched with new theoretical and practical experience.
>
> (Matičetov, 1966:222)

While before the Second World War, following the formation of the socialist state of Yugoslavia, and according to the principles of Marxist-Leninist political philosophy, the concept of *narod* was used as a category that would refer to the "folk"— peasants that lived in rural areas — yet it now took on a new meaning. The Yugoslav concept of *narodno* became applicable not only in its reference to peasants, but also to the working class and the "working intelligentsia," who lived in the cities, hence eradicating the notion that the folk can only be located in the works of rural, peasants, who were slowly disappearing as a category according to prevailing Marxist theories of culture. The category *narodno* was now conceptualized to refer to "the people," rather than solely to the culture of "the folk" that had mainly referred to peasant communities. Such ideologies, enforced by the communist party of Yugoslavia, created an appreciation of collective cultural authorship by the people, whether

the accent was on language, music, or dance. Mira Todorova explains the emphasis on the collective rather than the individual dimension by writing that,

> The nation was the "virtual socialist body," which was not interested in individuality, but encouraged unification and large-scale formations — the working class, the intelligentsia, collective bodies which could be controlled and manipulated much more easily. Because of the difficulty in creating a private identity, the individual entrusted the community "with the quality of an exclusive shelter and an utmost identification instrument... In this way belonging to the small or the large community of the mother country and the socialist state provided one with a full identity". The individual body that broke from the prescriptions of the regulative authorities and gave expression to its personal desires and intentions was perceived as a threat to the norm.
>
> (Todorova, 2014:162-163)

Similar to the situation in the Soviet Union,[56] folklore research was used for and guided by the cultural politics of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Furthermore, many communist political figures considered art and culture that could not be absorbed into the service of the state as useless. Under socialist ideology, folklore was perceived as the people's creative work, with the governing party "claiming that it expressed the free creative will of the diligent builders of socialism. Folklore could therefore be viewed as the foundation of socialist culture as a whole; it was the source of all that was best, and only the best, in culture" (Zemtsovsky and Kunanbaeva, 1997:2).

In Macedonia, folklore was treated as "the unwritten Macedonian history" or "knowledge long gone" that had to be preserved and reconstructed in order to complete the ideas of Macedonian statehood (Opetcheska Tatarchevska, 2011:78). By transforming dance into folklore, ethnographers were portraying these practices as being of high value, not only

[56] Differing from the Western idea of folklore, Soviet folklorists, as early as the 1930s have worked in the construction of what Frank Miller frames as "pseudofolklore" "in which the motifs and poetic devices of traditional folklore were applied to contemporary subjects" (1990:4). As the Grimm brothers, the Russian writer and founder of Socialist Realism— Maxim Gorky was famous for aligning folklore with the ideals of socialist society and the working class. Miller points out to a speech in which Gorky clearly shares his beliefs that folklore can make the masses aware of their role in Russian history and could advance communism: "Collect your folklore, make a study of it, work it over. It will yield a great deal of material both to you and to us, the poets and writers of the Soviet Union. The better we come to know the past, the more easily, the more deeply and joyfully we shall understand the great significance of the present we are creating" (Miller, 1990:8).

for the performers, but for their nation-state, resulting in a well-deserved place in the heritage archive. Due to the dances' alignment with the discourse on folklore, many dancers and choreographers from the Yugoslav area today use the term *folklor* to refer not only to a genre of dances, but to the act of dancing as well (Opetcheska Tatarchevska, 2008:166). The discourse has penetrated everyday speech, resulting in a highly confusing and ambiguous usage of the term. For example, many of the younger dancers that I observed and interviewed would claim that they are "dancing folklore" (*igram folklor*) or going to folklore dance practice (*idem na folklor*).

Centered around a Socialist understanding of culture, folklore performances decentered the notion of the individual artist and praised the lack of a known creator (Maners, 1983:12).[57] The open-circle, chain formation of the dances allowed for mass participation, while the social dance events allowed each of the community members to join and feel equal among the rest of the dancers in the circle, even if they had different skill sets. These qualities made these types of dances important for state-sponsored institutions and researchers, as they reflected Yugoslav socialist ideology and its centrality to unity, equality, and togetherness. Furthermore, these types of dances did not require any formal or specialized training for them to be performed. The dancers learned how to perform by observing or simply by participating in the dance until they mastered the dance sequence. Finally, as these dances were continuously labeled as folklore, the category itself implied that they "belong" to the communities in which they are present.

[57] Lynn Maners writes "In many ways, these "folklore" performances reflected the schism between a Marxist and indeed Brechtian "epic theater" whose purpose was to arouse the audience to action and its opposite, the traditional Aristotelian "dramatic theater" which can be seen as reinforcing an audience's passivity, especially in its role as representing "high culture," or entertainment for the educated. In the classical Marxist approach, a view which holds art as a particular kind of commodity in the ideological sphere, even if simply as "agitprop," there is much to admire in the social formation of artistic production. As Wolf (1981:25) notes, Marxist approach deliberately decenters the individual artist as the producer of creativity and instead substitutes social and ideological forces, audiences and readers for the creative artist. Vernacular dance and music, in this view, is thus ideal for a Marxist because it has, by definition, no "creator", no individual producer and is therefore available as a palimpsest upon which the state may write what it will. In that sense, representations of "folk culture" become not just a commodity but "merit good", which Ridely, defines as goods "whose production and consumption is to be encouraged" (Maners, 1983:12)

As chain dances such as *kolo* and *oro* started to become popular, following Janković's, and before them, Đorđević's and Kuhač's attempts of systematic analysis of dance, there was an expansion of ethnochoreologists in Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia, occurring in the aftermath of the institutionalization of folklore research in the late 1940s. For example, some of the most prominent Serbian ethnochoreologists such as Milica Ilijin, Olivera Mladenović, Slobodan Zečević, and Olivera Vasić followed Janković's method and they were responsible for further promoting the discourse around *narodne igre.* Their approaches were predominantly devoted to archival and ethnographic work, while they were also engaged in the description and notation of *kolo* dances of Serbians and other ethnic groups in the country. In Macedonia, Zhifko Firfov, Gancho Pajtondzhiev, Gjorgji Dimchevski, and Mihajlo Dimovski were among the first researchers who wrote about Kopachkata, but also about Macedonian dance in general. Croatian ethnochoreologists such as Ivan Ivančan, Ana Maletić, Stjepan Sremac, and Zorica Rajković conducted research both in the villages and the cities.

Through the premises of ethnochoreology, dance was "reconstructed according to the memories of the older village population" and "retained the central position, regardless of the idea of the importance of contemporary dance events, context and performance" (Ceribašić, 1998:56). While they focused on the social functions of dance, Yugoslav ethnochoreologists proceeded with conducting research in their own countries. The incorporation of anthropological theory, popular in the works of dance researchers in the West, was almost non-existent, due to the predominant influence of the folklorists work on collecting, analyzing, and archiving. What is common about these authors is their emphasis on form, their focus on structure, and analysis of the dance steps and their rhythm, tempo, and music. All of the authors provide a "step-by-step" analysis of the dance movement, convenient for potential dancers interested in learning the steps of the dance and reviving the dance material

in the future once they cease to exist as a viable social practice. Often disregarding social, political, and historical aspects of the movement practices that were analyzed, this approach can be best characterized as a description and classification approach. The concern with recording and producing large collections of dance analysis may be the result of the early development of several notation systems that developed after the popularization of the Laban method that is still used in Macedonia and Serbia as the main method of analysis.[58]

The folkloric discourse, influenced by the European Romantics who were invested in discovering and studying the folk was carried on through the ethnochoreological discourse that continued to regard the dances as folk or traditional. These concepts, however, were never theorized and were used without any specification of what they are. As a result, for many scholars and members of the general public, the folk and the traditional carry the same meaning and are often aligned with concepts such as national, historical, old, authentic, and non-modern. Through the process of collecting, ethnochoreologists purposely folklorized their collected material in order to use it as an example of a nearly-disappearing culture. At the same time, they tried to present this culture as familiar enough to be consumed by the masses. What caught the ethnochoreologists' attention was the dancers' claim that these dances had existed for hundreds of years, as their predecessors had told them, and, given that they were transferred from unto one the next generation, they kept the seemingly same form.

[58]As I previously stated in my Introduction, in 1951, the IFMC held its annual conference in Opatija, Croatia and created a common platform where dance researchers from Yugoslavia, Western Europe and the United States could meet and exchange their concepts and methods. An important segment to note is that this was a rare occasion when many music and dance researchers published their research in languages that were not their own for the first time. As opposed to the other socialist countries, in 1955 in Bjelašnica, The Federation of Folklorists Associations of Yugoslavia held its annual conference where Yugoslav ethnomusicologists and ethnochoreologists such as Vinko Žganec, Gancho Pajtondzhiev, Zhifko Firfov, Ivan Ivančan and Jelena Dopuđa elaborated on the need of notation of dance and agreed on using Laban-Knust notation as a uniform Yugoslav dance notation system (Zebec, 2009:140). Through this conference, that became an annual meeting where ethnomusicologists and ethnochoreologists exchanged knowledge on dance, before the meeting in Bjelašnica, it was evident that there was a variety of dance notation systems, dating from the early 1930s (Dopuđa, 1958). Anca Giurchescu notices that due to the Iron Curtain travel restrictions and the impossibility of comparative research, Eastern European dance researchers outside of Yugoslavia, such as Vera- Proca Ciortea, Raina Katzarova and Štefan Toth worked in isolation and developed their own notation systems (2005:253).

Reframing the folkloric discourse post- 1990

Until the early 1990s, the concept of *narodne* was used as the dominant discourse, not only in conversations about dance, but as applied to other aspects of culture as well. Although many scholars and researchers continue to use the term, the same types of dances became increasingly referred to as *tradicionalni/tradicijski* (traditional) following the breakup of Yugoslavia. This change in vocabulary demonstrated the attempts of the newly formed independent countries to distance themselves from their socialist past and also reflected the global decline of folklore that began in the 1990s.[59] Prior to this decline, the International Council of Folk Music (IFMC), which was influential in the development of the study of folk dance in Yugoslavia, officially changed its name to International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) in 1981, according to changes in the research paradigm and understandings of folklore research at large. Even though the concept of "traditional" has been occasionally applied to music and dance practices before the breakup of Yugoslavia, its new prominence and the change in discourse was due to the fact that the concept of *narodno* was also tied with Yugoslav socialist ideologies who used it to refer to "the peoples' dances."

While the institutions devoted to folklore research previously placed emphasis on *narodne igre, narodna muzika* (folk dances, folk music), and *narodna umjetnost* (folk art) in general, the newly established research and educational institutions increasingly started to apply the concept of traditional to dance, resulting in the wide spread usage of *tradicionalne igre, tradicionalni igri,* or *tradicionalni plesovi* (traditional dances). For example, in Serbia, ethnochoreologist Olivera Vasić was responsible for promoting the concept of traditional dance, not only in literature, but through establishing a department for training instructors of traditional dance (*Odsek za Školovanje Vaspitača za Tradicionalnu Igru*) in Kikinda, Serbia in 2006. Similarly, in Macedonia, the term was applied to dance through The Department of

[59] For the global decline of folklore, see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998a) 'Folklore's crisis.' *The Journal of American Folklore,* 111 (441), pp. 281-327.

Traditional Music and Dance (*Nasoka za Tradicionalna Muzika i Igra*) in 2001 at the National Music and Ballet High School Center, while its usage was further promoted with the establishment of The Department of Ethnochoreology at the Goce Delchev University in Shtip in 2007. While these educational centers adopted the terms "traditional dance," other educational institutions, such as *Odjel za Narodne Plesove* (Department for Folk Dances) at the National School for Classical Ballet in Zagreb, founded in 1983, the *Odsek Narodna Igra* (The Section for Folk Dances) at the National Ballet School "Lujo Davičo," founded in 1988 in Belgrade, and the *Odsek za Narodnu Igru* (The Section for Folk Dances) at the Ballet School in Novi Sad, founded in 2004 continue to utilize the concept of *narodni.*

While in the past, what was labeled as folk dance was studied by folklorists and ethnochoreologists, the emergence of folk dance departments in dance-oriented high schools and the establishment of university departments devoted to the study of ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology[60] provided opportunity for students to carry on this research. While the previously formed folklore institutes focused on the collection, archiving, and research of dance as folklore, these newly established dance institutions allowed for dance also to be studied as practical knowledge. Specifically, students of traditional dances at the high school level learn how to properly execute traditional dances and songs in preparation for becoming future professional dancers in the national ensembles or dance instructors at amateur dance

[60] The incorporation of ethnochoreology in the education system in Serbia was established by Olivera Vasić, when the subject of ethnochoreology was included in the ethnomusicological studies program at the Faculty of Music Art in Belgrade in 1990 and later in 2000 at the Academy of Art in Novi Sad (Rakočević, 2016:350). In Serbia, ethnochoreology is still aligned with ethnomusicology, given that the students that study ethnochoreology undergo ethnomusicological training while ethnochoreology is only offered as a complimentary subject. After Olivera Vasić's attempts to teach ethnochoreology at the Ethnomusicology Department of the Music Academy in Skopje from 1993 to 1995, ethnochoreology became a subject in 2008 at the Department of Traditional Music and Dance of the National Music and Ballet High School in Skopje, taught by the ethnologist Vladimir Janevski. Janevski founded the Department of Ethnochoreology of the Music Academy in Shtip in 2007. As of 2019, ethnochoreologists are also employed in the national cultural centers in cities other than the capital, who are expected to supervise the work of local dance groups, and offer their expertise and knowledge of traditional dance. Although ethnochoreology was already established at Zagreb's Institute of Folk Art in the 1950s, it became part of postgraduate study in ethnology at the Faculty of Philosophy of University in Zagreb only in 1998, while it was later taught in Zadar and Osijek as well (Zebec, 2009:145)

groups. At the university level, students are expected to conduct research on traditional dances by conducting ethnographic research and engaging in dance analysis for the purpose of enriching the archive and restoring the knowledge through stage practice.

While folk dance was previously studied as folklore, the establishment of ethnochoreology as an academic discipline led the development of new interdisciplinary and international discourses on dance. In their search for traditional dances and through their attempts to revive this knowledge, ethnochoreology students continue to enrich the archive by conducting fieldwork predominantly in the villages of their countries, where they interview dancers and learn, record, archive, and analyze the dances that they collected. The school curriculums also offer theoretical classes in which they discuss the histories of these and other dances, and stress the importance of tradition by praising the associated qualities of authenticity and originality. By placing emphasis on dances that are no longer performed, or in danger of being lost, ethnochoreologists utilize the ethnographic approach and interview elderly people, whom they treat as living archives. In certain instances, when the dances are no longer performed amongst the local communities, ethnochoreologists revive certain dances by relying on material that is stored in the archive. However, this process of revival is different than safeguarding heritage where the dance at stake is a living and ongoing cultural practice that is significant in the lives of the members of the community that practice it.

Traditional dance is further promoted but also made available to the public through seminars devoted to the study of traditional dances, like *Seminar za Tradicionalna Muzika i Igra* (Workshop on Traditional Music and Dance) as part of the *Ilindenski Denovi* (St. Elijah Days) festival in Bitola, Macedonia, hosted by the Ethnochoreology Department of the Music Academy, "Goce Delchev" University; *Ljetna Škola Hrvatskog Folklora* (The Summer School of Croatian Folklore), led by Andrija Ivančan, the former artistic director of the national dance ensemble of Croatia "Lado"; and through the *Centar za Istraživanje i*

Očuvavanje Tradicionalnih Igara Srbije CIOTIS (The Center for Research and Safeguarding of Traditional Dances in Serbia), led by several Serbian ethnochoreologists. As part of these workshops, choreographers teach dance practice and emphasize proper execution of the steps by imitating the style of dancing, demonstrated either by the instructors who mastered it through practice and research, or by copying the style from local dancers who are often invited as experts.

Despite being part of the official titles of various departments, centers, schools, and institutions committed to researching tradition, the term "traditional" also became evident in literature, especially in the works of the new generation of researchers whom I cite in this dissertation. Another transformation in the discourse, most evident in Serbia, was the abandonment of the concept of *igre*, and replacing it with the term *ples* that translates as "dance" in both the Serbian and Croatian languages. The notion of *tradicionalni plesovi* was promoted through Selena Rakočević's work in the late 2000s but the discourse around *narodne igre* is still dominant in Serbia. In Macedonia, however, *igra* remains the main concept that is used when referring to dances that are conceptualized as folk or traditional.

In Croatia, the concepts *tradicionalno* (traditional) and *tradicijsko* (of tradition) are used interchangeably but also differently. Namely, the latter is tied with the field of ethnology, folkloristics, ethnomusicology and other related disciplines, but it has not been used as such in Croatia until the 1990s (Ceribašić, 2012:6). Naila Cerbiašić mentions that this concept was a suitable replacement for the concept of *narodno* that was criticized in the 1970s, while she also adds that the concept of *tradicionalno* is more broadly used, not only in these fields, but as a colloquial language in general, in order to denote certain ties with tradition. As an example, she points out that a costume can be traditional (*tradicionalna nošnja)* if it is canonized, but it is *tradicijska* when it is tied with certain innovation (Ceribašić, 2012:9).

As stated in the Introduction, the idea that a dance is traditional, in colloquial usage of the term, might imply a sense of conservatism that positions the dance practices as unchanging and transmitted as original or "authentic." In the Yugoslav region, in order for a dance to appear as "traditional," it undergoes a process of applying cultural phenomena through folklorization. This categorization was interesting to researchers as it suggested that the dance will maintain its structural and social form and will continue being perceived as such by its community. These concepts of folk and traditional, however, were never theorized and were used without any specification of what they are. Hence, for many scholars, as well as for the general public, the folk and the traditional carry the same meaning and are often aligned with concepts such as national, historical, old, authentic, and non-modern, which, historically, structured the development of the discourses around them. This search for folklore and tradition, and the attempts to keep building and maintaining the archive affirm the extension of the Romantic movement that remained strong throughout the twentieth century in Yugoslavia.

In the past, through the work of folklorists, any dances that had the potential to be regarded as new, modern, or influenced by other culture were usually ignored as they did not align with the rhetoric of authenticity. Today, however, as technology has developed, and with the help of social media, local dancers are constantly engaged in archiving their own culture, whether through video recording performances and uploading them on online video platforms, or by personally collecting and publishing dance materials in the forms of small monographs. What these processes indicate is that the continuous maintenance of the archive is now the mission of not only ethnochoreologists, but also the dancers themselves. As opposed to the ethnochoreologists and dance scholars, who continue to search for the right term to classify the dances that they research, the dancers themselves do not distinguish between "folk" and "traditional." Their concern is the nationally and internationally

recognition of their dances and the continued transmission of their practice to the forthcoming generations.

As seen through the preceding analysis of the historical development of the institutionalization of folklore and dance research in the Yugoslav region, the Romantic quest for heritage, and the alignment of folklore and traditions with various processes of nation-building have not ceased. Instead, they have been reinforced with the adoption of new national cultural policies that emphasize heritage inventorying, as well as the emergence of international organizations such as UNESCO and its ICH Convention. While in the past, the mission to collect, study, archive, and then transmit certain dance knowledge has been the task of folklorists, today, this task is undertaken by ethnochoreologists. However, in the Yugoslav area, especially in Macedonia and Serbia, the emphasis remains on collecting dance, studying its structure, and transforming this knowledge into a repertoire for the purpose of embodying culture and maintaining the archive. While there is a tendency to neglect critical histories and often to omit the dance practices of the non-dominant nationalities in their countries, dance researchers are still very much engaged in national projects and researching, reviving, and creating national heritage.

With the development and the promotion of UNESCO's concept of intangible cultural heritage, Macedonian, Serbian, and Croatian dance researchers are once again faced with a new change of discourse as the "folk" and "traditional" is now reframed as "intangible cultural heritage". Such changes in the discourse are yet to become visible in literature, but what is common to the previously discussed discursive development is their relationship to the archive, and the alignment with cultural policy, as elaborated in the third chapter.

Concluding remarks

In the Yugoslav region, cultural researchers sought to recontextualize peasant dances into objects of discovery. In doing so, local dance knowledge was fetishized and brought under the study of folklore. Through their mission to transform dance into folklore in order to link it with a national spirit, ethnographers were mainly interested in shifting the perception of dance as an everyday life activity into a scientific study by ascribing different meanings and values to the dances. These processes and the shifts of national ideologies resulted in the birth of the concepts of *narodne/narodni* (folk) or *tradicionalni* (traditional) dances. They constitute two discursive constructs that classify and categorize dances and promulgate a specific understanding that would align them with the study of heritage. These discourses are hierarchical, in that they were created by researchers who legitimated and perpetuated them in the interest of the nation. For the scholars from the Yugoslav region who studied these dances, the discourses around folklore and tradition were borrowed from researchers from the West, but altered according to socialist ideologies that emphasized their importance in constructing national culture.

In the preceding analysis, I discussed how folklorists and ethnochoreologists had, and still have, the power to decide whether a certain dance is folk and/or traditional or not, and therefore, consciously participate in the process of singling out movement styles that will be included in the category of heritage. Once placed within the archive, the dances become remnants of history, a window in the cultural lives of the communities in which they existed and a culturally specific knowledge that was too precious to be allowed to be lost. Yet the Romantic quest for heritage, and the alignment of folklore and traditions with various processes of nation-building have never ceased but have only been reinforced with the new waves of collecting, archiving, and studying culture, mainly through UNESCO, as elaborated in the third chapter.

Chapter 2: Choreographing Dance Heritage

> The struggle between tradition and innovation, which is the principle of internal cultural development in historical societies, can be carried on only through the permanent victory of innovation. Yet cultural innovation is carried by nothing other than the total historical movement which, by becoming conscious of its totality, tends to supersede its own cultural presuppositions and moves toward the suppression of all separation.
>
> (Debord, 1967:181)

Vrličko Kolo— Choreographed by Zvonimir Ljevaković, November 18th, 2014, —Zagreb, Croatia

It is the annual concert of The National Folk Dance Ensemble of Croatia "Lado". I patiently wait for the performance of one of my favorite choreographic works — Vrličko Kolo, choreographed by Zvonimir Ljevaković. A few moments after I sit down, the lights dim and the audience goes silent. Seven women gather in a closed circle and start singing. As they walk slowly and open up their circle with their eyes facing the ground, seven men enter the stage and join the melody. Brief silence again. The dancers start to dance and perform heavy, slow jumps, by shifting the weight of their feet to move in a circular pathway. While there is no music to guide their movement, the rhythm of the dance is dictated by the clicks of the coins woven on their costumes. The men join the circle and they occasionally lift the women up in the air. Alternating between different dance motifs, the women create a small circle at the center of the stage, while the men dance around them. It is still silent on the stage and in the auditorium. The audience patiently waits for the choreographic culmination. While we wait, the men start singing "A moj čača pitaj svoje žene" (My father, go and ask your wife), a Dinaric Ojkavica. As soon as the song finishes, the men take the center stage. In the background, the women sing "Dalmatinci hrabri ste vojnici" (Dalmatians, you are brave soldiers). Immediately after, four of the male dancers create a line that oscillates counter clockwise. The first dancer in the line slowly prepares to gain momentum and jumps up in the air, while at the same time he lifts his left leg to the front and touches the tip of his toes with his right hand. The dancer who performs the jump is completely dependent on the dancer next to him who helps him jump higher by lifting him in the air. Spectacular! The audience applauds the perfect execution of the movement. Shortly after, the dancers leave the stage, still dancing.

Kopachka — Choreographed by Ljupcho Manevski, December 10th, 2006, Skopje— Macedonia

I am observing a rehearsal of the National Ensemble of Folk Dances and Songs of Macedonia "Tanec." It has been three hours, and I can almost feel the aching of the sweaty bodies that practice these dances every day from nine in the morning until one o'clock in the afternoon. The dance instructor shouts to bring the dancers back in the studio and eight men gather to perform Kopachkata. They do not seem thrilled. Later they tell me that they prefer the new choreographic works, rather than "these old authentic dances." Two of the musicians start drumming and announce the beginning of Kopachkata. As they approach the dance floor, the dancers immediately change their facial expressions and start acting out a social gathering at the village square, greeting each other before they start performing. As the drumming stops, they form a semicircle and start performing a simple walking-like movement. Their eyes are facing the ground and they shake their heads. After all, it is their job to imitate different styles of dancing in order to faithfully depict the village social gatherings on the stage. The first dancer in the semicircle raises his handkerchief and commands the drummers to change the beat and the tempo that increases as the movement becomes rapid and more complex. The dancers smile and dance silently, as if the pain in their muscles has already disappeared. The other dancers from the ensemble in the studio now stop chatting and carefully observe every movement, waiting for a mistake to be made so they can gossip about it later. The rehearsal ends and no mistakes were made. The frowny faces of the dancers are back on. "See you tomorrow at nine, and we are doing a run-through of the show twice," says the dance instructor. No one else says a word.

Igre iz Srbije — Choreographed by Olga Skovran, February 7th, 2012, Moscow— Russia

As I browse through some of my favorite dance videos on YouTube, I stumble upon a video of a concert devoted to seventy-five years of the existence of the Russian Academic Ensemble of Popular Dance of Igor Moiseyev. The concert takes place in the prestigious Tchaikovsky Hall in Moscow and it features performances of some of the most beloved choreographic works performed by the group as well as by guest artists from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Among them is the National Dance Ensemble of Serbia "Kolo," performing an excerpt from Olga Skovran's "Igre iz Srbije" (Dances from Serbia) where the finale is Moravac— a type of Kolo u Tri from the Serbian region of Šumadija. Before "Kolo" performs, the Moiseyev ensemble also presents a choreography of what they interpret as dances from Serbia. Despite the costumes that mildly resemble the ones that Kolo wears and the few Serbian popular tunes, the dancing does not resemble Serbian social dances. Now, ensemble "Kolo's" turn! After singing the famous "Igrale se delije," the dancers join in a semicircle and the accordionist starts to play the music. There are no grandiose choreographic interventions and no spectacular dance formations— just a simple open semi-circle where the dancers join their hands and move sideways, similar to the performances that happen during social occasions. Very unusual choice for the ensemble, given that they have probably never performed this dance just by itself. But, there it is, the most famous of all Serbian dances that a Serbian audience would immediately recognize. The tempo increases, the steps become more rapid and sharp, and the spectacle unfolds. The dancers take a bow. It is over.

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In contrast to the ethnographic excerpts of social dance events in the previous chapter, these ethnographic excerpts refer to staged, stylized, and spectacularized performances of the dances that I research, as performed by professional dancers who are employed in the national dance ensembles of Croatia, Macedonia, and Serbia. While in the first chapter I focused on the creation and dissemination of the discourse around folklore and folk dance, as well as its placement in the archive, my focus in this chapter is on utilizing the archive in the creation of the repertoire. As peasant dance gained its momentum and appeared as a valuable source for discovering and re-discovering the nation-state through folklore research, its subsequent popularization and dissemination lead to its recontextualization and arrangement for the stage, allowing a wider audience engagement. While Benedict Anderson (1983) argues that in the early nineteenth century the nation was imagined through the spread of print literature in the form of the novel and the newspaper, in Yugoslavia, and later, in the post-Yugoslav independent countries, the nation state and its heritage were also imagined through staged dance performances[61] that allowed these countries to claim a longevity, rich with cultural traditions, and most importantly, to differentiate themselves from each other. In this chapter I argue that the process of recontextualization is crucial to safeguarding dance as heritage, as it provides an opportunity for the dances to be performed outside of their localized context and therefore remain a viable cultural practice.

As in the first chapter, I further explore the relationship between the archive and the repertoire, as introduced by Diana Taylor (2003). I build on Taylor's argument to demonstrate how the archive is also used in the production of repertoire in the Yugoslav and

[61] Although many theorists do not recognize dance as a tool for mediating ideas around nationalism, many dance scholars (Buckland, 2006; Foley, 2011; Giersdorf, 2013; Guss, 2000; Hellman, 2003; Kaschl, 2003; Reed, 2009) have elaborated on various projects where dance plays a significant role in the process of imagining the nation.

post-Yugoslav context, which is similarly based on memory and tradition.[62] Central to Taylor's argument is the idea that the archive and the repertoire do not exist as binaries, but are, in fact, dependent on each other and crucial for each other's constitution. Taylor points out that the archive is often considered a storehouse in which certain knowledge is durably documented. In opposition, performance is often regarded as something that cannot become material and permanent, and might disappear instead. By critiquing such notions, Taylor advocates for performance as an alternative way for transmitting knowledge. Led by this discussion about performance as an "act of transfer" between bodies that ensures continuity through ongoing corporeal exchange, I focus on the embodiment of heritage. Given that every "will to archive" in dance can lead to a will to reenact dance (Lepecki, 2016:120), I write about attempts and approaches of reenacting dance knowledge that has been stored in the archive, while I also reveal how that knowledge is used in choreographing the nation.

