THE DANCE OF THE ETHNOGRAPHICAL TYPE-
A WAY OF SAFEGUARDING TRADITIONAL DANCE[1]

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SUMMARY. The article brings on again the relationship between the traditional dance (as object of representation) and its representations within the Romanian folklorism, analysis of the valorisation ways of the Romanian traditional dance revealing the underground or surface relations that the dance text has with the ideology, the political instruments and the safeguarding process. Revisiting concepts and specific terms, the analysis tries to recalibrate, where it is necessary, the terminology which serves the mentioned relationship, bringing it into an actuality in which it is necessary the need of an infusion of ethnographic methodology. The result of this approach is the proposal of the concept and the term "dance of ethnographic type" for one type of dance that belongs to the Romanian choreutic folklorism. In addition, the article is a plea for a paradigm change in the ways of valorisation of the traditional dances, a plea *per excellentiam* for the real professionalization of a field with a significant importance in the Romanian culture and economy.

Keywords: dance of ethnographic type; traditional dance, theatre-dance, character dance, folklorism, referentiality, fictionality.

Introduction

Along with music and costumes, the dance is nowadays one of the traditional cultural elements which give substance to the Romanian folklorism showing the relationship the Romanians have for their own cultural tradition of folkloric type.

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[1] A short variant of this article in the Romanian language was published in the *Yearbook of the Transylvanian Museum of Ethnography* (Argonaut Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2014). The present article brings new dimensions of the analysis, bringing deeper the issue presented in the published variant in the Romanian language, where is necessary.

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Beginning in the second half of the 19th century, the phenomenon of folklorims has been strongly connected to the ideologies and politics dominant in different periods, being influence more or less directly by the scientific paradigms that have pointed out the Romanian social sciences.

A strong ideological connection was in the communist era when, caught in the communist propaganda tools, the valorisation of the peasant dances was dominated by the choreography pattern of Moiseev type, a pattern having the roots in the egalitarian ideology assumed by the Soviets. Although it practically damages the folklore nature of the dance, this method of valorisation proliferate nowadays, too, on a lack of professional training of those involved and of a strong recession experienced by the Romanian ethno-choreology research.

At a quarter of century after the renouncement of the communist political system, we propose to analyse some of the aspects that characterize the Romanian choreutic folklorism and to identify a theoretical framework necessary to reformatting the valorisation patterns of the dances of peasant nature according to their folklore nature and also to the epistemic and methodological current openings.

The Dance – between traditional contexts and folklorism contexts

During the last two centuries we could observe three large periods, through the relationship between the traditional contexts of the dance and the ones of the folklorism:

1. Thus, beginning with the middle of the 19th century and till the middle of the 20th century one could delimit a first period in which the contexts belonging to the local traditions of the dances were viable and had social and cultural roles specific to the traditional civilisation. In parallel, with the development of the Romanian intellectuals it appears the first manifestations in which the peasant dance is extracted from the local peasant culture and brought in the performances. Later on, in the interwar period, especially in the towns, the first dance clubs were established in which the dance of peasant origin was practiced.

2. A second period started at the instauration of the communist era in Romania and it ended at the Revolution in 1989. The collectivisation of the agriculture, the industrialisation and large migration of the inhabitants from the rural areas to the urban ones are only some of the social processes that led to a strong cultural censorship and influenced the development of the folkloric groups (especially the urban ones). Now, also, the institutions dedicated to valorization of the peaseant's dance were founded. The old traditional contexts of the dance recorded a strong recession, only few of them surviving. Caesura between the organic existence of the dance (in traditional contexts) and its second existence (most often the stage one)

deepens by adopting the Moiseev model of stage valorisation of the dance, the performances becoming instruments of the communist propaganda (for instance, the Festival *Song of Romania*), the dance strengthens, too, along with other languages, the duplicity as a form of social adaptation.

3. The current period has started in 1990 and it is marked by the outgoing from the communism and the adaptation of the market economy. Along the contexts of the previous period there is developed a real profile industry in which the products that asserts from the traditional dance have a significant participation. In addition, along the state institutions involved in the folklorism phenomenon, the private initiatives has begun to appear, so diversifying the number of the those who respond to the same social needs of identity, educational, economic, entertainment nature etc.

It should be stressed that the two types of dance existence (the traditional and folklorism ones) communicates, often the dances born in folklorism performing in traditional contexts. We are dealing in this case with the opening that a traditional event has in the process of its adaptation to the social realities[3].

The culture of traditional dance and the folklorism: theoretical boundaries

As it could be seen from the above general picture, the society of traditional type as a whole and its cultural system has survived in Romania till the end of the first half of the last century. Nowadays we could discuss about the relics of this culture, as in the case of the traditional dances and of some events it is performed in.

Beginning from the systemic nature of *tradition*, defined as a "set of values, symbols, ideas and constraints that determine the adherence to a social and cultural justified order by referring to the past and that ensure the protection of this order against the work of the forces of radical impugnment and change" (Balandier 1986: 105 apud Géraud, Leservoisier, Pottier 2001: 52) one could perceive *the culture of the traditional dance* as a sub-system of that being independent with other sub-systems of the tradition (for instance, the system of the magical-religious beliefs, the one of the community rules, the musical system, the literature system etc.) and characterised at the level of the dance texts by a stylistic vision specific to the space, time and energy, vision interpreted in the terms of mobile solidarity between a specific morphology and a specific syntax.

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[3] There are known nowadays the cases in which within an event of dance in the local tradition there are inserted moments of dance of a group of dances that belong to the folklorism (for exemple, the group of dances of the children in the village/ commune participates to the dance organised by adults).

From this perspective, *a traditional dance* could be defined as being *a variant* of an ideal materialized text (somatic expressed) under a spatial-temporal-energetic aspect according to some morpho-syntactic rules and stylistic and aesthetic rules, variant that is in a closed correlation with other types of traditional texts (called by us *co-texts*) and adherent to some social, cultural, magical-religious (etc.) rules, all of them being imposed by a certain local tradition.

The traditional dance appears in traditional contexts perceived here as being events clearly restricted from the perspective of the space and time, events that in the system of local tradition have their own significance appeared from the conjugation of the meanings of the sub-systems that interrelate on this occasion. In the contemporary Romania, these contexts have a direct filiation with the ones belonging to the Romanian society of traditional type, as it survived until the first half of the 20th century.

