

From the Stone Age to the Modern Era - an overview of the dance history of Western Eurasia

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This paper is an excerpt of my dissertation "Genese und Genealogie der Kettentänze Westurasien". It contains the presentation of the essential lines of development of the various dance types. Not all evidence and examples are given.

March 2022, Dr. Michael Hepp

Overview of historical periods.

A general dating for specific time periods is hardly possible, since the underlying developments occurred in different places at different times. For example, the Neolithic period begins in the Middle East around 9,700 BC, reached southeastern Europe around 6,000 BC, and northern Europe in 3,000 BC.

The following list can therefore only be a rough guide.

Tab.: 001 Historical periods

Recent modern times		1800 - today
Middle Modern Period		1650 - 1800
Early Modern Period		1450 - 1650
Middle Ages Time	between antiquity and modern times	500 AD - 1500 AD
Metal Age (bronze and iron)	Metalworking	ca. 2200 B.C. - 0/500 A.D
Neolithic Age	first herdsmen and farmers	9500/4000 - 2000 B.C
Mesolithic	smaller stone tools	
Younger Palaeolithic	Modern human settles Europe	45 000 - 10 000/4000 B.C.
Middle Paleolithic	Stone tools of Neanderthal human	250 000 - 45 000
Older Paleolithic	first stone tools with simple markings	2.6 million - 300 000/200 000

Whether the people of the Paleolithic Age already danced can only be speculated. Unfortunately, there was no writing and certainly no video at that time. From the Younger Palaeolithic period in Europe (about 45,000 to 12,000 years before today), isolated engravings and pictures from caves have survived, which show that people danced at that time. These images give a first idea of dances at that time. Unfortunately, older dance images have not been found until today. How did Paleolithic people live and what was the context of their dances?

1. Dances of the hunter-gatherers of the Younger Paleolithic and Middle Stone Age (Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic) of Europe.

The people of this period lived by hunting. In addition, they systematically gathered plant food. In order to use the different resources in different areas and at different times of the year, they had to constantly move around and relocate their camp. For such a diet, a group size between 10 and 60 individuals was optimal. Their religious beliefs were made up of a great imagery of cosmology, mythology and related symbols and rituals. Magicians, shamans or healers, often singing and dancing, were in dialogue with the powers of the gods and spirits, the ancestors and heroes.

Already for a very early period musical instruments are proved. Several flutes made of bird bones and mammoth ivory with an age of about 35,000 years have been found in caves in the Swabian Alb between Tübingen and Ulm in southern Germany. Melodies with pentatonic scales can be played on them. It is quite conceivable that these flutes were also used to accompany dances.

What might the dances of the Paleolithic and Mesolithic hunter-gatherers of Europe have looked like? There are two sources of knowledge for this: archaeological finds with dance representations and ethnographic comparisons.

The dance images available from this period can be divided into three groups on the basis of their external form characteristics:

- (a) Individual dancers with masks or mixed creatures (Figs. 100a-d),
- b) Group dance, possibly aiming at ecstasy (Fig. 100e) and
- c) Female bodies lined up in a row (Figs. 100f-g).

The first group includes some of the Upper Paleolithic cave images of France, which show individually depicted dancers with animal heads. The images may depict masked dancers asking for hunting luck in dance, or they may pantomime a successful hunt. Some interpret these mixed creatures of animal and human as sorcerers or shamans and relate the images to various stages of trance. The "Dieu cornu" by Les Trois Frères (Fig.: 100b) probably depicts such a shaman. Shaman dances in connection with trance still exist today in some cultures. Animal and spirit masks also play an important role in many ritual dances of today's "primitive peoples".



Fig. 100a: Masked dancer from Gabillous cave



Fig. 100b: Mask dancers from the cave Les Trois Frères



Fig 100c: Masked dancers from the cave Les Trois Frères



Fig 100d: Masked dancers from the cave Les Trois Frères

A second dance motif can be seen in the cave of Barranco de los Grajos (Fig. 100e). A whole group of dancing women and men is depicted on the rocks. They are standing in a semicircle

or in a throng, and some are stretching their arms upward or to the side in wild contortions. This kind of movement seems to be related to ecstasy and trance.

An analysis of the rock paintings of the San Bushmen, hunter-gatherers in southern Africa to our own time, leads to similar conclusions. The dance figures do not show group uniformity. A large number of the scenes are related to the activity of the



Fig. 100e: Group dance from Barranco de los Grajos (detail)

shaman. The shamans appear as mediators and border crossers between the worlds. The trance dance is still widespread in the contemporary life of the San and is used by them for various magical purposes, such as changing the weather, healing the sick or attracting hunting game. It is performed by a group of specially trained trance dancers.

The third group consists of female figures from Gönnersdorf (Rhineland) and strikingly similar figures from Lalinde (France), which are depicted in a row one behind the other without heads, but with a moving swing (Fig. 100f). The latter two features are indicative of dance for Garfinkel. However, the emphasis on their rounded buttocks and breasts also allows interpretations in the direction of eroticism or fertility, which is why they are called "Venus". Therefore, doubts are justified that these representations are dance scenes at all. Also for the female bodies engraved in juxtaposition in Gönnersdorf, which are classified by Garfinkel as possible Couple Dance illustrations, this interpretation is not obvious, because two undressed female bodies without head are shown (Fig. 100g).

Considering the dances of hunter-gatherer societies - as far as still observable today or until recently - the following characteristics are typical. The dances are almost always performed in a loose circle or in a throng without touching.¹ They have hardly any uniform movement patterns, but are usually performed with a common basic step. Individual movements are possible for everyone and some dances possibly aim at ecstasy, also under the influence of intoxicants, performed in a magical-religious context. Thematically, it is about hunting, influence on the weather, fertility and eroticism, honoring totem animals, initiation, sickness and healing, warding off demons and worship and adoration of spirits and gods or similar. In public, mostly only men dance.

¹ Kuhlbrodt's (1959, p. 301ff) form analysis of the Wildbeuter dances also comes to this conclusion. In his analysis of the dances of 11 different wild beaver populations, he finds only very few dances with a setting.

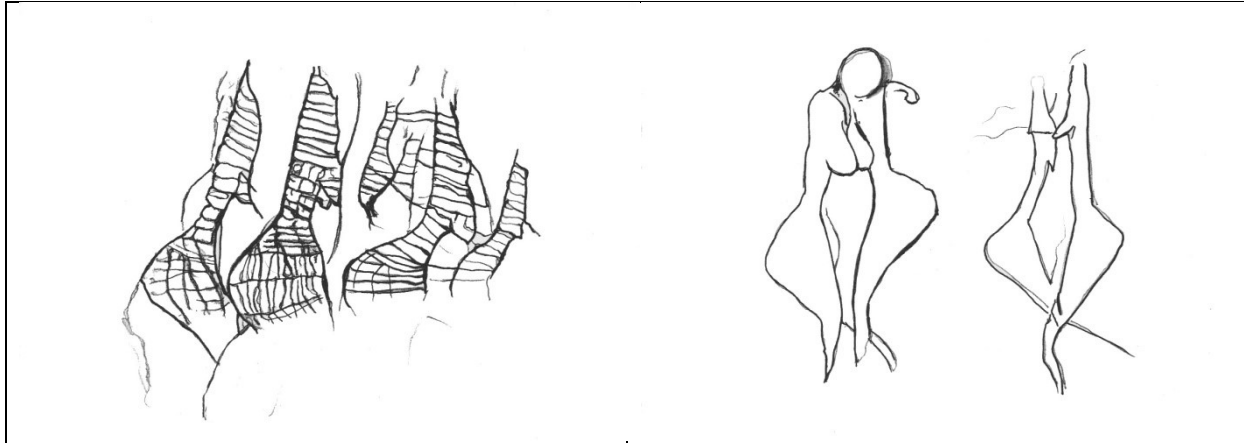


Fig. 100f: Rock engravings of female bodies in rows from Gönnersdorf (Late Magdalenian, ca. 15 500).

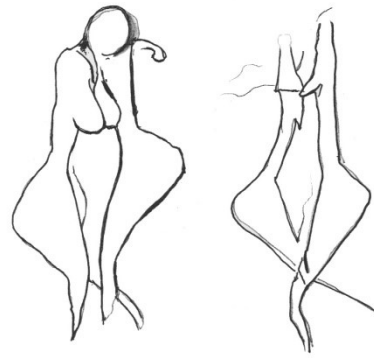


Fig. 100g: Rock engravings with two women facing each from Gönnersdorf.



Fig. 100h: Eagle dance of the Iroquois, it is used to worship the protectors who circle high in the sky.



Fig. 100i: Hunting dance of an Inuit

In the sense of an ethnographic comparison, these characteristic descriptions could also apply to the dances of the hunter-gatherers of the Upper Paleolithic. The cave illustrations speak for the fact that there were at least mask dances and group dances aiming at ecstasy at that time. Remarkably, men with masks are also depicted in the oldest representation of a Chain Dance to date (Fig. 221 a-b). It is possible that today's mask dances go back to these ancient roots.² There is no evidence of uniformed Chain Dances or Couple Dances in the modern sense from this time.

² In today's Europe, only a few dances associated with masks can still be found, such as the Kukeri dances of Bulgaria, which are danced to drive away evil spirits in the period between New Year and Lent.

2. Origin, spread and distribution of the Chain Dances.

It is only with the emergence of the Neolithic culture in the Middle East about 10,000 years ago that Chain Dances in particular are depicted.

2.1 What are Chain Dances?

The term "Chain Dance" sounds antiquated nowadays. Mostly the term "Circle Dance" is used for this dance form. However, the term Circle Dance is broader and includes other forms of dancing in circles. In the end, everywhere in the world and in almost all dances, people dance 'in a circle'. Even Couple Dances usually take place somehow on a circular track. In German-speaking countries the specific designation is 'Reigen', in English it is 'Chain and Round Dances' for Lisbeth Torp (1990), and Yves Moreau, a Canadian folk dance teacher of Balkan dances, calls them 'handjoined circle dances'. What exactly is meant by all these designations? Chain Dances include all dances in which several performers form a continuous chain, usually by closed contact. This is most simply done by grasping hands, but can also be done in a shoulder setting, belt setting, or connection by rings, scarves, sticks, or even swords. The people almost always have direct contact. They form a chain.

Today, four areas of distribution of this dance type can be distinguished: 1. western Eurasia to western Iran, 2. Tibet and SW China, 3. India and adjacent regions, and 4. Taiwan. In all other regions of the world there are no traditional forms of this type.

The vast majority of West Eurasian Chain Dances have movement patterns that are performed more or less on the circular path. They form the subgroup of "Circle Chain Dances". The body front points mainly to the center of the circle and not in the direction of movement. The movements therefore go mainly to the side. The circle can be closed, open or even dissolved into lines³. Simple and uniform step patterns are danced, which go over some measures and are then repeated. Mostly these dances are led by a dance leader. At least in old traditional forms there are hardly any movements to the center of the circle (no radial movements), the step patterns are quite simple and asymmetrical⁴ and the inventory of motifs is small. Often the dances were accompanied only by singing.

In the second subgroup, the so-called "Snaking Chain Dances", the chain moves freely snaking or in spirals across the dance floor. So a snake dance always has a beginning with a lead dancer and a snake of dancers following to the end of the tail. The front of the body points to the direction of movement, and the movements themselves go forward. Almost always, normal walking or running steps or a step pattern in the rhythm short - short - long (alternating step) are used to move forward. Both are quite simple patterns. Old forms are usually accompanied only by singing.