Like performance, heritage can be intangible and embodied and the notion of repertoire allows for heritage to become an "act of transfer" that can mediate long-lasting traditions. This embodiment becomes a system of knowledge transmission from the past that might become lost if it is not actualized through performance. As discussed in the first chapter, folklorists and dance researchers initiated the need for archiving local culture due to the fear that the social dance repertoire was disappearing in the Balkans. Standardizing dance, then, becomes a form of archiving as it transforms social dance into a fixed repertoire that circulates internationally. Like several authors who have written about the body as an archive (Schneider, 2011; Lepecki, 2016; Ness, 1992), I consider the performance of repertoire to also be an act of corporeal archiving in its own right, as it prevents the loss of repertoire.

[62] While memory is crucial for the production of heritage, they differ in a way that cultural heritage operates as the remains of past creations while memory is perceived as the imperfect remains of past experience (Viejo-Rose, 2015:2). For further discussion about the relationship between memory and heritage, see for instance, Lowenthal, 1996; Benton, 2010; Maners, 2006.

In this chapter, I elaborate on the different approaches in making what I have previously described as heritage choreography. As social dances were once regarded as folklore, I explain how the process of choreography resembles the processes of ethnographic fieldwork. In certain cases, when knowledge about the dances no longer exists as embodied memory, choreographers turn to physical archives and use its materials to create staged representations. Given that in the Yugoslav region, dance and choreography are understood as two separate concepts, an argument that I explore in my Introduction, I stress the notion that social dances were mostly regarded as part of a communal and collective creation where no individual authors are singled out.

The focus in this chapter is also on the concepts of authenticity and stylization — two distinct aesthetic modes that are used differently in the process of staged dance representation. In discussing the process of making heritage choreography, I stress that the notions of authenticity and exoticism played an important role in creating spectacle. I argue that authenticity is choreographed as a specific aesthetic mode that is meant to mediate uniqueness, so that dance groups, on behalf of the nation state they represent, can reassure their audience of the importance of tradition and history. I also illustrate how the attempts to stylize dance for the purpose of creating spectacle are often regarded as destructive to tradition, as they entail change in the dance's structure. I conclude my discussion by explaining some new and experimental ways of choreographing that are only starting to unfold in the region, provoking the audience, as well as dance scholars and dancers, to re-consider ingrained assumptions about "correct" techniques for performing and safeguarding dance as heritage.

Heritage as choreography

As stated in the Introduction, heritage choreography aims to transform socially transmitted dance practices that were passed on as traditions in local contexts into a choreographic spectacle, primarily for display on the proscenium stage. The purpose of heritage choreography,[63] however, is to offer a cultural but also educational experience — a look within the long-lasting traditions of a certain community or the nation state as a whole. Following Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's theory of heritage as "a mode of cultural production that has recourse to the past and produces something new" (2012:199), the purpose of heritage choreography is to make heritage appealing to an audience, that is, to be educated on the nation's history and traditions through performance of local dances, music, and customs. Moreover, choreography also allows for manifestations of cultural and national identity. Performance, then, gives these heritage forms a chance to live, to be embodied and disseminated nation-wide and internationally, and to be cherished by the people who will regard them with utmost respect. Finally, one of the principle tasks of heritage choreography is both to promote the values of the past, and therefore prove them worthy of appreciation, and to serve the state's political projects of glorifying the nation and its people.

When creating their pieces, many choreographers in the region see the stage as a space in which they can showcase dance as national culture. Choreographing, but also performing dance as heritage, allows the culture of "the people" to be extended to the realm of theatre, included in the popular domain, as it becomes situated in new spaces such as performance halls located in cities. The narrative choreographic mode, accompanied by a stage setting that uses folkloric symbols, props such as national flags and emblems, local costumes and musical instruments, creates a vivid picture of dance heritage and exotify local

[63] When it comes to the process of choreography making, I utilize Susan Foster's theory of choreography as a plan or orchestration of bodies in motion (2009:98), but I also point out to different perceptions of choreography that exists within the Yugoslav area.

traditions as spectacle. This phenomenon only further confirms the nation's desire to preserve history and tradition, mostly because this tradition will be of particular importance to negotiate a sense of identity and belonging — not only for the local community where it existed, but for the state forces that will utilize it in the process of imagining the nation.

Because of the constant need to ideologically restate the importance of heritage appreciation, the nation state becomes, as Antonio Gramsci frames it, "educative" (Gramsci cited in Hoare and Smith, 1999:502) as it commands its discourse. Given that choreographing dance is always a political act, many artists often, although not always, abide by the norms and ideologies of the state apparatuses that set out the rules and the means of its production. Historically, while the state has not acted as a direct agent that commands the process of choreography making, in order for the choreographed material to be considered of national importance, choreographers had to, and still have to, follow set rules and norms. These norms were dictated by ethnochoreologists such as the Janković sisters in Serbia, and Ivan Ivančan in Croatia who wrote about "proper staging of authentic material," as I later explain. In other instances, these regulations are made up by the artistic directors of national ensembles appointed to such positions by the state, who exercise their power to dictate the choreographic aesthetics, its content, and its methods.

If, for Kristin Kuutma, heritage is a product of an ideology whereby its conceptualization depends on modernity's sense that the present has to re-forge its links with the past (2013:11), then the main task of choreographers is to choreograph dance knowledge by re-enacting that past in a form of spectacle. While the process of choreographing entails composing, creating, and arranging movement, I also see it as an artistic process through which choreographers recontextualize what dance means to the communities that perform it and align that meaning with the state's understanding of heritage. At the same time, I regard this process of purposeful heritagization of dance as another attempt of state hegemony,

given that the performers have to comply with the state and other relevant institutions who exercise their dominance and power. Through the examples that follow, I demonstrate how choreographers affiliated with cultural institutions, whether national ensembles or local dance groups, had to play to the advantage of the ruling political parties, which shifted over time. Such tasks involved promoting peasant culture, promoting socialism and supporting the Yugoslav ideology of *bratstvo i jedinstvo* (brotherhood and unity), stressing the importance of distinct national identities (especially after the breakup of Yugoslavia into autonomous nations), or evoking notions of contemporaneity by experimenting with tradition and cultural heritage.

Choreographing dance heritage in the Yugoslav area first became popular in the 1930s, as peasant dances were increasingly becoming institutionalized and staged due to the development of folklore festivals. The official use of the term *koreografija* (choreography), however, was accepted and disseminated with the emergence of dance groups and national dance ensembles in the 1940s. As opposed to the concept of choreography in Western concert dance, whereby it is often related to individuated authorship (despite the attempts of the field of dance studies and dance scholars to decenter this notion), choreography has not appeared as a topic of theoretical contest amongst dance researchers in Yugoslavia or in the post-Yugoslav independent countries. The reason for its omission in scholarly debates is due to the fact that folklorists and ethnochoreologists studied dance as folklore and thus regarded the dances they studied as tradition, thereby excluding the option for social dances to be regarded as choreography, a category that evoked ideas of novelty and change. However, even though discussions about choreography might not be apparent in literature, they are popular among

choreographers and practitioners, who use the term to refer to the standardization and staging of social dances for performance.[64]

Despite one chapter in which the Serbian ethnochoreologists Ljubica and Danica briefly wrote about stage adaptation of folk dance,[65] the Croatian ethnochoreologist Ivan Ivančan might be the only scholar and choreographer from the former Yugoslavia who tackled this topic in depth in his work entitled *Folklor i Scena: Priručnik za Rukovodioce Folklornih Skupina (Folklore and the Stage: Manual for the Dance Leaders of the Folk Ensembles)* (1971). However, his intention was not to produce a theory of choreography, but to create a manual for choreographing folk dance through which he presents the basic elements of the structure of a dance work. In a section entitled "*Problemi Scenske Primjene Folklora"* (The Problems of the Stage Application of Folklore), Ivančan uses terms such as *scenska obrada* (scenic treatment) and writes that every choreographer should study the authentic material of the dance and the experience of folk art in the field; transfer that experience onto the stage; know the rules of the stage and the basic principles of composition; and give the choreographed work a personal artistic touch (1971:93). Ivančan's approach is heavily influenced by the *Zagrebačka Škola Folklora* (The Zagreb School of Folklore), initiated by choreographer Zvonimir Ljevaković who was motivated by the work of *Seljačka Sloga* (The Peasant Concord) and their focus on preserving what they framed as authenticity, as explained later in this work.

Choreography was more thoroughly explored in 2012 by Serbian ethnochoreologist Vesna Bajić Stojiljković, who presented her definition of *koreografija narodne igre* (folk dance choreography) as the art of composing, creating, and assembling dances with the

[64] Susan Foster reminds us that "At the beginning of the twentieth century, the term "choreography" came into widespread and new usage, both in Britain and the US. No longer a vague and infrequently used appellation for dancing, it now named specifically the act of creating a dance. Although its use coincided with the emergence of the new genre known as modern dance, the term "choreography" was not initially applied to that work" (Foster, 2010:122).

[65] Janković, L. and D. (1949). *Narodne Igre* [*Folk Dances*]. Volume V. Beograd: Prosveta, pp. 63-75.

accompaniment of music, for the purpose of creating a harmonious artistic product (2012:95). Furthermore, she defines folk dance choreography as a unique phenomenon of artistic expression, through which movement and sound are united in an unbreakable syncretic unity, complemented by dramaturgical elements such as costumes, dramatic dialogues, and singing parts (Bajić Stojiljković, 2014:406).

These written works might be the only ones in the Yugoslav region that specifically refer to the process of staging and arranging social dance. While Ivančan is placing emphasis on "properly" transferring the field experience onto the stage, without any significant alterations of the dance steps, Bajić Stojiljković recognizes the personal additions made by the choreographer as part of the choreographic process. What is important, however, is that these authors' understanding of choreography is informed by the ethnochoreological method of studying dance and are largely dependent on the ethnographic fieldwork process through which a dance is collected, studied, and archived, so that it can later be transferred to the proscenium stage.

In the former Yugoslavia, and in the present day post-Yugoslav independent countries, there is no formal educational institution that is devoted to teaching students how to create heritage choreography.[66] Choreographers tend to be self-taught dancers, ethnologists, ethnochoreologists, or people interested in dance who follow a certain tradition of choreography making that was imposed by national dance ensembles. While today choreographers and dancers in the former Yugoslav states broadly use the term choreography to refer to the creation of entirely new works, dance scholars and practitioners[67] associated with heritage production and performance use the term choreography to describe the process

[66] In her work entitled *Knjiga o Plesu: Tradicije, Teorije i Metodi* [*The Book about Dance: Traditions, Theories and Methods*] (2019), Dunja Njaradi argues that the distinct model of choreographing traditional dance in Serbia and the region was the result of the absence of a formal educational institution on choreography making.

[67] According to Naila Ceribašić (cited by Iva Niemčić), the Croatian Society of Folklore Choreographers and Leaders, founded in 2001, ruled that the term choreographer can only be used for its members who have at least six choreographies registered by the Croatian copyright agency (Katarinčić, Niemčić, and Zebec, 2009:85).

of arranging already existent forms of social dance, and/or combining dance material with new step patterns. Furthermore, dancemakers usually interpret choreography as the artistic product of an individual, which directly opposes their understanding of folk or traditional dance as a product that does not have an individual but, rather, collective authorship. As mentioned in my Introduction, this division automatically creates an opposition between the social dance as non-choreographed and the staged dance as choreographed, given that, for the dancers in the communities that I observed, choreography refers only to the formally arranged dance that is presented on stage, in front of an audience. By contrast, dances performed in a social setting would be simply characterized as dance.

When performed on stage, the dances are no longer participatory, but rather, a set piece that has to be memorized, rehearsed, and performed exactly as taught by a dance instructor. The dance steps or whole sequences of the dance are often modified, while movement has to be uniform among all bodies. The stage also creates a separation where the dancers are positioned center-stage, the orchestra or the choir are in the background of the stage, and the audience is completely removed and not participating in the staged action, in contrast to social dance events where the performance boundaries are more fluid, with dancers, musicians, and audience often in close proximity to each other and participating in the event together.

Drawing on Eric Hobsbawm's concept of invented traditions, and given that the process of choreographing involves inventing, rather than simply staging social dance, heritage choreographies are too "governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (1983:2). These rules, which are set as canon, are created by previous artistic directors and choreographers who aimed to create spectacle by stressing the importance of the past. As folklorists and scholars in the

region claim that the dances have existed for several hundreds of years, the act of dancing and repeating the same dance patterns from the past during performance implies a sense of continuity that is crucial to local and global understanding of heritage.

Early attempts of choreographing dance heritage

During the first decades of the twentieth century, the earliest attempts to stage, and therefore safeguard social dances though performing, were made by local dance groups and peasant organizations whose mission was to showcase local culture and Croatian, Serbian, or Macedonian national identities as distinct from the newly established Yugoslav nationality through the performance of heritage. These dance groups, which became popular in the 1930s, aligned the process of choreographing with staging social dances that they practiced in the villages and participated in local and national festivals and international tours. Namely, the need to stage and choreograph dance, and thus recontextualize it from the social and participatory into the staged and presentational, appeared alongside the emergence of folklore festivals,[68] whose mission was to publicly display local culture. The development of local, regional and national dance initiatives gave the opportunity to many newly created dance groups to perform their local repertoire on stage. Specifically referring to dance examples from Macedonia, Elsie Ivancich Dunin and Stanimir Višinski stated that these festivals created a new model for staged performances of dance: they had to be aesthetically adapted as they were increasingly performed outside of their local social context (Dunin and Višinski, 1995:5).

Nascent efforts to stage and choreograph dance in Croatia are linked with the formation of *Seljačka Sloga* (The Peasant Concord) in the 1920s, whose mission was to publicly promote Croatian folk culture. The main goal of the organization was to awaken the

[68] Some of the first festivals were organized in Zagreb in 1929 (Ceribašić, 1998:70), Ljubljana in 1934, and Belgrade in 1938 (Dunin and Višinski, 1995:6).

Croatian spirit by assembling and arranging local music that was distributed among the newly formed choirs in the country (Sremac, 2010:147-148). *Seljačka Sloga* often organized *smotri* — music and dance festivals that involved juries made up of folklore experts who were invested in raising awareness and stressing the importance of heritage appreciation. As Zebec asserts, the models and canons of performing heritage were largely influenced by Croatian political movements that, since the 1920s, had made efforts to popularize peasant culture (2013:315- 316). The first attempt to stage Croatian dance, and a wedding ritual that was popular among communities from the area surrounding Zagreb, was made in 1925 by Stjepan Novosel.[69] Novosel, as Sremac writes, recognized the power of folk dance as a medium for expressing political goals, thereby inaugurating dance as a suitable bearer of strong national messages (2002:148).

Figure 2.1: Dancers from Posavski Bregi — members of Seljačka Sloga, photographed in the 1930s. Photo courtesy of the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb, Croatia.

[69] For a more detailed analysis of this work, see Sremac, S. (2002) 'Pleszopiszen Maksimilijana Vrhovca ili kako je Kolo postalo simbol zajedništva' [Maksimilijan Vrhovac's Pleszopiszen or how Kolo became a symbol of Unity]. *Narodna Umjetnost.* 39 (2), pp. 141-158.

Later on, after an invitation to perform at the 11th Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936, an organization named *Matica Hrvatskih Kazališnih Dobrovolaca* (Croatian Theater Volunteers) had the task to stage several local dances from the regions of Slavonia, Posavina, and Istria that would serve as representatives of Croatian culture.[70] Arranged for the stage, the dances were presented, as Sremac explains, as "authentic," following the organization's quest to preserve the supposedly "purest" Croatian traditions, "cleansing" them of any foreign influences (2010: 260-261). This occasion laid the ground for a new style of arranging and performing peasant dances in Croatia that further developed after the Second World War.

While Sremac (2010) writes about the history of arranging and staging Croatian dance in great detail, little has been written about choreographing peasant dance in Macedonia and Serbia before their inclusion in the Yugoslav state in 1945. The first known attempts to stage heritage in Macedonia occurred in 1932 by a local dance group from the village of Rashtak near Skopje,[71] and a few years later, by other dance ensembles from the villages of Lazaropole and Miravci.[72] Trajko Popov, a talented dancer associated with the Rashtak group, had the task to arrange and present a local repertoire of dances that the group performed at many international tours throughout the 1930s. The repertoire was based on chain dances that were performed in the villages, such as Postupano, while other dance

[70] The performance also featured choreography made by the ballerina Nevenka Perko who performed solo dances that were inspired by Croatian folk dances. Joško Ćaleta and Tvrtko Zebec state that "As far as we know, that was the first performance of stylized and spectacular Croatian folk dance choreographies at a festival abroad" (2017:143).

[71] This group is of special importance to me as the dancers in it were my great grandfathers and great grandmothers. Regionally known as virtuoso dancers, they were mentioned in Janković's third book published in 1939, while they were also invited to perform at the Kolarchev University in Belgrade in 1935, making them the first dancers from Macedonia to perform internationally. Later on, the English dance researchers Maud Karpeles also visited the region and wrote about the Rashtak dancers in an article entitled "A Busmans Holiday in Yugoslavia" published in 1936.

[72] For more detailed analysis of these dance groups and performances, see Petkovski, F. (2017) 'Pridonesot na Trajko Popov i na Folklornata grupa od s. Rashtak vo razvojot na makedonskata tradicionalna igra i na etnokoreologijata kako nauka' [The contribution of Trajko Popov and the folk dance group from the village of Rashtak in the development of the Macedonian traditional dances and ethnochoreology as discipline]. *Makedonski Folklor*, 72, pp. 225-234.

groups frequently performed Teshkoto, and the ritual dances of the Rusalii, that eventually grew popular and became internationally well-known Macedonian dances. Following the example of this group, other dance outfits, who became popular due to their virtuosity, had the chance to perform peasant dance internationally. They would often present themselves as "Macedonian authentic culture," hence presenting Macedonian national identity as distinct.

Figure 2.2: Dancers from the Rashtak group, performing on the "Oceania" boat in Hamburg, 1937. Photo from personal archive.

Some of the first efforts to choreograph peasant dance in Serbia were made by Maga Magazinović, who utilized *kolo* dances in making what she labeled as "modern" works as early as 1911 (Bajić Stojiljković, 2016:62). Influenced by Rudolf Laban's classes that she attended in Germany in 1911, Magazinović did not follow the example of the Croatian and Macedonian dance organizations that aspired to stage authenticity through recourse to folk traditions, and align their performances with national identity; rather, she used local dance expressions as a motif for creating what she labeled as modern dance. Influenced by her work, dancers at the Serbian National Theater and other student groups continued choreographing and performing internationally throughout the 1930s. Other attempts to stage folk, as opposed to modern dance, were also popular among the emerging local dance groups

in the villages of Serbia throughout the 1930s and the 1940s where dance was adapted for its scenic presentation in local folklore festivals.[73]

What was common about the Croatian and the Macedonian village dance organizations was their association with nationalism and separatism, as they presented these local peasant dance and musical expressions as distinctively Croatian and Macedonian, rather than as Yugoslav.[74] While the process of staging already existent social dances was not referred to as *koreografija* (choreography) per se, these early attempts established a model that would later serve as a canon for choreographing and arranging dance on the stage that would be widely accepted, especially after the Second World War and the creation of folk dance groups in the cities.

Choreographing Yugoslav socialist ideology

With the formation of the Yugoslav state after the Second World War, the idea of choreographing peasant dance became influenced not only by village groups but also by Soviet[75] and Yugoslav socialist ideology that insisted on an overarching modernization[76] of

[73] Unfortunately, I was unable to locate any records about the early approaches of choreographing dance in Serbia, as there are no published works on this topic.

[74] For instance, because he promoted the dances and songs that the group from the village of Rashtak performed as Macedonian, and not Yugoslav, my great grandfather and the leader of the group — Trajko Popov — was publicly executed as he was convicted of treason and he was punished for expressing separatist ideals.

[75] In their work on Communism and folklore in the Soviet Union, Izaly Zemtsovsky and Alma Kunanbaeva state that folklore was used as a demagogic ideology of "the people's creative work," and it "could therefore be viewed as the foundation of socialist culture as a whole; it was the source of all that was best, and only the best, in culture" (1997:2). Used for the purposes of communist propaganda, folklore was often "made-to-order" coming from Stalin's idea that folklore can build a sense of national pride and patriotism. Similarly, Rachel Goff also argues that Maxim Gorky, a soviet writer and one of the founders of socialist realism, intended to prove that folklore "not only does not hinder the new socialist society, but actually portrays the ideals of labor and the importance of the working class that are essential to building communism" (2003:2). She further argues that, "by the 1920s, there were fears that folklore promoted capitalist and bourgeois values that were contradictory to the socialist ideals and started to be perceived as a "proof of the cultural backwardness of the working class" (Goff, 2003:2).

[76] As Laura Adams concludes "The Soviets viewed culture as something that could be developed, much as an economy or a democratic political system is developed, by participating in modern (a term that at the time was thoroughly conflated with the term European) activities such as reading newspapers, attending concerts, and collectively celebrating holidays, regardless of the content of these activities. It was the adoption of a modern

the state. Following the Marxist-Leninist[77] ideology of social progress and improvement, Yugoslav officials started to promote the performance of music and dance heritage as a popular form of entertainment (Hofman, 2011:36).[78] These processes are similar to what Andrew Hewitt explains as the nineteenth century migration of cultural interest, away from assumed high culture, and towards, on the one hand, public amusement and mass entertainment and towards anthropology on the other hand (2005:38). According to him, the ideal of choreographed labor "had become an important component both in social modernization and in the aestheticization of social and political thought" (2005:38). Such attempts are especially visible through the emphasis on folklore production and promotion as mass entertainment, which was included in the Yugoslav policy of modernization of local culture that was to be projected as national.

Socialist ideologies of culture were mostly oriented toward discovering an art from the people and art for the people. The emphasis on celebrating and promoting the collective[79] character of chain dances resembled Yugoslavia's ideological emphasis on the commune, rather than the individual. This notion is best depicted by Branislav Jakovljević who writes: "In this collective labor, each body overcomes its own limitations and joins together to form a vast toiling configuration: a body joins another body; hand joins hand, until, as the poet

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lifestyle that signaled the cultural evolution of the Soviet citizen" (Adams, 2005:339). Similar processes were happening in Yugoslavia as well, as the state invested in a process of making cultural performances available to all of the people.

[77] The Yugoslav Marxism differed from the one developed in the USSR in the 1930s and the 1940s, as it rejected the Soviet model and focused on combining Marx's ideas with Heideger's phenomenology, Hegelian dialectics and 20th century reformist Marxists (Jakovljević, 2016:117).

[78] Similar to Yugoslavia, Susan Manning reflects on socialist ideology's effect on dance in Germany. She writes that, "When the National Socialists came to power in 1933, they supplied the new institutional support, in effect substituting the patronage of the state for the patronage of amateur students. As they did for the country as a whole, the National Socialists put the dancers back to work— in the opera house, in mass spectacles, in physical education programs, and in leisure organizations" (Manning, 1993:9).

[79] Mira Todorova writes that "Ballet and folk dance rely on the disciplined body, which "correctly" reproduces the structure and the ideology, thus expressing not itself, but a larger "official" community. Both genres are based on strictly codified systems in which the bodies are mobilised to reproduce the exact formula – each time rendering the same general ideas, which acknowledge a belonging to the larger community of the nation (folk dance) and the Bulgarian–Soviet natural interrelation (ballet)" (Todorova, 2014:1)

Desanka Maksimović put it, 'Hundreds of thousands / of young hands . . . cut a road into a mountain's chest' " (Maksimović, 1947, cited Jakovljević, 2016:39).[80] Because of the collective character[81] of the chain dances that were studied as folklore, government officials saw great potential in identifying these types of dances as national resources, that is, in accordance with Yugoslav national politics. As these dances had no individuated inventor or choreographer, but were produced collaboratively, they became ideal for realizing socialist ideologies, different than the ones produced in capitalist societies who placed emphasis on the expression of the individual through contemporary dance (Vujanović, 2014:63). Choreography's attachments with socialism became reinforced through mass performances of the chain dance in which the bodies, joined by the hands in a circular formation where no one stands out, literally represent "the people," hence evoking notions of community, unisonality, and solidarity — key aspects that were constantly emphasized through socialist teachings and that reinforced the idea of brotherhood and unity.

Politically socialist, yet economically consumerist, popular culture in Yugoslavia was situated between Soviet socialist realism[82] and Western postmodernism (Čvoro, 2014:4). While postmodernism was expressed in other dance forms, such as modern and contemporary dance, dance heritage was regarded as the culture of "the people" and therefore it was exclusively aligned with the aesthetics of socialist realism. In order to popularize the culture

[80] Slavcho Dimitrov, who has written about the intersection between ideology and the Yugoslav mass choreographies called *sletovi* argues that "The collective "We" in the socialist choreography is nothing more but an abundant set of transmissions and touches, motor and emphatic contagions, intoxication and ecstasy moving across and in-between bodies (2014:52)

[81] Similar notions of dance's ability to construct togetherness are also evident in Greece where dance scholar Irene Loutzaki writes that "Together they danced in a single, common circle that obliged them to think and speak the same, that obliged them to think as one body, one circle, one dance" (2001:131). She adds that "Dance offered the "nobles" a chance to participate in a circle, to hold hands with the common folk, to approach ordinary people, to stand on the same level and share common experiences. This concern and affection were not manifested only by their presence in the village, but also by taking part, and more specifically by mixing with them in the dancing" (Loutzaki, 2001:132)

[82] Socialist realism, as a movement, emphasized what scholars in the Soviet Union conceptualized as art that is realistic and was used to glorify communist values.

of peasants and the working class, Yugoslav officials promoted a concept of *amaterizm* (amateurism) as a spontaneous collective expression and "a basic necessity of each individual subject in the aspiration to be part of the wider social community" (Supek, 1974, cited by Hofman, 2011:37).[83]

The further popularization of heritage choreography in Yugoslavia was directly related to the institutionalization of dance and the appearance of *kulturno-umetnički društva* (cultural and artistic associations) in the 1940s whose mission was to embody a notion of socialism through the performance of folklore. These organizations provided the opportunity for the working class to gather, practice and perform music and dance, and promote Yugoslav folklore internationally. As ballet and modern dance[84] were regarded as foreign and bourgeois, folk choreography was intended to transform peasant culture into national culture. The national, as Hofman writes, often referred to the category of *narodno*[85] (the people's authorship), and included not only the rural population but also the working intelligentsia as

[83] Writing about similar processes that took place in Bulgaria, Ana Ilieva writes that "The concept of its founders was that the "rather simple" art of the people ought to be developed, embellished and enriched in line with contemporary aesthetic needs. The socialist ideology of culture needed an art for the people" (Ilieva, 2001:123).

[84] According to Ana Vujanović, the earliest attempts of choreographing modern dance in Serbia happened before World War II and were made by Maga Magazinović "whose vision of body emancipation was realized through a "new dance" combination of gymnastics, plastics, rhythmics, feminism, and physical culture as education. She combined the dance techniques and poetics of Émile Jacques-Dalcroze and Rudolf von Laban, Isadora Duncan and Mary Wigman, blended with Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophy. In conjunction with this, I must mention the avant- garde dance of Klavdija Isačenko, who, apart from working in the National Theater in Belgrade (1918–1923) after she left post-revolutionary Russia, introduced "body plastics" and made choreographies in Ljubljana (*Plastic Ballet*) and Belgrade (*Sobareva metla* – Janitor's Broom)" (2014:56). Similarly, Sonja Zdravkova Djeparoska argues that the earliest forms of modern dance in Macedonia appeared with Sofija Miholjić Cvetičanin's (who was a student of Maga Magazinović) private studio for modern dance where she educated young dancers about the German Dalcroze technique, like Magazinović did (2019:122). She further adds that modern dance was institutionalized post 1991, when several dancers and choreographers from Macedonia left the country to study modern dance techniques in Western Europe and the United States (Zdravkova Djeparoska, 2019:123).