We can ask ourselves if the delimitation mentioned above between the traditional contexts and the ones belonging to the folklorism is valid, if we could catalogue nowadays some of the dance events which take place in the Romanian rural areas as being "traditional". Here, too, surely, we refer to only those events in which the traditional dance is present.

The contact with the reality in the ethnological field makes us to say yes. In spite of the mentality changes, of secularization, of "Christianization" (for some of them) come with the modernity in the Romanian rural area there are met events in which not only the old forms of manifestation have survived, but also the older mentality resorts, older layers of magical-religious beliefs, older functions (social, cultural, ritual) etc.

Thus, we think that we could talk yet about "traditional contexts" of the "traditional" dance as long as there are these two conditions related to (1) the presence of the old cultural, social, magical-religious significances (where appropriate) etc. and (2) the presence of the choreutic texts and co-texts that respect the stylistic vision and the morpho-syntatic manifestation imposed by the local choreutic tradition[4].

The folklorism is considered to be "a second life of the folklore that has as specific moment the reproduction of the phenomenon (...) out of the contexts in which it appears normally and in other goals than the ones it was created for" (Ispas 2003: 40), being perceived as a "form of idealization by revalorisation and reinvention of a selective assumed past" (Kostlin 1982 apud. Cuisenier 2005:92). During the Cold War, in the two European spaces (the capitalist west and communist east) the folklorism was perceived in a different way, even opposite, being related to the type of the political-social specific system which ruled in

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[4] In my opinion this cataloging is still available for some of the contexts in which the traditional dances still live, for example: the Căluş (knights' dance), the walking from one house to the other by the group of Căluş men (knights), the alms dance *Hora*, the wedding (in its variants still found in some villages), the ball, the village dance, the Carnival etc.

each of these two spaces. In the West, the folklorism was perceived as "second-hand mediation and presentation of folk culture" (Moser, apud. Šmidchens 1999:52) while in the Eastern part, especially in the former Soviet one, the folklorism was and still is understood as a phenomenon which would reflect a new stage in the folklore evolution (Šmidchens 1999:52).

"Because folklorism creates new variations, it is part of the folklore process. Authenticity is therefore unimportant in the ethnographic description of these processes" (Istenič, 2011:55). In the same way the phenomenon is perceived by Guntis Šmidchens when, revisiting the concept, he stated that the folklorism refers to "a sub-category of the folklore", being considered "a conscious repetition of a folk tradition seen as a symbol of an ethnic, regional or national culture". In the Šmidchens's opinion, the folklorism is related to a basic necessity of the modern man to know his history, to nostalgia of a historical continuity (Šmidchens 1999:56).

Felix Hoerburger refers to two types of existence of the folklore dance: *a first existence* specific to the dances in their traditional culture and *a second existence* within the folklorism (Hoerburger, 1968). Andreiy Nahachenwsky introduces in the analysis of the phenomenon the concept of *reflectivity* that refers to "the perceptions of the members of the subject culture themselves. It deals with self-consciousness within the emic worldview of the participants; inside the tradition before an outside ethnographer even arrives" (Nahachenwsky 2001:20). The aim of using this concept is the one of nuances of the situations which exceed those two situations stipulated by Hoerburger, situations between which A. Nahachenwsky says that we do not have to draw very thick limited lines, on the contrary they must be seen rather as some landmarks among the real situations are very fluid and are marked by many overlaps (fact emphasized by Hoerburger, too, in his article).

The Performance "of folklore" in the study of the Romanian researchers

The relationship between the folkloric products and the ones of the traditional dance culture were approached by the Romanian ethnologists and coreologists who standed by at a massive development of the performances named "of folklore", in the communism era.

Mihai Pop reckoned that the show is the last expression of the slow process of the deritualisation of the folk culture elements (on the line ritual-ceremonial-performance), thus pointing out the organic filiations between "the amateur artistic movement" (actant expression of the folklorism) and folklore (Pop, 1999: 203-208). To the ones who want to realize such a performance, M. Pop asks "to know both the traditional code and lexicon (of the customs they want to stage author's note S. P.) and the performance code and lexicon. The knowledge of the code and of the lexicon means the knowledge of the intern

logic of combination of pertinent elements, the knowledge of the significance these elements with symbolic value cipher. This knowledge surpasses the level of the pure aesthetic impressions. Therefore, the selection of what retains from a traditional custom into a performance cannot be done only based on the aesthetic criteria" (Pop 1999: 212).

Limiting the discussion to the issue of dance, one can notice that in the same period and from the same semiotic perspective, the performance of "folk" dance was understood as being "the product of a dialogue between a production and a consumption", being "considered in some cases as a new form of existence of the folklore, when the interventions of staging are minimal, but in no case it could not be confused with the face of folklore itself" (Giurchescu, 1971:370-371).

Once the dance is "broken of the traditional context and framed in another cultural system, defined by other parameters, it stops to be a face of folklore anymore in the strict meaning of the term", that is because "the scenic performance establishes a series of rules that modify essentially the structure of the traditional choreographic language" (Giurchescu, 1971:370) so "the choreographic products[5] in the performances *could not be considered as belonging to the folkloric plan*", belonging to the folklorism (Giurchescu, 1973: 180). In the same article, the researcher points out on the fact that "the missing of the connection with the traditional values, their denial opens the way of a free of criteria processing of the consumer products at the periphery of the urban culture" (Giurchescu, 1973:189).

By two articles published in the *Journal of Ethnography and Folklore* in 1974, Andrei Bucşan made a real guide concerning the way in which the folk dance could be staged. Showing indirectly the types of the performances presented in that period, he asked to the performances makers in which the folk dance was valorized to respect some minimal conditions: a) to lay honestly, clearly the nearness and distance degree to the folklore: authentic folklore, processing, styling, balleting or any other form that may appear; b) to respect the limits of that degree; c) to have an appropriate value both in conception and in execution (1974: 15). Bucşan is very critic with the makers who have the tendency to go far away by the *folkloric pattern*, entering the area of the productions without cultural value. His "guide"[6] tries to emphasize the possibilities the ones who make these performances have in order to make productions according to laws of the folkloric dance, with its feature and its stylistics. Based on the analysis of several "arguments" of the ones who, playing the role of links in the

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[5] We use the terms "coreic" and "coreutic" as synonyms having the following meanings: "of dance", "related to dance"

[6] A. Bucşan analyses in the two articles not only the elements that make the show (space, time, action, background, actants, etc.) but also, especially from the folklorist's perspective, emphasizes a series of fundamental arguments on the typological features of the traditional dances, on their morpho-syntactic features, on stylistics, etc.

chain of transmission and translation of the traditional dances, interfere on them, Bucşan tries to prove that in order to preserve the elements that define the folkloric dance is essential a harmonization of the stage "laws" *to* the folklore "laws" but *not vice versa*[7].