³ Whether a circle is danced openly or closed also depends on the social structures. In the parts of the Balkans where the closed circle predominates, there are structures with socially more equal members. Cf. also Leibman 1992, p. 179.

⁴ In the movement patterns, one side, depending on the area on the right or on the left, is always executed more expansively. Thus, the dance movement as a whole always goes in a preferred direction.



Fig. 210a: Circle Chain Dance



Fig. 210b: Snaking Circle Dance

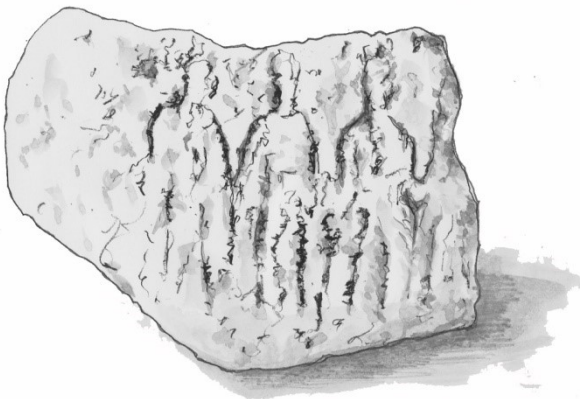
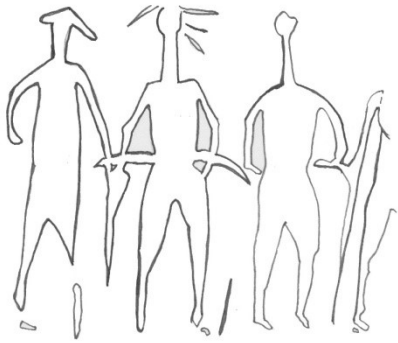


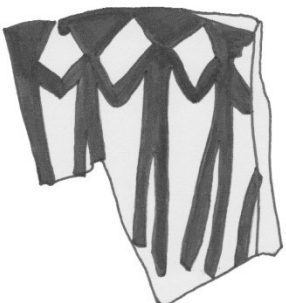
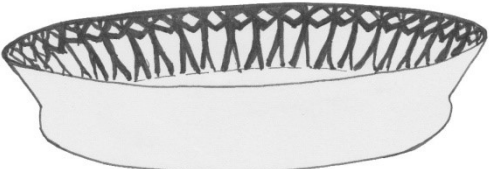
2.2 Origin of Chain Dances

2.2.1 Archaeological findings on the origin of Chain Dances

The oldest images of Chain Dances are about 10,000 years old and come from the Levant and southern Anatolia (Preceramic Neolithic B, 8th - 7th millennia BC). Since there were no ceramics in these regions at that time, they are stone carvings, stone engravings or images on plaster floors. From the 7th mill. BC, also dance scenes on ceramic finds are added.

Five of these oldest finds depict individuals dancing, some wearing masks, a category of dance that was also depicted in Paleolithic Europe before that. On seven (54%) a type of group dance is depicted that did not exist before: The dancers stand in a line or on a circle with the body front to the center, in three scenes the hands are additionally clasped or placed on the shoulders. In another illustration, women dance in a kind of "single file" behind each other. There is no doubt that these representations are the oldest illustrations of Chain Dances known today. The "goose march" could possibly be a kind of snaking dance.

In the 108 illustrations of the Halafian and Samarra cultures of northern Syria from the 6th millennium B.C. cited by Garfinkel (2003), the representations of Circle Chain Dances dominate with a portion of 93%. The extremely large number of representations of these uniform community dances indicates the outstandingly important role played by Chain Dances at the beginning of the Neolithic period with the associated sedentariness and incipient agriculture.

	
<p>Fig. 221a: Stone carving on a basalt slab from Dhuweila 8th mill. BC, so far oldest representation of a Chain Dance (after Garfinkel 2003, Fig. 7.5a)</p>	<p>Fig. 221b: Sketch of the stone carving (after Garfinkel 2003, Fig. 7.6a).</p>
	
<p>Fig. 221c: Limestone bowl with engraved Chain Dance from Nevali Çori 8th mill. BC (after Garfinkel 2003, Fig. 7.2)</p>	<p>Fig. 221d: Painted plaster floor from Tell Halula with "goose march dance" 8th mill. BC (after Garfinkel 2003, Fig. 7.4)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 221e: Painted pottery from Tell Halaf, northern Syria, 6th millennium BC, Halafian culture (after Garfinkel 2003, Fig. 8.9b).</p>	<p>Fig. 221f: Painted ceramic bowl from Tell Halaf, Northern Syria, 6th millennium BC, Halafian culture (after Garfinkel 2003, 8.10a)</p>

Similarities between today's and prehistorically depicted Chain Dances:

- Uniform movement patterns are performed in the dance.
- The dancers are connected to each other by a "frame".
- Dancers are often dressed alike and wear the same utensils.
- Dancers stand on a circle or a line, their body front is usually directed to the center.
- On the illustrations of the Neolithic period no musical instruments are found at all, which speaks for an exclusively vocal accompanying music, as it is also the case with today's "archaic" forms of Chain Dances.
- On many illustrations one finds a lead dancer in a leading role, as it is mentioned in some medieval literature⁵ and as it can still be observed today in the Balkans.
- A common utensil of the first dancer is a stick or "guiding stick".⁶

There are no significant differences in the depiction of the sexes. If women or men can be recognized at all, both sexes are depicted with similar frequency. There are also a few mixed depictions in all regions (Fig. 221g). However, in the vast majority of depictions, it is unclear which gender is shown. This suggests that gender does not seem to be quite as important in the dance illustrations and in dancing overall. There is no evidence of male dominance in the communal dances of this period.

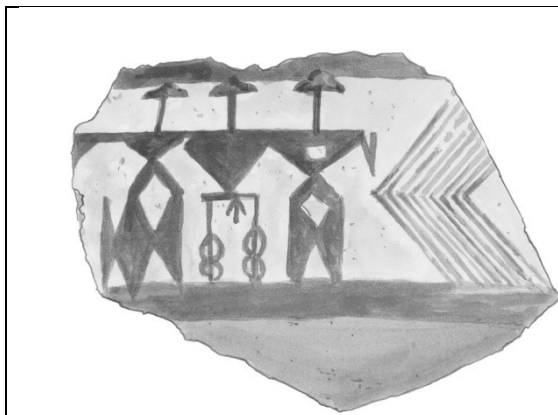


Fig. 221g: Painted pottery from Choga Mami with mixed dance row, Samarra culture, 6th mill. BC (after Garfinkel 2003, pic., 8.27a)

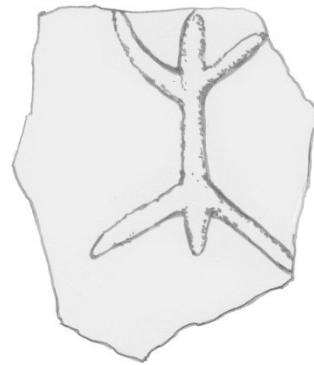
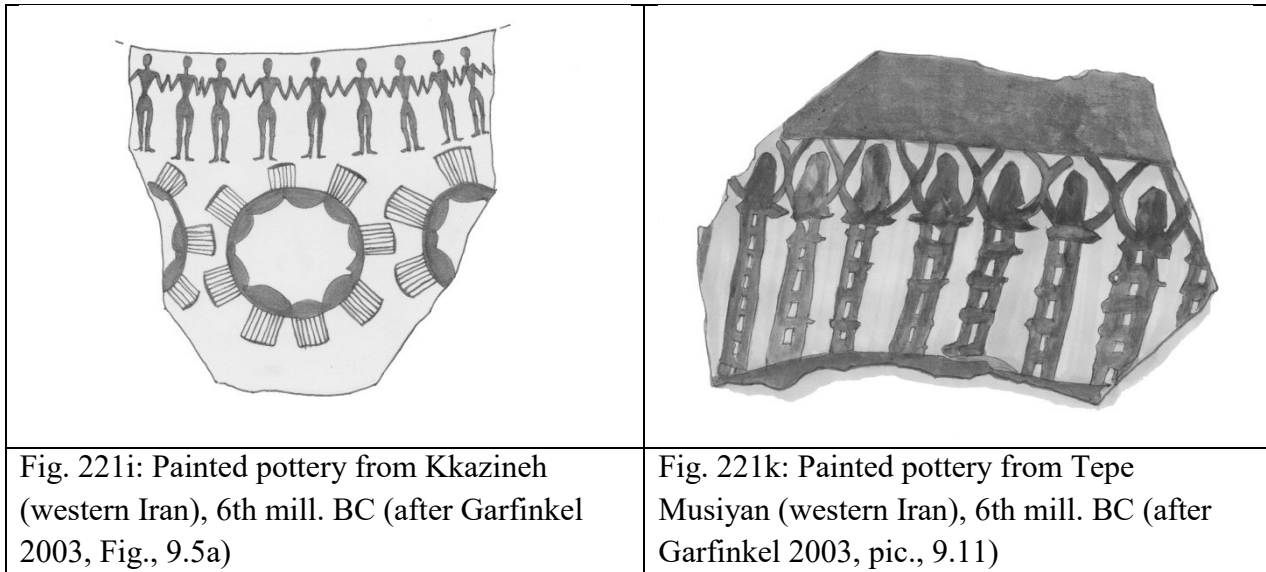


Fig. 221h: Single dancing figure from Arukhlo, Armenia, 6th mill. BC (after Garfinkel 2003, pic., 8.30f)

In addition to the large number of community dances depicted (92%), some individual dancers were also found (8%).

⁵ The leader of the round dance (Choraula) walked in the middle and made the movements for them, stomped with his feet and cheered with his mouth and at the same time threw a staff, on which he had hung his gloves, up into the air and caught it again with his hands." (Böhme 1886, p. 20)

⁶ Possibly this guiding rod derives from the staff of a shepherd or shepherd, like the "virga pastoralis" of a bishop or the staff in the coat of arms of the pharaohs.



These Chain Dances originated in connection with dramatic changes in the way people lived. The changes are often referred to as the Neolithic Revolution.

2.2.2 Sedentariness and early agriculture and their consequences

Emergence of sedentarism and early agriculture:

Sedentariness surprisingly emerges before, and may even be a prerequisite for, early agriculture. The first permanent dwellings are recorded for hunter-gatherers in the Levant at the time of the Natufian (12 500 - 10 000 BC). It is believed that the regional resources of this area were very favorable due to climatic change and game was available throughout the year. In connection with another climatic change ("younger Dryas"), people in the Levant begin to cultivate cereals and domesticate wild animals⁷ around 10 000 BC, a process that lasts until about 7500 BC. It is only at this time that sedentarism becomes generally established, and significant population growth is noted along with population movement. Village agriculture had emerged.

Way of life and social structures of early herders and farmers:

The early village communities of this period and area were socially organized into tribes and chief-led groups (chiefdoms) with a simple agricultural base. With Neolithization, group size increased compared to hunter-gatherers, population density increased, and weak social and political differentiation set in. For the early peasants there was more work, less leisure, less balanced and varied food. They were therefore less healthy and had a shorter life expectancy compared to members of the hunter-gatherer communities. Early Neolithic people lived in houses, produced and stocked food. Regular festivals and ceremonies were held to maintain relations with neighboring groups.