[85] The use of the concept of *narod* (the people) by Yugoslav officials also denotes a class identity as it was associated mostly with the working class- *radni narod Jugoslavije.* It is important to note that similar to the German *Volkskunde* where the folk was associated with peasants, before Yugoslavia's attempts of modernization, its population was mostly illiterate peasants who lived in rural areas.

an attempt to unify the culture of all of the masses (2010:35).[86] While cultural production in the Yugoslav area had to be rooted in collective structure, its origin had to be geographically oriented within the political borders of the state. Chain dances, which eventually became signifiers of national culture, provided such opportunity as they allowed for unlimited dancers to join, connect, bond, and interact together while dancing.

By the mid-1950s, Yugoslavia witnessed a mass expansion of these dance associations, which created the need for the construction of even more performing venues such as *domovi kulture* (cultural houses), but also more opportunities for performing in front of an audience. As Yugoslavia established cooperation with the West, government officials started investing in the development of the tourist industry by organizing even more folklore festivals than before through which rural culture was presented and popularized (Hofman, 2011:41). Transformed into superstructural commodity in service of the state, folklore performances alienated the audience from being participants and turned them into consumers (Maners, 2000:305). The aim of such performances of local and national culture was not only to entertain, but also to educate the audience about the richness of cultural diversity that was expressed in the repertoire. In order to emphasize the notion that culture and performance were not only to be located on the proscenium stage, art forms like drama, music, and dance were brought by workers to the factories and other working spaces where the working people of Yugoslavia spent a great deal of their time. Therefore, many factories and other working institutions had their own *kulturno-umetničko društvo* (cultural and artistic association) that included choirs, drama and folklore dancing sections.

[86] Jens Richard Giersdorf makes a similar argument about the choreographic choices of folk dance in the form of "invented tradition," meant to validate East Germany as a progressive successor of German culture and to create a socialist national identification that would be distinct from the West (2013:4). In order to uncover the essence of socialist labor culture, folk dance was conceptualized as dance labor, and through its practice and presentation, the state ensured the pathway to Communism, by attempting to choreograph every movement of public and private life (Giersdorf, 2013:96).

Aware of the possibility that performances of dance heritage can initiate separatism and nationalism, Yugoslav officials insisted on the creation of a pan-Yugoslav repertoire which included dance and music examples of all of the peoples in the country. This decision offered a strategy, based on the principle of *bratstvo i jedinstvo* (brotherhood and unity), that functioned as a precautionary measure to prevent ethnic, religious, and political unrest. Despite focusing on local repertoire, or learning other dances from their own country, Yugoslav dancers had to learn how to perform dances from the other republics that took part of a national repertoire that was performed by many ensembles. Local village performing groups were encouraged to perform their own repertoire and were often exempt from having to perform the pan-Yugoslav program, mostly because they were regarded as the true carriers of folklore whose task was to keep preserving their traditions. The decision to promote not only the culture of certain nations, but all of the nationalities and ethnic groups that lived in Yugoslavia was a prime example of the relationship between socialist ideology and heritage performance. Another reason for the decision was that this repertoire created opportunity for dance groups to showcase ethnically diverse repertoire and practice and perform "foreign" material.

Specifically following the paradigm of *bratstvo i jedinstvo*, chain dances such as *kolo* did not allow any room for individualism, racism, or class difference, as every dancer was performing the same dance pattern in a circular formation. While the Yugoslav ideology of brotherhood and unity was realized mainly in the "program" part, in that every performance had to feature music and dance performances of the other Yugoslav nationalities, it never fully manifested itself within the act of choreographing. Kolo was increasingly becoming one of the most popular dances in Yugoslavia that was performed by every dance group, while Nijemo Kolo and Kopachkata were also included in the repertoire of many ensembles in the cities.

Consistently labeled as folklore, peasant music and dance continued to be used as an ideal for cultural propaganda, due to its populism. Ideologically, these types of performances, which were both entertaining and educational, were supposed to create an idea of national culture, and negotiate a sense of Yugoslav identity that was manifested through performance of the local. While certain Yugoslav officials considered the performances of heritage to be problematic, due to their ability to express separate ethnic identities that differed from the idea of Yugoslav, others saw heritage choreography as the perfect medium for cultural propaganda that would lead to a new Yugoslav identity (Čvoro, 2014:39).[87] The mission to present and perform national identity was carried through the program part, not only by amateur dance groups but national dances ensembles who aimed to transform heritage as spectacle.

Stylizing and spectacularizing dance heritage

Because of the potential to foster counter-state nationalism, given that there were still local dance groups such as the aforementioned Croatian and Macedonian organizations who expressed their identities through the performance of local culture,[88] the Yugoslav officials insisted on modernization[89] that would transform the dances from peasant into "high culture."

[87] The only direct attempts to choreograph "Yugoslav identity" were made through the incorporation of the *Partizani* (Partisans) based on war-time Partizan dances such as Kozaračko Kolo (Kozara circle dance) taught in elementary schools around Yugoslavia, and later through choreographing Brankovo Kolo (Branko's dance), a choreographic work that included excerpts of folk dances from all of the Yugoslav republics. This phenomenon of creating Yugoslav national repertoire, which will inevitably express Yugoslav identity, can only be interpreted as a precautionary tool by the government to fight the possible risk of expressing nationalism through dance, as it was the case after the breakup of Yugoslavia.

[88] Naila Ceribašić argues that Croatian folk culture became increasingly aligned with the paradigm of brotherhood and unity, while its development was aligned with the spirit of socialism. Due to these developments, the Croatian peasants lost their alignment with Croatian national culture, while *Seljačka Sloga* (The Peasant Concord) lost its position as the creator of the discourse around folk culture (Ceribašić, 1998:188).

[89] The new modernization politics demanded performances of modern dance during village gatherings, as they believed that the performance of heritage did not represent an artistic event per se (Hofman, 2011:239). Hofman writes that "…policy makers insisted on the "modernization" of peasant culture by importing elements of "high culture" to the cultural life and entertainment opportunities in villages. For instance, dancing the waltz and other "modern" dances alongside folk dancers at village gatherings was seen by the cultural authorities as an

The process of modernization differed from the Soviet "socialist realism" style[90] and was critiqued by Yugoslav ideologues who advised against its adoption and dissemination, but encouraged scholars and artists to be free in their creativity (Jakovljević, 2016:10). This freedom in creativity and the emphasis on modernizing the folk included a process of *stilizacija* (stylization) that involved altering music and dance for the stage. These changes were intended to modernize the performance of the folk and make it appear less rural, and more in line with Western cultural aesthetics.

In the late 1940s, choreographers of modern dance utilized "natural" movement as a new form of aesthetic, thereby embracing intentional minimalism. Yugoslav dance heritage choreographers, however, embraced an aesthetic of spectacle that was predominantly influenced by the Soviet-based Moiseyev's dance ensemble who toured in the region in 1945 and 1946.[91] For Moiseyev, as Bajić Stojiljković writes, the intention was to develop a creative interpretation based on folk material (2016:93), as opposed to "faithfully" translating the music and dance of the Soviet People on the stage.[92] Similarly, Anthony Shay argues that

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extremely positive practice. Cultural policies also differentiated between the "backward" elements of traditional cultural activities, which were to be eradicated, and positive elements, which were to be presented as the "new" folk treasure due to their "artistic" value. The dominant discourse asserted that the "new" folk music and folk dance culture were to be represented in a "cultured" way as a confirmation of society's overall development" (Hofman, 2010:34).

[90] Laura Olson argues that "Folklore was to serve as the central touchstone for socialist realism, followed by the art of ancient Greece, the Italian Renaissance, and the Russian realist school of the nineteenth century. The socialist realist requirement 'that writers "learn from the classics" putting the techniques of nineteenth-century Russian realism at the service of the proletariat and the party' was underpinned by the Marxist view that the high culture of the landowners during feudalism and capitalism was 'created on the basis of the exploitation of the labor' of the proletariat, and that therefore it now properly belonged to the masses. Socialism would supposedly recoup this culture for the new classless society. Scholars now viewed folklore, too, through the prism of the nineteenth-century realism that supposedly descended from it" (Olson, 2004:39-40).

[91] Croatian dance researchers Stjepan Sremac (2010) and Tvrtko Zebec (2012) argue that the Croatian mode of performance and aesthetic was directly influenced and shaped by the work of *Seljačka Sloga* and the *Zagrebačka Škola* (The Zagreb School of Dance) that was initiated by choreographer Zvonimir Ljevaković who closely followed the work and the performances of *Seljačka Sloga* and applied that discourse towards the creation of a distinct choreographic mode of presentation that differed from the Moiseyev one.

[92] Anthony Shay, who writes in great detail about Moiseyev's performance aesthetics argues that "From the exact turning of heads left to right, to the level of hands and arms, to the exact pointing of feet, Moiseyev's choreographies leave nothing to chance; his choreographies constitute machine-like, well-ordered drill team reviews. Repeated viewings of his works reveal that even the walking or standing poses that the dancers perform

folklore had to be cleaned up, colorfully costumed and dramatically rechoreographed and repackaged so it could compete on stage with other art forms, no matter how classical or refined (2016:114).[93] For Yugoslav choreographers, this type of "cleaning up" was realized by stylizing the repertoire.

Some of the changes that occurred with the recontextualization of social to staged dance involved altering the form of the dance according to an aesthetic mode that had been set up by previous choreographers and artistic directors, including those that were popular in the 1930s. Such changes involved shortening the duration of the dance, changing the dance pattern and adapting it for the requirements of the stage, so that the dancers do not turn their backs to the audience, limiting improvisation and focusing on performing unison collective movement where each dancer performs the same as everyone else. Choreographers would often select dances whose structure seemed more complex and spectacular and eliminate the parts that were considered too simple and therefore not as entertaining to the audience.

As many choreographers regarded the repetitive character of the chain dance as boring,[94] they would often try to upgrade the choreography by inventing movement that they would combine with the basic motifs of the dance. Through their attempts to stylize[95] and

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are carefully and artfully arranged (Shay, 2019:41). Moreover, he adds that "Another important characteristic of Moiseyev's choreographies is their unrelenting cheerfulness. The dancers throughout a typical performance smile relentlessly, and his choreographies, despite the undoubted virtuosity of the dancers, can appear as naïve as befits faux peasants" (Shay, 2019:186).

[93] Theresa Buckland writes about the use of staged dance displays, especially by dance ensembles that were founded during the Cold War, as a symbolic political. She argues that through the modern gaze of performing dance as tradition, the audience is engaged in the performance of the nation, that is often emblematic of another culture or another past (2006:15).

[94] Similarly, in his study of the Ghanaian National Dance Company, and coming from the idea of society of the spectacle, Paul Schauert agrees that since very often, the repetition of movement can be seen as boring, the dance was staged with "modernist reformist principles to simultaneously highlight the dance's essence and excite the senses within a limited temporal frame" (2015:85).

[95] In the Yugoslav and the post- Yugoslav dance milieu, this approach has commonly been referred to as *stilizacija* while non-Yugoslav authors have used terms such as "spectacularization" (Shay, 2016), "balletization" and "theatricalization". Similar strategies have been pointed out by Irene Loutzaki who focuses on five dance events in Greece that were unintentionally transformed into political events and used as an arena of power and confrontation (2001); and by Jens Richard Giersdorf, who argues that that dance can serve as a

modernize the performance of dance,[96] choreographers accelerated the tempo, exaggerated the movements, introduced acting, and incorporated narratives that were not common in social performance of the dances. Other changes involved incorporating or creating new, uniformed costumes that resembled the clothing and accoutrements worn by the communities that originated the dances; introduction of polyphony and choral arrangements of the songs; and the incorporation of foreign, Western-originated musical instruments. The choreographic works often involved a *finale* at the end, which was not a convention in any existing circle social dance, but was the sole invention of the choreographer.

Differentiating between three choreographing principles, Nahachewsky simply describes these dance structures as "starting with an introduction, building in energy (momentum, difficulty, tempo, etc.) to a climax, then concluding rather quickly" (2000:229). The act of creating a choreographic work that incorporates elements from social dances that are labeled "traditional" and inventing dance patterns that would make the dance look more theatrical is a tool used in order to make the dance heritage choreography appear more grandiose and spectacular.[97] Such processes of inventing new dances, especially the *finale,*

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vehicle for expressing national (and in this case socialist) standards, ranging from ideological affirmation to resistance (2013). Andriy Nahacewsky (2000) calls this strategy "theatricalization" and he identifies two contrasting cases used in the revival of folk dance, based on the delineations of the Ukrainian dance scholar Kim Vasylenko.

[96] Ana Hofman adds that "These 'stylized performances' were used as the main elements in the battle against 'backwardness' associated with the old forms of folklore performance. Creating the 'highest quality of interpretation', in the opinion of the policy makers, would affect the further development of folk dances and music. However, Yugoslav controversial culture policy and the officials' ambivalent attitude towards the concept of tradition as a category to be modernized but not banned, was reflected in the stage performances which negotiate between old and new patterns of representations" (Hofman, 2010:38).

[97] Anthony Shay writes that "One of the purposes for spectacularizing and staging folk and classical dances is the construction of a national identity (as opposed to local or regional identities) and national representation at home and abroad. The nation needs spectacular visual representations to valorize elements of the population, and by extension, the nation itself. Another reason is pure profit. *Riverdance* and its spinoffs constituted one of the major pillars of income of the Irish economic miracle, while the Moiseyev Dance Company's earned important hard currency for the former Soviet Union, as well as political capital in the developing world. A third reason why nation states employ ethno-identity dance is to demonstrate their modernity. In the name of modernity, paradoxically, the new staged dance traditions- invented traditions if you will- create an idealized and nostalgic construction of the past that, at a stroke, distances itself from onward connections to that past" (Shay, 2016:20).

have been compared to fakelore,[98] given that they have never existed in a participatory variant. While Alan Dundes argues that very little fakelore has become folklore (1989:15), it is certainly not the case with dance in the former Yugoslavia, as these newly invented dances in time often take part of the social dance repertoire. For instance, new Kolo musical scores were and still are constantly produced by accordionists and musicians, while dancers and choreographers have the freedom to invent new dance steps and adapt them to the new music.

Changing and modifying dance heritage follows the rhetoric of modernity where "everything is destined to be speeded up, dissolved, displaced, transformed, reshaped" (Hall, 1992:15). Such ideas were not only evident in Yugoslavia, but in the other socialist states, especially the ones under the Iron Curtain where staged dance was becoming increasingly rapid, the costumes were ever glitzier, the rhythm was more intricate and the narratives were ever more patriotic and emotional (Ilieva, 2001:126). Aware of the economy focused on theatrics and spectacle,[99] many choreographers dismissed the idea that heritage should be unchanging and frozen in time.

As Uroš Čvoro adds, such performances also became the key cultural exports of Yugoslavia, used for branding of the country within an international arena (2014:39-40). Anthony Shay, who writes about dancers as cultural diplomats, argues that the peasant became "the perfect stand-in for the nation as a whole, and their performances of traditional dances served as a visual symbol of mass support for non-democratic regimes of all political stripes" (2019:32). While social performances of the dances are participatory and

[98] As Dundes explains "Fakelore is the presentation of spurious and synthetic writings under the claim that they are genuine folklore. These productions are not collected in the field but are rewritten from earlier literary and journalistic sources in an endless chain of regurgitation, or they may even be made out of whole cloth, as in the case of several of the 'folk heroes' written up in the image of Paul Bunyan, who had at least some trickle of oral tradition at the beginning of his literary exploitation" (Dundes, 1989:5).

[99] For David Guss "The privileging of the visual, accomplished through colorful costumes and dramatic choreography, combines with technical excellence and virtuosity to present a cheerful, unceasingly optimistic world. This increased theatricalization abjures any mention of true historical conditions and replaces them with the staged creation of a mythic detemporalized past" (Guss, 2000:14).

improvisational, staged performances of heritage as spectacle require a great deal of professionalism, as the dancers are required to perform and execute the movement exactly like the person dancing next to them. The need to create a cultural brand subsequently resulted in the formation of professional and national ensembles whose task was to promote Yugoslavia internationally and to continue to safeguard and prevent from disappearing local cultural expressions.

National dance ensembles

While the shift from Stalinism[100] to a more liberal type of socialism in 1948 allowed for a socialist modernization of popular culture, the idea of creating choreographic works that would be treated as national was realized in the repertoires of the first national and professional dance ensembles. Their mission was to collect, adapt, and preserve the folk dances and songs of their countries. The first[101] folk dance ensemble in Yugoslavia was the Serbian "Kolo," founded in 1948, while in 1949, the Yugoslav Republics of Macedonia and Croatia also founded their national dance ensembles "Tanec" based in Skopje, and "Lado" based in Zagreb. The first repertoire was based on social dances that were taught by local performers who were invited to teach the newly employed professional dancers proper execution and style. Following the Yugoslav ideas of modernization, Olga Skovran, the first director of "Kolo," believed that the dances had to be choreographed and refined in order to fit the category of "artistic performance" (Bajić Stojiljković, 2016:95). Along with Dobrivoje

[100] The term "Stalinism" is used to describe the form of governing by Joseph Stalin that includes the previously mentioned process of collectivization and industrialization but also points out to totalitarianism and the cult of personality.

[101] The first dancers in these ensembles were former members of either village dance groups or amateur dance groups in the cities. Thy were invited to audition to become professional dancers, that is, to be employed by the state to professionally execute the music and dance of the nation. Bajić Stojiljković argues that the "professionalization of stage folk dance is conceptualized as the process through different parameters, looking through a broader perspective which embraces stage rules, creation of choreographies and other stage dance presentations, formal and informal education, establishing professions and financial support" (2016a:222).

Putnik, Olga Skovran created the first choreographic works that were based not only on Serbian dances, but chain dances from the other Yugoslav republics.

Figure 2.3: Dancers from The Serbian National Ensemble "Kolo" performing Kolo from the region of Šumadija in 2019. Photo courtesy by Jelena Janković.

For Skovran, modernizing meant upgrading the chain dances by applying ballet aesthetics, so the dancing was stylized, cleaned up, and choreographed according to classical standards.[102] As Yugoslavia became opened to the West, the acceptance and the promotion of ballet aesthetics was regarded as positive and progressive, given ballet's treatment as Western concert aesthetic. Such changes involved pointing of the feet, lifting the legs and arms higher than what local dancers would do during social dancing events, including movements such as pirouettes, and many other such alterations. As ballet was a foreign aesthetic for the dancers, Bajić Stojiljković writes that during the first months of "Kolo's" emergence, Skovran worked towards elevating the basic dance culture by teaching artists about "proper" bodily postures

[102] By citing official documents from the early work of the ensemble, Bajić Stojiljković notices that "Within the ensemble there will be a school of folklore which the members of the ensemble will attend. Beside the dance, they will study acting, ballet, music history and other disciplines. They will be trained to become dance teachers at the departments for folklore which will be established in all music schools in the country" (Bajić Stojiljković, 2016:219).

and the harmony and beauty of stage movement (2016:94). It is likely that Skovran was influenced by the Moiseyev and the Soviet style of performing dance that followed the same principles of modernization since the 1930s and focused on modeling the folk according to Western standards of the beauty of movements.

These attempts at modernizing dance[103] are also evident in one of Olga Skovran's first choreographic works from 1948, named *Igre iz Srbije* (Dances from Serbia), which included a popular form of the genre Kolo u tri named Moravac. Performed as the *finale* of the choreographic work, during the first few sequences, the dancers perform the basic steps as performed during social occasions. As the tempo of the dance becomes increasingly faster, Skovran intervened by altering and exaggerating the dance steps and incorporating dance formations and movements that she has personally invented in order to make the dance appear more grandiose and spectacular. Her choreographic combinations drastically differ from the dance patterns that are performed during social occasions as they include high jumps and fast footwork that would require professional dance training.[104]

While the Serbian ensemble "Kolo" incorporated ballet movements as a necessary component in order to achieve the status of high art, "Tanec" and "Lado" rejected the incorporation of ballet aesthetics but embraced *stilizacija* nevertheless. For Emanuel Chuchkov, the first director of "Tanec," the dances were supposed to be interpreted through an "acceptable artistic expression" (Popov et al, 1979:3). I have previously identified five

[103] Within the academic circles, this process was regarded as "a deceptive façade of a happy and prosperous rural life which helped to disguise the poor reality of peasant life" (Hofman, 2010a:125). Writing about a similar situation in Bulgaria, Ana Ilieva writes that "Academics tried hard to formulate the problems, because something was really very wrong with this art. They wanted to help via science and knowledge but were isolated from the making of important decisions. They could work on their academic problems and study folklore with nostalgia, but they were not allowed to teach or to take part in the solution of the real and profound problems of contemporary art which called itself folk dance" (Ilieva, 2001:126).

[104] Other variants of Kolo u Tri, such as Žikino Kolo are included in other choreographic works such as *Igre iz Okoline Beograda* (Dances from the surrounding of Belgrade) by Goran Mitrović, *Igre iz Okoline Užica* (Dances from the surrounding of Užice) by Desanka Djordjević, *Igre iz Gruže* (Dances from Gruža) by Slavica Mihailović, *Igre iz Šumadije* (Dances from Šumadija) by Desanka Djordjević and many others.

approaches of choreographing and staging dance in "Tanec" and in Macedonia in general[105] that include staging and adapting social dances as demonstrated by natives, but also choreographing dance based on single or a combination of chain dances and rituals. Many of the choreographers that I interviewed[106] would say that they had to intervene and invent new steps that they would combine with the already existing dance forms or change the semi-circular mode of performance of the dance into different geometrical formations in order to make the dance more appealing for the audience. This approach, as Dunin writes, involved "combining older step patterns into new challenging combinations" (Dunin and Višinski, 1995:11). Once this repertoire was standardized, it was diffused and transmitted throughout the rest of the dance ensembles in the country (Dunin, 1991); by contrast, Tanec's model of staged presentation was introduced through their own choreographic school, which remains the only one in the country (Todevski and Palchevski, 2013:25). Even though the repertoire was stylized, in that the movement was made more spectacular, choreographers did not involve ballet aesthetics unlike the ensemble "Kolo."

[105] See Petkovski, F. (2015) 'Approaches in staging and choreographing folk dance in the National Ensemble of Folk Dances and Songs of Macedonia "Tanec.' London: Roehampton University. Master Thesis.

[106] I have conducted interviews with Ljupcho Manevski, Jovica Blazhevski, Simeon Chulev, Svetlana Ćirić, Snezhana Balkanska and Stojche Karanfilov in 2014 and 2015.

Figure 2.4: Dancers from The Macedonian National Ensemble "Tanec" performing Kopachkata in 2009. Photo courtesy of Ensemble "Tanec."

Throughout the years, "Tanec's" choreographic methods and performance styles became predominantly accepted by the majority of dance groups in the rest of the country. One year before the formation of "Tanec," the dance group "Kopachka" was founded in 1948 by local dancers from the village of Dramche. As dance festivals and dance competitions in Yugoslavia took force, the dancers were required to adapt the dance for the stage as they were increasingly being invited to showcase the dance in front of the nation. After participating at a few local and national festivals, the group was invited to represent Macedonia in Opatija, Croatia in 1951, along with several other village dance groups. One of the attendees of the festival was one of the most prominent Macedonian choreographers Atanas Kolarovski, from "Tanec," who invited local dancers to give a demonstration to the national ensemble. Kopachkata was included in the first repertoire of the ensemble and it was shown by Stojche Zahariev and Nikola Arsov who were dancers from the Delchevo area (Dunin and Višinski, 1995:180). Even though during social performances, the dance was accompanied by drums only, led by the aesthetic politics of the ensemble, the dance had to be

modernized. Dragan Petrushevski, a dancer in the ensemble, was asked to choreograph a sequence while the director of the ensemble composed a musical arrangement.

The dance was first performed along with the song *Dimna Juda* and it was later incorporated into the choreographic work named *Istochna Makedonija* (Eastern Macedonia), that became part of the repertoire of most ensembles in the country (Dunin and Višinski, 1995:180; Dunin, 1991:203-213). Instead of copying the style of the dancers that demonstrated the patterns, choreographers in "Tanec" sped up the tempo and organized the dance in a way that the semi-circle tightens into a small circle and re-opens again, while the last dancer in the chain is dragged and lifted in the air — movement that may have seemed unnatural to local dancers. Kopachkata was later incorporated in the first suite-like choreographic work in the ensemble named *Sedenka*, created by Gligor Vasilev in 1958, who took a choreography course in neighboring Bulgaria (Palchevski and Todevski 2013:70). After its premiere, *Sedenka* became a popular production and found its place in the repertoire of almost all of the ensembles in the country.

Because of the popularity of the choreographic work that was included in many ensembles' standard repertoire, new dancers learned Tanec's choreographed version of Kopachkata, while the local version was completely ignored. The dance was staged again in 2006 by Ljupcho Manevski for a project named *Bistri Vodi* (Clear Waters) when the ensemble changed its approach and devoted a series of concerts to what they conceptualized as "authentic" repertoire. Manevski made attempts to make Tanec's performance of Kopachkata resemble the local way of performing by imitating the dancers from the villages in the region of Pijanec (Manevski, 2014:interview). The choreographic work *Pijanec,* composed in 2014 by Jovica Blazhevski, also incorporated sequences from Sitnoto and Kopachkata. What was different than the previous version, however, was Blazhevski's emphasis on spectacularizing the movement by speeding the tempo and making movement

faster, sharper, and grandiose. These examples show that "Tanec" dictated the performance aesthetics that resulted in a wide incorporation across the country, but more importantly, they exemplify how these shifts and the approaches of staging local-based repertoire were conducted according to a model established by previous directors and choreographers in the ensemble.

Zvonimir Ljevaković,[107] the Croatian choreographer and the first director of "Lado," who is associated with the *Zagrebačka Škola* (The Zagreb School)[108] of staging and choreographing dance heritage rejected Moiseyev's and Kolo's model of dancemaking.[109] Following the principle of *Seljačka Sloga* and the village groups created before the national dance ensemble, Ljevaković was committed to "faithfully" transferring the dancing styles on the stage, without changing their formations or combining them with personally invented movements. His approach is best described in the following statement by one of the first dancers of "Lado," Beata Gotthardi:

> Two parallel feet, firmly on the ground. This is what was revolutionary, because it brought up notions of the force of gravity and how the people responded to that force. We all know that ballet artists attempt to master the force of gravity by dancing on their toes, but the people…the people didn't even dare to master what was unnatural to them! The people stomp firmly on the ground. That is what

[107] Sremac writes that even though Ljevaković was never part of the *Seljačka Sloga,* he carefully observed their work and later reinterpreted the *Sloga*'s concept and modified it for the performances of the amateur city ensembles (2010:243). Another example was the academic ensemble named *Ivan Goran Kovačić,* whose leaders made efforts to broaden the dance repertoire that was established by the *Seljačka Sloga,* and look for something "exotic" that was rarely seen in the Zagreb folk dance. He also writes about the little known history of the formation of the ensemble of folk dances and songs of Yugoslavia, founded in 1950 and formed by dancers from the professional dance ensembles of Yugoslavia who presented Yugoslav material from all of the republics, but after a short tour in Switzerland and a concert in Belgrade, the ensemble ceased its existence (2010: 334).

[108] Joško Ćaleta and Tvrtko Zebec write that "The main characteristic of the Zagreb School of Folklore was to make authorial choreographies, organized according to certain stage rules – geometry, symmetry, perspective, dynamics and other rules that Ivančan elaborated on [Ivančan 1971], but without the use of strong stylization and spectacle. The Zagreb School has also been well-known for simultaneous dance and singing and the use of original or reconstructed costumes based on the original ones" (Ćaleta and Zebec, 2017:144).

[109] Shay cites an interview with several of Lado's first members who remember that "In the beginning of the ensemble we spent considerable time listening to field recordings or the peasants themselves in order to learn to sing in the authentic style that Professor Ljevaković wanted. This style was alien to us because we were city dwellers and we had to work hard and spend hours perfecting the singing. It was much harder than learning dance, but over the years we developed the style of singing for which Lado is famous" (Shay, 2016a: 270).