But what were the stage products that A. Bucşan disputed with such vehemence and what is the source of these deviations from the folkloric pattern?

The influence of Soviet pattern of choreography of the "traditional" dances in the Romanian folklorism

I referred in the above lines to the influence of the communist ideology on the ways of valorisation of the traditional dance culture during the communist era. The goal of the communists' intervention on the peasantry was the political control on this social class, its impairment by uprooting, inclusively the cultural one. One of the "tools" of the communist propaganda was the performance "of choreographic folklore", in face a surrogate by which it was aiming to eliminate the dance events that belong to the local tradition.

This influence meant by some valorisation rules (especially the stage one) which not only that did not take into account the folkloric nature of the traditional dance and the organic processes related to its specificity, but also acted as a "poisoned apple", leading to significant changes concerning the content of the choreutic material and concerning the compositional and the transmission methods.

With the development of the mass culture there was imposed what we might call *the Soviet pattern of choreography* of the peasant origin dance[8]. On the path of the great folkloric "state" ensembles (as they were called at the time) and later by proletcultist "guides" (some of them being trained in Russia), this stage and choreography pattern of the traditional dances was spread among the folk groups and ensembles, especially on those coming from the worker society.

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[7] ,,To end this long discussion, we wonder one more time what are the reasons for which the stage < rules > would force to change the folklore < rules >. It seems to us that, contrary, the stage criteria could be harmonized with the folkloric plans and that the latter could win the stage in the following conditions:

  a) Not trying to adapt the folkloric plans to the stage criteria, but contrary; this in the case of a show that is called < folkloric >, otherwise any thing is allowed to the director;

  b) To cultivate the reality of the presented moment; this does not mean to assume mechanically what appears currently, but the use of all that exists in the folkloric life (in that moment);

  c) To use in any occasion the main specific values; this does not mean certainly the most complicated pieces or their presentation with most ostentation" (Bucşan, 1974: 22).

[8] Present in other countries in the former communist area

The pattern is based on a choreographic vision specific to the ballet performances and introduces in the transposition to the folklorism of the traditional dances elements that belong to the classical dance. Only that forcing the limits between cultures (the one of oral type and the literary one) and the introduction to the shows that valorize the traditional dances of some elements specific to the ballet or to the character dance[9] led not only to the vulgarization of these elements but also especially to a stylistic defalcation, a reduction of the referentiality[10] and a stop of other ways of introducing in the folklorism circulation the traditional dances, ways possible to be more appropriate to its folklore nature[11].

Called "stylization" or "balleting", this strong influence comes from ballet via dance of character or it comes directly is the one which in the process of converting the traditional dances from the original culture to the mass culture has produced the largest mutations regarding the referentiality.

Among the relevant aspects of the Soviet pattern the ones which have been in conflict with the folklore features of the traditional dances are the standardization, the uniformity and the introduction of the performance idea. Without making any further comments (the issue deserves to be discussed in a special occasion), I would like to emphasize here some of the changes that have occurred with getting the traditional dance in the new contexts.

The idea of standardization of the dances has roots in the socialist egalitarianism being conjugated in the Romanian national-communist ideology with the one of national unity. Thus, in the standardization of the repertoire we can notice at least two important aspects. The first one is that very many folklore groups especially in the urban area and the professional ones have tried to cover by their repertoire the large ethnographical regions of Romania. In the repertories of the most ensembles (especially in urban area), there are stage products with generic names "suite of dances from … (Moldavia, Valahia, Dobrogea, etc.)", names that send to a large or very large ethnographic area.

Another aspect of repertoire standardization is that the same suite of dances was introduced in the repertories of many ensembles of dance in the whole country. The choreography of the "suites of dances" follows also some standard patterns being constant: the ways of entry-exit from the stage; some difference depending on the gender in the execution of the choreology material; some geometric shapes[12] which are not met in the folkloric reality but especially

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[9] Elements which within a ballet performance or a character show contribute correctly to the qualilty of that show.

[10] See bellow the content we give to this term.

[11] We could say nowadays surely that without to be the only cause, this choreographic model was one of the factors that lead to discreasing the events of organic dance related to the community culture.

[12] The so-called "choreographic drawings".

are not correlated with the kinetic-rhythmic material[13]; the orientation of the entire group of dancers (and the orchestra and the folkloric band, too) to the place where the public is located (aspect that, too, is not specific to the folklore dance). These cumulated aspects undermine in a very large extent the degree of referentiality at the traditional dances.

At the level of the dances texts and co-texts, the standardization occurs primarily by the "recipe" in virtue of which there are created the "suites of dances", especially by agglutination of dance fragments that refer to the dances in several areas of an ethnographic region, rarely in the same place, a "recipe" marked by fragmentarism and eclecticism. By the identical repetition, these creations become some ossificated structures, the process of variants processing being excluded.

By fragmentarims and eclecticism some aspects very important for the dance physiognomy are eluded: the more precise identification of the origin of the folkloric fact folkloristic transposed, the organic structural links of the dance fragment / of the dance with other elements of the choreology context and especially the fragmentation / eludation of the producing methods of the dance texts: syntactic rules, composition methods and principles, relations between dance text and co-texts, types of variations etc. Moreover, the structural relations between the dance text and co-texts are redefined. The "suites" morpho-syntax becomes very dependent on the choreography. Conceptually, the suite is built on the balance between the material choreology variety vs. the variety & the variation of the choreographic drawings.

We must do an important observation here concerning the Romanian traditional dance culture. This has, mainly, two ways of dance text building: one in which the texts are build through a fixed succession or through a mobile succession of structural units (especially in the group dances) and one in which the dances have a structure made by free succession of the structural units (dances in pair, solistic dances). In all these three methods, the improvisation is present more or less.