New values and religious ideas:

⁷ The Middle East was the distribution area of the wild original forms of cereals, legumes and other cultivated plants and also of sheep, goats, cattle and pigs (Uerpmann 2007, p. 59). DNA comparison studies of cattle, for example, show that all current representatives can be traced back to ancestors from the Near and Middle East (Bollongino et al. 2006, p. 24).

At this time, ritual and ceremony were ubiquitous. The intention of a ritual is to influence spirits and magical forces, also to give symbolic information about social order or the relationship between people. Rituals express fundamental social values and norms of behavior and give order and meaning to the world.

Obvious examples are rites of change that mark transition points in the lives of individuals such as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. Rites convey messages such as identity, group membership, and community. Burial sites near the home also indicate a stronger spiritual attachment to a place.

General changes:

During this period, many changes took place in a comparatively short time:

- Permanently inhabited settlements are formed.
- The population increases.
- Groups join together to form larger communities.
- Food is produced with an increasing number of domestic animals and domesticated plants.
- Technical innovations emerge mediated by heating: Plaster, mortar, later ceramics and still later metals.
- Social development leads to differentiation and stratification.

In the late Neolithic, private property emerges, as it is impossible to share with everyone in larger settlements. Settlement leads to greater emphasis on kinship ties, partly to keep property and supplies in the family. Functional status is at least partially replaced by genealogical status. In the long run, sedentarization leads to social hierarchization and socio-economic specialization. Gender and age differences are reinforced. Social tensions increase as a certain group size is exceeded and dispute mediators are lacking. In this structure, the Chain Dance, with its ritual, symbolic and community-building qualities, may have played a very important role.

2.2.3 Reasons for the emergence of Chain Dances in connection with the Neolithic period

Dance representations are the oldest and most frequently presented theme of prehistoric art in the Middle East in the period between 8000 and 4000 BC. The communal circular dance dominates. The illustrations are characterized by a great uniformity of dance movements, a uniformity not found in the cave drawings of hunter-gatherers. Why does communal dancing with uniform movements suddenly play such an important role in the newly emerged Neolithic society?

Social upheavals connected with the emergence of early agriculture took place several times in different regions of the Earth, but only in the Middle East Chain Dances emerged. The emergence of a completely new type of dance may have occurred in connection with significant changes in the network of relationships within this society. The social form of the hunter-gatherers was based on mobile and receptive lifestyles, their structures were egalitarian to mildly patriarchal, and their groups consisted of about 30 people. The transition to a productive subsistence form with the domestication of animals and the cultivation of plants

also brought about a change in other parameters. Thus, in connection with sedentarization, the first houses were built, the groups became much larger, and the improved food supply increased the population density many times over.

The increase in group size led to greater competition within a group and to an increase in social tensions. Here, Chain Dance, with its very limited individual scope due to the hand-gripping, may have been a means of disciplining all members of the community, as Garfinkel suggests. By performing the set step patterns as a "link" in the chain, the rules of the community are symbolically accepted. This leads to an internalization of discipline and a channeling of social tensions.

However, the increase in population also meant that, compared to the hunter-gatherers, many more groups were settled in the same area. This also increased competition between groups. If the communal dancing of the hunters and gatherers already served the group identification, this dimension of meaning was emphasized even more by the setting and the alignment of the body front to the center of the circle. In such a constellation, everyone can be perceived from every position. Everyone is an equal part of the circle. This creates a particularly intense sense of community in the group, the community is literally demonstrated.

The message of the formed circle is "group" and not "individual". This message aims outward, but also inward. Because in the course of agriculture, the work to be done increased. All members of the village, even children, had to contribute greatly to the common success. The community was symbolically strengthened by the Chain Dance, and the goals and efforts of individuals were focused on common goals. The increased identification with the group and the involvement of the individual in the community led to a change in the external structural characteristics. Stunned circle or pulse dances became the hand-held Chain Dances, usually oriented toward the center.

Another change in the transformation from the hunters' and gatherers' dances to Chain Dances occurred in the functions and the integration into the seasonal sequence. According to Kuhlbrodt the dance occasions of the hunter-gatherers are on the one hand linked to important transitional situations like for example a wedding, on the other hand there are more situational occasions like in hunting or rain dances. For the early farmers and herders, occasions coupled to important transitional situations existed in the same way, but further occasions were often linked to specific seasons and possibly served to remind and synchronize community members to important stakes in the farming annual rhythm. After all, a productive subsistence form requires actions the results are which are not visible until much later.

At the same time, dance was always religiously and ritually integrated. Dance and ritual cannot be separated for this epoch. They belong together like the two sides of a coin.

The basic function of (dance) rituals can be listed as follows:

- They serve to lighten the burden. Once introduced, they save constant discussions.
- They provide security - in the process and emotionally.
- They make the transported message (order, community, etc.) atmospherically tangible.
- They provide structure and orientation.
- They serve to stabilize a social and cultural order.
- They promote identification with the community.
- They help to shape transitions.

In the Middle East, the change from a hunters' and gathers' society to a settled early peasant culture led to a new type of dance. Chain Dances emerged and became an essential feature of this Neolithic culture.

2.3 Spreading of Chain Dances in connection with Neolithization

The first images of communal Chain Dances have survived from the 8th millennium BC from the north of the Levant and from southern Anatolia. From this core area they seem to have spread continuously to neighboring regions. Moving eastward, they appear in Mesopotamia in the 6th millennium BC and reach Persia and Pakistan in the late 6th and 5th millennia BC. In southeastern Europe they appear from the 6th millennium BC, and somewhat later in Egypt . There is a chronological continuity here, which can be well explained by a spreading, starting from a core zone.

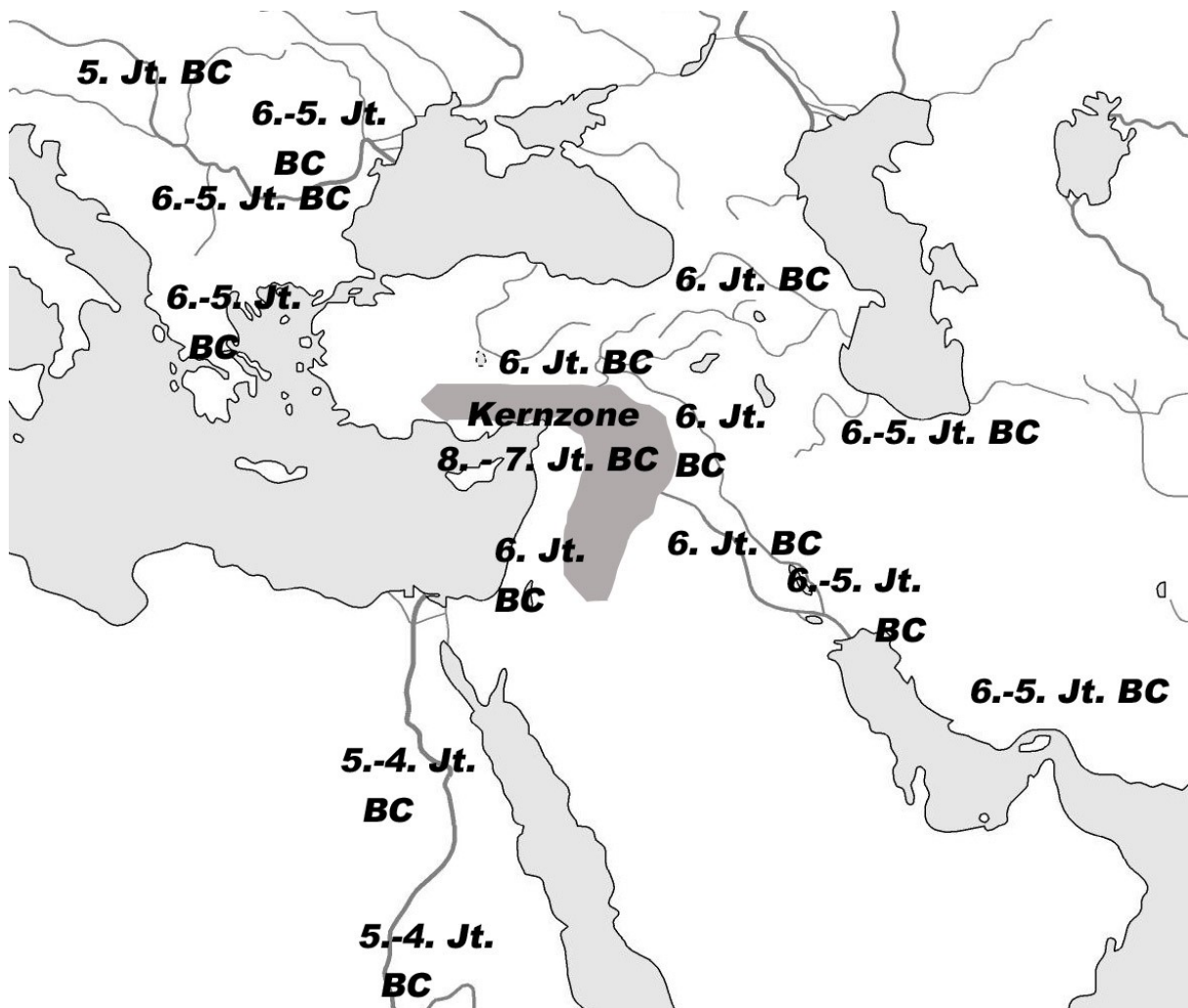


Fig. 230a: Spreading of dance imagery in Neolithic times (data after Garfinkel 2003).

This spread is obviously related to the emergence and expansion of early agriculture. This process of "neolithization" took place over several millennia in the Levant, the Middle Euphrates Valley, and southeastern Anatolia. During this time, people began to cultivate some of the wild plants found there, such as einkorn, emmer, peas, lentils and flax . They also made

the first attempts to domesticate sheep, goats, cattle and pigs. The earliest expansion of this new economic method occurred in a period around 8500 BC to Cyprus and Cappadocia. Archaeological findings show that all groups that spread from the Middle East already carried with them all the important achievements of early agriculture, for all later cultivated plants and domestic animals can be traced in each direction of spread. In this context we speak of the "neolithic package"⁸, which comprises a sum of features regularly found in the neolithic finds of SW Asia, Anatolia and SE Europe. In addition to the listed cultivated plants and domestic animals, we obviously need to add another essential component to the notion of this package: The most important dance form of the early village communities - the Chain Dance, which was performed during social and ritual-religious festivities - seems to have been part of the luggage in this spreading process.

Chain dancing spread to Europe along with early agriculture by at least two different routes. But early settlers also brought their new dance form to North Africa, further north across the Caucasus, and into the Middle East possibly as far as India and western China (see Fig. 230c-d). The chronological spread of the dance images (Fig. 230a) shows a remarkable correspondence with the spread of early agriculture (Fig. 230b).

⁸ The idea of the "Neolithic package" makes it clear that all the components were present before the first migrants left the area of origin. However, it is certainly not true that these were always groups of the same kind with similar structure and economy. Depending on the type of environmental conditions, cultivated plants, domestic animals or even hunting were of different importance. The respective ecological conditions dictated whether the early Neolithic people specialized as farmers or also as pastoral nomads. Reichholf (2008, p. 259ff) also explains in a comprehensible way that cereals could hardly feed the people in the initial phase of Neolithization, but possibly served for beer production.