> Ljevaković brought to us! He gave our costumes volume and turned us into silhouettes. We weren't some "dancing divas", no! We were representing that volume. The third element he introduced was throat singing. We weren't singing as trained singers did, but we sang like the people used to sing.
>
> (Lado, 2020)

Gotthardi's statement exemplifies some crucial aesthetic values that are still popular among Croatian choreographers and dancers. Namely, the emphasis on what seemed "natural" to "the people" brings up notions of originality and authenticity that remain key aspects in choreography making in Croatia. While other dance ensembles in Eastern Europe followed the Moiseyev model of choreographing dance, in Croatia, the devotion to an "authentic" mode of presentation served as a form of resistance to what Tvrtko Zebec explains as "the socialist regime".[110]

The Vrličko Kolo, one of the most popular types of Nijemo Kolo, was first staged by a local dance group from the town of Vrlika during a local dance festival organized by *Seljačka Sloga* in the 1940s. Because of its popularity of the performance, the dance was also performed by a Serbian dance group from the town of Knin called "Prosvjeta" at the festival in Opatija in 1951. Given that the area was populated by both Croats and Serbs who shared the same costumes, repertoire, traditions, but differed in their religious beliefs, the way of performing the Vrličko Kolo was the same. Inspired by what he saw, Zvonimir Ljevaković choreographed his interpretation of Vrličko Kolo in 1945-1946 for the dance groups "Joža Vlahović" who performed the dance at a 1947 competition in Prague. As "Vlahović's" dancers became the first professional dancers in "Lado," they included Vrličko Kolo in the repertoire of their first concert in 1949. Because of the popularity of Vrličko Kolo, which is performed to this day, "Lado's" choreography became a synonym for all of the silent dances from the Dinaric area (Ćaleta, 2015:233). Today, many local dance groups in the Dalmatian

[110] See Zebec, T. (2012) 'Perceptions of the staged folk dance practice in Croatia.' *From field to text & Dance and space. Proceedings from the 24th symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology: Cluj-Napoca, 10-16 July 2006,* pp. 115-118.

Hinterland follow “Lado’s” model of stage presentation and choreograph their material according to “Lado’s” standards.

Figure 2.5: Dancers from The Croatian National Ensemble “Lado” performing Vrličko Kolo in 2019. Photo courtesy by Petra Slobodnjak.

As seen through these examples, Kolo, Nijemo Kolo, and Kopachkata were amongst the first dances that were included in the national repertoires of state ensembles and other amateur groups in Yugoslavia. The reason for this was their process of popularization, initiated by folklorists and ethnochoreologists who frequently mentioned the dances in literature, but also because of the early performances of the dances at local and regional festivals. The directors of national troupes not only dictated the repertoire aesthetics but also imposed these views onto the state ensemble and the rest of the performance groups in the country. Despite several choreographers who were visionaries and promoted the concept of staged folk dance — such as Zvonimir Ljevaković in Croatia, Olga Skovran in Serbia, and Gile Vasilev and Atanas Kolarovski in Macedonia — the majority of other choreographers were only passive consumers of already established aesthetics.

Following Moiseyev's model that required "iron discipline," the dancers are trained to execute perfection in their dancing. According to this principle, the dancing body must obey the wants and needs of the choreographer/instructor who trains the dancers, and, through a process of disciplining,[111] to contribute towards a "professional" performance of dance heritage. This discipline was oriented towards training the body in order to tackle complex movements, faster rhythms and uninterrupted duration of unison movement that the dancers perform collectively. Andrè Lepecki writes that choreography displays disciplined bodies who negotiate their participation within what he calls a "regime of obedience" for the sake of art, which characterizes choreography as a site of investigating agency (2016:16). Professional dancers go through rigorous training that will allow them to perform what local dancers are unable to. As they train daily for five hours, these disciplined "docile bodies" (Foucault, 1977:138), are required to deliver what many choreographers consider to be the ideal and refined image of heritage performance. Inspired by their ability to master dance styles, choreographers create complex movements that the dancers will be able to endure. Hence, when performing on stage, the dancers are not simply performers, but also representatives and ambassadors of their local and national culture and heritage.

According to some of the dancers that I interviewed, the audience enjoys choreographic works that incorporate narratives, acting, fast tempos, and acrobatic movements, and prefer stylized movement as it is more amusing to watch. For Bojana Đorđević, a soloist dancer in ensemble "Kolo," the dance has to be altered and shaped for the proscenium stage while the beauty of movement must be a product of experiments where choreographers combine the "authentic" and the new (Đorđević, 2018:interview). For Andrija Karaklajić, who also works as a soloist in the same ensemble, Kolo is a Serbian

[111] Michel Foucault argues that "Discipline is no longer simply an art of distributing bodies, of extracting time from them and accumulating it, but of composing forces in order to obtain an efficient machine" (1977:164). He adds that "The individual body becomes an element that may be placed, moved, articulated on others. Its bravery or its strength are no longer the principal variables that define it; but the place it occupies, the interval it covers, the regularity, the food order according to which it operates its movements" (1977:164).

trademark. However, he believes that in order for Kolo to continue to live on as a viable social practice, it has to undergo certain changes and it has to be popularized through inclusion in musicals, operas, and similar events so the audience is more familiar with it. He expresses his fear that the practice might disappear if dancers do not make an effort to continue transmitting it (Karaklajić, 2019:interview). Such statements exemplify many discussions that are still taking place today, where dancers regard authenticity and spectacle as two opposing aesthetic modes. Even though these aesthetic modes are no longer aligned with socialist modernization processes, the need to produce spectacle is even greater today due to neoliberal pressures, given that the performance of heritage has become marketed like never before in history.

In certain cases, mostly in Macedonia and Serbia, when the choreographer modifies the dance so dramatically that it no longer resembles its social form, the choreographies simply become commodities that mediate spectacle in order to satisfy public appeal. By doing so, choreographers are invested in creating folklore anew, given that through the process of choreographing they are actively participating in the work of cultural production. Many Yugoslav folklorists critiqued such aesthetic choices as they considered such performances to be artificial; staged performances were interpreted as binary oppositions such as traditional/arranged and spontaneous/fixed (Hofman, 2010a:121). Such discussions still occur today, not only among scholars, but among dancers and choreographers who continue to debate whether stylizing and changing the dance pattern distances the dance from the idea of heritage.

Following the breakup of Yugoslavia, the national ensembles of Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia abandoned their Yugoslav repertoire and placed emphasis on choreographing and performing repertoire intended to strengthen the idea of their non-Yugoslav national identities. For the Croatian and Macedonian ensembles, these changes involved dismissing a

repertoire of the minorities that lived in these countries, while the Serbian ensemble continued to perform dance material of non-Serbian communities such as Macedonian dances. Some of the other changes involve emphasis on staging material from the local repertoires of Serbian/Croatian/Macedonian communities that live abroad. While they were unable to include religious music and rituals during the existence of Yugoslavia, these national ensembles frequently devote full concerts to, for instance, Christmas or Easter religious chants and music. Even though they are not specifically promoting state ideologies, they continue to work in favor of the state as its cultural ambassadors and continue to promote national heritage internationally. Some of the most recent changes also include the promotion of music and dance that has been recognized as intangible cultural heritage by state institutions or by UNESCO, hence using these recognitions as a marketing tool in promoting heritage as cultural brand.

Choreographing authenticity

In the previous section, I explored the incorporation of state ideologies in choreography and repertoire making, and I pointed out the aesthetics of stylization and spectacularization in choreography that was initiated by a modernization phase in Yugoslavia. In this section, I explore the dialectics between two oppositional aesthetic modes — *izvornost* (authenticity) and *stilizacija* (stylization) — to differentiate between two distinct choreographic approaches. In contrast to Thomas Filitz who claims that authenticity was not a major concern for anthropologists until the 1970s (2013:211), folklorists and dance researchers in the Yugoslav area were concerned with such issues as early as the 1920s. According to Stjepan Sremac, the concept of authenticity was contextualized before the Second World War, associated with performances during folklore festivals in the 1930s.

Authenticity was tied to questions around origin and used as such by people who were involved in the organization and the production of the festivals (1978:111).

The notion of authenticity emerged with special force at this historical moment, in response to the political developments in the formation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The stress on authentic cultural expressions was supposed to support the process of nation building through which the state used folklore in order to deem itself modern. Furthermore, the notion of authenticity was also used to express separatism, as certain ethnic groups considered themselves as different from those with common history. The notion of the "authentic" helped the people imagine the roots of their existence, free themselves from foreign influences, and create for themselves a national culture that is specific to the region and therefore different from the neighboring countries. With the emergence of *kulturno-umetnički društva* (cultural and artistic associations) and national dance ensembles, the concept of authenticity was further promoted through performance as a specific aesthetic mode that was considered to be the opposite of stylization and spectacle.

The process of staging and choreographing social, participatory, and "authentic" dances follows the trajectory of the relationship between the archive and the repertoire, given that many choreographers use archival material — or, in other words, dance knowledge stored in the archive that is considered to be authentic. Much of the dance knowledge produced in the past, as discussed in the first chapter, takes the form of verbal or written descriptions of dance events, Labanotation scores of certain performances of the dance, recorded videos of performances, sculptures, illustrations, and photographs — all stored at archives or similar institutions. Although the search for authenticity often entails archival methods, choreographers also often conduct ethnographic research and interview dancers whom they consider "living archives" about their histories, record their dance performances, and try to learn their dance styles. Furthermore, choreographers are supposed to observe not

only the performing style, but also observe the surroundings, so they can create a sense of the social setting when adapting the dance for the stage.

For Clifford Geertz, this process of collecting culture is a process of inscribing social discourse (1973:19). This discourse, created by artists, folklorists, and dance scholars who assembled dance materials through their research, manifests in the principle of "ethnographic truth," given that many choreographers try to "properly" transfer the "field" to the stage. While the task of dance researchers was to collect and archive dance material gathered through fieldwork, choreographers are expected to use that material, stage it, and therefore transform it into a staged repertoire. Only by abiding such principles can the choreographic work be conceptualized as *izvorna* or "authentic." In the dancemaking process, artists may pick the most typical dance elements and the most popular dances from the ethnographic regions that they research in order to create a choreographic work that would be representative of the culture of the people who live there. When arranging the dances for the stage, choreographers often reconstruct and recontextualize the dances as representative of a certain local culture. The stage, therefore, may be perceived as a space that can accommodate such exhibits.

Stylizing dance implies that any change applied to the form can modify and transform the dance into a choreographic product which is unrecognizable or unpalatable to locals for whom the dance is part of everyday life experience. In contrast, many choreographers believe that by staging authenticity, they express an accurate picture of heritage, even if it is embellished and refined. Different than the Soviet Union and the Soviet satellite countries, where officials encouraged the population not only to cherish but to create new folklore,[112] Yugoslav scholars advocated for the preservation of dance and song repertoires and advised against both their modification and the generation of new folklore. Due to its wide acceptance

[112] See Olson, L. J. (2004) *Performing Russia: Folk revival and Russian identity.* London and New York: Routledge.

as an aesthetic mode of performance and the fear that changing the dance will replace the emphasis on local, participatory practices, scholars in Yugoslavia in the 1970s and the 1980s criticized the concept of staged folklore because they perceived it as an artificial form of cultural production (Hofman, 2010:121). The authentic and the choreographed became regarded as binaries that represented spontaneous versus planned performance, natural versus stylized, original versus fake, and traditional versus modern.

Over the years, authenticity in the Yugoslav area has been aligned with concepts such as traditional, original, and old. According to local perceptions in the Yugoslav area, the authentic is often imagined to be opposed to the modern, contemporary, and universal — terms which are rarely used within the heritage discourse. By focusing on performing authenticity, the dancers who do not perform these dances frequently in social occasions are convinced that they are engaging in a performance of "real life" and allowing the audience to look into their local social structures, and therefore develop a certain appreciation of their culture by observing their dancing. The tendency to value and perform their staged dances as, seemingly, the same form that has been passed onto them from preceding generations remains a crucial trait to many dancers associated with local groups who hope to continue this tradition.

Choreographers and dancers in the region use the term *izvorni ples/izvorna igra* (authentic dance) to refer both to chain dances or couple dances that are performed during social occasions, or to refer to dances arranged for the stage by a choreographer who would not alter their form, so they can resemble the "original" as performed during social dance events. It is important to add, however, that these approaches are often referred to as *scenska adaptacija* (stage adaptation) and not *koreografija* (choreography), as the choreographers believe that they are only shaping the material for the stage, whereas choreographing involves the invention of new material. When conceptualized as "authentic," the staged

dances are framed as "unchoreographed"; therefore, choreographers are very careful to classify the dances as only "adapted" or "arranged" for the stage. For example, Stjepan Sremac uses the concept of "authentic form of folklore" to describe traditional forms that through their transformation into staged dance, went through what he describes as only necessary and relevant changes that include shortening the duration of the dance performance and summarizing its context (1978:112). Related to this argument, Ivan Ivančan claims that a choreography can be considered to be successfully made only if the artist manages to offer to the audience an experience similar to that of observing the dance during social occasions, such as weddings and other rituals (1971:108-109). Changing the dance structure for the purpose of achieving different aesthetics indicates that the dance is not "authentic" but a new product, unmoored from tradition.

The process of staging follows what Janet O'Shea conceptualizes as the relationship between a native informant (2003:177-178), in this case a dancer, and the translator-author, or the choreographer, whose task is to recast the dancing style and its tradition for a new audience. As O'Shea adds, this process marginalizes the dance as a movement that requires further explication (2003:178). This explication is often realized in a form of a theatrical narrative that provides some context for the dance to be imagined as heritage and it often revolves around everyday life experiences. For the audience, these narratives create an opportunity to experience elements of village life and see the dance as part of local culture that would not be as easily accessible if it was not choreographed for the stage.[113] Anurima Banerji similarly argues that non-Western dance forms have to constantly translate themselves to audiences that are unfamiliar with them. These processes are carried on by the dancers themselves, who have to "unmask" the dances in order to be appreciated and not only

[113] For similar discussion about the experience of real life through exhibition, see for instance Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998) *Destination culture*: *Tourism, museums, heritage.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

perform but also educate the audience about certain histories and aesthetics through their performances (Banerji, 2009:36). In these cases, the choreographers and the performers have to additionally play the role of educators and translators.[114] Such notions further point out that, when conceptualized as performance, tradition has to be translated in order to be rightfully experienced as heritage.

The need to translate comes from the premise that authenticity can only be experienced at the site where it is produced. Many artists believe that the truly authentic performances of local dances take place in the villages or the towns where they are socially performed, while at the same time, they consider these dances to be aesthetically lacking. When these dances are not situated within their socio-cultural context, choreographers believe that the audience may not understand the original, so they aim to provide a new, theatrical context through which the audience can relate to the "real experience" of the performance of heritage. The emphasis on choreographing and staging heritage to showcase "real life" is, as Dean MacCannell argues, a social redefinition of the categories "truth" and "reality" (1999:91). In these examples, choreographers emphasize the concepts of "truth" and "reality" by staging what they consider to be the "authentic," or the true and the real way of presenting dance, as performed by the people in the field. Such examples elucidate to two different processes — one is replicating what Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett explains as an "in-situ" environment (1998:19), given that the dance is positioned in a framework that allows for its contextualization. The other process prompts decontextualizing, as the dance is considered to be a symbolic element of culture that stands in for the whole, hence serving as a metonymic representation.

[114] Banerji adds "And so, often the dancer takes on a double labor: the performance simultaneously becomes an educative enterprise, involving elaborate explanations about the history of the dance and its aesthetics. But is Indian classical dance any more obscure, really, than postmodern or experimental choreographies, or ballet? Are Western dance forms required to translate themselves? Seemingly, the cultural difference visible in the Indian classical dancer's body becomes the spectator's rationale for demanding transparency, canceling the possibility of releasing a poetic imagination when viewing such performances" (Banerji, 2009:36).

The model of performance that state ensembles and certain local dance groups engage in can be described as "revival",[115] as the dances are reconstructed and recontextualized into choreographic forms that rely on Western standards of performance. Rather than presentation, they are engaging in representation,[116] which, for Diana Taylor conjures up notions of mimesis and of a break between the "real" and its representation (Taylor, 2003:14). Through their attempts to showcase choreographic works that depict a dance event where it is seemingly performed in a social occasion, the artists only represent heritage, as many of them have never actually performed these dances in a social setting.

For a representation to occur, the dance has to be cut off from its original context. Therefore, the stage is perceived as a location that can provide new context for social dance. At the same time, for the younger members of local dance groups who have only performed these dances on the stage, social events, in which they might be required to improvise and abandon set choreographic structure, might be alienating and thus reflect the experience of older community members observing onstage performances for the first time. Dancers in the national ensembles are well aware that their works serve only as representations of the social dances that are still performed in villages. On the contrary, village dance groups are strongly guided by the idea that even though their dances have been adapted and choreographed for the stage, they still perform the "real," or, in other words, they still present, rather than represent, heritage.

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[115] According to Nahachewsky, "…the word revival can be contentious because the relationship with the past is often perceived differently from emic as opposed to etic perspectives. Many different words have been used to identify somewhat similar phenomena: adaptation, appropriation, arrangement, cultivation, invention, invocation, preservation, reconstruction, recontextualization, remembering, representation, revitalization, theatricalization. Revival dance movements have been called dancing in a second existence, folklore, fakelore and folklorism. Each term in this list can be thought of as positive, negative or neutral in different peoples' perspectives (see Dunin and Zebec 2001:268-271). I propose to use "revival" and "revival movement" as broad umbrella terms to embrace this large constellation of activities" (Nahachewsky, 2006:162).

[116]Mechtild Widrich defines re-enactment as "not just the political orchestration of "living memory," but a justification of what came before, the fulfillment of missed opportunities. Past, present, and future are strangely intertwined in this idea, suggesting that performers, in restaging themselves, are somehow marked by "authenticity" going beyond historical truth to change the meaning of the past itself in an evolving aesthetic and social process" (Widrich,2014:139)

For example, choreographer Andrija Ivančan follows the approach of the "Zagreb school" of dance presentation. In his attempt to make the choreography appear as authentic as possible, he tries to be careful not to "invent or modify anything that they have recorded in the field" (Ivančan, 2017:interview). When asked about his approach, Ivančan responds that he always looks for the oldest, as well as the best dancers in the field, while he is not interested in the younger dancers in the communities as their dance style has been affected by foreign influence (Ivančan, 2018:interview). Ivančan's approach is influenced by his predecessors — ethnographers and choreographers who were committed to recontextualizing what they considered to be representative elements of culture, stored in the bodies of the oldest and most knowledgeable dancers in the community, as they are able to reflect on past times when the dances were more popular than they are today. Aware that the dance has evolved and changed over time, Ivančan's approach is focused on restoring specific styles of dancing that might not be as popular today.

Boris Harfman, a professional dancer in "Lado," follows the same choreographic process as Ivančan. He explains that he is always looking for an interesting material that hasn't been staged before. Before conducting fieldwork, he consults the Ethnology Department and tries to understand the region and the people before making any decisions about what the piece would look like.

> I am looking for a certain dynamic when I develop the choreographic scenes. It is very important to me who this choreography is for, because I have to adapt it to the dancing capabilities of the dancers who are going to perform it. They have to like it but I have to like it as well. After the premiere, I am interested to find out if the audience likes and accepts my new work, or if they maybe think if there is something I can change so the work looks better. Because after all, despite choreographing for the purpose of safeguarding our heritage, we have to create works that the audience would like to see.
>
> (Harfman, 2019:interview)

While similar to Ivančan's, Harfman's approach mostly differs as it places emphasis on entertainment, rather than reviving dance material and staging "authenticity" — a concept

that he highly values. Aware that his work is public, Harfman is willing to adapt, based on the audience's response, and invest in creating a dynamic atmosphere that will excite the crowd.

In Serbia, while some choreographers follow Olga Skovran's approach of choreographing dance heritage, others prefer the strategies of the "Zagreb School." Choreographers such as Ljubomir Vujčin attended classes on dance composition in Croatia, offered through *Prosvjetni Sabor Hrvatske* (The Croatian Educational Council) and *Ljetna Škola Folklora* (The Summer School of Folklore),[117] where he learned from and assisted some of the most famous Yugoslav dance heritage artists. For him, a good choreographer is the one who is able to properly transfer the village onto the stage (Vujčin, 2019:interview). He strongly believes that in order to showcase heritage, choreographers have to spend several weeks living and learning from the communities where the dances exists, but also to consult literature and archival data on the region or the movement styles. Vujčin's works differ from the ones made by Croatian choreographers as he places emphasis on interesting and rapid transitions, varied tempos, good musical arrangement, and a fast and attractive end. While he rejects Skovran's model, he also believes that dancing repetitively in semi-circles on the stage, as it is done in the villages where he conducts fieldwork, is not always interesting to the audience. According to him, dancing Kolo is heritage, but it is not spectacular, so it requires some changes:

[117] *Ljetna Škola Folklora* (The Summer School of Folklore), now *Ljetna Škola Hrvatskog Folklora* (The Summer School of Croatian Folklore) was a two-week program that offered classes on learning social dances and dance performance styles of certain ethnographic regions (referred to as dance zones) from Yugoslavia. The instructors were well-known Yugoslav choreographers who devoted much of their time in researching the folklore of a certain area and taught the dancers that attended the school how to perform the dance styles properly. Today, instead of focusing on various ethnographic dance zones from Yugoslavia, the emphasis is on teaching Croatian dance heritage only.

> When you dance *kolo* you feel that you belong to a certain group, everyone is equal, and therefore it makes people feel good. But for the audience that is not participating and watches this from a side, there is not much enjoyment to it. We are often talking with my colleagues that we have to change our approaches, because we tend to choreograph geometry that becomes monotonous.
>
> (Vujčin, 2019:interview)

Vujčin recognizes some aspects of performing Kolo as impossible to recontextualize, such as the feeling of equality among dancers in the chain that is lost in the interaction between audience and performers, especially when the dancing is meant for display. He believes that *stilizacija* (stylization) often serves as an excuse for artists who do not commit to fieldwork and therefore invent dances that they present as heritage. Vujčin believes that the choreographic process in Serbia is static, as there is no demand for anything different than what the audience is used to. His concerns about the lack of innovation and change when it comes to staging dance exemplify the accentuation on traditional models of choreographing that are set as unwritten rules and adopted by the majority of choreographers in the country.

Marko Jevtić, a Serbian choreographer and professional dancer in the ensemble "Kolo", differentiates between *scenska adaptacija* (stage adaptation) and *koreografija* (choreography), by arguing that when arranging dances for the stage, he only uses materials that he has personally recorded in the field. Jevtić argues that the semi-circular formation of the dances is often too limiting and does not allow for artistic freedom.

> When I choreograph, I have to make sure that when the people that are familiar with the specific dance would recognize their dances when they see them on stage. That is why I put a lot of effort in researching the region and reading published literature about it and the dances that the people perform there. I always let the dancers teach me how to perform the dance and I always ask them to point out what is the wrong way of performing the dance. That is how I learn the dance style.
>
> (Jevtić, 2019:interview)

Jevtić stresses the need for altering the choreographing form of the dances in order to make his work appear as more vibrant, but he also emphasizes the need of proper execution of the dance steps that he refuses to change. Furthermore, he demonstrates his devotion to

ethnographic research that helps him "accurately" stage and contextualize the collected material that would make his work appear closer to performances in the field.

Marjan Andonovski, who uses the same approach as Jevtić, is one of the few choreographers who staged Kopachkata in Macedonia in a way that resembles the movement style of the performers from the dance group "Kopachka." For Andonovski, it is important that the dancing appears similar to that of the villages where Kopachkata is performed socially, but it is also prudent that the dancers in the ensembles observe the style so they are able to effectively imitate it (2019:interview). These examples show how such choreographic approaches operate trans-regionally and prove that the emphasis on ethnography in dance-making is popular across many of the former states of the Yugoslav republic.

Aware of the potential of the heritage industry to transform local culture into a fetishized commodity, dance groups incorporate the aesthetic of authenticity, not only because they aspire to translate "the field" onto the stage, but also because they are aware that authenticity can be closely related to exoticism. In such cases, the "exotic" is not necessarily aligned with concepts such as the "foreign" or "alien," but rather signifies a specific cultural practice that does not exist outside of a specific village or a region. As Marta Savigliano argues, "exoticism creates the need for identity and assures that it cannot be attained" (1995:75). Local dance groups deliberately apply discourses around auto-exoticism that they use strategically in order to differentiate themselves from other performance groups who might perform the same or similar material.

Tvrtko Zebec and Joško Ćaleta argue that Nijemo Kolo as well as the *ojkanje* style of singing are often regarded as "exotic," even among Croatian locals, especially for choreographers who work in the Zagreb dance ensembles. Moreover, they believe that because of its inclusion at UNESCO's Representative List, Nijemo Kolo is increasingly being used by choreographers as a value nominator (Ćaleta and Zebec, 2017:147). Similarly, while

Kopachkata has often been associated with the dance group "Kopachka," it has rarely been performed by ensembles in the larger cities. Its UNESCO World Heritage status, however, which made it very popular, may be one of the key reasons for its recent adoption in the repertoire of dance groups all over Macedonia. As it is a popular and wide-spread practice, Kolo has never achieved a status as "exotic" in Serbia.

Such examples are proof that the processes of exotifying and romanticizing peasant dance are ongoing and increasingly attractive, as the exotic becomes a commodity whose value ranks high on the world cultural stage. These examples illustrate how choreographers are invested in re-living the past on the stage by grounding their choreography in archival and ethnographic material. By placing emphasis on the idea of authenticity, artists from the region imply that what was created in the past possesses greater cultural value than the contemporary moment. Searching for and presenting authenticity on the stage is imperative for acting on behalf of the nation, as interest in the authentic means interest in the original, traditional, and historical — all aspects of culture that are increasingly used to legitimize these recently independent nation-states who tend to share a common history. The desire for authenticity mainly comes from longing for a past that is conceived as purer and more original than the present. Furthermore, standards of authenticity often objectify the past as a moment in time that is accessible through archival knowledge. Through the inclusion of various narratives, this imagining of the past is presented as drastically different than the present; this process therefore involves an equal concern with inventing and reconstructing dance events.

By exhibiting authenticity, performances of heritage express cultural nationalism through the creation of canons aligned with the national, local, and traditional qualities at once. When arranging dance for the stage, choreographers also maneuver linguistic, religious, ethnic and national identities. In this case, these types of identities do not only present a

belief in a common descent but also manage group belonging and boundaries. Through their attempt to present "the best of" their respective countries, choreographers in state troupes produced, as Shay describes, "sanitized picture postcard choreographies" (2008:15) by emphasizing the repertoire of the dominant nationalities, while the dances of minorities were and still are often disregarded. As countries that gained their independence fairly recently, dominant elites in these post-Yugoslav communities continue their search for their roots, hoping that the retrieval of assumedly "authentic" local and cultural expressions would legitimize their identities. Likewise, aware of the negative effects of globalization that they see as a cultural domination by the West, these new nation-states are invested in performances of the local, which they see as a proper medium for showcasing authenticity.

Local dance groups

The establishment of national dance ensembles created a pyramid system, where they positioned themselves as superior to amateur dance ensembles and local village dance groups. It is important to add, however, that local dance groups preceded national ensembles, while many of the dances in the repertoire of the state troupes were first performed by dance groups in the villages and later, cultural and artistic associations. With the expansion of local and amateur dance groups, not only were choreographers able to premiere new pieces on the stage, but the members of local dance groups themselves started following the trend and arranged their dances according to the state model, which eventually led to an increase in new productions and the emergence of new choreographers. However, only the choreographers associated with the dance groups in the cities were recognized and celebrated, while the local dancers who made compositions were rarely regarded as choreographers, since their artistic process was understood as only adapting pre-existing material for the stage setting. What motivated the local dancers to stage their social dances was the rise of festivals

and their subsequent alignment with heritage as tourist experience.