In other words, in the first case the traditional dance is made by the performance in the same order of a mobile order of the dance structures, in the second case the dances are made by the performance of some structures (generally of expensing of the motif) in an order that has a high degree of freedom of association.

If for the first category of dances (the ones built through fixed and mobile sequence) the standardization allows an expression of their structural specificity[14], for the second category, the one that is based on improvisation,

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[13] This breakdown between the form and the content leads sometimes to truely hilarious results, for example the choreography could impose a move of the stage area on a kinetic-rhythmic material that is not proper to be executed on a move. The examples are numerous. We mention here this inadequancy between the form and the context, a inadequacy that shows a ignorance of the primary reality.

[14] By the fact that some figures or sequences of dance could be integrally assumed, so we could keep until a certain level the structural relations between sub-units.

this standardization means actually to obturate the process specific to the creation, of formal renewal.

For both categories of traditional dances, in different ways, the standardization leads to the eludation of the most important process by which the folklore lives: producing the variants. Because of this fact, too, the meaning of the term "dance" has other connotations within the folklorism compared to the ones it has in the traditional culture. Equally, the standardization touched the musics, the *strigaturi* (shouts) accompanying the dances and also the costumes elements of the dancers, the latter begin made in series in many cases.

The uniformity is visible especially on the level of interpretation. A form of manifestation of it is the synchronization of the dancers in performing the same text of dance. The synchronization leads to the suppression of the differences in interpretation, which naturally should be between dancers. Performing the same text of standardized dance, the dancers tend to fall as accuarately as possible in some common interpretative parameters (gestures performed in the same spatial and temporal dimensions, with the same energy, with the same doses between partners, same staces etc.), this mechanical interpretation resulting to an automatism that reflects negatively on the expression of the authenticity of the dance living and also to the creation of a collective interpretation style without personal relief.

The Soviet pattern of choreography of the traditional dances introduced also the idea of a performance in the technical interpretation of dances, a performance specific to the ballet/ character dance. If in the classic dance/ character dance this performance is justified by the nature of art and of its methods of transmission, in the stage dance, the idea of performance led to a distortion (sometimes rough) of its stylistics. Unnatural amplitudes of the gestures, strange body attitudes, facial theatrical nonsense expressions, searching of some spectacular stances, an excessive control of gesture, high or very high tempo runnings, an elimination of those dimensions of gesture that are not "in accordance" with the pattern imposed by the classic dance[15], powerful lyrics shouted, inserting of elements that do not belong to the traditional dance etc., all of them are only some of the aspects by which this (contrary) performance is expressed.

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[15] In fact, the gesture specific to the traditional dance is a very *natural* one, is an *unsought* and *relative* gesture, expressing in a *direct* way the dancer's pleasure. So even in these qualities of the gesture is *the humanity* of the traditional dance. "The balleting" of the gesture means the bringing to spatio-temporal-energetic dimensions that are specific to the classical dance, in putting it into extern aesthetics, contrary to the original one. In the classical dance, the gesture is a very controlled one, searched and precise, qualitites acquired as a result of a long exercise on the body. The long exercises typical to the body training produce articulatory skills which the dancer makes unwittingly. Therefore, for a formed dancer in the classical dance is relatively difficult to fit on the stylistics of gesture folkloric type. Surely, we do not make here a derogatory approach to the ballet, contrary, by stressing on these essential differences, we try to emphasize the values specific to each choreographic aesthetics.

They lead to an interpretation of the dances that exceeds the local/ regional styles specific to the traditional dances and bring a note of artificiality to the choreographic act (sometimes rough). Everything reveals an attention primary to the form and its exposure in front of the viewer, a concern for the technical interpretation of the dance.

Compared to this reality, in the interpretation of the traditional dances we are dealing with a focus on the living of the artistic act, on internalization of the act of dancing. The concern for the form, for the dance interpretation exists but it does not monopolize the surface of the dance expression. This is because the traditional dance is seen first through the interpretation of the choreographic gestures, a lax compliance to a pattern. The stress is on the enjoyment offered by the gesture and not on the care for its shape.

In the culture of the folkloric type, the process and the mechanisms of the dance transmission lead to the variants producing. The re-production of a pattern into a variant always allows the creativity and the dancer's personality even in the choreographic texts in which the succession of the units is fixed or mobile, especially in the ones in which the succession is free. In the suites of dances (and also in the texts of classic dance) this personal space tends to disappear. Here the dances focus on an accuaration of reproduction of the dance texts created by a choreographer. The variants are (mainly) excluded; the dance score is performed as closely as possible. The suites of dances are actually some "texts" that must be reproduced identically without sticking to them. The going out of their text is a mistake. This pattern we discuss here has become for the folkloric dance transposed in folklorism as a real *Procust's bed*.

Within the folklorism essential mutations were produced regarding the dance transmission. Both within the folkorism and within the culture of the traditional dance we are dealing with the intention to form some choreographic skills but the aims of their formation are different. In the traditional culture, the choreographic competence was important part of the young person's enlightenment; it had a stronger social functionality (see the premarital dance functions). To know how to dance was part of the norm. In folklorism, this reality was changed, *to know how to dance* dances that belong to the cultural tradition of the community is not any more part of the norm of a young person's enlightenment.

Another very important aspect is the reduction that affects the transmission agents in the contexts belonging to the folklorism. In the traditional culture, the transmission was done in family or between friends, rarely in formal activities[16], thus cultivating the structural and stylistical diversity of the variants by the multitude of the places and the persons involved.

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[16] In the past, in the Romanian villages there was organised the so-called "small dance" or "the children dance", a dance event in which the village children got together in order to learn and to practice what they were learning at home. Also, the older children could learn at the limit at the big dance, the adults' one, with a relative, for instance.

In the folklorism contexts, as in the classical dance, the dance is transmitted from a very small number of persons (usually one or two) to a larger group of dancers. The persons who transmitted the technical-stylistical package of the dance of ethnographic type (insider or outsider to the culture the dance is part of) acts like a filter therby making a favour to the standardization and especially to the uniformity of interpretation. We end this overflight on the Soviet pattern of stage valorisation of the traditional dance concluding on the main changes it produced: the inhibition of variants processing and the replacement of the compositional and transmission methods specific to the traditional dance with methods imported from ballet.