For a long time, a precise definition of the term "Neolithic bundle" was also lacking, despite its frequent use. This is done by Çilingiroğlu (2005), but with a focus on specific lime, stone, and bone objects, in "The concept of "Neolithic package: considering its meaning and applicability."

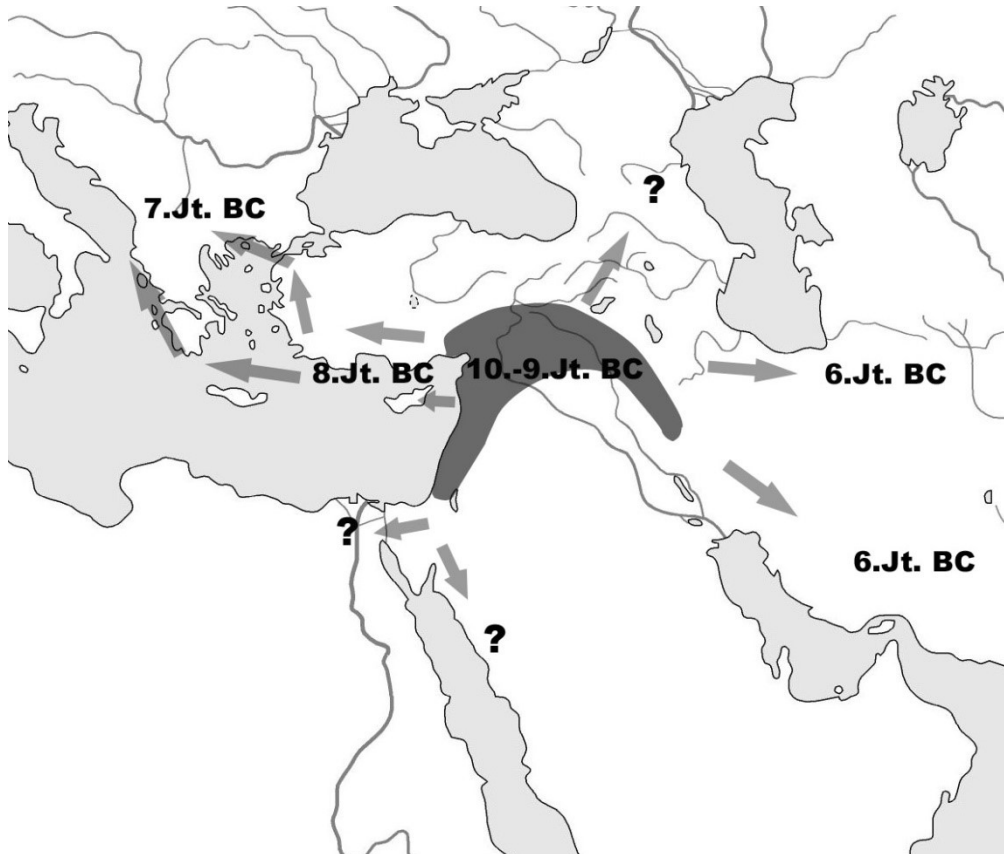


Fig. 230a: Spread of dance imagery in Neolithic times (data after Garfinkel 2003).

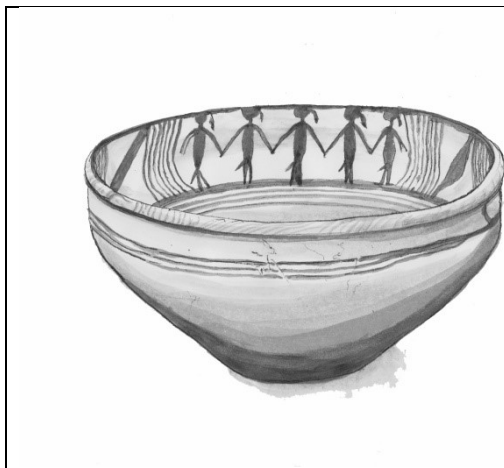


Fig. 230c: Painted ceramic vessel with Chain Dance, Majiayao culture northwest China, ca. 3900 - 3500 BC, from Datong Shangsunjiashai, Qinghai.

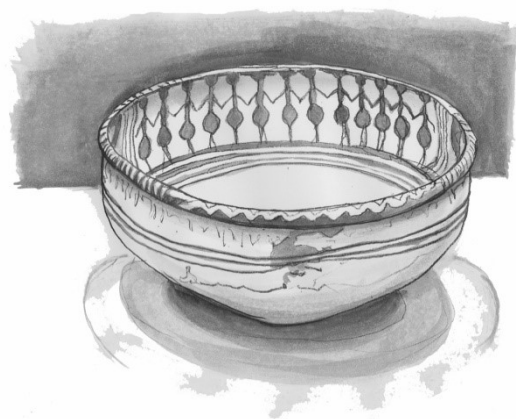


Fig. 230d: Painted ceramic vessel with Chain Dance, Majiayao culture northwest China, ca. 3700 BC, from Tongde Zongri, Qinghai.

2.4 Distribution of Chain Dances in the Middle Ages

The Neolithic migrants settled Europe on two routes. One part prepared along the coasts of the Mediterranean, another part passed through SE Europe and then followed the Danube. All of them had Chain Dances in their luggage and thus brought them to the European continent.

Unfortunately, there are not so many pictures of the spread of Chain Dances to Europe - compared to the Middle East. The oldest iconographic find comes from Romania. Whether the "Hora de la Frumușica" (Fig. 240a) from the 4th millennium BC is really a hora, i.e. a Chain Dance, depends, of course, on the viewer's interpretation. In the synopsis with other similar dance illustrations of this time this assumption that it is a dance illustration is comprehensible.

Without a doubt, the five dancers from Sassari (Fig. 240b) and the "Minoan Round Dance" (Fig. 240 c) can be recognized as a circular chain form. Then, from the 9th century B.C. on, there are images of round dances on vases and buildings in Greece, Cyprus, and Italy. Some rock paintings complement the findings mentioned so far. Worth mentioning are the Bronze Age petroglyphs with circle chain representations (Fig. 240d) in Sweden, which show an open dance circle. A depiction on a larger stone from the Val Camonica (Fig. 240e) in the Italian Alps shows several lines of people engraved in the rock in shoulder settings in a dancing manner.

Older written evidence is very few and only from ancient Greece. However, these clearly prove that Chain Dances already existed in Greece at that time.

For Western Europe, there are a few ecclesiastical dance prohibitions for the time before the 11th century, in which, however, almost nothing is written about the characteristics of the dances themselves. From the 11th to the 14th century some song texts, poems or ecclesiastical and municipal dance prohibitions have survived.

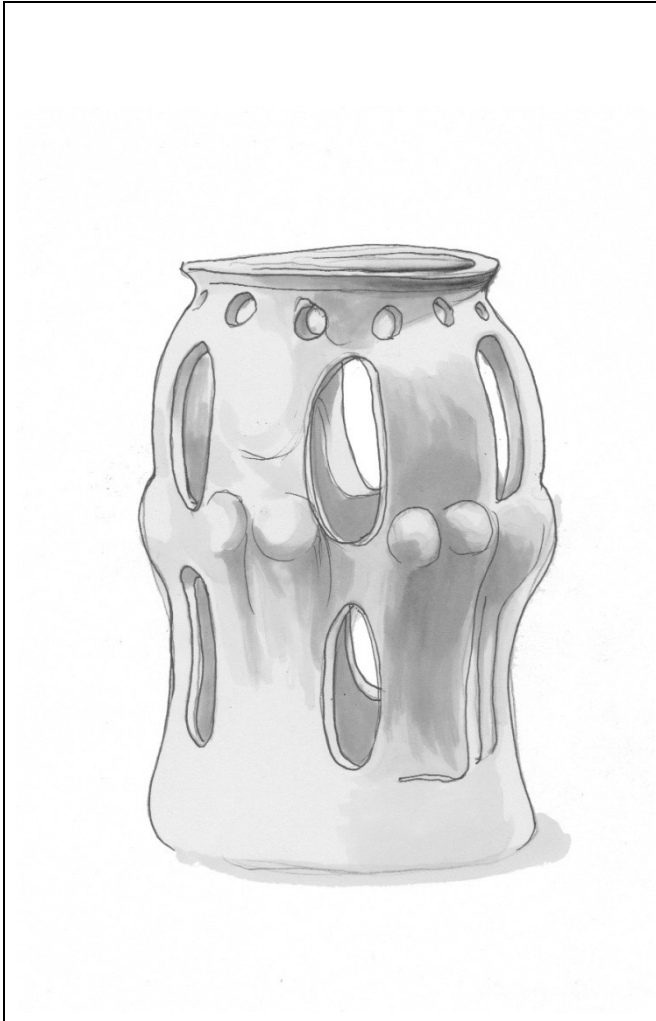


Fig. 240a: Hora de la Frumușica, Archaeological Museum Bucharest, 4th millennium BC.

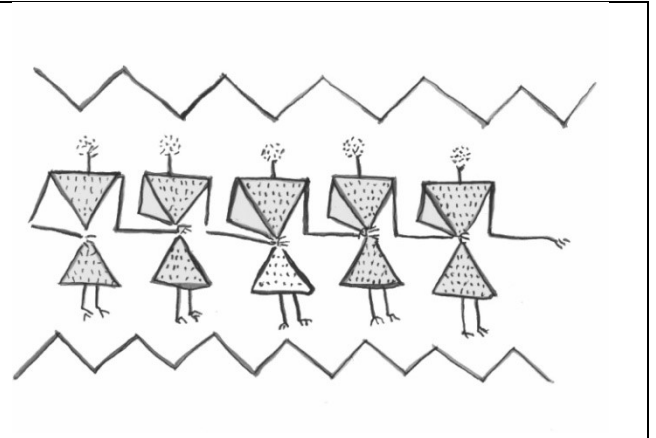


Fig. 240b: Line of five dancers carved into a bowl from Sassari, Sardinia from the 4th millennium BC.

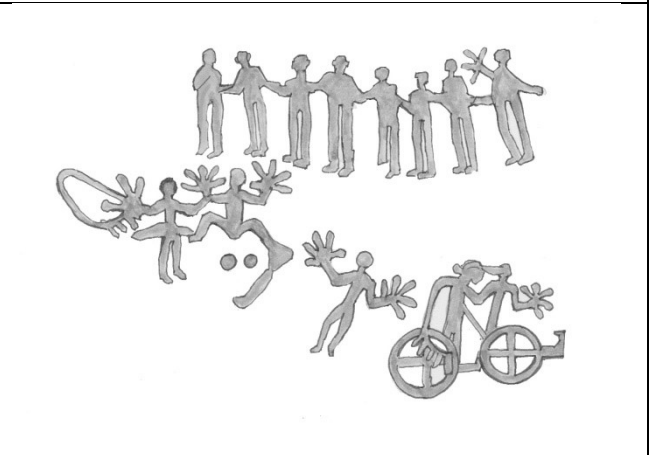


Fig. 240d: Detail of a Bronze Age rock drawing in Sweden

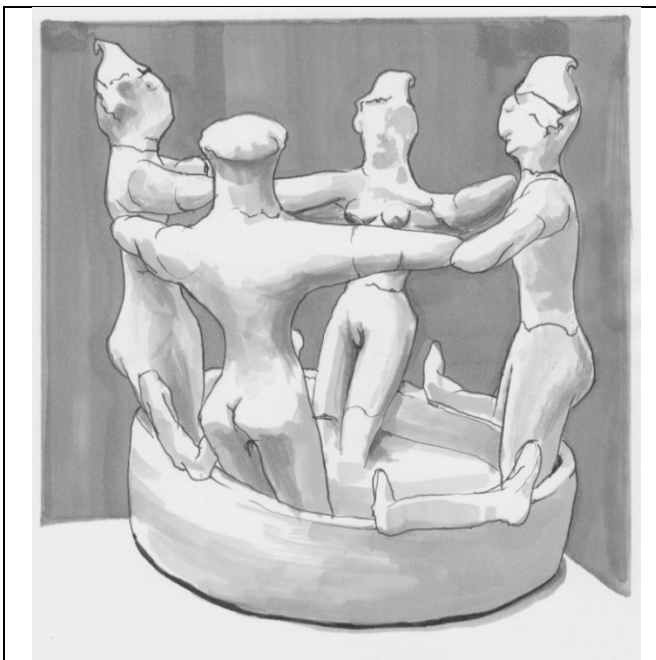


Fig. 240c: Minoan round dance, Heraklion Archaeological Museum, ca. 17th century BC.