While local performances of dance mainly take place during social gatherings or religious events, festivals give an opportunity to the dancers to perform in front of foreign audiences. Many dance groups see these events as one of the few opportunities where they can perform and therefore exhibit their heritage in front of an audience as a set choreographic work. Usually these staged adaptations are carefully structured as short ten-minute performances that include a selection of motifs that portray an image of what the dancing might have looked like in the past. These dance performances are often assessed by a jury made up of ethnochoreologists and ethnomusicologists who judge the group based on their ability to perform an "authentic" representation of a dance event. Authenticity, as a specific aesthetic mode, "is insisted" upon in the performances of dance groups in Croatia, as it has been the basic feature for valuing and judging heritage performances since the late 1930s (Katarinčić, Niemčić and Zebec, 2009:88). Such emphasis on authenticity, especially in Croatia, began as early as the 1930s when Croatian folklorists attempted to eliminate foreign influences on folklore, promoting the notion that peasant folklore should not be altered (Ceribašić, 1998:79). For instance, Tvrtko Zebec is often asked to judge various dance heritage competitions. He adds that

> We as ethnochoreologists are very sensitive on that matter: on one hand, we are trying to vouch for maintaining "authenticity" so we can be as close to the original, and argue against stylizing and choreographing these unchangeable structures. We want the dancers to be spontaneous, but when they perform on stage, they want to appear well rehearsed, which they think is a sign of a good group. When we judge these performances, we tell them "be yourselves, don't stick to choreography." But they tend to be confused, because they look at "Lado" and all of the other bigger ensembles and ask "why can they do it and we can't?
>
> (Zebec, 2018:interview)

Zebec's statement highlights the power vested in ethnochoreologists and ethnomusicologists to judge what is proper and improper in heritage performance. The choreographers, by contrast, are rarely considered to be competent, given that they may

lack ethnographic experience and education. On the one hand, such attitudes are contradictory, as scholars who are studying social dances are placed in a position to tell local practitioners how to perform their own dances in order to generate public appeal. On the other hand, many local dance groups try their hardest to copy the national dance ensembles' aesthetics, as they are aware that such presentation is greatly admired by the audience. Ironically, dancers in the local groups have to learn a specific stage performance behavior that was imposed onto them by national dance ensembles; this process is also paradoxical since national entities try to imitate the style of village groups and dancers from the communities where the forms originally developed.

Professional dancers transform this dance behavior into a theatrical performance of heritage that is based on local practices — while local aesthetics, in themselves, are deemed insufficient and in need of reform. For instance, what is valorized is the sense of originality, whether expressed in the costumes or the style of singing or dancing, and thus is understood as different than neighboring regions. Furthermore, when the style of performing is deemed as original and real, it is perceived as the true vehicle for heritage. What is dismissed, however, is the simplicity of the choreographic form of the social dances that is often deemed as insufficient and unspectacular. In contrast, local dancers strive for a certain sense of professionalism that will make their groups more relevant to the state and heighten their chances of winning a dance festival or being invited to perform at international tours. Such opportunities provide group members with public approval, the ability to perform internationally, acquiring cultural capital and hence receiving validation for their performances. For example, Božo Žerevica, a dancer from Vrlika, notes that the choreographic structure of the Vrličko Kolo that his group "Ivan Begović" performs has changed over time. After observing "Lado's" performance of the same work, he noticed that the choreography features a part where the men lift the women up in the air while dancing,

and includes elements where the men drag and lift the last dancer in the chain. Žerevica claims that he has never seen such components in local dances, but he remembers that local ensembles started to incorporate these movements in the early 1950s when the dance became popular due to "Lado's" performances (2018:interview).

While often refusing to incorporate stylization, local dance groups incorporate narratives through which they imitate scenes from their daily lives. These scenes often include customs associated with religious holidays, labor practices, and social events. For example, during an international festival at the city of Mućin the Dalmatian Hinterland, a local dance group named "Branimir 888" performed a staged ritual that follows a storyline where the villagers "sell" the bride to her future husband. The choreography features Nijemo Kolo as an inevitable part of social and religious rituals that the maker based on his memory of such events that took place in the village where he grew up. The choreography features a narrative where the performers act as the bride's and the groom's family members, and gather at a local yard in order to propose to the bride and take her away to her future husband's home. Božo Mrđan and several other performers narrate the storyline by using microphones in order to provide context to the audience that observes the performance. As other dances wave the Croatian flag and sing a local *ojkavica,* the bride approaches her future in-laws who invite her to dance with her future husband; he must test if she has the strength to be a married woman. Once the relatives establish that she is a strong and a hard-working woman through her ability to dance with the men, they invite the rest of the wedding guests to join the dance and celebrate the occasion.

Figure 2.6: Dancers from ensemble “Branimir 888” performing a custom that includes Nijemo Kolo in 2018. Photo by the author.

The dancers follow a simple choreographic pattern and move in a circular position as couples are joined by their hands in a closed circle. The dancing appears structured in space yet, at given times, it allows for improvisation. According to Mrđan, his intent was to choreograph the ritual in order to feature the dance as an important segment of everyday life (2018:interview). Even though such rituals are no longer or rarely performed during local weddings, the performers still consider them as heritage that can only be re-lived through such performances. Such cases exemplify how staged dance heritage allows for the continuation of a disappearing practice through performance, although recontextualized from social to staged. In certain instances, such as in some cases with Kopachkata, this process is reversed; that is, local dance groups learn staged material that might be foreign to them and later include these dances within the social dance repertoire that they perform during social occasions.

I have also noticed a similar approach at an international dance festival in Skopje, during a performance of the dance group Kopachka that featured village scenes where the women knit while observing the men, who dance separately from the women. Similar gender divisions that once existed during dance events in the past are also showcased by presenting

separate performances between men and women, in which the women are often depicted as singers while the men are dancers and instrumentalists. These narratives help create a picture of what dance events in the past looked like, which therefore produces the association between the dance and the "true" performance of heritage. Moreover, these gender divisions are deeply rooted in the patriarchal upbringing that many women experienced, in which they were advised to be timid during social occasions and passively participate in the events. In contrast to this, men had more freedom in expressing their artistic capabilities. While such gender divisions may no longer exist in the same capacity, they are choreographed into the dances to give the audience a glimpse of the past and allude to the importance of preserving traditions.

Figure 2.7: Dancers from the dance group "Kopachka" performing Kopachkata at a festival in Pehchevo in 2016. Photo courtesy of dance group "Kopachka."

These examples demonstrate a division between the repertoires that determine the assumed quality of each performance, in which local dance groups become "second best" to the national ensembles. The artists who work in the national organizations purposely distance themselves from the heritage performances of local dance groups, as they often consider them "backward" because their repertoire is too "simple," and is therefore inadequate for

inclusion in the repertoire of the ensembles in the cities. While today there are numerous choreographic works that feature Kolo, Nijemo Kolo and Kopachkata, both in the repertoire of village and city dance groups, they are generally defined according to the state model, which prevents the dancers from introducing improvisation and spontaneity in their performances and requires them to abide to the standardized rules of stage presentation. Through the inclusion of narratives, dance groups incorporate specific ideologies and histories in order to portray "the people" and make social lives available to the audience through staged presentation of music and dance.

Following Richard Schechner's theory where he argues that performance never happens for the first time (1985), both local and national dance groups participate in active constructions of dance, even though the local is framed as "authentic" versus the national as a representation of the "authentic." Regardless of such interpretations, there is no unaltered quality of the staged dances, given that even the "authentic" is also constructed. Another important thing to consider is not only the content of the dance that is subject to change, but also who is changing that context, given that local dancers and choreographers often alter their repertoire and their presentation mode in accordance with the audience. Contrary to the popular belief of dancers, who claim that the repertoire they perform on the stage is authentic, the process of staging the "authentic" still involves significant altering of the dance material that might operate against notions of originality. Even though these performances are supposed to depict spontaneous and participatory dancing that takes place during social events, they still require professional execution and require that the dancers obey certain stage rules, which involve changing the dance structure to allow easy viewing for an audience.

Over the years, performing, both during social occasions and on the stage, has become one of the principle ways of safeguarding heritage, whereby performance allows for

the enlivening of heritage. Related to this discussion, Peggy Phelan argues that performance exists only in the present: any attempt to save, document, or record it fundamentally changes the performance into something else (1993:146). For Phelan, the "real" can only be implicated through the presence of living bodies (Phelan, 1993:148). Following Bojana Cvejić, who considers performance and choreography to be different but closely related modes, choreography can be considered the process of making while performance is the object of that making (Cvejić, 2015:14). Hence, dance heritage requires negotiating that dancers and choreographers are able to deliver through performance. From a performance studies perspective, performance is not only something that is pre-determined or pre-choreographed, but also an act that is being created during the process of creating.

As the political economy of heritage requires it to be choreographed, staged, and situated in front of an audience, dancers are required not only to learn the dance steps but also how to perform them in front of an audience. The recontextualization of social dance into staged heritage spectacle has created a distinction amongst the dancers, who differentiate between dancing and performing. For many dancers in the region, the act of dancing refers to the movement of the body in ways that resemble the execution of the dance motifs but only during social occasions. When dancing during social occasions, the dancers are *in situ,* which according to Diana Taylor, signifies that the meaning of the dance has to come from the context in which the actions take place (2008:94). Performing, on the other hand, happens only on stage or in a setting that requires a presentational, rather than social, context.

For many young and emerging dancers, the sole notion that there will be an audience watching the performance is what motivates many of them to join a dance group that focuses on public presentation of their heritage. The audience plays a key factor in these decisions, because without it, many dancers do not regard their social and participatory performances of the dance as performance per se. When performing on the stage, they feel inclined to perform

their dance as entertainment. It is at this time that “the performer goes from the "ordinary world" to the "performative world," from one time/space reference to another, from one personality to one or more others,” as Schechner argues (1985:126). What this means is that the dances have to be choreographed and contain some sort of narrative that has to be acted out, in order to be considered performance.

The dancers in local dance groups find themselves in a position where they adopt two personas: one of a dancer and one of a performer, given that they engage in both social and presentational occasions. In contrast, professional dancers in national ensembles engage in what Paul Schauert explains as “chameleonism,” as their identities “are often performed in ways that blend into one another and the immediate context. Such “blending in” allows these individuals to capitalize on their talents in both domestic and foreign markets” (Schauert, 2015:76). While there are many scholars in the area who believe that only these local dancers, the ones that perform the dances in a social context, are the true bearers of heritage, I have argued elsewhere[118] that the dancers in state ensembles can also be righteous bearers of heritage as they also participate in the process of safeguarding dance. When performing on stage, the dancers might not be themselves, but also, as Schechner argues, “not not themselves” (1985:4) as their identities as dancers or performers are intertwined. On the one hand, they are engaging in dancing, yet a different type of dancing that is not equal to the one during social occasions. The stage requires the dancers to be aware of the demands of the stage, which requires them to engage with the audience — an aspect of stage appearance that might make local dancers feel not themselves. On the other hand, they are willingly performing a dance that they cherish as heritage, presenting it as a dynamic culture that is part of their lives.

[118] See Petkovski, F. (2016) ‘UNESCO and the notion of “staged rituals”- The case with The National Ensemble of Folk Dances and Songs of Croatia LADO.’ *Proceedings of ICTM’s Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe: 2016 Symposium – Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria.* ICTM, pp. 222-227.

Kopachkata and Nijemo Kolo remain socially viable only within their own communities, even though they are publicly perceived as national heritage. Yet, spontaneous performances of these dances are mostly associated with religious holidays and other social occasions. Kolo, on the other hand, is popular nation-wide, since the dance can be part of any and every social event. Attending dance heritage performances is equally important as performing, as the appreciation of heritage can only be enabled through participation and its collective production. When witnessing a dance heritage performance, the experience for those familiar with the context of the performance can best be described as relational, since through it, the audience might experience a sense of identity. Audience members, who might not be members of the same ethnic group as the performers on stage, can relate on the basis of what Anderson theorizes as "imagined community" (1983). The process of imagining is deeply rooted in the idea that all members of the community share the same historical traits that makes them a nation, which means that, when imagined as heritage, the dance performed should also be appreciated because of its ties with national culture and national identity.

Towards a new aesthetic: Contemporizing heritage choreography

With the rise of contemporary dance in the post-Yugoslav republics, dance heritage choreography continues to be aligned with folklore, which automatically invokes notions of tradition. As Dean MacCannell asserts, the communities mostly associated with "traditional dances" tend to be "a class of people most favored by modernity" (1999:5). MacCannell is right to argue that socio-cultural arrangements of the non-modern world have never disappeared but have been preserved and reconstructed into modern societies (MacCannell, 1999:8). Such examples prove that the project of modernity might be an ongoing one, as many of the post-Yugoslav states are still investing in the preservation and performance of local traditions. Due to their choreographic structure, the dances I research are often perceived as opposite of contemporary, which places them low on the scale of dominant

cultural aesthetic. In contrast, contemporary dance and ballet are treated as "high art" and therefore aligned with progress and innovation. The national, traditional, and folkloric are increasingly treated as the remnants of history that cannot keep up with the pace of contemporary life.

While post-structuralist thinking has influenced choreographic practice globally, as Gabriele Klein mentions (2011:21), it has certainly not made an impact on all dances. However, in recent years, three artists from Croatia and Serbia made attempts to develop a new choreographic approach. These artists reject the standard rules of composing dance heritage and utilize different methods: they incorporate electronic music, non-traditional costumes, and use dance motifs from genres such as Nijemo Kolo or Kolo in a non-standard way.

Boris Harfman, a choreographer and a soloist in Croatia's "Lado" ensemble, has produced two such pieces for two different occasions. His works *Tanac* (2006) and *Kontrada (*2010) established a new choreographic movement in Croatia where heritage is only used as an inspiration for creating contemporary works. After creating a new music label entitled *Lado Electro* that mixes local music styles with electronic music, Harfman wanted to experiment with choreography as well. When creating *Tanac*, Harfman chose what he explains as the most attractive and representative Croatian dances that never fail to amuse the audience. In *Kontrada,* he uses dance formations from Vrličko Kolo, as he considers this "a classic" choreography that the audience knows well. Harfman goes on to say that:

> I respect heritage and I am doing my best to safeguard it, through the model that "Lado" practices, but I also think that this new approach is also a type of safeguarding — presenting heritage in front of an audience through a different approach, to an audience that might not follow "Lado's" work. In any case, it makes people curious to find out what this is, and because of their curiosity, learn something new. When they see my other choreographies, they might say "a ha, this is the way people dance in Croatia" but when they see *Tanac* and *Kontrada*, they will realize that this is a modern approach in relating to heritage.
>
> (Harfman, 2019:interview)

Harfman does not mind that other dance groups started to copy this style and create works that resemble his. It is important for him that choreographers adhere to authenticity, but also invent new ways through which heritage will become appealing to younger audiences. Harfman hopes that his creations will inspire future choreographers, but does not believe that the performance style of dance heritage in Croatia will change anytime soon.

Figure 2.8: Dancers from the Croatian national ensemble "Lado" performing *Kontrada* in 2010. Photo courtesy of Boris Harfman.

Similar to Harfman, ethnomusicologist Mirjana Raić Tepić and dancemaker Marko Dubovac made attempts to introduce a new style of heritage choreography in Serbia. Their work *Melting Pot* (2018) critiques the conventional approach by allowing the dancers to improvise when performing and participate in the process of generating choreographic material. By making this work, Raić Tepić says that they wanted to provoke the audience and Serbian dance artists. In their piece, the choreographers improvise by deconstructing various Serbian social dances, including Kolo; incorporate Italian classical music; include narratives where the dancers act out various scenes from village life; and invent new dance motifs that are not necessarily linked to any community. In general, they approach choreography in a way that conventional choreographers might find improper and irreverent.

Figure 2.9: Dancers from the folk dance department in Novi Sad performing *Melting Pot* in 2018. Photo courtesy of Jelena Janković.

As Raić Tepić states:

> We wanted to allude to some of these problems where dancers are taught to behave a certain way and to dance, stand, and walk a certain way. Some people liked it, some didn't. People resist because they don't understand. But is important, that things like this happen often, so we can provoke a certain generation of choreographers and maybe influence the way they think. It has been seventy years since ensemble Kolo was founded, and there is nothing new! No new approaches!
>
> (Raić Tepić, 2019:interview)

Raić Tepić critiques the choreography curriculum of folk dance departments in Serbia, as she thinks they are based on a dated approach to heritage choreography:

> In Serbia, we have this thing called choreography of folk dance but we don't exactly know what that includes and what it doesn't. We first established national ensembles, and after 30-40 years we have schools that train professional dancers. I would stand by my opinion, even though it might be elitist, but I see choreography as a work of art, rather than assembling [a] few kolo dances into [a] certain type of formation that lasts fifteen minutes. I see heritage as a source for creating art.
>
> (Raić Tepić, 2019:interview)

Such approaches towards choreographing dance heritage further question the notions of authenticity and spectacle. Instead, by utilizing new and experimental approaches, the

aforementioned choreographers believe that they use heritage in a way that relates more appropriately to younger audiences, as it incorporates innovation and freedom in the creative approach. This model resembles what Emily Wilcox theorizes as dynamic inheritance — that is, a process of inheriting and developing where "individual artists act as agents or stewards in the handing down of tradition, by following a process whose success is measured not by how strictly existing forms are preserved, but, rather, by how well they are made to speak to and be appreciated by contemporary audiences" (2018:77). Even though the choreographers' mission might not necessarily be to preserve dance, they use their creativity to influence the dominant discourse around choreography that tends to be perceived as static and unchanging. While other choreographic works are often placed in the ambiguous category of "folk"[119] that implies traditionalism, these new pieces can be considered contemporary because they seemingly adhere to Western cultural and choreographic aesthetics. Such an example demonstrates that notions of contemporaneity are usually associated with artistic and choreographic developments in the West that are mainstreamed within these countries.

The constant emphasis on the romanticized past contradicts the rhetoric of contemporaneity and avant-garde that aspire to be ahead of their time. Yet, these approaches often abandon their cultural resources in favor of joining a cosmopolitan dance elite and subscribing to Western cultural imperialism in the process. As Nicholas Rowe points out, "being denied the label "contemporary" can feel like being denied a collective cultural visa to the twenty-first century; rejecting the term "modern" can appear to be an obstinate yet doomed refusal to accept the passage of time" (2009:45). Through an approach that he conceptualizes as post-salvagism, Nicholas Rowe suggests that cultural heritage should be re-examined from its dislocated past and incorporated into the needs of a contemporary social

[119] As opposed to *narodne igre* (the peoples' dances), Vujanović links contemporary dance with the emancipation of the individual in capitalist societies and liberation of the artist's body through expressiveness, creativity, and innovation. She further argues that, socialist societies considered these values as a bourgeoise luxury, as the accent was placed on the collective experience on dance (Vujanović, 2014:63).

environment (2009:58- 59). To date, in the Balkans, there have not been any attempts to recontextualize contemporary choreographic works into national ones, mostly because these productions eschew the idea of tradition and have never been elevated to a status that aligns them with national significance. The discursive exclusion of contemporary dance works from national culture in the Balkans, or from UNESCO's Representative list, might be due to the fact that such works promote "presentism" and novelty (Cvejić, 2015:5), which might not compliment the cultural logic of heritage.

As choreographers continue to focus on what Francesca Castaldi describes as a "ethnographic mode of representation" (2006:33), dance ensembles continue to utilize choreography as a medium for raising awareness about heritage appreciation. However, rather than alienating their Socialist Yugoslav past, Macedonian, Serbian, and Croatian choreographers and dancers continue to follow the old model of heritage performance that remains dominant to this day.[120] Even though it is no longer used to advance Communism, collecting and choreographing folklore remains as one of the most important tasks of dance scholars and choreographers, who are now invested in establishing post-Socialist identities through their performance of national heritage.

Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I demonstrated how choreographers, often driven by the current political ideologies of the nation state, staged and choreographed dance in order to make dance heritage accessible to wider audiences. By using different aesthetic modes, whether emphasizing the importance of authenticity or transforming local traditions into spectacle, choreographers also contribute to the process of safeguarding heritage and allow for the slowly disappearing rural dances to continue to live and be cherished by the nation state in a

[120] See Hofman, A. (2011) "Questioning socialist folklorization: The Beltinci Folklore Festival in the Slovenian borderland of Prekmurje." in Pistrick, E. et al. (eds.) *Audiovisual Media and Identity Issues in Southeastern Europe.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing. pp. 238-257.

new form. Both authenticity and spectacle are purposely produced, not only as commodity, but also as aesthetic ideals aimed for entertaining and educating the nation about its history and roots. Contrary to the beliefs of many dancers, choreographers, and dance scholars who envision dance heritage as unchanging and insist on a certain mode of presentation, new and emerging choreographers dare to experiment and present social dances through new and contemporary approaches.

These examples prove that archiving is only one way through which dance heritage can be preserved from oblivion, while they emphasize that performance provides the possibility for traditions to remain a viable and important aspect of people's lives. While the dances may no longer be performed socially as they once were, they continue to live on through their inclusion in local and national staged repertoires, where they are rehearsed and performed by dancers outside of the community context. The process of safeguarding and cherishing dance as heritage, however, requires mutual participation by both the performers and the spectators. As they remain in the public image, in literature, media, and performance, the dances that I mention are slowly transitioning towards becoming a cultural brand that nation states use in order to promote themselves internationally. Such examples include their long-aspired UNESCO recognitions, on which I elaborate in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Safeguarding Dance Heritage

> Whoever speaks of culture speaks of administration as well, whether this is his intention or not. The combination of so many things lacking a common denominator – such as philosophy and religion, science and art, forms of conduct and mores – and finally the inclusion of the objective spirit of an age in the single word 'culture' betrays from the outset the administrative view, the task of which, looking down from on high, is to assemble, distribute, evaluate and organize.
>
> (Adorno, 1991:107)

Nijemo Kolo, July 1st, 2011—Zagreb, Croatia

It is the day of Croatia's accession to the European Union. The Ban Jelačić square in Zagreb is crammed with people who came to celebrate one of the most important events in Croatia's history. As I observe the televised event, the camera pans down to a section where politicians, diplomats, and government and religious representatives sing the Croatian anthem with the pride and dignity that this special event calls for. Following an enormous round of applause, a woman dressed in a local costume from Vrlika approaches the stage and starts singing an Ojkavica — a type of singing listed by UNESCO in 2010 as a practice in need of urgent safeguarding. She puts her hands on her abdomen, one on top of the other, and lets her voice tremble while she looks at the distance. Immediately following is a performance of the national ensemble's "Lado" Vrličko Kolo. There is silence in the audience and silence on stage. One can only hear the echo of the hard footsteps as the dancers hit the stage floor and as the sound of metal coins dictate the rhythm of the movement. The dancers engage in a two-minute performance and maintain a serious look on their faces, as the occasion calls for. Every movement is carefully practiced and executed, with such precision that only professionals can do. It is not only Croatian heritage, but, even more important, Europe's and humanity's intangible cultural heritage, as announced in the program. To strengthen the idea of how culturally rich this country is, the video projector shuffles through photos and videos of some of Croatia's most notable landmarks and sites. As the Nijemo Kolo performance ends, another commences. A contemporary dance. After it, intangible cultural heritage again. And so on, back and forth. The people are shouting "Življela Hrvatska!" (Long live Croatia!). It has been two hours and the audience is slowly leaving the square.

Kopachkata, November 13th, 2014—Skopje, Macedonia

I am rushing towards the "Museum of the Macedonian Struggle for Sovereignty and Independence" to attend the Ministry of Culture's press conference in honor of the inscription of the Kopachkata dance at UNESCO's Representative List. In the room where the press conference is supposed to begin, I notice many representatives from the Ministry of Culture and other non-governmental organizations involved with heritage protection. "As you can see, when science and culture work together, there are always great results"— says heritage expert Velika Stojkova Serafimovska, as she takes questions from the journalists in the audience. After several speeches from the people associated with the inscription, we are waiting in the conference hall for a performance by the dancers from the Kopachka ensemble. Dressed in their local attire, seven male dancers and two drummers approach the tile floor. It is an unusual set up for them since they are not dancing on a proper stage. The drummers hit the drum softer and the dancers are careful with their leg movements, trying not to slip on the floor. They keep "digging" with their feet, but there is no dust coming up from the ground into the air, as it would in a usual performance. Vividly excited, Persa Stojanovska, the only female representative from the group, joins the dancers at the end of the chain. She is the only woman in the history of the group that has taken the initiative to revive the female version of the dance. An amazing dancer too! It is a moment to celebrate and it is a moment that they all have been waiting for. The photographers keep flashing their cameras. The next day, I read in the newspaper: "Kopachkata - intangible cultural heritage of humanity!"

Kolo, December 8th, 2017—Belgrade, Serbia

Dobro jutro Srbija! (Good morning Serbia!) — A morning talk show on the Serbian Happy TV where the hosts announce that Kolo has been inscribed as Intangible Cultural Heritage of humanity by UNESCO, along with the Viennese Waltz. The guests in the studio are the director of the national ensemble of Serbia "Kolo," an accordion player, and a representative from the Serbian Ethnographic Museum, invited to discuss the dance. A moment of national pride! Strangely, there are no dance groups that are invited to perform in the studio. After all, Kolo is apparently something that everyone knows, that everyone has performed at a certain point in their lives, including the five people in the studio. "How many other heritage practices were we competing against?" — asks the host. "In the initial phase there were fifty elements, but after the elimination rounds, only thirty- five have made the list"— responds the museum representative. For the TV hosts, who are not too familiar with UNESCO's Representative list, this is yet another competition where Serbia managed to win. As they talk about the dance in a very informal setting, each of the guests reflects on their experiences with Kolo, while in the background the audience sees excerpts from concerts of the national ensemble. "Can a foreigner learn how to dance Kolo better than a Serb?"— asks the host. They all reply — "never!" The show continues by featuring a short documentary film that was produced and prepared by the national "Kolo" troupe and used for the application process. The narrator reads about the history of the dance while the documentary features various instances where dancing takes place at different social occasions. Kolo, as I have been repeatedly told, is truly everywhere.

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In contrast to the previous ethnographic excerpts, in which I explored social and staged performances of the dances, these ethnographic excerpts refer to performances and events where the dances are formally recognized as the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) of humanity. In the previous chapters, I demonstrated that the dances that I research have a long-documented history, passed from one generation onto another, which makes them suitable for ICH inscription — a process that I will analyze in detail. The ICH status follows similar philosophies as the theoretical conceptualizations of culture as ordinary (Williams, 1958) and as a practice of everyday life (de Certeau, 1984): it mostly, although not always, targets cultural practices that take part of the everyday lives of the people who practice them as ordinary. I argue that the process of listing the ordinary, the common, and the local as national produces much-needed recognition for newly created nation-states who use their dance heritage to legitimize their culture and identity. Cultural heritage, then, is celebrated and valued worldwide because it contributes to the production of regional, national, and European identity, but also because of its ability to produce cultural and economic capital.

I argue that in order to be transformed into ICH, dances undergo a process of heritagization — a process that confirms that cultural heritage is not an *a priori* feature of the practices themselves, but rather the value that is ascribed to them. This process implies the gradual re-contextualization and canonization of dance or any other cultural practice into a formal status of heritage by aligning it with cultural policies and conventions and inscribing it on UNESCO's heritage lists. While I make comparisons between the process of folklorization that took place in the second half of the twentieth century and the process of heritagization that is taking force post 2000, I demonstrate that such attempts to safeguard heritage are not a novelty, but are rather a continuous process that has been initiated by the European Romantics.

In this chapter, I focus on the post-Yugoslav period, or, to be precise, the cultural developments in post-2000 independent Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia. Followed by a period of bloody conflicts and ethnic cleansing, these post-Yugoslav states engaged in various process of nation-building and affirming distinct national, religious, and cultural identities, histories, and languages that had to be received as different than their neighboring countries. Some of the more important political development include Croatia's ascension to the European Union[121] in 2013; Macedonia has been a candidate for inclusion in the EU since 2005 and Serbia has been a candidate since 2011.

In order to analyze the heritagization process, I focus on UNESCO's 2003 Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. I comment on and critique both its overall purpose and the centrality of the process of listing and safeguarding dance. In order to provide a better understanding of what these processes entail and how the concept of ICH is tied to various bureaucratic processes, I focus on and analyze the personal experiences of scholars and heritage experts who were involved in creating the applications for these dances to be formally recognized as ICH. In the preceding discussions, I demonstrated how the local context supplies the cultural practice but also how the national context appropriates cultural practices. In this chapter, I show how dance, through its inscription in UNESCO's Representative List, is contextualized not only as European heritage, which establishes a sense of European identity, but also as global heritage, which legitimizes the practice and reinforces the other three levels of identification.