The report traditional dance/ its stage re-presentation and ... some questions

By breaking the ties with the primary contexts, the dances performed in the contexts that belong to the folklorism lose their adhesion to the local cultural tradition[17], so they cannot be called as being "traditional". The content of this "adhesion" to the traditional culture is given by the significances and roles that make the choreographic text a cultural, social, aesthetic, religious etc. element. All of them are irretrievably lost once the dance is transposed to the folklorism, thus what is transmitted in most cases and especially in the case of the dance suites, are only the dance texts and their co-texts, put more or less in a scenario that was meant to suggest the initial contexts.

In folklorism, the dance becomes a re-presentation, a copy of the traditional dance and enters a process of refunctionalisation and of resignification, a process of adapting to the life style, to the mentality, to the beliefs and norms of the new community which adopts them.

Seen by this angle, the issue of "authenticity" becomes not only outdated but also it seems a nonsense because "what is presented on the stage is not folklore but imitation of folklore, the fidelity degree of the reproduction being an argument dependent on a big number of factors. From this point of view, the crusade triggered for protecting the folklore authenticity presented on the stage is nonsense. An object could not be in the same time original and copy" [Nicolau 1981:100]. It is obviously that we are talking about that "authenticity" which is translated by the high degree of conformity to the new "product" to the "original" (to the the traditional dance). In the Romanian current folklorism, the authenticity is still understood in these terms.

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[17] Here, as you see bellow, there is a "flat" of the issue. The representations of the groups that the performed dance in the folklorised contexts is still part of their dance tradition would be a separated category at the limit between the two cultures' types (the traditional one and the cult one).

From all the ones mentioned above it is clear the fact that the dance presented in the folklorism is "something else" than the original (the traditional dance) to which this refers to. Therefore and according to the principle stated above (a thing cannot be in the same time original and copy of an original) it is wrong that this "something else" to be named likewise ... *traditional dance*. Thus, some justified questions come out that could be asked not only from pure theoretical considerations but also from practical considerations:

1. How could we call these dances which are "something else" than traditional dances?
2. How could we catalogue them and depending on which criteria?
3. What is the content of the relation between the traditional dance and its re-presentation?
4. (and last but not at least) what theoretical and practical relevance has such a step on the methods of valorisation of the traditional dances?[18].

In addition, we could wonder if the meaning given by Istenič to the term *folklore* is or is not compatible to the Romanian current reality. We are trying to explain all these aspects in the lines bellow:

Referentiality and fictionality – two concepts necessary to examine the changing process of the traditional dance into a fact belonging to the folklorism

Taking into consideration the definitions and the conceptual circumscription mentioned above I keep the following matters which already belong to the evidence field. The folklorism has as a condition *sine qua non* this reference to a cultural tradition. In addition to this *look back*, the elements of folklorism *land formal in another type of culure and live in contexts different from the initial ones. Between the elements that belong to the folkloric culture and the ones* belonging to the folklorism exist therefore *a relationship of original-reproduction type*, so the folkloric facts of the traditional culture are marks for the facts belonging to the folklorism. Consequently, for understanding the dance forms that belong to the folklorism is essential their reporting to those traditional dances to which they refer to (more or less, better or worse, in a more or less explicit way).

The conversion of the traditional dance within the folklorism leads to its change in another type of dance by losing the primary contextual reports, so of the quality of being "traditional", and by connecting to other contexts as well as by (possible) changes at the level of dance forms and of the dance stylistics.

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[18] The issue could be a minor one, but if we take into consideration the importance of this type of stage *re-presentation* (conversion) of the traditional dance within the folklorism phenomenon, we could realize its (social, cultural, artistic, economic, etc.) importance.

We believe that these changes could be caught by two antonymic but complementary processes, processes covered of two concepts borrowed from the literary criticism: the concept of *referentiality* – the process of *referentialization* and the concept of *fictionality* – the process of *fictionalization*[19].

If the reflectivity, the concept used by Andreiy Nahachenwsky, acts on the performers' self-awareness (so it takes into account the actants), the concepts of referentiality and fictionality could create the frame for observating the conversions inclusively on the level of form and of style, could become useful tools for understanding the methods in which the products belonging to the folklorism relate to the primary reality, the folkloric one (so they refer to the dance content).

The referentialization is a process of reporting of an element "B" that belongs to the folklorism to an element "A" which belongs to the traditional culture, process by which a series of morpho-syntactic and stylistic isomorphisms and also common grammatical rules could be identified between the two elements. *The referentiality* emphasizes that *relation of correspondence* between the fact of folklore (in our case the traditional dance) and the fact within the folklorism (the type/ the types of dance which are arisen by relating to the traditional dance).

The fictionalization[20] is that process by which the elements of the traditional dance culture are transposed into *a re-presentation* of symbolic type (similarity by convention) within the folklorism. The process of fictionalization has different *achievement degree* depending on a whole series of factors which define the event that belongs to the folklorism. We emphasize that both terms and both processes must be understood in *choreographic terms (musical, literary wherer applicable)*.

The changes occurred by fictionalization and the elements that give consistency to the referentiality could be followed by the comparative analysis of the copy and the original applying a pattern of choreographic analysis on three levels: the level of text of the dance[21], of its co-texts[22], and the level of

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[19] Borrowed from the studies of literary criticism regarding the fictionality (see Pavel, 1992) and on the narrative in the oral culture (see Neagota, 2013).

[20] I propose the use of the term "fictioanlization" instead of the term "stylization" used to indicate these changes especially at the level of dance text. The concept of "fictionalization" refers directly to at least two essential aspects found in the essence of the shows that valorize the traditional dance. On one hand, it underlines that detachment, this distance that exists between original and reproduction and, on the other hand, it introduces the auctorial issue, it sends to *somebody* who transmits the traditional dance different than in original, changes the primary reality into anogher reality.

[21] *The dance* is the highest level at which the choreographic from could be made, an organic and autonomous unit formed by gathering of all structural units with their compositional particularities and their functional inter-relations. A dance is different from another by its own structure, by artistic expression, by kinetic-rhythmic content, by specific dynamics, etc.). The dance has a vertical organisation structured on more formal levels, from the dance itself till the dance element (see Giurchescu, Kröschlová, 2007:22-52).