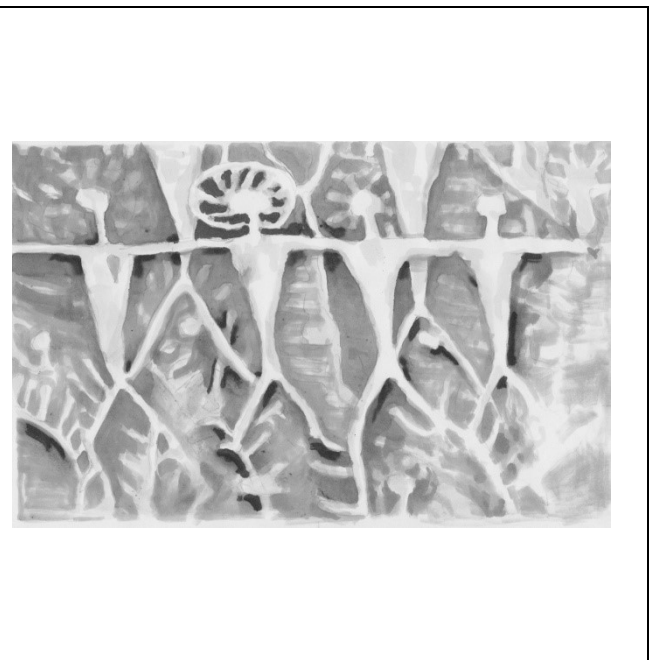


Fig. 240e: Detail of a stone engraving from Val Camonica.



Fig. 240f: Mixed round dance with musician on a silver disc brooch from the early 13th century. Find from the Kornhaus Tübingen.

All authors dealing with folk dances and their history agree that Chain Dances (circle Chain Dances) were the predominant dance form of the Middle Ages and that this dance form was widespread throughout Europe and could be found in all layers of medieval dance culture. Moreover, for most of the regions where Chain Dances no longer exist today, there is written evidence of their medieval existence. For those regions, in which Chain Dances still exist today, the assumption is obvious that they already shaped the dance scene in the Middle Ages and in the time before.

The synopsis of all the different findings mentioned so far leads to the conclusion that Chain Dances could be found everywhere in Europe until the end of the Middle Ages. Before the appearance of Couple Dances they were the dominant dance form of Western Eurasia.

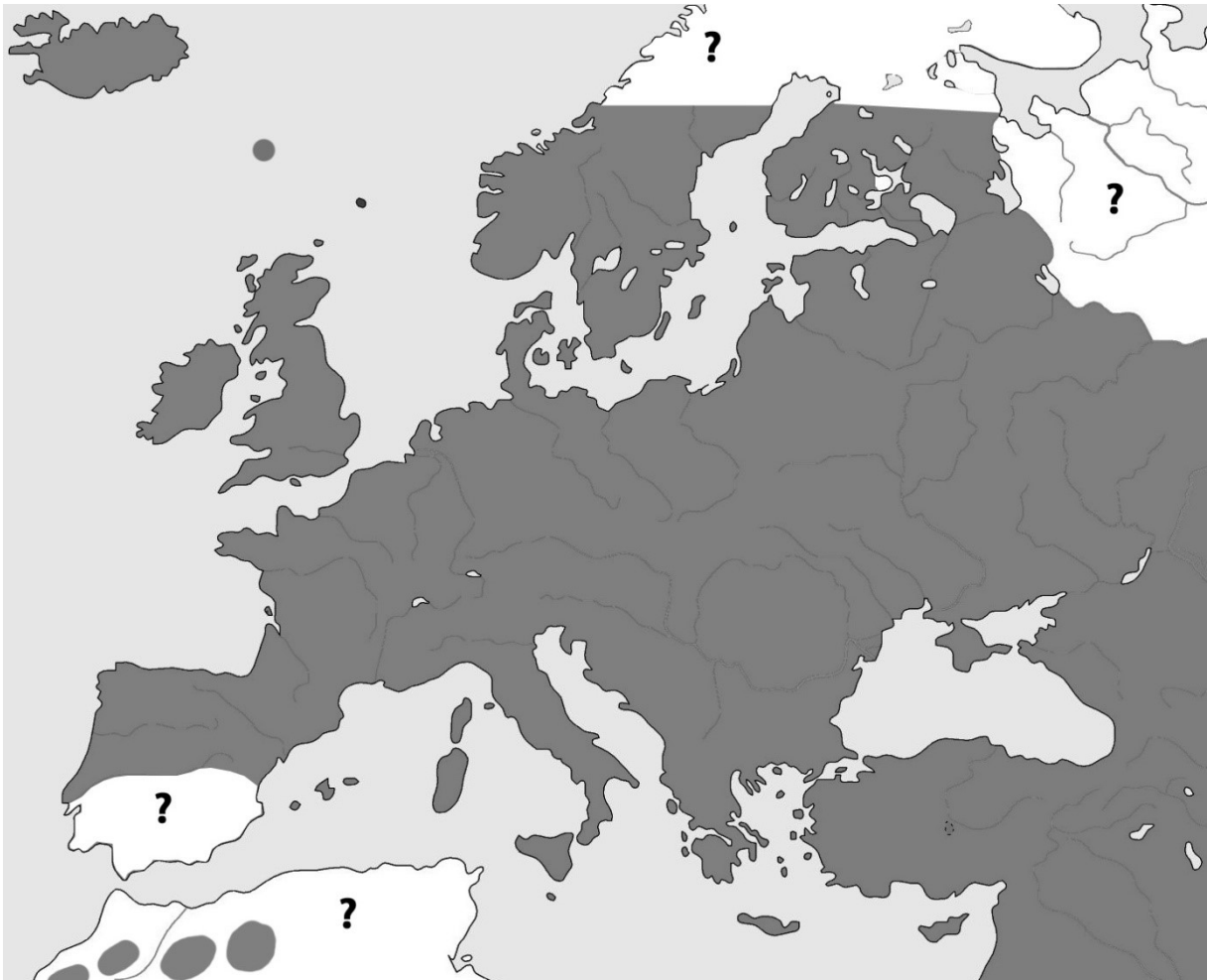


Fig. 240g: Distribution of Chain Dances in the Middle Ages (marked with gray color).

After the Middle Ages, the dance scene changed fundamentally. Modern Couple Dances emerged and spread. For example, in the 11th-12th centuries, open Couple Dances emerged in the Frankish courts of northern France, and quickly spread among distinguished society. At about the same time, the northern Alpine and southern German peasant cultures developed closed Couple Dances. Both dance forms dominated dance floors in many regions of Europe until industrialization. The Chain Dances lost their dominant position, but in some areas they maintained their position until today.

2.5 Today's distribution of Chain Dances of Western Eurasia

Chain Dances are still found in high density in the Balkans and the Middle East, at least among village society. In the rest of Europe, there are small areas of distribution in Faroe Islands, Brittany, Catalonia, Basque Country and southern Provence, northern and southern Hungary (girls circle dances), Slovakia (girls circle dances), and small remnant areas in Poland. Single Chain Dances exist in South Holland and North Belgium (Cramignon), in France (diverse), in the French-speaking part of Switzerland (Choraula), in Piedmont (Sbrando), in South Italy (circle tarantella), in Latvia (Iz Mamenu Gotus Goju), in Russia and the other Russian-speaking areas (mainly girls circle dances).

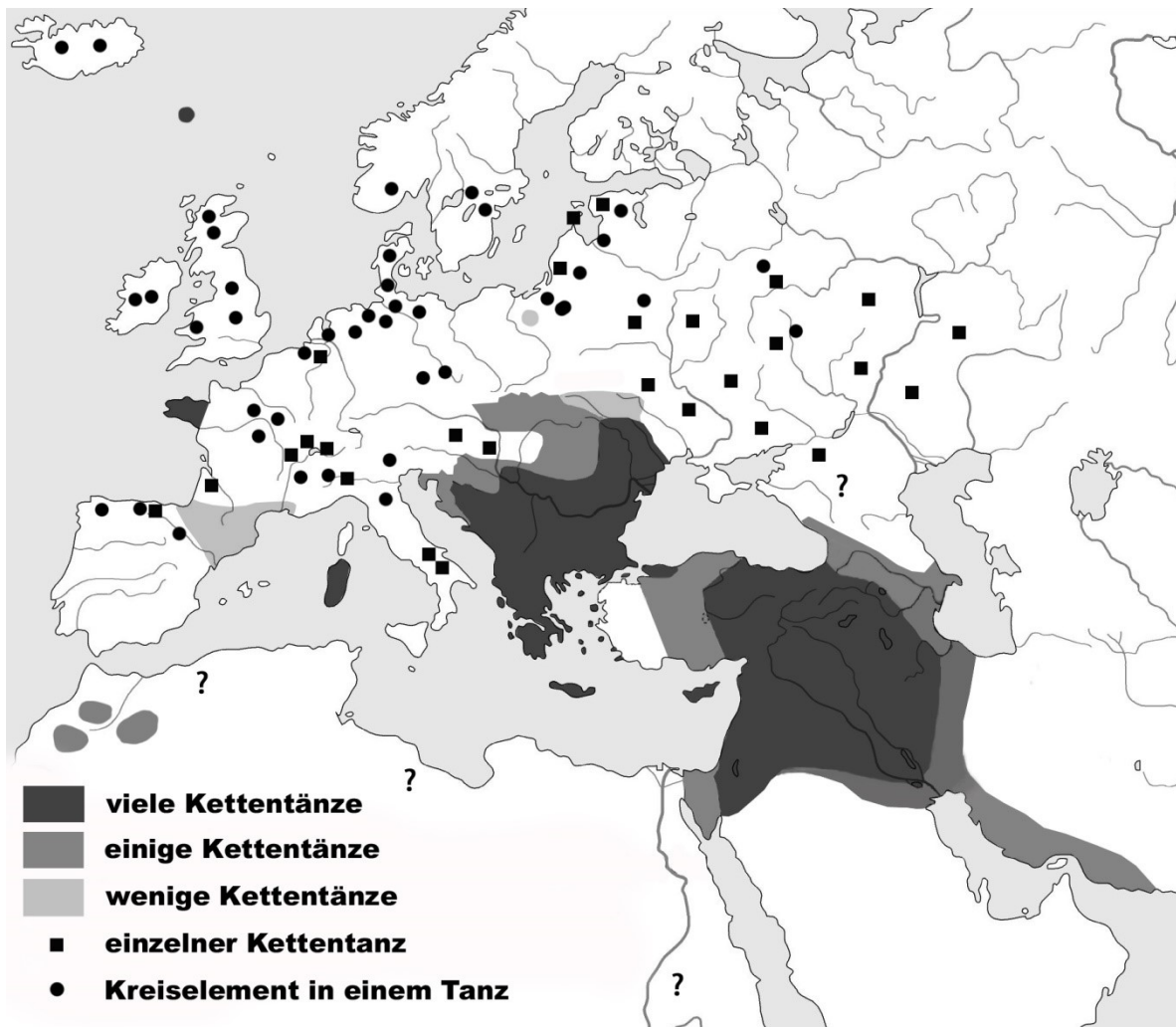


Fig. 250: Present-day distribution of Chain Dances in Europe and neighboring areas.