My argument emerges from personal experiences of attending heritage-related conferences, workshops, symposiums and events, sponsored by several European

[121] The European Union is an economic and political entity that consists of 27 European member states who have agreed to act as one. The idea of a United Europe was initiated with the founding of the Council of Europe in 1949, followed by the Treaty of Rome in 1957 that sought the creation of the European Economic Community. The European Union was formally established by signing the Maastricht Treaty in 1993 that gave birth to the European Community and allowed for enlarging the Union. In 2002, the euro became the official currency of the member states.

organizations, which aimed to spread heritage awareness and facilitate the involvement and training of young heritage managers. I see these events as part of a larger plan to cherish and celebrate not only local and national, but also a European and cosmopolitan identity. Moreover, I argue that the process of listing culture through a platform provided by an international organization such as UNESCO is not only an attempt for these recently independent countries to affirm their national identities, but also, through the process of commodifying dance, to transform their dances into brands for the purpose of producing cultural and economic capital. Such processes were also evident during the socialist period as social dances were used as national markers to represent "the people." However, these dances achieve increased value in the context of intangible cultural heritage, as the term ICH itself is more marketable due to its link to globalization. Lastly, I emphasize how ensuring heritage for the future has been not only a task of community members, who are obliged to pass it onto the next generations, but serves as one of UNESCO's most important goals.

Heritagizing dance

The news of their successful inscription in UNESCO's Representative List[122] briefly placed Kopachkata, Kolo, and Nijemo Kolo at the center of media attention as soon as the results were official. As the dances became the headline of many newspapers in their respective countries of origin, the dancers and the experts involved in their inscription were invited to perform on television and explain the inscription process. When discussing Kolo's recognition, Serbian TV reporters would proudly announce "our Kolo passed all of the elimination rounds. Kolo is danced around the world, but UNESCO's Kolo is only performed by us" (Happy BSC portal, 2017). In another talk show, heritage experts reported that "it is of great importance that we safeguarded Kolo, because it means that we are

[122] The list can be accessed through the following link: https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists

recognized in the world" (JMU Radio-televizija Vojvodine, 2017). Similarly, commenting on UNESCO's inscription, the reporter announces that "this year, among the Viennese Waltz, we have Kolo as well. Among Tango and Rumba, Kolo is something that is now globally recognized" (Srbija u Kadru, 2017).

Figure 3.1: Screenshot from www.blic.rs that reads "UNESCO: The Serbian Kolo is new cultural heritage of humanity."

According to the website of the Ministry of Culture of Macedonia, following a press conference regarding the UNESCO inscription of Kopachkata, the Minister of Culture Elizabeta Kancheska Milevska reported that "Macedonia has once again legitimized its own culture, tradition, and identity in the global world" (Kultura, 2014). Following up, Ministry representative Lidija Topuzovska mentioned that "ICH is at risk because of globalization and the constant loss of the real values of culture that are slowly disappearing. Through dances like Kopachkata, we are presenting the identity of our nation and our state" (Mkd.mk, 2014). In a different interview for a national TV channel, Velika Stojkova Serafimovska claims that "by inscribing Kopachkata at UNESCO, we are also inscribing and marking our existence as a country" (Kanal 5, 2014).

Figure 3.2: Screenshot from www.kultura.gov.mk that reads “The Macedonian dance “Kopachka” on the Representative List of UNESCO.

“After inscribing ten other Croatian elements, UNESCO has included Nijemo Kolo as part of the World Heritage” (Dnevnik, 2011) — reads the headline of “Dnevnik,” one of Croatia’s most read newspapers. While reporting on the acceptance of the dance, the radio program “Slobodna Dalmacija” (Free Dalmatia) announced that “Vrličko Kolo witnesses our identity”. Commenting on behalf of the dance ensemble where she works as an artistic director, Dunja Turudić commented that:

> After the great Serbian occupation of the Vrlika region in August 1991, we were expelled from our homes and resided in the hotel “Marjan” in Split. During those days, we gathered our children and started practicing the Vrličko Kolo. We didn’t know what our destiny will be, but we wanted to teach them, and through the dance create for them a sense of identity, as the dance itself witnesses about our Vrlika

> identity. The dance is the most important part of our repertoire — every other dance can be ignored, but not this one, the dance that every child and the oldest of Vrlika people should know.
>
> (Slobodnadalmacija.hr, 2011)

In another report, the journalist Predrag Lucić wrote "Twelve points for Croatia! As we inscribed Nijemo Kolo, Croatia is now third on the list, after China and Japan, as a country with most safeguarded elements" (Novi list, 2011).

Figure 3.3: Screenshot from www.hkm.hr that reads "Nijemo Kolo- From the Dalmatian Hinterland to the world stage."

These are only a few examples that signal different perceptions of why UNESCO's inscription is appreciated by the people directly and indirectly involved with heritage safeguarding, regardless of their background as heritage experts, scholars, dancers, government officials, news anchors, or journalists. However, what is considered heritage today was not always regarded as such. While the project of modernity,[123] as I discussed in

[123] In his work entitled *The Age of Empire*, Eric Hobsbawm focuses on "advanced" Imperial Europe who dominated the "backward" colonies where, as opposed to old European emperies, imperialism that was rooted in capitalism was new, and had the mission of territorial division of the world by the capitalist powers. The process

the first chapter, involved assembling rural populations for the purpose of constructing a collective national identity, it also enabled the inclusion, and the appropriation, of their culture and traditions. The alignment of folklore and the formation of nation states in the nineteenth century, and, as I explain in this chapter, the alignment of heritage with cultural policies and conventions in the twenty-first century, indicate that folklore and heritage are similar concepts that are used for, among other things, the construction and affirmation of national identity. What is common about both folklore and heritage is that they are both ideologies, rooted in nineteenth century Western European aims to glorify the past and the cultural traditions as worthy of preservation and promotion. One of the major differences between the folklore and the heritage model, however, is the intent of their production.

During the heyday of folklore production in the nineteenth century, the collecting and archiving of songs, proverbs, dances, and rituals was a political project intended to provide the nation-state with a sense of history and identity rooted in local cultural expressions. While somewhat similar, the ICH model simultaneously recognizes the specific nation state from where the practice emanates and produces it as a status-bearing practice that emphasizes the unity of human cultures and the idea of global cultural commons.[124] As I demonstrate throughout this dissertation, both folklore and ICH rely on the construction of an archive and a repertoire that are used to disseminate knowledge; however, the ICH model stresses the importance of cultural preservation to ensure continuity in the future whereas the folklore model does not, given its emphasis on "freezing" cultures. In contrast to the preservationist

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of creating such hegemonic relationship dramatized the triumph of classes and societies and created a distinction between the bourgeoisie and the peasantry (Hobsbawm, 1987:81). Jens Richard Giersdorf further argues that this domination of Europe by bourgeois capitalist values is a product of modernity and it is inseparable momentum of the formation of the nation state (2013:52), while Andrew Baruch Wachtel adds that the modernist philosophical idealist views have strong ties to Romanticism (1998:8).

[124] As I have argued in my Introduction, prior to the adoption of the 2003 Convention, UNESCO adopted the Recommendation of the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore in 1989. Guided by the over politicization of the term (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998a; Miller, 1990; Hafstein, 2007; Anttonen, 2005), in the 1990s, UNESCO abandoned the term "folklore" and replaced with the term Intangible Cultural Heritage (Hafstein, 2018:14).

tendencies of the folklore model, the ICH model suggests safeguarding, which entails "…measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage" (UNESCO, 2003:6).

Diana Taylor regards UNESCO's process of safeguarding ICH as a transfer of material from the lived repertoire into the official archive (2003:23); however, she critiques UNESCO for following a salvage ethnography approach, whereby heritage would disappear without official intervention. While salvaging[125] focuses on documenting and archiving, the process of safeguarding places emphasis on ensuring sustainability by supporting the conditions that are necessary for their cultural reproduction (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006:164). These conditions, for instance, include recognition on national and international levels, financial support from the state, and organizing festivals and workshops through which the dancers can learn or continue transmitting the dance. Hence, UNESCO does not strive to preserve the dance, which cannot be sustained without its practitioners, but to instead provide the dancers with the necessary means of keeping the dance as a living practice, thereby ensuring its continuity in the future.

No cultural practice is ICH by itself. ICH is a status — a much-needed status for new nation-states that desire certain cultural practices like dance to be internationally visible and marketable. The inclination to identify choreographed social dance with ICH criteria is that dance has a special status compared to other artistic forms: given that it incorporates music and traditional musical instruments, rituals, costumes, and theatrical narratives, these types of performances stand out, as they are able to depict the nation's rich cultural traditions. ICH,

[125] The salvage ethnography approach is mostly associated with anthropologist Franz Boas (1940; 1962) and his disciples who were engaged in recording and archiving vanishing cultures. The term was coined by Jacob Gruber (1970) in response to ethnographers who were associated with preserving local languages disappearing in the face of colonialism.

however, is a discourse that is not created by practitioners, but by global cultural institutions and heritage experts[126] that dictate its future development through various bureaucratic processes and conventions. Even though, as I argue later in this chapter, dance practitioners lobbied and were responsible for the promotion of the concept of ICH, they did not participate in the creation of the discourse, but rather in its dissemination.

In order for the dances to become ICH, they undergo a phase that has been referred to as "heritagization" — a process that transforms and legitimizes cultural practices, objects, and sites as heritage and produces new sets of value. More specifically, the dance is taken out of its context and it is listed amongst other similar, carefully selected representative cultural examples whose value is dependent on the fact that, when listed together, they produce a sense of internationally acclaimed cultural heritage of humanity.[127] Once this value is produced, it is used for acquiring cultural capital, boosting economies by transforming heritage into experience or by making national cultural brands. These new sets of value, however, are not ascribed by the practitioners themselves, but by government institutions and authorizing cultural agencies who purposefully intend to transform everyday life into internationally renowned heritage.

To label a certain practice as heritage is less a description than an intervention[128], given that once the practice adopts its ICH status, it is objectified and recontextualized with reference to other practices that are also labeled as heritage (Hafstein, 2014:36). Yet, in order to be safeguarded, ICH must be considered long-lasting and imply continuity between the

[126] While I acknowledge the fact that dance practitioners can also be regarded as heritage experts, I use the term to refer to professionals such as dance and music researchers, ethnochoreologists, ethnomusicologists, folklorists, representatives from the ministries of culture or other similar institutions that are directly involved in the process of researching and safeguarding heritage.

[127] For similar discussions about objects of ethnography being recontextualized outside of their general cultural placement, see Kirshenblatt- Gimblett, Barbara. (1998) *Destination Culture*: *Tourism, Museums, Heritage.* University of California Press.

[128] Such examples point to the performative power (Austin, 1962) of the 2003 Convention, given that certain cultural practices are only acknowledged as ICH if they fulfill certain criteria listed in the official document that has the power to formally recontextualize the practice.

past, present, and the future. One of the major differences between the processes of folklorization and heritagization is that folklorization objectifies the past by placing emphasis on past cultural practices that might no longer be vital in the communities in which they were practiced. In contrast, the process of heritagization places emphasis on current and living traditions which promise continuity and provide their practitioners with a sense of identity and belonging.

Despite the dominant and legible differences between folklore and ICH, the policies or approaches of ICH extend and elaborate on previous theorizations of folklore. While they are both in service to the nation-state to which they belong, the safeguarding of heritage mostly targets communities made up of practitioners who are continually engaged in keeping their traditions alive. The folklore model, on the other hand, places emphasis on recording, but also freezing cultural practices. For instance, once Kopachkata, or any other social dances were first recorded, the folklorists responsible for their inclusion in the archive focused on archiving the exact form of the dance that they encountered in the field. Once these dances ceased to exist as living cultural practice, they were revived in order to be included in stage repertoire. Finally, the ICH model is a product of global cultural policies that stress inclusive social development, peace, social cohesion and equity, gender equality, inclusive economic development, human rights, and cultural diversity.

While the discourse and the production of heritage have been conceptually linked to modernity, heritage appreciation and safeguarding can be considered attempts to reintroduce and adapt heritage practices into late-capitalist societies. As Ana Hofman states, after the collapse of Yugoslavia and its transformation into seven capitalist societies, the newly formed post-Yugoslav republics did not automatically eradicate their past but instead retained and foregrounded a great deal of continuity, especially within the cultural sector (2011:238-239). Hence, it is only understandable that the post-Yugoslav independent states of

Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia would invest in the production and the safeguarding of heritage forms as they intend to establish for themselves national and cultural identities rooted in these practices. While the previous socialist model aimed to create culture from the people for the people, the production of heritage today follows a similar model as it intends to be aligned with national culture. Therefore, heritage appreciation as an investment in culture that is created by the people can be regarded as a continuation from this socialist past, as it is essentially the same dynamic, framed in terms of a different ideology.

Inscribing dance as ICH

"Cultural heritage is not only about the buildings and monuments of the past — it is also about the rich traditions that have been passed down the generations. As vehicles of identity and social cohesion, this intangible cultural heritage also needs to be protected and promoted" (UNESCO, 2003:1). These are the first two sentences of the Foreword of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, written by Director-General of UNESCO, Audrey Azoulay. While ICH requires protection, but also promotion, it emphasizes traditions that are passed through generations that mediate ideas around identity and social cohesion. All of these keywords have been instrumental in the heritage discourse, not only during the present moment but throughout history, dating back to the eighteenth century when similar issues were discussed by the European Romantics. Such examples demonstrate that ICH is not a new idea, nor a concern that has taken force in recent history. Rather, they allude to the continuity of these concerns, which have been re-packaged and re-imagined into new terminology based on international laws, such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966. Some of the key purposes of the 2003 Convention is to safeguard ICH, ensure respect for the

communities and individuals involved, to raise awareness on local, national, and international scales about its importance, and to provide international cooperation and assistance (UNESCO, 2003:5).

In order for the dances to become officially recognized ICH, the concerned state parties are required to ratify the 2003 Convention.[129] The dance and the community of practitioners have to undergo a lengthy bureaucratic procedure that can take up to two years. The process of inscription[130] commences once the community expresses their concern to the government ministries of culture that: A) the dance is in critical condition and requires measures that will assure its urgent safeguarding,[131] as it is disappearing — that is, no longer performed socially by its customary practitioners or; B) the dance is a vital part of the community and therefore requires national and international recognition. By deciding to pursue the inscription process, state parties are obliged to ensure the viability and visibility of a certain cultural practice and "take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage" (UNESCO, 2003:9).[132] Community members are advised to contact local authorities who, on behalf of the practitioners, contact representatives from the ministry of culture in a given country to help them apply for the ICH status.

[129] The 2003 ICH Convention differs from the previous conventions, mentioned in the Introduction, as it promotes "representative" rather than "outstanding" values or "masterpieces" of humanity, hence, carefully avoiding hierarchy.

[130] For a detailed explanation of the overall process, see Smeets, R. and Deacon, H. (2017) 'The examination of nomination files under the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage.' in Steffano, L. M. and Davis, P. (eds.) *The Routledge companion to intangible cultural heritage.* London and New York: Routledge, pp. 22-39.

[131] Despite listing representative elements of culture, The 2003 Convention also established a List of Elements in Need of Urgent Safeguarding whose requirements include that: "(a) The element is in urgent need of safeguarding because its viability is at risk despite the efforts of the community, group or, if applicable, individuals and State(s) Party(ies) concerned; or (b) The element is in extremely urgent need of safeguarding because it is facing grave threats as a result of which it cannot be expected to survive without immediate safeguarding" (UNESCO, 2003:27). Croatia has listed the *Ojkanje* singing as an element in need of urgent safeguarding in 2010, while Macedonia has listed the *Glasoechko* male two-part singing in Dolni Polog in 2014.

[132] These measures involve "the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage" (UNESCO, 2003:6).

After ratifying the 2003 Convention, state parties are required to identify ICH that is present in their territories and create registries of heritage practices that are recognized on the national level.[133] These inventories are assembled by scholars who map living cultural practices, or practices that need urgent safeguarding, that are present within the political borders of the nation-state. In a sense, this procedure entails archiving culture and therefore continues the ongoing archival process that scholars in Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia have engaged with since the late eighteenth century. What is different, however, is that this archive no longer contains stored proverbs, songs, and dances that are viable aspects of local culture, but rather, living heritage that is still performed by its practitioners to this day. It is also important to emphasize that the researchers and scholars employed at national research institutions have the power to decide what cultural practices are included in the list, unless requested by the practitioners themselves.

The following step is the preparation of the application[134] that involves the discursive construction of the cultural practice through textual means. Some of the requirements and the questions in the application include a brief summary description of the cultural practice that also includes the identification of the practitioners. The application must state how the knowledge and skills are transmitted today, as well as what social and cultural functions and meanings the element currently has for its community. Furthermore, the application must state how the inscription will contribute to the practice's visibility and raise awareness of its importance at the local, national and international levels; how it will encourage dialogue among communities; and how it will promote respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. Finally, the application must include explanation of how the practice was

[133] The Croatian registry is available at the following link: https://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/ while the Serbian registry is available at http://www.heritage.gov.rs/latinica/nepokretna_kulturna_dobra.php. The Macedonian registry has not been active since 2018 and is not posted online.

[134] The full text of the requirements for the applications can be accessed through the following link: https://ich.unesco.org/en/forms.

safeguarded, that is, what measures are proposed to help to ensure that the element's viability is not jeopardized in the future. It is also important to add how the communities have been involved in planning the proposed safeguarding measures and how will they continue to be involved in their implementation. The application also has to include a detailed action plan and a budget, while it also has to prove that the proposed cultural practice is compatible with human rights and the principles of UNESCO.

While the practitioners are also allowed to submit the application on their behalf, the language and the requirements of the applications from 2009 onward have become very complex, detailed, and often require training. Egil Bakka asserts that, at the time its construction, the 2003 Convention text was meant to be accessible not only to academics but to practitioners as well (2015:136). For instance, many of the dancers in the communities where I conducted my research do not speak or write in English, so they are unable to initiate the process. Instead, they rely on the help of NGOs or research institutions whose employees undergo trainings, often organized by UNESCO representatives who help them tackle the intricate language of the 2003 Convention and understand the application criteria. Therefore, the decision as to whether the dance becomes UNESCO-recognized ICH lies in the hands of experts whose imprecise explanations or failure to abide by UNESCO standards might result in unsuccessful inscriptions. Failing to satisfy UNESCO criteria does not only mean that the dance was "not good enough" to become recognized as ICH, but can instead suggest that the application used improper language. Such examples reveal that the value of discourse is central and often overrides the value of the living heritage practice. Furthermore, members of the communities who are engaged in these heritage practices usually do not have much of a say, as it often happens that their unfamiliarity with such bureaucratic processes makes them dependent on experts and government officials who act on their behalf.

Once the heritage experts prepare the application, they send it to representatives from the Ministry of Culture in the given country, where it has to be signed by the minister and sent to the UNESCO Secretariat.[135] The Secretariat, then, evaluates if the application is complete, that is, if it includes the written consent of the practitioners who give their permission for the dance to be inscribed; written proof that the practice is included in a national inventory; as well as the inclusion of photographs and video material that support the application. If the materials are complete, the Secretariat makes a recommendation that is sent to the Evaluation Body. According to the text of the 2003 Convention

> The Evaluation Body shall be composed of twelve members appointed by the Committee: six experts qualified in the various fields of the intangible cultural heritage representatives of States Parties non-Members of the Committee and six accredited non-governmental organizations, taking into consideration equitable geographical representation and various domains of intangible cultural heritage.
>
> (UNESCO, 2003:32)

If the Evaluation Body considers the application as acceptable and fulfilling of all the requirements, they form a recommendation that is sent to the Committee[136] who has the power to endorse and list or refuse the element during their annual meeting. State parties are required to periodically submit reports in which they elaborate whether they have taken the

[135] As stated on their website "UNESCO's Living Heritage Entity assumes the function of the Secretariat of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (c.f. Article 10), and is working with all Member States of UNESCO, including those not party to the Convention. The work of the Secretariat is performed under the authority of the Director-General and in accordance with the Approved Programme and Budget adopted by the Organization's General Conference." Available at https://ich.unesco.org/en/secretariat-00032.

[136] As stated on their website "The core functions of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage are to promote the objectives of the Convention, provide guidance on best practices and make recommendations on measures for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage. The Committee examines requests submitted by States Parties for the inscription of intangible heritage on the Lists as well as proposals for programmes and projects. The Committee is also in charge of granting international assistance. The Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage prepares the implementation of the Convention, mainly through the elaboration of a set of operational directives and of a plan for the use of the resources of the Fund for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, established by Article 25 of the Convention. It submits these documents for approval to the General Assembly." Available at https://ich.unesco.org/en/functions-00586.

proposed measures,[137] listed in their application, that contribute towards the safeguarding and viability of the cultural practice at stake.

This example represents the process of recontextualization through which dance becomes text, as the ICH status relies on how the dance is narrated and represented. Reflecting on his experience as a former president and member of the Committee, Egil Bakka comments that "we were not evaluating dances, but we were evaluating files. We were not allowed to get in touch with the country in question and we were also not allowed to look at the files that are sent from the countries where we live. We leave the meeting and we don't get access to the file at all" (Bakka, 2017:interview). According to him, the dance knowledge that is embedded in the application is examined as a file that consists of written text, photography and video that should provide the evaluators with a sense that the practice is truly a representative element; direct contact with the practitioners is impossible. However, committee members are not required to possess any previous knowledge of the dance in question in order to evaluate it, but rather, to evaluate if the text is convincing for the dance to be further regarded as ICH.

Nijemo Kolo was inscribed as ICH at the Sixth Session of the Committee in 2011. According to Tvrtko Zebec who worked on the application, Croatia's Minister of Culture wished to inscribe as many elements as possible in 2006, as he felt that the UNESCO criteria were still not very well defined. After sending sixteen applications, of which only seven were

[137] The Convention states that "To ensure the safeguarding, development and promotion of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, each State Party shall endeavour to: (a) adopt a general policy aimed at promoting the function of the intangible cultural heritage in society, and at integrating the safeguarding of such heritage into planning programmes; (b) designate or establish one or more competent bodies for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory; (c) foster scientific, technical and artistic studies, as well as research methodologies, with a view to effective safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, in particular the intangible cultural heritage in danger; (d) adopt appropriate legal, technical, administrative and financial measures aimed at: (i) fostering the creation or strengthening of institutions for training in the management of the intangible cultural heritage and the transmission of such heritage through forums and spaces intended for the performance or expression thereof; (ii) ensuring access to the intangible cultural heritage while respecting customary practices governing access to specific aspects of such heritage; (iii) establishing documentation institutions for the intangible cultural heritage and facilitating access to them" (UNESCO, 2003:9).

inscribed, Zebec along with Joško Ćaleta continued working on the application of Nijemo Kolo. Originally, the Minister of Culture wished to inscribe the Vrličko Kolo, but after some persuasion, Zebec announced the idea to safeguard the Nijemo Kolo of the Dalmatian Hinterland, which would be a more representative example that would unite several communities in Croatia (Zebec, 2017:interview).

When asked about the process of safeguarding, Zebec believes that it is an effective process that protects community identity. In Croatia, heritage appreciation became a national concern specifically after the Homeland War through which Croatia gained its independence from Yugoslavia in 1991. According to Zebec, the area of the Dalmatian Hinterland was always heavily populated by Serbs who were the predominant ethnic group that participated in numerous dance ensembles, while the Croats felt suppressed and did not participate in heritage-related activities. After a bloody conflict and ethnic cleansing that expelled a large portion of the Serbian population from the region, the Croats established their own dance ensembles and found a new appreciation for their heritage that is now greatly cherished and showcased. The project of safeguarding Nijemo Kolo and the *Ojkavica* style of singing is, as Zebec confirms, a project of establishing a post-Yugoslav identity. Because of the popularity of the Nijemo Kolo that is now performed at festivals, as well as due to its media coverage, Zebec informed me that many other ensembles that include a choreographic work containing a silent dance claim to perform "a UNESCO-protected dance, as they see it as a reference to something valuable" (2017:interview).

In the application, Zebec regards the dance as the most important marker of local identity, given that the dance is a tradition kept alive through stage performances, while he states that the dance is rarely performed during weddings or other similar social occasions. When performed socially, the dance events provide occasion for the participants to get acquainted and socialize, while at the same time, they display their physical abilities. Zebec

writes that Nijemo Kolo's UNESCO inscription will encourage other communities, like in neighboring Bosnia and Herzegovina, to cherish their heritage and to start recognizing local dance practices as valuable cultural elements. In order to ensure continuous safeguarding, Zebec lists a number of activities such as workshops, seminars, and informal gatherings that would raise Nijemo Kolo's visibility and contribute towards an ongoing tradition of dance transmission. Prior to its nomination, Nijemo Kolo was transmitted mostly through participation in social dance events, or as a set choreography that is taught by dance instructors in organized dance groups.

Kopachkata was formally inscribed as ICH during the 9th session of the Committee in 2014. The reason for its inscription was the previous unsuccessful application of the dance Teshkoto[138] for the UNESCO Masterpieces Program in 2002 and 2004, which attracted the media's attention and motivated the dancers from the folk group "Kopachka" to apply for inscription (Stojanovska, 2018:interview). The author of the Kopachkata application, Ivona Opetcheska Tatarchevska, reflects on the lack of experience and the difficulties in the interpretation of the 2003 Convention that she had as an ethnochoreologist. During the first attempts to petition for safeguarding the dance, she remembers that the application was sent back because of the descriptive, rather than analytical writing, which was considered inadequate. By reviewing past successful Croatian applications, Opetcheska Tatarchevska trained herself and followed the changes in the UNESCO guidelines that complement the Convention. As she observes, the administrative and bureaucratic aspects of the application are more important to UNESCO, rather than the sections where the authors expand on the social and anthropological aspects of the dance. According to her,

[138] The dance Teshkoto has long been considered a prototype of Macedonian dances (Opetcheska Tatarchevska, 2011) and a symbol of Macedonian culture and national identity (Zdravkova Djeparoska, 2019; Wilson, 2014; Zdravkova Djeparoska and Opetcheska Tatarchevska, 2012). For a detailed analysis of its application process, see Silverman, 2015.

> In the Macedonian context, the hardest part was organizing a network of all of the carriers of the element in the safeguarding process. First and foremost, we have the highest organ, the Ministry of Culture, who decided on what base to do the safeguarding — ratification, conventions, legal acts, national registry etc. The second highest organ is the institution that does the academic research on the elements. The third phase is digitalization and inventory, which, for us, is the biggest problem since the process of digitalization has stopped because of lack of funds.
>
> (Opetcheska Tatarchevska, 2018:interview)

By accepting the revised version of the application, Opetcheska Tatarchevska believes that UNESCO gave another opportunity to Macedonia. She also believes that the process of institutionalizing heritage gave new life to traditional expressions, while UNESCO provided the opportunity for that type of culture to be recognized on international level (Opetcheska Tatarchevska, 2018:interview).

In her analysis of the dance, Opetcheska Tatarchevska writes that Kopachkata ensures mutual respect among the Macedonian and Roma communities that are involved in its performance. Furthermore, she links the dance to sustainable development, as the younger participants of the dance are involved in archiving and collecting data about the dance and its promotion through social media. As stated in the application, inscribing the dance will contribute towards raising awareness about local traditions internationally, encourage cultural tourism in the region, and strengthen intergenerational relationships among the participants. She believes that UNESCO recognition will serve as a good example to the neighboring communities that might be inspired by Kopachkata's safeguarding process, strengthen their relationship with their cultural traditions, and propose their own inscription in the future. The Kopachkata continues to be safeguarded by public performances, included in the local repertoire of weddings and similar festivities, integrated into the repertoire of dance groups and in the dance curriculum of programs devoted to study of dance heritage, continuously practiced through workshops and classes, and covered in media related to cultural heritage.

Velika Stojkova Serafimovska, who has worked on several of the Macedonian applications, considers the inscription process to be highly problematic as it requires a great deal of political lobbying. Reflecting on her experience of attending the UNESCO meetings, she remembers that:

> At the meetings, there is always a minimum of two representatives: a politician and an expert. It often happens that the politician reacts a certain way when the element is discussed at the meeting, while the expert is there to warn them and advise them of how to construct their comments. But from a political aspect, they gain or lose points. However, the lobbying amongst the members of the inter-governmental committee is always political.
>
> (Stojkova Serafimovska, 2017:interview)

As a heritage expert, Stojkova Serafimovska strongly supports the concept of safeguarding. She considers the practitioners who are the carriers of the safeguarded element to be the most important in the process, while she also believes that is very important for them to understand what safeguarding means. Having full trust in the 2003 Convention, she believes that the process of ratifying it, as she claims, "awoke the state and the state has awoken its communities" by raising awareness of the importance of ICH (Stojkova Serafimovska, 2017:interview).