[22] I understand by "co-texts" those texts that are made in a syncretic way with the choreographic text (the melody, the rime, other gestures, etc.) (see also supra)

choreographic context[23].

Therefore, in ultimately approach the step (spectacular of other) within the folklorism could be assimilated to the knowledge act of an otherness (the peasant and his culture). Either it has a higher or lower degree of fictionalization; the transposing act of the traditional dance is an act of creation that indicates the way in which the one/ ones who make the new dances understand this otherness.

Types of dances that valorize the traditional dance

As seen above that although the dances performed in the folkorism were perceived as being "something else" than the traditional dances, they were not named. This situation keep thus *a confusion between the traditional dance and the folklorism products which they are related to it,* a confusion that produces extremely adverse effects in the Romanian culture, effects related to the intrinsic and social value of the events in which these dances are produced.

Seen as a source for the expressions of the cult dance (classical dance, modern dance with its various expression currents) and more recently for the theatre stage movement, the traditional dance was brought within the folklorism in a very heterogenous range of forms. In my opinion, any form of dance that is inside of the binomial referentialization-fictionalization and has the traditional dance as a referential reality is a form of choreutic folklorism. Depending on the dance type which contributes to the definition of the identity of these choreographic forms we could nowadays outline the following three types of dance in the Romanian cultural area: (1) **dances of ethnographical type;** (2) **dances of character;** (3) **dance-theatre**.

In the desire to clarify here the choreutic folklorism, we would rather outline the direction lines, the pertinent features which could lead to knowing one type or another. In the cultural reality, these types are intertwined, so that they do not exist in a "pure" form. Sometimes within the same production we could find fragments with a high degree of referentiality (dance of ethnographic type) and dance with a high degree of fictionalization (usually the dance of character).

The binomial *referentialization-fictionalization* is actually a reflection of the intention that underlying the performance of dances within the folklorism. The reality is surely quite nuanced, but we could see that depending on this intention we have two categories of dances:

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[23] I work here with the definition given by A. Giurchescu, where the choreographic context is "the series of updated dances in the social context" (see Giurchescu, 1970).

a. a category in which the intention is to accurately copy the traditional dance. Here is the dance of ethnographical type, closely attached to the idea of cultural heritage.

b. a category in which the intention to use the traditional dance as an artistic language-sourse for other types of artistic languages. The stress goes on the information of choreographic type, the ethnographical connotations being secondary. Here is the character dance and the theatre-dance. Concluding, we have the following types of dance categories:

Table 1

Dance Type	Referentiality Degree	Fictionality Degree	Type of dance that defines its identity
The dance of ethnographic type	Variable to very high	Variable to very low	Traditional dance
Dance of character	Variable to low	Variable to high	Classical dance
Dance-Theatre	Variable to low	Variable to high	Stage moving/ contemporary dance

Dances of ethnographic type. An ambiguous denomination…

If regarding the other two types of dance, their circumscription is easier because of the connection with the ballet and the stage movement/ contemporary dance, regarding the dances that have a high degree of referentiality, the denomination step receives a series of issues that come from the close nearness to the traditional dance, fact that creates a confusion between the two realities.

Excluding *ab initio* the terms that refer to the primal reality ("national dances", "folkloric dances", "folk dances", "traditional dances") we think that a proper name of this type of dance should reflect the following aspects:

- that is a copy of a primal reality (the traditional dance),
- that exists a high or very high grade of the referentiality,
- that they are perceived as being symbols of identity,
- that it is different from the other two types of dances.

One should notice that, depending on the relation the performers have with the dances they perform (if they are insiders or outsiders of the traditional culture at which the dances are refered to), the dance of ethnographic type has two sub-types:

- a sub-type with self-referential dances,
- a sub-type with referential dances.

The self-referential dances are performed by the ones for whom these dances are part of the cultural tradition of their community, but they are danced out of the traditional contexts specific to this community. In the case of this sub-type, the performers refer to their own dance tradition within the shows to their own dance tradition, "citing" from the tradition, showing it through samples. This type of dances is situated at the border between the folklorism and the traditional culture.

The referential dances are performed by groups or individuals uninitiated in dance tradition from which their dances claim, by groups or individuals to whom the performed dances do not have the value of a traditional dance (only rarely)[24].

The syntagma "dance of ethnographical type" is preferable to the one of "ethnographical dance" because it sets a certain distance from the ethnographical object (object which, in our case, is the traditional dance, thus making impossible the confusion between the original and the copy of the original.

On the other hand, the syntagma moves the main stress from the object of representation on a type of methodological approach. This movement forces in sub-text closeness between the folklorism and the ethnography at the methodological level, requiring also a rearrangement of

1. the relationship between the converted of the traditional dance in the folklorsim and the ethnographical act of the traditional dance.

2. the relation of the traditional dance with its representations.

Moreover, on a background of a formatted horizon along the culturalization and schooling for Romanians, the term *ethnographic* refers to the peasant traditional culture, so to the origin of the mentioned dances (see the ethnographical museums).

The methodological closeness that we are referring to should lead to a more consistent methodological transfer from the ethnography[25] to folklorism.

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[24] I think it is not necessary to mention that in Romania, the traditional dances are related to the rural area. They are the product of the traditional peasant culture, a culture of oral type. The referential dances of ethnographic type are practiced especially in the urban areas by the folkloristic groups. If we take into consideration the massive migration that accompanied the Romanian industrialization during communist era, the medium in which the folklorisc groups and ensembles of "folk" dances were developed, we could think that among dancers there were very many from the rural areas and among them could be ones who consider some dances practiced by these urban groups had also the value of a traditional dance (they wer part of their cultural tradition). These situations are exception.

[25] That is, from a step in which the stress is put on method and the scientific quantificable results to a step without methodological connotations, a step perceived especially under its artistic part but which uses data all the time, information that are rather investigated by ethnographic instruments.

One could wonder if nowadays we need this methodological reinsertion[26] and if so, which are the changes that this insertion could bring in the choreographic folklorism in which the intention is to patimonialize?

However, before discussing these issues let us see which are the main features of the other two types of dances, types characterized first of all by a great freedom of creation, of (choreographic) fictionalization of the traditional dance.

Dances of character. The specificity of this type of choreographic discourse is given by the use/ interpretation of the traditional dance structures through the gestural/ stylistical repertoire proper to the classical dance, type of dance the character dance belongs to as a distinct species.