The individual categories are characterized as follows:

Viele Kettentänze: Many Chain Dances: C.D. are the dominant form with a share 50 - 100%.

Einige Kettentänze: Some Chain Dances: C.D. are a dance form with a share of about 20-50% among other forms, for example the Couple Dances.

Wenige Kettentänze: Few Chain Dances: In this region, other dance forms dominate, C.D. have a share of about 5 - 20% or individual forms stand out clearly, e.g. the Sardana in Catalonia.

Einzelner Kettentanz: Single Chain Dance: A single form is locally or regionally common.

In addition, many open Couple Dance forms and Multi-Couple Dances contain interspersed circle elements, which can be interpreted as a relic of Chain Dances. Many English or Low German Multi-Couple Dances, for example, begin with a circle figure. These "circle relicts" are considered in the distribution map only exemplarily.

If we compare today's distribution of Chain Dances with the Middle Ages, we find two regions where Chain Dances have disappeared. First, in Western Anatolia, this type of dance no longer exists. In the so-called Zeybek and Cifteteli Karsilama regions of Turkey, dances are performed in a circle without a frame with fixed step patterns, a more Central Asian form

of dancing. The spoon dances there were also brought from Asia by the Turkic peoples migrating there. The proportion of the Turkic population settling there from the 11th century was relatively high. This explains why the Chain Dances of the indigenous Anatolian population declined.

In central, northern, western and southern Europe, Couple Dances replaced the old community dances. But why were the Chain Dances not replaced by Couple Dances all over Europe, but preserved until today in certain regions?

Since social structures are also reflected in the dance forms and in the relationship between the dancers, the question arises as to the sociological preconditions for Couple Dances in contrast to the old Chain Dances.

Chain Dances are characterized by the group relationship. Everyone dances the same steps and is part of the group. Only in the open circle the dance leader has an exposed position, in the closed circle there are no differences. The circle is a symbol for the community, to which all have to integrate and subordinate themselves.

In couple dancing, individuality becomes more important. The dominance of the community reference fades. The individual couples dance, at least in the Free and Closed Couple Dances, independently of each other and thus move individually.

Another condition for the emergence of Couple Dances could be the relationship between the sexes. In Couple Dances, the social position of women and men must be approximately equal, because the partners dance directly with each other and even touch each other. In contrast, Chain Dances are possible even under different gender ratios. This is because an approximately equal position leads to joint participation in the chain; if the position is clearly different, the women form a separate circle or even have to dance in other places.

An "approximate equality" of the sexes as a prerequisite for Couple Dances was first felt in the Middle Ages in Central Europe in the 12th century and led there to the emergence of the Open and Closed Couple Dances.

The rule of the Ottomans rather indirectly prevented these modern changes in the society of the Balkan countries. "Administrative penetration of society comparable to the early modern European principalities and kingdoms did not take place in the Ottoman Empire. Apart from tax payments, villages were largely self-regulating." And Chain Dances were ritually integrated into village life. They served village and group identification. The original village communities remained much longer in the Balkans. The Orthodox Church also stabilized the rather patriarchal relations of the sexes, which did not allow couple dancing. The status of non-Muslim religious groups was regulated through the millets system. Taxes and other administrative matters were handled through the respective churches. The Orthodox churches were and are nationally organized. This reinforced a national-ethnic identification, which was expressed in the performance of certain Chain Dances. All this preserved the old Chain Dances in the Balkans and, with similar justification, in the Middle East.

If one compares today's spread of Chain Dances with the Middle Ages, national-ethnic group identification is probably also the reason for the preservation of Chain Dances in Brittany, Sardinia, Catalonia, the Basque country and southern France. There, the ethnic group identification of these minorities and ultimately the demarcation from the other population led to the fact that the culturally and historically older Chain Dances have been preserved until today. The performance of these dances became a cultural-political demonstration.

This effect is also abundantly clear in the fact that many ethnic groups in the U.S. maintain older forms of dances, compared to the countries of origin, where dance forms have already been further modified and modernized. Emigrants and their descendants preserve the old cultural heritage more strictly. In the diaspora, it serves even more for group identity and demarcation from the outside.

All these explanations do not apply to the dances of the Faroe Islands alone. All modern developments, at least as far as dance is concerned, probably did not reach the extreme edge of Europe. Therefore, the old dance culture was preserved there.

In some regions, such as Sweden, France or Swabia⁹, old Chain Dance forms were reactivated and these are occasionally danced again today.

In the 2nd half of the 20th century developed trends of dance like "meditative dance" or "sacred dance", "circle dance" or "danza circular" in South America have mostly newly developed Chain Dances in their repertoire. These currents cultivate the circle Chain Dances especially because of their community character.

2.6 Chain Dance terms

Dance terms were subject to certain changes in the course of history, as far as this can be traced at all through written sources. For some terms the meaning changed, other terms disappeared completely or new ones appeared. Some terms seem to have been around for a very long time.

The most lasting influence on the use of certain terms has probably been the change in dance itself. In this sense, insights into the word history of dance terms can expand and enhance the notion of dance history. The converse is also possible. Improved knowledge of developments in dance history may open up a better view of changes in the use or meaning of dance terms and provide new aspects for etymological interpretations.

There are many terms for Chain Dance, almost all regions have their own words. Despite this multiplicity, the terms can be traced back to three basic words: 'laik', 'rei(h)en' and 'chor'. In addition, there are the modern terms 'branle' and 'kolo'.

2.6.1 Leik

Leik seems to derive from an old Germanic word, because in German sources before 1000 no other dance word is mentioned except 'laikan'. It is found in the oldest Germanic Bible version of the monk Wulfila as a word for dance. In Gothic 'leika' means to move, to dance, to play, to enjoy oneself. At the mentioned bible passage a folk dance, probably a Chain Dance refers to. As a Chain Dance term, 'leik' is found today in Scandinavia, Iceland and the Faroe Islands. In Sweden, the name 'Långdans' is also found today, which means 'long dance' and probably refers to the length of the chain. Also in the chronicle of the country Dithmarschen from 1590 Chain Dances are called 'lange Dantz'.

⁹ In Swabia the "Roie", in France some "Branles", in Sweden "Langdans".

2.6.2 Rei(h)en (Chain Dance)

Until about 1800, there was only the term 'Rei(h)en'. After that, the terms 'Reigen', 'Chorreigen' and 'Reie' were mostly used synonymously with 'Reihen'. The word 'Reigen', which is more common today, was not introduced into the gymnastics language until the middle of the 19th century by Ludwig Jahn as a term for a rhythmic row dance. A characterization of the content can be found in Sachs: "The Reigen as a form is clearly definable: a chain of dancers who move hand in hand, either in an open or closed circle, or in an extended line".

Most etymological dictionaries derive 'rei(h)en' from the Old French word 'raie' meaning a "kind of dance" because it is first mentioned in writing in Old French literature. In this view, 'raie' with the original meaning 'furrow, stripe, row' goes back to the Gallic 'rīca'. However, in Old French texts before and after the advent of 'raie', terms such as 'carole', 'charole', 'quarole' or similar forms are always used for this type of dancing, which argues against this derivation from the Celtic word 'rica'. In addition, from the 13th century on, there is much written evidence for the word 'reien' from southern Germany, Austria, and German-speaking Switzerland, which makes an origin from a word of Germanic origin more likely. Harding also suspects a southern German dialect word based on its use, or lack of use, in the literature of the Minnesingers. In terms of content, 'reien' has something to do with row, and 'Reihe' in turn goes back to Middle High German 'rīhe' meaning "row, line," which in turn comes from Old High German 'riga', "line," which, like Gallic 'rīca', can be traced back to the Indo-European root 'rei' or 'reikh'. At the level of verbs, Middle High German has 'rīhen' (from Old High German 'rīhan') with the meaning "to pull on a thread, to tack on in rows." In some dialects, such as Swabian, this verb has long persisted as 'roiə' or 'reiə'. Thus, the 'roiə' was still danced as a Reigen in the Allgäu at least until 1860. The same is true for the Franconian 'Räje'.

This evidence supports the assumption that the Franconian nobility in northern France introduced the word 'reie' as a term for Chain Dance, (as well as the word 'danse') as a new fashionable word of Franconian or southern German-Austrian origin. From there it spreads with the associated dances. It is found in literature shortly after as the equivalent Picardy 'rèy' and Middle Dutch 'rei', around 1400 also as the English 'ray'.

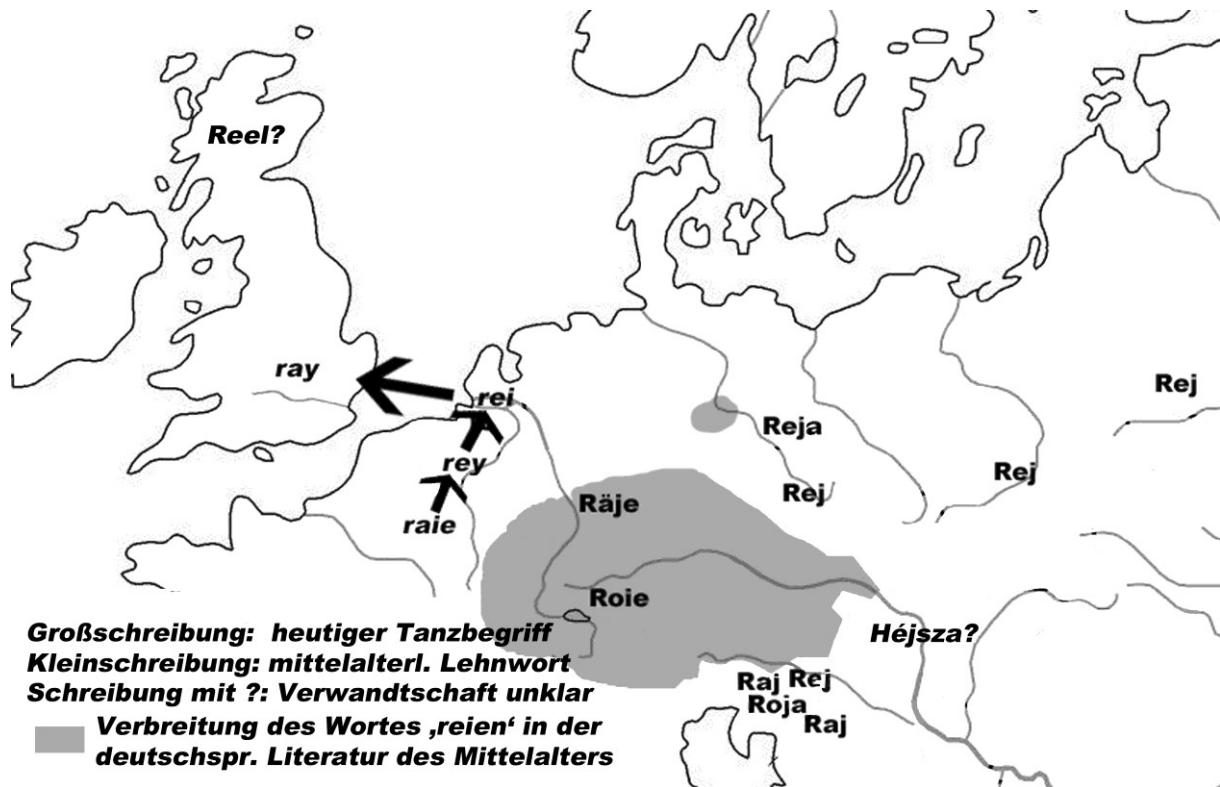


Fig. 262: Distribution of the word 'reie' in medieval literature and modern evidence.