Kolo was inscribed as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity at the 12th Session of the Committee in 2017. As opposed to Kopachkata, which was suggested for inscription by its community of practitioners, the decision to nominate the Kolo was made by experts employed at the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade who selected several Serbian representative elements that should be proposed to UNESCO. The application was prepared by ethnochoreologists Selena Rakočević and Zdravko Ranisavljević who worked with experts from the Ethnographic Museum and the national ensemble "Kolo". According to Danijela Filipović, coordinator at the Center for Intangible Cultural Heritage at the Ethnographic Museum, its experts play a key role in identifying various communities that are carriers of cultural heritage, who often have not heard of UNESCO and the process of

safeguarding heritage, nor are they aware of the need for safeguarding (2017:interview). While many practitioners feel strongly protective over their traditions, others, especially in regions that tend to be rural and scarcely populated, do not invest in the process of keeping their practices viable. While there are examples of both instances in Serbia, Filipović is specifically referring to the UNESCO's model of safeguarding that might appear alien to many practitioners who are not aware about the existence of such programs. There are other examples, however, where the communities do not rely on assistance from the state or international organizations such as UNESCO and make personal efforts, according to their own models of preserving a specific cultural practice and keeping it vital through transmission.

Discussing the application process, Rakočević reports that the idea to safeguard Kolo came from the ethnochoreologist Olivera Vasić, who started but never finished the application in 2011 to safeguard the dance type known as Kolo u tri (2017:interview). Despite safeguarding the dance, the Kolo application also foresees the safeguarding of Kolo music that appears as very popular in Serbia. For Rakočević, despite being known as a dance and a musical genre, Kolo is also an event that unites people from different ethnicities and religions. However, at the time of the interview, before Kolo was officially listed by UNESCO, she expressed her worries that other neighboring countries such as Croatia may veto the application as the dance can also be located in their national repertoire. Rakočević, however, links Kolo to Serbian national identity, as she believes the dance developed in the territory of Central Serbia and is now closely linked with Serbian heritage.

Ranisavljević comments that Serbia has not safeguarded only one dance, but a group or genre of dances that carry the same characteristics, all recognized as Kolo. He claims that "in Croatia, when you say Kolo, people think of any dance in a chain formation, but in

Serbia, when you say Kolo, people think of a specific step pattern" (Ranisavljević, 2017:interview). As he asserts:

> I think that in the Balkans, through the process of UNESCO safeguarding we involve another bigger process, which is safeguarding national identity. In a time of redefining national identity in the area of the former Yugoslavia, the people of the newly formed countries are now separating their heritage. What is specific is that all of the former Yugoslav republics share some common elements. Some people might say "I am sorry, but we also have this practice," and others might say, "I am sorry, but we already safeguarded this." And we might say "ok, but we are now going to safeguard Kolo." We shouldn't look at the process of safeguarding as competition. However, on a national level, we are working on taking a stance, so we can safeguard some elements that were present in the former Yugoslavia and appropriate some elements too.
>
> (Ranisavljević, 2017:interview)

The application describes Kolo as a symbol of national identity that is equally present in its participatory and staged variants. Passed down through an informal learning process, dancers learn through direct participation and imitation. The authors of the application assert that the dance has the social function of engendering collective identities and providing a feeling of belonging to its practitioners. As a dance event, Kolo brings together local communities, despite their differences, and contributes towards tolerance, unity and mutual understanding, all of which are key traits of the dance that are mentioned throughout the application. Kolo continues to be a very popular and relevant topic among practitioners, folklorists, ethnochoreologists and ethnomusicologists, while various Serbian educational institutions are involved in organizing seminars and workshops where Kolo is taught and further safeguarded.

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that once the practitioners witness their cultural practices become conceptualized as heritage, they experience a metacultural relationship to their practices (2006:161-62). This relationship is initiated by the process of heritagization through which the dance adopts a new context as it transitions from a social practice to the status of ICH of humanity. Similarly, this process transforms the dancers into heritage stakeholders who are obliged to satisfy and maintain certain criteria. Prior to UNESCO's

inscription, the dance practitioners have never regarded the dances they have been performing throughout their lives as heritage, but simply as tradition, given that the formal discourse around heritage was only introduced after 2006. For instance, small communities situated in several mountainous villages, which is common with Kopachkata dancers, must adopt a new role as heritage keepers in order to obey UNESCO's requirements. This transformative process assumes legal responsibilities on behalf of both sides: the heritage stakeholders must ensure that the measures proposed in their application exemplifies the bureaucratic nature of the heritagization process.

While the 2003 Convention has been praised for placing emphasis not only on safeguarding heritage, but on highlighting the work of practitioners as well, it has also been critiqued for listing cultural heritage, which can prompt hierarchy. Namely, the Representative List positions the dances as of equal value among other social practices listed as heritage, carefully trying to avoid any type of hierarchy that was present in the earlier Masterpieces program.[139] As Chiara Bortolotto points out, listing various elements of local culture as ICH is an attempt to shift the early modernist perspective, in which heritage was associated with nineteenth century imperial exhibitions and fairs (2010:98). The problems with listing heritage occur when certain nation states strive to list, and thus market their cultural practice among other worldly renowned elements, while their interest in the

[139] Prior to the ratification of the 2003 Convention, UNESCO's previous program entitled The Proclamation of Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, established in 2001, included nineteen cultural practices from around the world, followed by additional twenty-eight in 2003 and forty-three other elements added in 2005. The Proclamation, however, has been criticized by numerous authors (for a more detailed list, see Foley, 2014) mainly for creating a hierarchy between the cultural practices and implying a competitive process. The 2003 Convention was intended to be a more-inclusive approach towards safeguarding cultural heritage. As Kathy Foley argues "The revision was made in response to the argument expressed at a Smithsonian Institution meeting on the heritage arts in Washington, DC, in 1999, which argued that the conservation model of "masterpieces" was more akin to a traditional museum approach: glorifying and archiving the work of "great men" as "authentic" patrimony and saving it from disappearance by entombing it in a museum. It was argued that such an approach was based on a nineteenth-century European model of elite artists whose work would at all times be recognized as that of "genius" and could transcend global boundaries and that this idea was intrinsically flawed (Foley, 2014:374). Once the 2003 Convention took effect in 2008, all ninety Masterpieces were added to the Representative List.

safeguarding process is considered less important. However, for the countries where these dances exist, the process of inscribing is only regarded as a positive trait, as Kopachkata, Kolo, and Nijemo Kolo are on the same list with Tango, Samba, Capoeira, the Viennese Waltz, and many other dances that have reached international fame even before being conceptualized as ICH.

Through their place on a list of humanity's heritage, the dances transform from local manifestations of tradition into subjects of global culture that is now cherished and available for consumption internationally. Therefore, listing a dance[140] as heritage through formal UNESCO recognition allows for global fame. Furthermore, the ICH status enables increased value of cultural practices and thus implies that the performance of these dances can be an important marketing strategy to the associated nation states. Even though Balkan social dance, framed as folklore, has been considered as cultural export since the 1950s, it did not allow for the promotion of distinct cultural identities. Following the break-up of the Yugoslav state, the countries of Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia invested in promoting national dances, while the internet and social media allowed for a wider audience and increase in the popularity. While these performances were regarded as folkloric, their subsequent transformation and the adoption of the world-renowned ICH status is now used as a branding tool that makes them more marketable and hence profitable, as I demonstrate later in this chapter.

[140] According to the official website of the Croatian Ministry of Culture, Croatia has safeguarded several dances on their national register: Lindjo from the Dubrovnik Coast, Moreška — a sword dance; dances from the island of Krk, Kolo na dva štuka from Orebica; Silbenski tanac from the island of Silba; Quadril from the town of Trogir; Kumpanija, a sword dance from the island of Korčula; Šetana kola from Slavonia; and Nijemo Kolo from the Dalmatian Hinterland, which also appears on UNESCO Representative List. The Macedonian Ministry of Culture only lists Kopachkata as dance on the national register, while the Serbian Ministry of Culture includes the dances Rumenka and Kolo u tri.

Safeguarding identity

The concept of identity has been crucial to the production of intangible cultural heritage, as the practices associated with UNESCO's lists consolidate people with a sense of local, ethnic, national, and in this case, European identity. Heritage, however, is mostly associated with the production of collective identities that ideally evoke feelings of commonality and solidarity, based on a shared history. Given that identity constructions are discourses, they are in constant flux and can never be complete (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) and, in addition, possess material and ideological attachments to territory. In the case of the countries of the former Yugoslavia, as I argue in my first chapter, collective identity constructions rely on narratives[141] that relate a specific group of people to a common past.

While some scholars suggest that ethnic identity invokes common genetic origins and shared language, religion, and other traits (Majstorović and Turjačanin, 2013:16), Clifford Geertz (1963) argues against such premises, as he believes that the notion of identity is based on cultural similarity that is acquired through a process of socialization through which a person absorbs these traits and features. In the Yugoslav region, such cultural similarities are more of a problem than they are an asset given that the post-Yugoslav nation states aspire to be perceived as different than each other. For instance, even though Serbia and Croatia share many similarities when it comes to language and other cultural traits acquired through a process of socialization, placing emphasis on what makes them distinctly Serbian or Croatian is an asset, especially when acquiring epithets such as "our heritage."

National and ethnic identity both express these ideas of difference: for instance, the community of dancers that performs Kopachkata are known as *Shopi* — an ethnic group that populates the eastern part of Macedonia, but also the south-western part of Serbia and the

[141] For discussions about the interconnectivity between historical narratives and national identity, see Wilmer, F. (2002) *The Social Construction of Man, the State, and War: Identity, Conflict, and Violence in Former Yugoslavia.* London and New York: Routledge.

western part of Bulgaria. Furthermore, the community of dancers that perform Nijemo Kolo are also known as *Dalmatinci* as they live in the Dalmatian region of Croatia. Because it is a wide-spread practice, Kolo is not associated with a specific ethnic community, although such divisions among ethnic groups also exist in Serbia. These ethnic, but also local identities, operate regionally, as they differentiate between two groups of people that may inhabit the same area but have different cultural characteristics such as religion, dress, music, and other cultural traits.

After the downfall of Yugoslavia, the production of national identity became one of the principal projects for the post-Yugoslav countries. Following a post-war period that resulted in the creation of seven different nation-states, national identity had to be once again created and manifested through performances of local cultural practices that would strengthen feelings of belonging. As I explain in the second chapter, during the socialist period, a sense of Yugoslav identity prevailed over other national or ethnic identifications.[142] Within the newly independent Yugoslav countries, the notion of national identity differs from the one that was dictated by the ruling communist party, as the citizens of these countries no longer identified as Yugoslavs, a term that assumes shared history and identity, but became free to identify themselves on the basis of their nationality — an act that was punishable by the Yugoslav state as it provoked separatism and anti-Yugoslav sentiment.

The production of distinctive post-Yugoslav national identity involved creating prototypes of folkloric symbols such as songs or dances, which had a long traceable history of transmission that would associate them as being specifically

[142] As Mira Todorova remarks "The stability and security of identity was to be achieved by the system, the state, ideology and propaganda, rather than by the individual. Thus, the individual was transformed into a mechanism identical to the system and judged in terms of the system's values. The stability of identity was a projection of the stability of the system. In other words, the identity (of the socialist person) had nothing to do with the subject's self-formulation process (in constant interaction with culture) through his/her body, race, sexual orientation, religion, views, hobbies, occupation and values. Identity was constructed entirely through the discourse of ideology and was restricted to the set of norms of the modern project of communism, which spread over a whole socio-political era for the countries of South East Europe" (Todorova, 2014:161-162).

Macedonian/Serbian/Croatian. For instance, Macedonian choreographers often turned towards creating artistic works that included the dance heritage of Macedonians living in Bulgaria and Greece, thereby reinforcing the idea of a united Macedonia that transcended national borders. Many Serbian choreographers took a different approach and focused on staging dances from all over the former Yugoslav territory, labeling them as "Serbian" even though they may have never been historically performed by Serbs. With the development of a new, distinctive Croatian language, Croatian ethnomusicologists, who were responsible for choral arrangements of traditional songs, often changed the lyrics in order for the songs to sound less Serbian. Such examples imply that heritage had an important role in mediating distinctive nationality, as these nation-states held to the idea that their cultural practices make them distinctively Macedonian, Serbian or Croatian. While the use of folklore was intended to strengthen the sense of national identity amongst the people within the newly independent countries, ratifying UNESCO's ICH convention allowed these relatively new countries to introduce themselves to the international arena.[143] Dance, in this case, provides a tool for increased visibility of a country's heritage and helps its nation-state to present its culture and identity as distinct, original, and different than its bordering countries.[144]

In this specific case, when a dance is seen as a medium for envisioning post-Yugoslav identities, interpreting dance performances as national heritage can be equally problematic. As shown in the first chapter, the construction of heritage in the Balkans is deeply rooted in the idea of ethnography and collecting and salvaging culture. However, as James Clifford

[143] For instance, these ideas are clearly and directly expressed by Ivona Opetcheska Tatarchevska who writes that "The Republic of Macedonia, as a relatively new independent state, and with serious negations of its existence imposed from outside in many ways, needs in some way to be present on the world stage. This is reasonable and somehow specific for "small" countries (Zebec 2013:330). It is also a matter of prestige in a world of united Nations activities, to be networked in that system and to cooperate on an equal level with other states, because the ICH has the power to solve conflicts, mainly because it goes beyond the political borders in many different ways" (Opetcheska- Tatarchevska, 2015:328).

[144] Velika Stojkova Serafimovska, Ivona Opetcheska Tatarchevska and Dave Wilson (2016) point out a few examples such as the Galichnik wedding ceremony and the dance Teshkoto where heritage was used as a strategy to distinguish these practices as distinctively Macedonian and contribute towards the creation of post-Yugoslav national identity that would be different from the rest of the former Yugoslav republics.

points out, collecting also means selecting and detaching what deserves to be kept, re-membered, and treasured (1988:231). According to the national registries of safeguarded heritage in the three countries, the elements associated with the dominant nationalities prevail, while there are only a few, or in some cases, no elements that represent other ethnic or religious groups. Evidently, the selected heritage that will be nationally valued is usually attached to the dominant ethnic and religious groups, while the social and cultural practices of the minorities that live in these countries are secondary, if included in national inventories at all.

The process of selecting culture and transforming it into heritage, as is evident with the three dances that I study, further consolidates differences between "us" and "them," or "ours" and "theirs," and thus can be used as the main provocateur for nationalist uprising. Specifically, the problem arises when a certain community or large parts of the population do not identify with the national culture or the heritage practices that are being elevated over others. For instance, because of its wide geographical distribution, Nijemo Kolo has been present in the local repertoire of both Croatian and Serbian communities that live in Croatia, where it is cherished and practiced as local ICH. However, even though the Croatian application mentions that the Nijemo Kolo is also performed by Serbians living in the area, these communities have rarely been invited to participate at local festivals or represent the dance in the media.

Similarly, the Serbian application positions Kolo as symbolizing the identity of the Serbian population; however, it states that the dance is also performed by other ethnic and religious communities. Furthermore, the application states that the dance is present as a practice among the Serbian diaspora population in the Western Balkans, while failing to mention that the dance is also included in the local repertoire of all of the former Yugoslav republics. For example, Zebec points out that due to its broad dissemination and simple

choreographic structure, Kolo was widespread in the former Yugoslavia and is considered an identarian symbol in Croatia (2004:85). Finally, the application states that a similar choreographic pattern is performed in other countries in Southeastern Europe. As its authors mention, dancing Kolo in local gatherings where the participants are of different ethnic and religious groups fosters mutual respect and encourages intercultural and multiethnic dialogue — yet the affiliated communities, organizations, and dance ensembles of the application remain strictly Serbian. Similarly, the Croatian and Macedonian applications add that other ethnic communities are also involved in the performance of Nijemo Kolo and Kopachkata but they are not listed as "representative." While these might be strategic decisions, rather than deliberately exclusionary ones, intended to acknowledge the dances' diversity, they also suggest that the dance is not only tied to ethnicity, but also nationality, or, in this case, to the dominant nationality.

For instance, the heritage model proposes that because Kolo is not tied to a specific community, unlike Kopachkata and Nijemo Kolo, but is instead associated with the nation as a whole, most of the people who identify themselves as Serbians know how to perform the dance, as it is an important cultural segment of their everyday lives. Similarly, many Macedonians might not know how to dance Kopachkata, nor do they necessarily know its place of origin; however, when observing a performance of it, Macedonians might be able to recognize the dance as part of their heritage, mostly because of its common traits with other Macedonian dances that have been popularized through social events and media. Even though the dance belongs (for the lack of a better word) to the communities in the region of Pijanec, it is still envisioned as a Macedonian dance, which allows for the possibility of it to be valued not only by its local community, but by the whole nation as well.

Alongside their efforts towards establishing post-Yugoslav identities, these countries also strive to adopt a European identity, specifically through the performance of national

culture. Following the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty[145] in in 1992, European government officials introduced the idea of European citizenship, in addition to national citizenship, which would emphasize cultural diversity and the sharing of culture. Cultural heritage has long been regarded as a medium for uniting the European society. Heritage has also played a key role in the discourses of Europeanisation, especially amongst experts associated with government and non-government institutions of the European Community. For instance, European organizations have implemented their own cultural heritage policies, such as those of the Council of Europe[146] and the European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the twenty-first century.[147] These policies differ from UNESCO, as they focus solely on Europe and do not require the filing of applications and creating inventories.

The European Year of Cultural Heritage occurred in 2018 and it was celebrated in all of the continent's states through cultural events, workshops, seminars and other activities, united by the slogan "Our Heritage: Where The Past Meets The Future." While attending the European Cultural Heritage Summit in Berlin, Tibor Navracsics, the European Commissioner for Education, Culture, Youth, and Sport, gave a speech in which he remarked that "culture and cultural heritage are the top political priorities in Europe as they help to build a sense of European identity. Young people are encouraged to explore what it means to be European through European cultural heritage" (Navracsics, 2018). Moreover, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, Xavier Bettel, commented that "when dangerous forces are trying to divide Europe, cultural heritage is a tool to keep us unified, for a strong and united Europe" (Bettel, 2018). While these speeches might be perceived as taking part of an anti-populist and anti-

[145] The full text of the Treaty can be access through the following link: https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty_on_european_union_en.pdf

[146] The heritage policy of the Council of Europe can be accessed at: https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage

[147] The full text of the strategy can be accessed through the following link: https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/strategy-21

immigrant agenda, such examples also clearly show the European Union's emphasis on heritage appreciation as a political tool towards establishing European identity. Given that revival of heritage discourses has intensified with the enlargement of the European Union and with the recent influx of immigrants (Van Assche, 2011:7), such speeches may also hint at some of the reasons for emphasizing heritage appreciation at this particular moment.

Often accused of having authoritarian traditions and conservative religions that encourage nationalism and prevent democracy (Bakic-Hayden and Hayden, 1992:11), Balkan countries invest in heritage as a way of creating a positive image of their countries in an attempt to persuade the world that they too are "cultured" and deserving members of the European family. Nevertheless, affirming national identity through heritage has not been a process that is distinctive only to the post-Yugoslav states. As Máiréad Nic Craith notes, around fifty years ago, heritage was not a priority issue in the European Union, yet, over time, the deployment of heritage became a vehicle for European integration and consolidation (2008:68) as it promotes diversity and dialogue and fosters a sense of identity and mutual understanding between communities. According to the reports of the European Commission (2002), some of the key aspects of the implemented cultural policy include recognizing the common aspects of shared heritage but also ensuring respect for cultural, national, and regional diversity. However, using heritage as a uniting element is also a problematic process, not only because of cultural ownership claims, but also due to the fact that communities regard heritage in ways that often do not align with European institutional frameworks.

Delineating a European identity has long been the task of many European governmental and non-governmental organizations. The experts associated with these organizations have drawn on history and identity, but also on heritage, as a concept that combines both discourses. European identity is understood as encompassing of national identities: this can

be problematic, as that the politics of identity construction are rooted in the idea that cultural heritage improves social cohesion of a society with a single core (During, 2011:28). The European identity, as Roel During writes, intends to provoke a decline in national identity — a process also known as a "zero sum identity" which During considers to be one of the major drawbacks of the process of Europeanization (2011:22). Until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1991, much of Eastern Europe has been considered to be a homogeneous appendix to the USSR (Todorova, 1997:140) and almost never regarded as "European proper" by Western Europeans, even though the name might suggest otherwise.[148] While Balkan identity can be an asset at certain times, especially to dance groups who perform their heritage internationally, this identity classification maintains derogatory attributes, as the stereotype of the Balkan as "backward" is still dominant in Western Europe.

As of 2000, the European Union's motto and leading ideology has been "unity in diversity." Following the Yugoslav wars, it appears that the priority to join the European Union has been given to countries like Slovenia and Croatia, who were previously conquered by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, while the former Ottoman provinces who are populated by a significant Muslim population are still carefully distanced from Europe. While they are geographically a part of Europe, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Macedonia, and Kosovo are also known as Western Balkans which, to many, is the problematic part of Europe that culturally does not satisfy the criteria to become part of the Union (Zdravkova Djeparoska, 2020:2-3). As Sonja Zdravkova Djeparoska asserts, it is paradoxical these multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious nation-states do not fit well with the European Union's emphasis on multiculturalism (2020:4).

[148] In Maria Todorova's work entitled *Imagining the Balkans*, she analyzes a selection of texts in the form of letters, newspaper articles and travelogues, written by non-Balkan travelers in the region, since the eighteenth century and onward, and uses them as evidence to refer to the process of the construction of Balkan intellectual traditions that are crucial to understanding the portrayal of the Balkans as Europe's cultural "other." She argues that these forms of Balkan and Yugoslav nationalism played an important role in the construction of the pejorative context of "balkanization," used by Europeans by the end of the Cold War to imply backwardness (Todorova, 1997:3).

While attending meetings at The Living Heritage Entity at UNESCO, which is involved in capacity-building projects and training future heritage facilitators, I have also attended several youth-oriented seminars and workshops, mostly organized by Europa Nostra,[149] where the goal is raising awareness about the importance of European heritage. Similar to the process of safeguarding ICH, heritage appreciation is yet another complex process that the European Commission consistently tries to bring to youth attention through funding such events. What these forums try to emphasize is how European identity[150] is built through cultural exchange; the future requires the sharing of this heritage, which would lead to the peaceful co-existence of diverse communities in the continent. For the newly formed post-Yugoslav countries, heritage becomes priority, as it alludes to sharing culture on a European and international scale. The decision to list their intangible cultural heritage, defined in accordance with UNESCO's 2003 Convention that promotes human rights, is a suitable way to express these nation-states' contemporaneity. Intangible cultural heritage, then, presents a prestigious form of display with wide circulation among powerful actors, while the inclusion in the Representative List shows how these countries channel their resources into preservation and revitalization and transform people's relationship to their cultural practices (Hafstein, 2018:85-86).

There have been several instances through which former-Yugoslav countries have publicly expressed their pro- or counter-European aspirations through the performance of heritage. For instance, one event was the celebration of Croatia's accession to the European Union on the 1st of July, 2013. Following the singing of the national anthem in front of an

[149] "Europa Nostra" is a European heritage organization, known as the "voice of cultural heritage in Europe." See https://www.europanostra.org/

[150] Pertti Anttonen argues that "to replace national identification with European identification, both the European Union as a top-down organization and many ideologically and politically oriented bottom-up discourses offer European-ness or Europeanism as an alternative collective identification. Instead of concerning European consciousness only, European-ness or Europeanism is meant to be an identity in the sense that it is constituted in relation to cultural and political otherness" (Anttonen, 2005:100).

enormous crowd occupying the main square in the Croatian capital Zagreb, a performance of *Ojkavica* and the Vrličko Kolo took place, both safeguarded by UNESCO and performed by the ensemble "Lado." The event also included several other ritual, music, and dance practices that are recognized by UNESCO, such as the spring procession of Kraljice from Gorjani and the annual carnival bell-ringer's pageant from the Kastav area. The choice to feature UNESCO-recognized heritage, as well as images and videos of Croatia's tangible and natural culture, is another political move intended to support the ideas of shared heritage, which is crucial in the process of Europeanisation.

Contrary to such events where heritage is used in Europeanisation processes, there have been several instances where Kopachkata was performed as protest. Before the official change of Macedonia's name, in 2016, the former ruling right-wing party that opposed the name change organized protests and rallies that boycotted the future elections and the ongoing Colorful Revolution.[151] Many dancers from Delchevo, alongside other performance groups who supported the ruling political party, were brought to the capital to perform Kopachkata in front of the parliament. Afraid that the country's name change would result in the loss of cultural identity, as the citizens allegedly would no longer be known as Macedonians, the dancers were invited to reassure the audience of their national identity through the performance of their local culture. While the performers may have managed to persuade their audience to value local traditions as symbols of Macedonian identity, they also

[151] The "Colorful Revolution" was an anti-governmental protest that boycotted the right-wing nationalist oriented Macedonian government that, amongst many things, posed cultural censorship. The now former government has also introduced the project of "Skopje 2014" that included faux baroque remodeling of the capital city, which was also a subject of numerous protests. Throughout the everyday demonstrations, members of Macedonia's theater and dance communities were some of the main participants that very often organized dance and theater performances as a sign of protest. The supporters of the leading right-wing party organized frequent contra-protests accompanied by performances of folk dance and music or any type of performance that they would consider national, traditional and Macedonian. At times, two such performances occurred at a same time in different parts of the city. Very often, these performances were associated with the performers' preference of West or East politics, while culturally they reflect the global or the national. While certain performances were spontaneous and were seen as a form of activism and protest, others were organized and paid and can be considered as part of a nationalist political propaganda.

angered many of the attendees who interpreted the performance of the dance as political propaganda. Because of the constant use of traditional music and dance for political events, many opponents of such nationalist ideologies renounced traditional culture because they felt it was used as agitprop.[152] Because of these situations, expressing an interest in heritage, to this day, can be confused with supporting conservative nationalism and making tradition a barrier towards efforts to claim contemporaneity. Furthermore, such events can be interpreted as protest, not only towards the aspirations to join the EU, but also against the idea of shared European heritage, based on the idea of protecting national sovereignty rather than being subsumed into Europe.

Commodifying heritage in the face of globalization

Several analysts have argued that one of the driving forces behind the increasing emphasis on safeguarding ICH is the fear of globalization (Smith, 2006; Labadi and Long, 2010). The very first page of the Convention states that "recognizing that the processes of globalization and social transformation, alongside the conditions they create for renewed dialogue among communities, also give rise, as does the phenomenon of intolerance, to grave threats of deterioration, disappearance and destruction of the intangible cultural heritage, in particular owing to a lack of resources for safeguarding such heritage" (UNESCO, 2003:3). Often portrayed as a negative process initiated by the Global North, due to its attachments to the expansion of capitalism at the expense of the poorer nations of the South (Askew, 2010:23), cultural globalization brings up fears of homogenization and Westernization (Hannerz, 1997; Tomlinson, 1991), universalization, culture loss (Sklair, 1999), and a hermeneutic process of appropriation (Schneider, 2003).

[152] See Petkovski, F. (2020) 'Dance as political spectacle: Performing heritage as protest in Macedonia.' in *Tradition and Transition.* A Selection of Articles Developed from Paper Presentation at The First and The Second Symposia of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance of the Slavic World. Skopje: ICTM NC Macedonia, pp 145-154.

However, as Arjun Appadurai reminds us, the globalization of culture is not the same as the process of cultural homogenization (1990:307). Such fears of culture being lost because of the effects of cultural globalization and Westernization are not only global concerns, but are also relevant to the practitioners of the dances who fear the erosion of their cultural practices. In the case of Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia, cultural globalization often entails the acceptance and popularization of foreign dance cultures that might replace the emphasis on local heritage. For example, according to the dancers I interviewed in Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia, young people prefer to practice and perform foreign dance forms that they consider more appealing and exotic than performing local dance forms that are seen as traditional, old, and outdated. This interest in new dance practices might also be attributed to the fact that the circle dances performed in social occasions are accessible and taken for granted, whereas foreign dances might seem novel. Such decisions can also be interpreted as a desire for inclusion in a cosmopolitan community and rejection of the "backward" or provincial identity associated with the Balkan region.

Due to its attachment to capitalism and neo-liberal markets, globalization also entails the transformation of local culture into commodities of exchange. For Appadurai, commodity is a complex social form aimed at the distribution of the technical, social, or aesthetic knowledge that is invested in its production (2013:45). The process of heritage commodification transforms the cultural practice into a product that is available for consumption, while performance makes this process possible, as it allows for heritage to become experience. When they are inscribed on an internationally acclaimed list, the dances that I write about, amongst other cultural practices, are regarded as more important than others. The audience is therefore asked to pay in order to have the privilege experience of observing these performances.