The referential degree of the character dances toward the traditional dance tends to be very low, favouring factors of this situation being the fact that the traditional dance and the character dance belong to some aesthetics which have opposite features. But the essential difference comes from the intentions that are at the base of this classical dance species and the stage "solving" of these intentions. Born from the classical dance, this type of dance tries to emplasize "the character", the choreographic specificity of a national (regional) culture of traditional type. The use of some denominations such as *Spanish dance*, *Ukrainian dance*, *Romanian dance*, etc. expresses very well the symbolic character adherent to this dance type. Even nowadays the dance of character is one of the matters that students in the Romanian choreography highschools attend during a few years of study.

The fictionalization of the traditional dances is transposed by the essentialization of the traditional dance structures and its change to symbols of choreographic nature. The mechanism of symbolization expresses by: the selection of the material (mainly choreographic, musical, literary), formal reductions that go sometimes until the level of traditional dance microstructures (cell, motif), o new syntax, ways of composition and a choreographic architecture imposed by the show (performance) rules and by the choreography, a stylistics of the interpretation (performance) specific to the classical dance (i.e. a spatial different, extensive sizing of the gesture, another rhythmic and another type of body plasticity), the so-called "balleting".

Numerically reduced compared to the shows in which the dance of ethnographical type is performed, the shows with Romanian dance of character were produced mainly by the Romanian professional folkloric groups, the stage,

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[26] We say methodolotgical reinsertion because a methodological contact between the scientific world (ethno-choreologists) and the one involved in the folkloric valorisation of the traditional dances (dance instructors) was made even in the communist period, when the ethno-choreologists researchers was obliged to get involed in the mass culture phenomenon, being asked the methodological guidance of the ones involed in the valorisation of the traditional dance. The assimilation of research methods of the local traditional dance cultures was however reduced.

music-choreographic vision being strongly influenced by the Moiseev one, the marks and standards in this respect coming mainly from the Russian space.

Dances of dance-theatre type. In Romania, the theatre-dance was developed mainly in the post-communist era on the line of the synthesis between the teatre and the contemporary dance, becoming a very popular choreographic genre. The valorisation of the Romanian traditional dance in this choreographic genre is even nowadays fragile and does not have outstanding results yet. From the perspective of our analysis, the presence of such a dance type is important by the opening which it brings to the ways of valorisation, by the great potential of artistic plus-value which this dance type has.

The few spectacular presences that could be marked in this chapter (and here I refer exclusively to the valorisation of the Romanian traditional dance) indicates a low degree of referentiality and a high fictionalization of the traditional dance structures.

The essential difference to the dance of character is the fact that in the type of theatre-dance, the stylistics of interpretation (performance) is one as possible as free; it is not subject to the balleting, contrary, the gesture has a freedom of expression that is related to the post-modern paradigm of the stage movement and of the contemporary dance. As in the case of character dance, in the case of theatre-dance we are dealing with a fictionalization of symbolic type more pronounced than the one specific to the dance of ethnographic type, dance in which the symbolization (as manifestation of fictionalization) tends to zero.

Sometimes this valorisation form of the traditional dance uses large choreographic structures (parts of the traditional dances or even dances themselves), other time its structures are broken, fragmented and put in a compositional structure that function with the rules of theatre show, subsumed to the subject and to the show theme. The repertory of the gestures of choreographic type is mixed with a gestural repertory that belongs to the theatre or to the contemporary dance, the stage re-presentation of the traditional dance being made into a different stylistics.

Choreutic folklorism as a form to preserve the traditional dance heritage

As shown above, the intention that is at the base of character dance and the theatre-dance is different from the one that defines the dance of ethnographic type. Both the theatre-dance and the character dance uses the language of the traditional folkloric dance as a autonomous system of signs rather in the service of the entertainment without giving ethno-identity very pregnant

connotations[27] and without to be so closed to the idea to preserve such a part of a traditional culture heritage.

On the contrary, the referential and self-referential dances of ethnographic type are often placed in the syntax of some spectacular approaches that have a high adhesion to the ideas of ethnicity, identity, communitary history, etc.

In the decades of the communism, the Soviet model of choreography of the dances of ethnographic type became inland and a standard of the stage valorisation of the traditional dance. In this respect, due to a real lack of professional culture of the majority of those who transmit dances of ethnographic type[28], the suites of dances not only that were put away after the communism fell, but they began to be perceived as definitory elements for the tradition of a group/ dances ensemble and to proliferate, although their feature are opposite to the ones the folklore has.

This phenomenon happened and still happens especially in the case of the ensembles or groups in the urban areas. The groups composed of peasants were much less influenced by the Soviet choreographic model during the communist period, the referential degree of the spectacular products of these groups being very high[29]. Nowadays we experience a strong phenomenon of contamination from the groups of dances in the urban area to the ones in the rural area. The phenomenon is explained by the deep breakdown of the new generations from the local tradition of the dance and also by the accelerated disappearance of the older keepers of these traditions. Also, on the model instaured during the communism and by the lack a a minimum ethnological culture of the maker factors, more and more groups' instructors in the rural area (especially children groups) are actually dancers or former dancers of the

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[27] These connotations are not missed, surely, but the stress and the intentions of the ones who make such dances are not on them.

[28] Regretfully we should remark here that neither nowadays we have a university department to teach the etno-choreography, the didactics of dance of ethnographic type, the performance art and other matters that could have a contribution to the professional culture of the ones involved in the traditional dances' valorisation. Although this situation does not forgive the lack of a real training of them, it is necessary to underline that this is the main favouring factor for the present situation in which most of the dance instructors reach this position only in the vitue of the experience they have in a group of dances of ethnographic type. Thus, when we refer to a "professional culture", we refer to the whole package of knowledge and skills that a professor assumes during a university course (licence, master).

[29] It is necessary to mention here a very important aspect. The political instrumentalization of some products that belong to the folklorism led to an ouline of the "official" profile of this phenomenon. But this "oficialized" part of the folklorism phenomenon had permanently parts less promoted, too, such as a contact with a very porous traditional culture and open to the news. Thus, in discussing the below ones, where we would try to point the pertinent elements of a valorisation pattern, we should consider the relationship between the "fabricated" products following the discussed model ("oficialized" model) and the wide cultural medium that belongs to the folklorism and not only.

urban groups. Not knowing the local culture of the dance, they create dances unknown to the local tradition, fact that creates in the following years a strong uniformization and leads to the dissolution *de facto* of the local differences (as they have been preserved until nowadays).