This view is supported by the fact that 'reie' can also be found in some neighboring Slavic languages. In Sorbian we find 'reja' (dance, Chain Dance), in Polish 'reja' (dance), there as an older word also 'rej' (Chain Dance), in Czech 'rej' (Chain Dance, pre-dance - in the sense of dancing before) and in Slovenian 'raj' (Chain Dance).

Probably the word 'reien' came together with the word 'dance' as a loanword into these languages, which would still have to be investigated. Whether reel and hejsza also belong to this word relationship is unclear.

In some cases it also has the meaning of arranged dances in the sense of a suite, e.g. in the "Egerländer Reja".

2.6.3 Names with the root¹⁰ 'chor'.

By far the most designations for chain dancing have the word root 'chor'. In an area from western France to southwestern China they can be found almost everywhere where Chain Dances exist. Thereby they occur in quite different language families. In Tibet with 'khor' (Tibeto-Birman language family), in Buryatia with 'Jochar' (Mongolian language, Altaic language family), in Turkey with 'Halay' (Turkic language, Altaic language family), among the Lases in Turkey with 'Kereoni' (Caucasian language family) and already in the Palestine of the Old Testament with 'chul' (old Hebrew, Afro-Asian language family) one finds these words. This cannot be a coincidence, but very likely the terms have spread together with the Chain Dance and have survived until today.

¹⁰ A word root consists of a 1st consonant, a rather not so fixed vowel between and a 2nd consonant. From this root then all subsequent words can be derived.

2.6.3.1 Current Etymology for 'Chor' (Loanword Hypothesis)

The word 'chor' used in German goes back to the Greek word 'horos' (Χορός). Via the Latin 'chorus' it then came into the Romance and Germanic languages as a loanword in the course of Christianization by the Catholic Church. In the Slavic languages it came directly from the Greek via the Orthodox Church. There it means: round dance, dancing place, crowd of dancers, singing choir. In the Romanian 'Hora' and in the Macedoromanian 'Corlu' there is also the meaning "dance festival", possibly another original meaning of the underlying word. Also the Irish word 'Céilí' has the basic meaning dance festival.

Which of these meanings is the original one can no longer be determined. Perhaps there was no original meaning either, because all these aspects belong together. In any case, it is difficult to assign an Indo-European original form. Mostly it is derived from the Indo-European 'ǵher' (to grasp, to seize).

In summary, the etymology represented in the dictionaries assumes in the case of 'choir' a Greek-Latin loanword, which was borrowed into other languages in the course of Christianization. Thereby a typical sound transformation for the respective language took place.

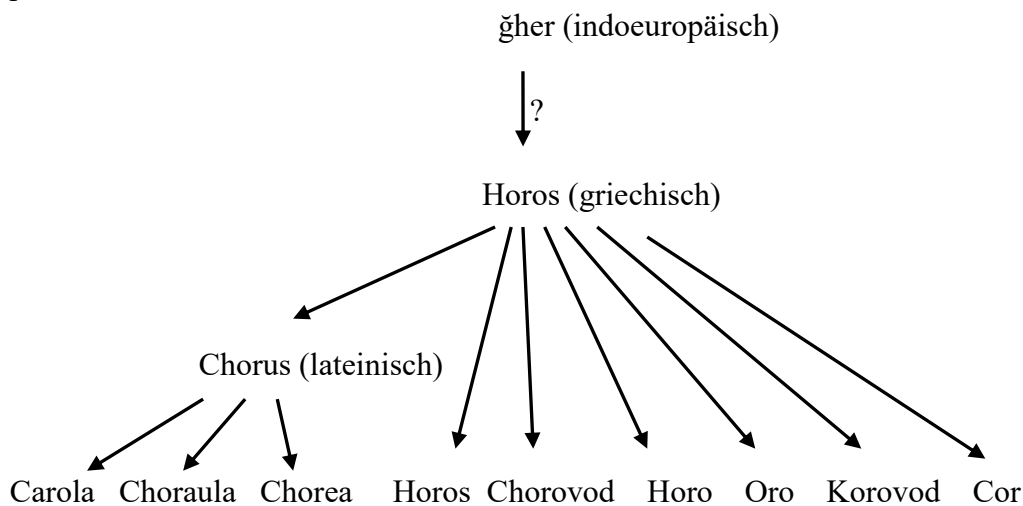


Fig. 263a: In the etymological dictionaries, a view on the origin of dance terms of the word cognate 'chor' is given. Here, one assumes an Indo-European root 'ǵher' with the meaning 'to grasp' and the extension 'ghortos' 'fenced-in place'.

2.6.3.2 Arguments against the loanword hypothesis

This loanword hypothesis may be true for the Germanic language area. Terms like 'the choir' - a crowd of singers or 'the chor' as a place in a church come understandably from Latin. Moreover, in Germanic languages there are no terms for Chain Dance with the word root 'chor'.

For the huge non-Germanic remaining area of distribution, however, there are considerable doubts about the loanword hypothesis and essentially three important counter-arguments. First, at least for the Russian language area, there are inconsistencies for the loanword hypothesis, because the words 'Karagod or Korogod' (Southern Russia), Korovod (Ukraine),

Korohod (Belarus) do not correspond to the laws of sound shifting when derived from the Greek 'Horos'.

Secondly, there are serious content-related concerns. The Russian 'Chorovod' and related words are terms for the 'Chain Dances of the peasants'. Chain Dances are expressions of village community and serve group identity. They have therefore proved to be very conservative throughout history and are hardly susceptible to outside influence. This is especially true for the step patterns of the dances and probably also for the names. After all, why would a Russian peasant suddenly use a new word for his dances, which have been danced in his village in a very long tradition? It is also hard to imagine that there was no old word for these dances in the Russian language and therefore a Greek one had to be adopted. A loan word adoption is hardly comprehensible for this context.

These arguments also apply to the Chain Dance terms used in the immediate neighborhood of Greece: 'Oro' (northern Macedonia, southern Serbia, formerly used throughout Serbia), 'Horo' (Bulgaria), 'Hora' (Romania, Moldavia), and 'Cor' (Macedo-Romanian).

In Europe, written Greek words have been available for the longest period of time. Ancient words of other languages elude our knowledge. However, the lack of knowledge of these ancient words does not justify favoring a loanword explanation just because the corresponding Greek word is the first written one available.

Third, there are many words of the 'chor' family that are temporally or geographically outside the Greco-Roman sphere of influence and therefore cannot be loanwords from that sphere at all. The following table lists some of these terms.

Table 263a: Terms for Chain Dance outside the Greco-Roman Area of Influence

<i>word</i>	<i>language/origin</i>	<i>meaning</i>
cholo th	Old Testament 2nd Book of Mose	Chain Dance
chul	Old Testament	to move in a circle, to turn
lecholel, mechol	New Hebrew	dancing, dance
Hāla	Arabic	to move in a circle, to turn
araas	Berber (Middle Atlas)	dance, rhythm
jarras	Berber (Middle Atlas)	dance
Halay	Turks, Kurds, Assyrians	Chain Dance
kurdanam	Sanskrit	dance
Kher, Khel	Roma (originating from North India)	dance, game
Khor ro ro ,gnas-skor	Tibet	circling walking around a sacred place
Jochar	Mongolian Buryats west of Lake Baikal	
Shhapro	Himalayan region Mustang in Nepal	Chain Dance
Qie (Aussprache: tʃeə[r])	Yi in SW China	Chain Dance
Hore	Kurdish	song type
Ghari	Pakistan	olk song

For all the words listed, or for the associated regions in which they are used, there is little or no connection to ancient Greece or the Byzantine Empire. The distribution area of the words,

on the other hand, coincides with the distribution of Chain Dances (with the exception of the Germanic language area). It stands to reason that they were spread with these dances.