The dance's links to history, tradition, and identity become the main traits that make it marketable as heritage. The process of heritage commodification is directly related to the popular capitalist formula through which the nation-state invests in raising awareness and praising national culture; that is, it promotes national dance troupes, orchestras, buildings, and sites for the purpose of attracting economic capital. Dance as heritage is constantly marketed and sold, both to locals within the nation state and to tourists, who are often interested in experiencing native cultural traditions that are only to be found in their places of origin.[153] Hence, when conceptualized as heritage, dance is able to introduce and commodify a sense of authenticity. Dances are therefore marketed as "disappearing" cultural practices in order to acquire increased audience interest and, by extension, increased capital.

The demand for heritage performances globally has grown in past years. While commodification often leads to negative effects, it is also a process through which the practitioners take control of their dance and allow for the performances of their dances to become experience. Such examples include local and amateur performances, organized by the practitioners themselves, in which they perform their local dances and music, mostly in front of tourists. There are, however, other instances, when organizations such as the state ensembles use their status as professional and national organizations to attract larger audiences and provide them with professional performances. Such scenarios separate the artists from the audience — a crucial factor that contributes towards the process of commodification.

Many of the dancers and choreographers in Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia often teach workshops within their countries and in the diaspora, where heritage appreciation reaches another level because of its associations with patriotism and cultural identification. For example, attending a workshop that focuses on "proper" execution and performance of

[153] For similar conversations about commodifying and displaying culture, see Desmond, J. (1999) *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kopachkata, a UNESCO-listed dance from Macedonia, can be a costly experience for foreigners who are eager to learn these social dances. Kolo, the social dance present in any and every aspect of community gathering, becomes something different: it is a choreographic spectacle whose task is to educate audiences, mostly because of its ties to a national heritage and national identity.

As Hafstein asserts, due to its connotations with urgency because of the sense of danger embedded in definitions of UNESCO-recognized ICH, globalization becomes intrinsic to the concept of heritage (2018:102). In response to globalization, the local has adopted increased value through a process known as localization.[154] Scholars have also explored the process of "glocalization" to further examine the effects of the complex relationship between the global and the local, directing our attention to institutions of power that make globalization and localization possible (Salazar, 2010:133). This process of glocalization transforms dance events into destinations that emphasize experience.

For instance, tourists might visit local or regional dance festivals to observe the "real heritage" of the place, performed by "real dancers" in the field, as opposed to professional dance groups who re-enact these experiences on the concert stage or outside the local context. Dimitar Uzunski remembers an organized tour for Japanese tourists interested in Macedonian dance who were brought to the village of Dramche to observe performances of Kopachkata (Uzunski, 2018:interview). For the community members, such events are of special importance as they reaffirm the value of their cultural practice and allow them to feel equally important as other professional dance troupes who tour internationally. Similarly, according to the dancers that I interviewed in Muć and Vrlika, UNESCO's recognition of Nijemo Kolo increased the number of public performances by local troupes who were invited to the bigger cities on the Adriatic coast to perform in front of tourists (Mrdjan, 2018:interview; Žerevica,

[154] Yujie Zhu regards the process of localization as a process of folklorizing, ethnicizing, and exoticizing the cultural, economic, social and the physical resources of a local place (2012:305)

2018:interview). Such instances confirm the idea that UNESCO's seal of approval is widely used as a marketing strategy. As a system of exchange, heritage performances provide the audience, who pays for and observes the performance, with an entertaining and educational experience. By providing cultural knowledge, the performance groups further confirm their status as heritage bearers and practitioners, ascribed to them by institutions of power such as ministries of culture and UNESCO.

Figure 3.4: DVD of a documentary movie about "Kopachkata in UNESCO." Photo courtesy by the Dance Group "Kopachka."

When packaging heritage as experience — that is, encouraging visits to certain villages or towns that offer "authentic" performances of dancing and singing — heritage also becomes a product that is meant for consumption, given that the performers sell their music and dances to potentially interested tourists. During my fieldwork in Dalmatia, I observed a live performance of *klapa* singing, which is on the UNESCO list, by a local performance group who used UNESCO's logo to stress the importance of their performance and sell their merchandise for a much higher price than other, non-UNESCO-affiliated performing groups. In addition to purveying expensive tickets for heritage performances, the artists sell CDs and DVDs of past performances, books, calendars and other promotional material that has UNESCO's logo on the cover as an emblem of internationally recognized culture. To the communities associated with these heritage practices, as well as the nation-states to which

they belong, this commodification is not necessarily a negative practice, but is rather an asset to local economies.

Figure 3.5: A group of singers from Split, Croatia selling CDs of "Traditional Dalmatian Singing protected by UNESCO" in 2018. Photo by the author.

Finally, one of the most important reasons for listing and safeguarding heritage is the possibility to transform it into a brand. Several countries have invested in transforming their local dance practices into global spectacles: the Irish "Riverdance," the Turkish "Fire of Anatolia," the Georgian National Ballet "Sukhisvhili" and many other performance groups use different approaches to spectacularize their heritage and turn it into successful international marketing of concert dance practices. Following such trends, the director of ensemble "Kolo" Vlada Dekić sees UNESCO's recognition as a great opportunity for the dance to become a brand and claims that it has to be constantly advertised in order to remain in the public consciousness (Dekić, 2017:interview). At the time of submitting the ICH application, Dekić endeavored to re-introduce Kolo to the general public through the

performances of the national ensemble, which can garner a large audience. For him, UNESCO's inscription "will change the cultural positioning of the institution and it will be an important asset in the biography of it" (Dekić, 2017:interview), as the name of the inscribed element carries the same name of the national ensemble, thereby allowing for the possibility of increased marketing and claiming ownership.

The post-Yugoslav republics are only starting to invest and valorize ICH mainly because this focus on heritage enhances their ability to present themselves as modern states with a developed tourist economy.[155] Aware of these opportunities, countries like Croatia and Serbia have listed some of their most famous and most representative cultural practices with UNESCO, or, as Naila Ceribašić puts it, "the hits of traditional culture that are economically sustainable and have a long history of state funding" (Ceribašić, 2013:302). As she asserts, it is peculiar that such practices would need safeguarding — that is, UNESCO-initiated safeguarding — given that they have managed to attract state funding.

Safeguarding dance heritage for the future

As it is intangible and fluid, living and everchanging, dance heritage continues to be valued through ensuring its continuity in the future, given that the process of safeguarding envisions measures which will ensure that the dances remain important aspects of the community's social life. However, as Lidija Nikočević points out, the relationship between heritage and living traditions creates a paradox: if a certain phenomenon is vital, it does not need safeguarding, whereas if it is already dead, safeguarding would not help (2012:10). Safeguarding, however, should not mean that the cultural practice is in immediate danger of being lost. Rather, the process of safeguarding is supposed to promote living cultural heritage

[155] See Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2006) 'World heritage and cultural economics.' in Karp, I. et al. (eds.) *Museum frictions: Public culture/global transformations.* Durham and London: Duke University Press, pp. 161-202.; Hafstein, V. T. (2012) 'Cultural heritage.' in Bendix, R. and Hasan- Rokem, G. (eds.) *A companion to folklore*. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 500-519.

that stands out as a representative of its community of practitioners, rather than as disappearing culture. By being involved in such processes, practitioners and institutions intend not only to safeguard, but raise awareness about the process and hopefully motivate and engage other participants.

Safeguarding heritage is also meant to provide artists with a sense of security, given that the nation-state and organizations such as UNESCO would ensure measures and funding for continuous transmission. In reality, the transmission of the dance from one generation to the next lies solely in the hands of the practitioners. Aware of the fears that younger members of the community would lose interest in the practice and allow for its disappearance, the 2003 Convention places emphasis on living but also evolving heritage practices that change over time. When it comes to dance, such changes might include alterations in the choreographic structure or the way that the dance is performed. While encouraged by the 2003 Convention, change is not necessarily welcomed, especially by some of the senior dancers whom I interviewed; they are concerned with issues around authenticity.

In their attempts to preserve the dance, senior practitioners try to avoid changing the way that dance is performed, as well as its choreographic form; they fear that any alteration might change the dance to a degree that it is no longer recognizable. Even though they themselves might perform a version of the dance that has been altered throughout the years, they consider their version to be "pure" compared to other current adaptations. For instance, Nijemo Kolo is a couples' dance for duets of men and women who perform without any musical accompaniment. In the eyes of its conventional practitioners, if two women perform the dance together, with a musical accompaniment, they would not be performing the dance that they inherited from their grandparents. Similarly, dancing Kolo requires the dancers to adhere to a specific movement pattern that requires an open or closed circle formation. Any alteration to the form and steps would mean that the dancers are not performing Kolo but

some other dance instead. Such instances indicate that even though certain changes might help the dance produce and sustain interest among younger populations, the emphasis on authenticity and originality is deeply rooted in the practitioners' understanding of heritage, which could potentially disadvantage attempts to secure heritage for the future.

In order to ensure heritage awareness, the 2003 Convention suggests that state parties shall commit to recognition and respect for ICH by organizing educational and awareness-raising programs for the public, training programs within the concerned communities, and capacity-building activities. Furthermore, the state parties are encouraged to promote non-formal means of transmitting knowledge and keeping the public informed of the dangers that threaten ICH (UNESCO, 2003:10). However, the Operational Directives of the 2003 Convention also state that all parties should confirm that these awareness-raising actions will not decontextualize or denaturalize the practices. Furthermore, UNESCO is careful to ensure that state parties would not mark the communities as not participating or contribute to justifying any form of political, social, ethnic, religious, or gender-based discrimination. Finally, state parties must be wary of efforts not to facilitate the misappropriation or abuse of the knowledge and skills of the communities, or lead to over-commercialization or to unsustainable tourism that may put the ICH at risk (UNESCO, 2003:48).

To a certain degree, the 2003 Convention, as well as the overall UNESCO apparatus, leaves an impression that safeguarding heritage requires experts who can help communities to take proper care of the practice in question. This by no means should signify that the communities associated with the ICH are incapable of preserving their traditions but, given that ICH status is firstly and mostly a bureaucratic process, the expertise of professionals is more than necessary. When the communities themselves express such concerns, they are advised to contact heritage professionals employed in national research institutions who often organize workshops and meetings, aimed to strengthen the idea of safeguarding cultural

heritage. Aware of such top-down approaches, UNESCO has invested much of their time into training heritage facilitators who encourage a bottom-up approach — that is, insisting that it is the community and the tradition bearers decide what is to be considered heritage instead of government officials alone. According to the Operational Directives, States Parties are encouraged to facilitate the participation of communities in the safeguarding process, especially in the process of identification and definition of ICH, their inclusion in the inventories, the elaboration and implementation of programs and activities and the preparation of nomination files (UNESCO, 2003:43).

Helena Drobna, a program specialist and a regional officer for Europe at the Living Heritage Entity in UNESCO believes that ICH enhances a sense of identity and belonging to a group or a community. She regards heritage as a valuable asset that should be passed onto the next generation, suggesting that "heritage is also progress, change, the tomorrow, development, rather looking back at our ancestors and reflecting on how they did something one hundred years ago" (Drobna, 2019:interview). In her experience working with heritage practitioners and ICH applications, the reasons for securing ICH status vary from economic purposes to the desire for social cohesion to the consolidating feelings of ownership over an art form, whereby a certain community feels that a certain element is specifically and uniquely theirs. Furthermore, these dances give communities a sense of being part of a cultural collective over time, in opposition to other contemporary dance practices which valorize a break from the past and celebrate novelty and futurity.

As a member of the capacity-building and heritage policy units, Drobna has held numerous workshops to train future heritage facilitators.[156] Reflecting on her experience, she suggests that a key misunderstanding is that UNESCO is the one that safeguards a certain

[156] There is a rarely discussed distinction between heritage experts and heritage facilitators within the ICH milieu. For instance, a heritage expert can be any professional (scholar, researchers, government representative) who has been invested in the process of safeguarding heritage and directly participated in its research or nomination. Heritage facilitators, on the other hand, are trained by UNESCO staff and can help countries and stakeholders who seek guidance and training for the safeguarding of ICH through workshops and mentoring.

element when, in reality, that task is left to the practitioners themselves. However, she stresses the fact that UNESCO employees are only involved in the process of training future heritage managers, while the actual act of safeguarding is left the practitioners themselves. According to Drobna, because of the strong emphasis on folklore and anthropology in Central and Eastern Europe, one of the biggest problems is understanding community participation, given that these disciplines focus on salvaging, archiving, and freezing culture that does not necessarily require community participation. She adds: "What we at UNESCO are looking for is the value for the person, not for humanity. Because if the person considers that this is their heritage and it is valuable for them, well let's help them safeguard it. It is not the expert that decides" (Drobna, 2019:interview). Furthermore, Drobna argues:

> We are trying to train facilitators, not experts. So they have to be experts in their domain, but we are training them to teach people something, to facilitate a discussion around something, which is a very different approach. We have no lessons to give about your heritage. We can help them facilitate discussion about what people have and how to safeguard it.
>
> (Drobna, 2019:interview)

While researching UNESCO inscriptions and the safeguarding process, I attended several workshops where UNESCO staff gave lectures on the 2003 Convention, clarified the convention's language, and focused on case studies through which the participants were able to make their judgements about whether the elements were in line with the 2003 Convention. Through these workshops, which often include roundtable discussions, future heritage facilitators are expected to carry on UNESCO's mission of preserving ICH by developing their own national registries and inventories, proposing safeguarding plans, and directly involving heritage practitioners in the process. These workshops continuously emphasize a bottom-up approach in which the community members are the ones that decide what they consider as heritage, why they value it, while the trained facilitators can only help them safeguard it.

The question remains: what happens to the dance, as well as the dancers, once they achieve ICH status? Regardless of the conservation measures taken by the community members themselves, or by local professionals who work for heritage-related institutions, it is impossible to predict and foresee the future of any dance. Inventorying, safeguarding, and listing dance heritage are only a few of these attempts that can ensure continuity in the future; however, the situation in the field remains in the control of the practitioners associated with the practice. Even though there are no recorded cases where a cultural practice lost its ICH status, this should not mean that such scenarios are impossible. During an International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) conference in Bangkok in 2019, where the secretary of the 2003 Convention held a roundtable devoted to ICH, I inquired about the number of practices that might be safeguarded in the future. According to him, UNESCO does not foresee a limit to the heritage lists, which means that various dances can continue to be recognized as ICH, theoretically up to a point where all or most nationally recognized dances become the heritage of humanity.

Concluding remarks:

In this chapter, and throughout the dissertation in general, I demonstrated that the gradual recontextualization of Kopachkata, Nijemo Kolo, and Kolo— first as the subject matter of folklore studies, followed by different strategies of staging and choreographing the dances as symbols of ethnic and national identities, and finally as intangible heritage that is regionally, nationally, and internationally recognized — is a reminder of the discourses that shaped and likely will further shape the future of the dances. I argued that UNESCO's attempts to safeguard heritage are not a new but rather a continuous process that has been ongoing since the nineteenth century, despite its new naming and alignment with UNESCO's 2003 Convention. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues: "Having a past, a history, a "folklore" of

your own, and institutions to bolster these claims, is fundamental to the politics of culture: the possession of a national folklore, particularly as legitimized by a national museum and troupe, is cited as a mark of being civilized" (1998:65). Likewise, possessing but also advertising their heritage by placing it on internationally recognized cultural lists is an asset of immense importance, especially for the Balkan countries that have been seen as the "other" of Europe for too long.

The question of which practice gets to be listed as ICH is very specific, as there is no actual limit to what is considered to be heritage, as long as its UNESCO application is written in a way that satisfies the UNESCO criteria. My discussion demonstrates that Kopachkata, Kolo, and Nijemo Kolo are not special or different from others that do not have a heritage status but they are produced by heritage experts and institutions, who have chosen these as signs of national culture over other practices. The reasons for this selection include watermarking certain practices in order to claim possession of them; boosting cultural tourism; acquiring cultural and economic capital; engaging in cultural diplomacy; and creating heritage in order to create or affirm cultural, local, and national identities.

As argued, globalization has led to an increasing concern with the local — in this case, local dance and music practices that are also regarded as commodities that attract profit when fueled by the politics of heritage economy. While the fear of globalization as an annihilator of local culture might be considered a direct threat to local dances, it can also increase the economic value of the dances that are regarded as disappearing. Globalization can therefore produce heritage, in addition to undermine it. Furthermore, by listing and advertising it, heritage becomes a form of exchange of cultural capital that is used to validate the richness of cultural traditions or to showcase ethnic, national, and cultural diversity.

Conclusion:

This research aimed to demonstrate how dance is transformed from a communal cultural practice on a local level, to resolutely global, and potentially transhistorical, intangible cultural heritage of humanity. During the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, peasant dance was collected for the purpose of creating a national archive — an ongoing project utilized in the creation of national culture. I argued that the act of collecting dances involved a constellation of stakeholders and institutions that included the practitioners, the government, cultural organizations, and scholars. Researchers collected and studied these dances to recontextualize them as national heritage through choreography, and used them for mediating national identity within an international arena. By analyzing changing representations of dance within the Yugoslav area, I have also demonstrated how dance as ICH is commodified and marketed and is starting to play a vital role in local and national economies.

One of the principle tasks of the ICH construct is to validate dance as a medium that transcends certain inherited values and prove them worthy of appreciation. I suggested that the process of heritagizing and inscribing dance is firstly and mostly an ideal of expert appraisal, as it requires the professional assistance of trained experts. Furthermore, I demonstrated how the process of heritagization is a process of producing meaning, as no cultural practice is heritage by itself; rather, it is constructed to satisfy certain aesthetic, social, political, and economic norms. This process involves the state, the institutions that represent the authorized heritage discourse, and the associated community — a group of people who are the bearers of a certain practice — ask for recognition. In order to create heritage, these institutions invest in the process of heritagizing, as they are aware that by elevating a certain cultural practice from local to global, they are investing in acquiring cultural capital as well.

Reflecting on the processes of gradual recontextualization of dance, whether through folklorization or heritagization, I intervene in the field of dance studies by moving the focus from heritage as a product to heritage as a set of institutional maneuvers. Such processes exceed the dance examples that I mention in this work, as many other dance practices throughout the world have ICH status. While many dance scholars[157] have elaborated on commodification procedures and how they affect the dances and the practitioners in numerous ways, such processes have only recently started to take place in the Balkans and therefore require further research. Furthermore, through my theorization of heritage choreography, I provide alternative examples of dance-making that are rooted in local understandings of authenticity and spectacle, thereby enriching the conversation about what the act of choreographing entails. I hope that this dissertation will contribute towards conversations about choreography and national identity and incite future research that might illuminate how these concepts are interwoven in the process of producing and promoting intangible cultural heritage.

As scholars, we have yet to observe what happens to the dances and the dancers once they adopt their ICH status. What is certain, however, is that ICH lists are rapidly developing in the Yugoslav region and on the global scene. One of the main reasons for this ICH boom is due to the fact that nation states and the experts associated with heritage safeguarding have recognized that the value of heritage is ascribed, rather than being solely intrinsic. Furthermore, many nation states have recognized that while museums and cultural sites provide the experience of material culture, intangible heritage can also contribute towards conversations about history, ethnicity, and imagining the nation. Driven by the fact that UNESCO's ICH definition allows for a broad engagement, UNESCO's Representative List is

[157] See Foster, 2019; Wilcox, 2018; Desmond, 1999; Savigliano, 1995; Rowe, 2010.

increased every year and does not foresee a numerical limit (despite the fact that each country can list only one heritage form per year).

At this point, the question remains: how many more should we expect? What makes this question a pressing issue is that the Representative List can often produce hierarchies. While listing cultural heritage has become a fundamental act to many nation states who aspire to achieve world-wide recognition and safeguarding protections, but also market their cultures, we must also be attentive to which practices are excluded and remain unrecognized. For instance, there are several communities throughout Croatia who perform different types of Nijemo Kolo, yet their dances are not UNESCO-recognized because Croatian heritage experts have decided to focus on a specific region exclusively. In Macedonia, dances like Teshkoto have long awaited UNESCO's recognition, but the communities associated with its performance have failed to satisfy criteria. Communities throughout the Balkans, whose dances have not been added to national and international registries, experience the negative implications of this hierarchical structure, which positions recognized dance practices as more important than others that might be equally representative of and significant to the community of practitioners.

Furthermore, will all dances at one point become UNESCO-recognized ICH? According to UNESCO's Representative List, dance, along with music, appears as one of the most popular cultural representative elements. Since 2009, there have been 205 UNESCO-recognized cultural practices that include dance, choreography or movement. Out of these listed examples, thirty-one of them are linked with rituals, while others are performed as part of carnivals, processions, theatre practices or festive occasions. Such statistics show that many countries across the world have recognized dance and movement practices as important media that contributes towards raising visibility about local, regional and national culture. What is not known, although, I speculate, is probable, is whether these dances have

undergone the same or similar heritagization processes as the ones that I analyze in their trajectory to becoming UNESCO-recognized ICH. By conducting further cross-comparative analyses of such recontextualization processes, we can enrich the field of dance studies by promoting conversations about the intersection between dance and cultural policy.

While these dances are celebrated locally, nationally, and "out there in the world," little has been known about which factors and decisions played an important role in their trajectory to achieve fame and become recognized as internationally-renowned cultural heritage. In this dissertation, not only have I revealed the intersection between UNESCO, nationalism, and the localized practices of dance in the Yugoslav region, but I have also shown different perspectives about who the dance belongs to and who defines what dance is. In looking at the transformation of these dances throughout the years, I demonstrated that staging dance as heritage allows for an encounter with the past in the present. Such conversations about dance, often overlooked in discussions and publications around ICH, reveal valuable information about how the heritagization processes directly affect not only the dances but the practitioners as well, and further incite new questions about agency and ownership.

Heritage appreciation is not limited to local concerns, but has a European-wide appeal, as numerous countries have invested in programs devoted to heritage research and safeguarding and are using heritage to align themselves with the process of Europeanization. Countries such as Croatia, Serbia, and Macedonia aspire towards such recognition because it legitimizes their culture in an international arena and also contributes to the development of local and national economies. Following the Yugoslav wars, which still remain one of the major events that these countries are known for, the process of transition into neoliberal capitalism and privatization is still happening. While the European Union continues to impose certain criteria that many of these countries in the Western Balkans are not able to

meet, UNESCO's Representative List presents an easier way for cultural recognition. Finally, sharing culture, not only with Europe, but globally as well, presents an adequate way for countries like Macedonia and Serbia to initiate their process of Europeanization and become righteous members of the European Union.

Based on my research, it seems that Romantic manifestations in Europe have been reignited in the present moment, albeit re-interpreted and conceptualized as heritage safeguarding. To date, there are numerous bachelor and master's programs[158] in Europe and around the world where students study heritage. The increased attention to heritage, especially in the context of refugee crises can also be read as a neo-Romantic anxiety about culture disappearing in the face of increased migration. In the past twenty years, we have witnessed the expansion of a great number of organizations[159] such as the European Heritage Alliance, Europa Nostra, the European Network on Cultural Management and Policy, the European Association of Historic Towns and Regions, the Heritage Alliance, the International Association of the European Heritage, and others — all of which are oriented towards the research, study, funding, and the safeguarding of heritage. Many of these organizations proclaim that the European Union citizens have a responsibility to cherish, preserve, and promote their heritage, as it generates social and economic benefits. Furthermore, these organizations vouch for heritage appreciation and safeguarding as these acts contributes to the understanding of identity, the preservation of cultural memory, and the creation of social cohesion. However, there might also be additional investments in protecting heritage, such as Islamization (Yükleyn, 2009; Savage, 2004; Cesari, 2012; Larsson and Spielhaus, 2019; Legrand, 2014) and the migrant crisis (Quinn, 2016; El-Tayeb,

[158] https://www.criticalheritagestudies.org/post-graduate-courses

[159] Some of these organizations are listed on: http://europeanheritagealliance.eu/members/ and https://www.coe.int/en/web/herein-system/non-governmental-organisations

2008; Karolewski and Benedikter, 2018) — pressing issues in the European Union due to right wing political populism.

As heritage is closely related to identity, the fears of Muslim immigrants populating European cities are based in prevailing anxieties that Islam is a threat to European identity, given the construct of Europeanness has been based on Christianity. While essentialist views revolve around the premise that European identity is built upon history and culture, it is inevitable that heritage—a construct rooted in similar discussions, might be threatened. Such anxieties over preserving culture have not only been popular in the twenty-first century, but have been an issue since the late nineteenth century as well. Moreover, increased attention to cultural heritage in the twentieth century was largely due to concerns about wartime loss. In the Yugoslav region specifically, the focus on keeping cultural traditions alive in the 1950s has been initiated by the migrations of practitioners from the villages into the cities. The fears of people abandoning their heritage practices and opting for foreign art forms still remain an issue to this day. Following the adoption of the UNESCO 2003 Convention, such concerns have been further emphasized due to fears of globalization, Westernization, and cultural homogenization in the twenty-first century.

To conclude my dissertation, I once again return to the dances that I used as case studies. Growing up, whether dancing in or watching performances of these and other similar dances from the region, I have wondered how they will evolve and if they will be perceived as more than the locality's or nation's symbols. However, not much has changed in regard to the dance form and the way that these dances are performed on a local level since their UNESCO inscription. Some of the important changes to note include bigger financial support from the states in which they exist, allowing the dance groups to perform and tour internationally and further promote the nation's heritage. As they are considered intangible cultural heritage, the dances continue to "live" through performance. Yet, what does it mean for the dancers to call

and interpret these social dances as ICH? By adopting such values, the dancers take on the role of carriers of cultural heritage, rather than solely being performers. Moreover, the ICH status implies that the community of practitioners has a responsibility, not only to the nation state in which they belong, but also to UNESCO, to maintain their dance. Finally, the ICH status allows for the possibility for dancers to perform on stage, as it gives them the opportunity to articulate their own understanding of tradition in relation to the specific context in which the dance exists.

Despite community efforts, in order for the dances to remain "living," the state has developed further measures to ensure the transmission process. For instance, Kopachkata is taught as part of the dance curriculum at the Department of Traditional Music and Dance (*Nasoka za Tradicionalna Muzika i Igra*) at the National High School for Music and Ballet "Ilija Nikolovski Luj" in Skopje and at the Department of Ethnochoreology at the "Goce Delchev" university in Shtip. High school and university students are required to analyze, learn how to perform, and teach Kopachkata to dancers in various groups in the country in order to disseminate the knowledge as national heritage of humanity. Similarly, Kolo is also included in the dance curriculum at the Department for Folk Dance (*Odsek Narodna Igra*) in the ballet high schools in Belgrade and Novi Sad, and at the Ethnomusicology Department at the Music Academy in Belgrade. Moreover, Nijemo Kolo is part of the curriculum at the Department for Folk Dances (*Odjel za Narodne Plesove*) in the high school for classical ballet in Zagreb.

Beyond their inclusion in high school and university curriculums, Kopachkata, Kolo, and Nijemo Kolo are often the subject of many dance seminars and workshops that include "*Ilindenski Denovi*" in Bitola, Macedonia, hosted by the ethnochoreology department, "*Ljetna Škola Hrvatskog Folklora*" (The Summer School of Croatian Folklore), led by choreographer Andrija Ivančan, and through the *Centar za Istraživanje i Očuvavanje*

Tradicionalnih Igara Srbije CIOTIS (The Center for Research and Safeguarding of Traditional Dances in Serbia), led by several Serbian ethnochoreologists. Such organizations and events allow for the opportunity for the general public to learn the dances and participate in the process of transmission.

Finally, who safeguards heritage? As seen in the third chapter, especially through the examples from Serbia and Croatia, heritage experts and research institutions initiated the safeguarding process, as opposed to the communities themselves. Following this top-down approach, inscribing and listing heritage is not so much a concern of local communities who have managed to preserve their cultural traditions to this day without the professional expertise of scholars and institutions. Such examples also indicate that while heritage involves bringing the past into the present, it also involves an anxiety about the process, as there is an implication that cultural transmission on a local level cannot be trusted. In the three countries where I have done my research, the governments have incorporated these processes of recontextualization and heritagization, proving that the act of preserving culture is a hegemonic process that is of national interest rather than simply being a communal concern.

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