On the other hand, the choreutic folklorism becomes more and more an interface of the process to preserve same values of the dance culture that a particular community considers as being important for its identity. An explanations would be the face that "(…) the heritage is understood nowadays as a symbolic system of values that generated collective identity" (Ştiucă, 2013: 9), this collective identity being culturally, socially, economically revalued in the context of globalization. The state of this preseved intention is found especially in the discourses joined to the dances of the ethnographical type (referential or self-referential), for the creators of the other two types of dances, these identity connotations being secondary.

Critically investigated, this safeguared dimension of the actual choreutic folklorism raises, among others, three complementary issues: the issue of professionalization of the ones involved in the dance transmission (who transmit this heritage), the issue of changing the paradigm regarding the ways of valorisation (how to produce the valorisation) and the issue of content that the valorisation act has (what is valued). Surely, the dabate could cover other dimensions of this preservation way, too, but we pay attention for these three for now.

The professionalization (real, not formal) of the ones involved in the choreutic folklorism and in transmitting the dance of the ethnographical type should lead to a better understanding of the traditional dance culture (as an object of valorification), to a minimum but good control of the ethnographical methodological tools[30] (the methodology of research and processing of the data obtained as a result of the field and archives documentation) and also to the development of some skills in creating events of dance which would emphasize the folkloric nature of the dance of the ethnographical type.

Therefore, to the question if we need a methodological reinsertion in order to better intrumentalize the report between the dance of ethnographic type and the traditional dance, the answer is a positive one[31] and is placed in the

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[30] We should mention here also the limits that the traditional dance's valorisation has regarding the process of preserving in folklorism compared to the scientific methods used in the archieves and research institutions. Essentially, it is about the capability to instrumentalize practically (the stage valorisation and not only) versus theoretically (the ethnography) the cultural information.

[31] We should point out here the emergency character of such a step. The valorisation of the traditional dance within the folklorism (especially the "not staged" one) is a way by which we could preserve this peasant art. Nowadays, as we already mentioned, we still could talk about events and traditional dances but the Romanian society is into a fast and profound change. The generation of those who faced the events of dance in the last part of the traditional type society (a landmark period) is nowadays very old, so that once they disappear; a whole series of very useful information would disappear. Moreover, I would strongly mention also the actual phenomenon of referential "diluation", that is a distance far and far from the traditional

context of this need to professionalize the field and to safeguard a face of unperverted choreographic culture.

Regarding the methods of valorisation, we think that they should "recover" from the traditional culture not only the dance (dance texts and co-texts), but also the compositional methods and, as far as possible, some of the transmission methods. This would bring a change of paradigm in the Romanian choreutic folklorism. The stress would not be placed on the methods of valorisation of spectacular type any more but on the organic practice of the dance of ethnographic type in events of dance created by the communities of dance lovers (smaller or larger communities).

By this change of paradigm one could find again that organic structure lost with the adoption of the choreographic Soviet model. In addition, those connections would appear which make the dance of ethnographic type an integrated organic fact in the culture of a community, fact that would make the safeguardation to be a sustainable one, exceeding in this way a free and formal mimicry.

Without excluding the stage act (being realistic, we think this fact is not possible nowadays) and without the intention to impose models of valorisation, we stress on our option to create some events of dance organised outside the stage in order to know the dance of ethnographic type for its intrinsic value and for the symbol value of such a folkloric tradition, with an ethnic, identity, etc. weight that it has.

Just in these events, the dance of the ethnographical type could develop those folkloric features which could approach it to the object it refers to: the traditional dance. Just in this respect we could accept as valid for the Romanian reality, too, the folkloric meaning that Istenič and Šmidchens give to the folklorism.

Following such a way, the practics of the dances of the ethnographical type could be understood as a further step and complementary to the researchers' ethnographic-anthropologic step, but without having the degree of an analytical knowledge of the latter. Abandoning the stage models unsuitable to the folkloric nature (suites of dances) and the practicing the dances of ethnographic type (in formulas with a hight degree of referentiality and in some contexts similar as form and roles to some traditional contexts) could be considered such a safeguared step. We are thinking, for instance, at practicing the dance of ethnographic type as a

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dances of the dances which belong to the folklorism that were marks for the repertories of these folkloric groups. In the case of most of these urban groups, we are nowadays at the third or forth generation of urban people who, for one reason or another, choose to practice the "folk" dances (the term still recognized in Romania for this type of dances we are trying to explain here). In the conditions in which in the Romanian villages, the traditional contexts, the dance occasions were reduced, so the occasions to see or even to participate together with the insiders of a dance culture to their events become more rarely (this in the case in which they want this things), the members of these groups do not have some other sources of information for their passion excepting the dance instructors, eventually excepting some audio-video recordings.

leisure and ethnological knowledge activity developed within some smaller or larger communities/ groups in which one could find functions that were met in the village dance, too.

Conclusions and openings

As the Bibliography indicates, this article is placed in the extension of some studies dedicated to the Romanian traditional dances within the folklorim. Actually, we do debate here only the need that the choreutic folklorism to come out from the lie organized in the first years of communism in which the dances choreographed following the Moiseev model were (and still are) promotec as "authentic" marks of the local/ regional/ national identity. This effort involves the leaving of a convenience offered by conforming to this model and searching of some solutions that *would come out the diversity of the local dance traditions aiming to bring back the authenticity*, followed by a cultural re-valorisation of the local choreographic traditions.

The introduction in the analysis of the choreutic folklorism of the concepts of fictionalization and referentialization has the role to create a framework for the three types of dance limited above to be more clearly understood and clearly defined in the benefit of the stage act quality and of the preservation process of the traditional dance.

In our opinion, the professionalization of this cultural-artistic field is not possible without a consistent connection to the ethnochoreology. Therefore, our scientific efforts will go to complete this article with some others in which the three elements (the text, the compositional methods and, partly, the transmisional methods) which are in our opinion the bases of the process through by which the folklorism acts gets close to the spirit of an ethnographic act) to be debated in more detail for a benefit shared both to the art and to the science of dance.

Translated by Flavia Stoica

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