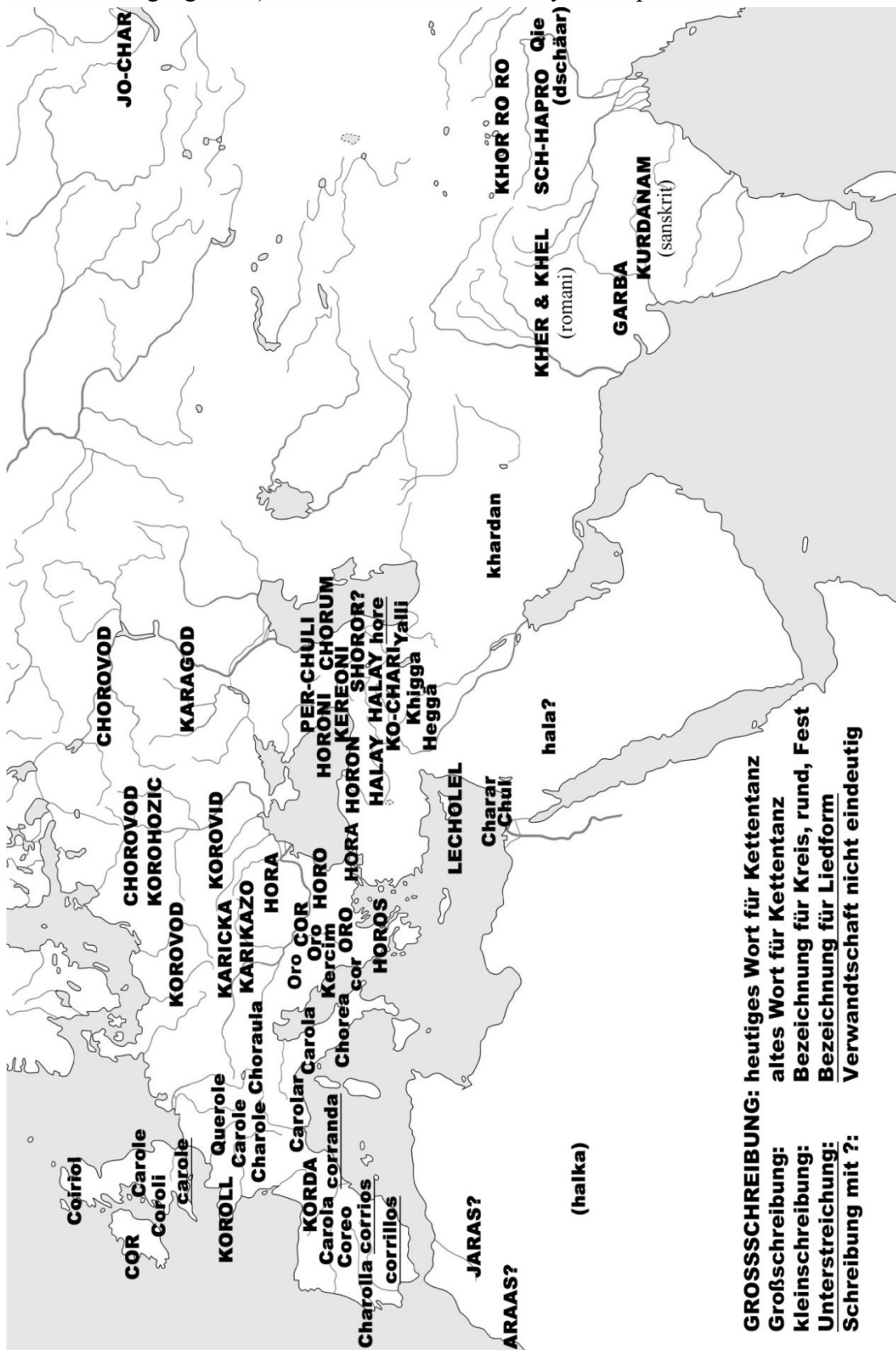
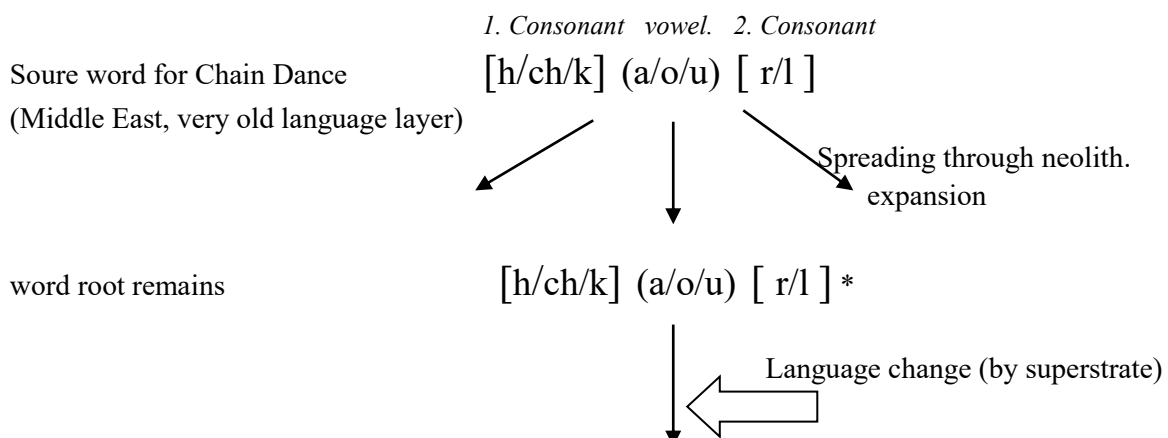


Fig. 263b: Chorus-word relationship in the meaning of dance, song and circle. Only words that have both consonants of the root were entered. Presumptive prefixes were set off by a hyphen).

2.6.3.3 Hereditary word hypothesis

The great semantic correspondence with the meaning Chain Dance (and its secondary meanings) and the terms with the root 'chor' correlating with the spread of Chain Dances suggest that this term spread together with the dances, starting from the Middle East, connected with the Neolithic expansion, as another element of the "Neolithic bundle". It can therefore be assumed that the words of the 'chor' word family are related hereditary words going back to a common origin. Despite several language changes in the course of history, the word 'chor' appears in many languages of our time with comparatively low phonetic variance as a term for Chain Dance or, more rarely, as an umbrella term for dance. It probably belongs to a very old linguistic stratum, which has survived with very few words until our time. Not only the wide spreading is remarkable, but also the small variance of the designations related to a period of nearly 10,000 years - for the source word an unbelievably small "susceptibility" to changes. This "conservatism" can be explained by the fact that the words of the 'chor' word family were adopted as substrate words in new languages in the history of language change. In language contact linguistics, it is assumed that new rulers can cause language change. In such a case, the previously prevalent indigenous language is replaced by a new superstrate language. This replacement process, in which a typical sound shift can occur, does not take place one hundred percent of the time, however; instead, a few words remain from the indigenous language, mostly from typical areas such as house and farm or designations for site-specific occurrences. These substrate words are thus retained by the people in use and pronunciation and are therefore hardly modified. Thus also no sound shift takes place for these words. For the addition of prefixes and suffixes (prefixes and suffixes) several causes are conceivable as for example a different grammar of the superstrate language. Thus, the term 'chor' from the still unknown language of the first shepherds and farmers was adopted in the course of history in subsequent languages such as Semitic, Turkish, Caucasian, Tibetan and Mongolian.

The basic relationship is shown in Fig. 263c.



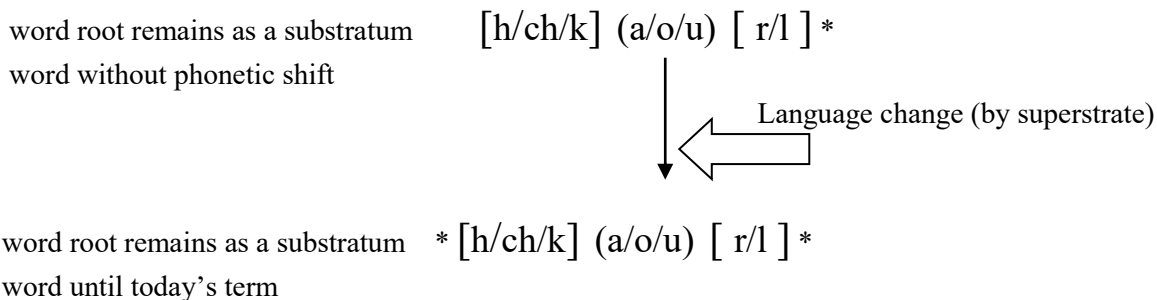


Fig. 263c: 'chor' as conserved substrate word in multiple language changes. First square bracket = 1st consonant; round bracket = between vowel; second square bracket = 2nd consonant; * = suffix (back) or praefix (front).

2.6.3.4 The word relationship 'chobi'.

In the word family 'chor' listed above, only those names for Chain Dance, song types or circle have been taken which agree with the presumed root in both the first and second consonants or are at least phonetically very similar. Especially in the Near and Middle East, there are other names for Chain Dance or for certain Chain Dance families such as 'Chobie' (pronounced dshobie). In the corresponding words, the second consonant differs from the presumed original form. The original r/l is replaced by a b/p.

Words like Chobi occur in some regions and languages. The Kurdish (both northern Iraq and northern Iran) chobi, sometimes chopi, denotes Chain Dances, usually with three-measure structure. The same is true of western Iranian chobi and Iraqi chobi, chobo, or chubie. In the coastal region of the Persian Gulf, there are dances called bandari chopi ("coastal chopi"). They are dances with a basic three-measure pattern. However, there is a lot of clapping while dancing, so hand-framing is not possible. But except for the lack of hand-framing, all the external structural features of the Chain Dances are present. In Baluchistan, the Chaap dances are also danced in circles, but they do not clearly belong to the Chain Dances, but are a mixture of Chain Dance with Central Asian forms of folk dance because of their deviating structural features.¹¹

Also the Ethiopian word 'Chifera' (tsifera) with the meaning 'to dance to sing' could belong to the word family 'chobi'.

¹¹ Synchronous movements on the circular path are performed, but without a frame, which would also be badly possible due to many individual turns. The latter two characteristics (without frame, many turns) correspond more to Central Asian forms of folk dance. With all reservation this can be interpreted in such a way that here a mixed form of dance types developed, which is still provided with an old designation.

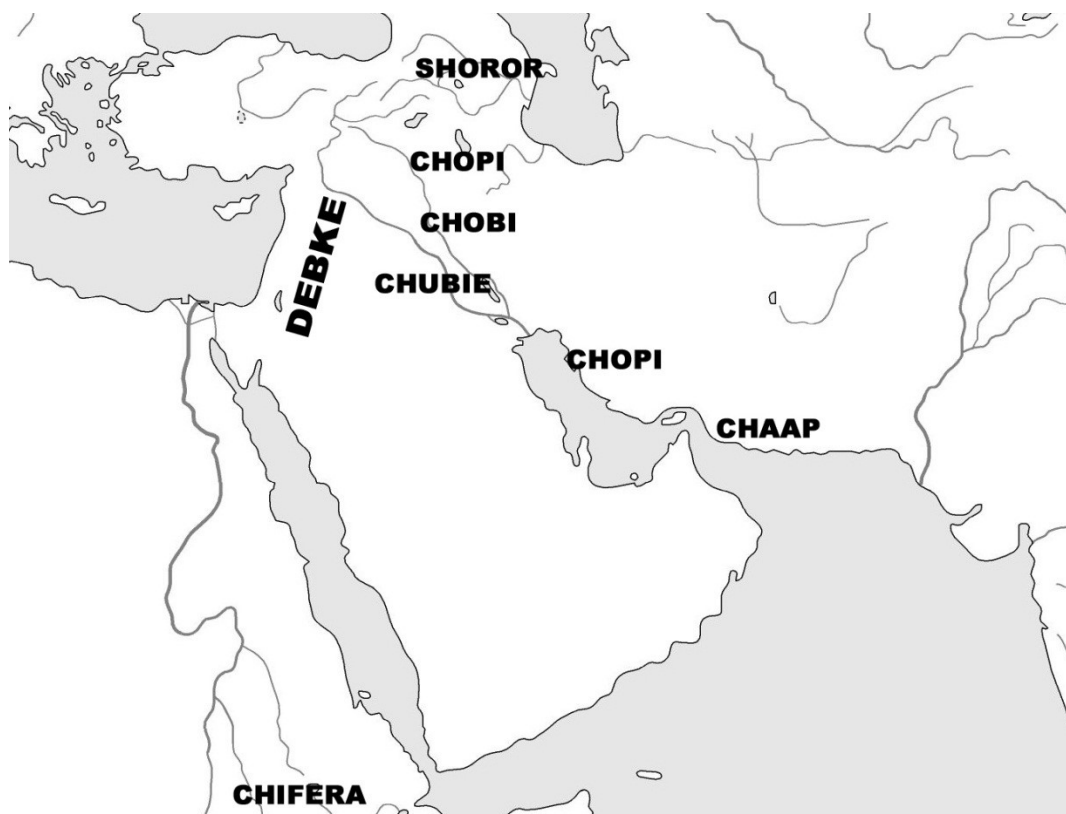


Fig. 263d: The word relationship 'chobie' and 'debke'

In any case, in the case of the 'chobi' words, there are very similar terms with the same meaning for at least four quite different languages, which, by analogy with the word 'chor', suggests a common origin as a substrate word meaning Chain Dance.

Debke, also dabke, dabka, dabki, or dabkeh is a term for circle Chain Dances in Palestine, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq. Often these debkes have three-measure structure. 'Debka' means 'stomping' in Arabic. Although the dances are ancient in form, the word seems to have been modified more recently, or at least in more recent times. Perhaps it was spread over this area with Arab expansion and with the standardization of the Arabic language. This is supported by the observation that in Iraq the term 'dabke' exists, but in the regional dialect it is 'chubie'.

The words of the word families 'chor' and 'chobi' are terms for Chain Dances in different areas. Both groups are terms for dances that have the same structural features and are considered to belong to the kinship group of Chain Dances. This fact and the obvious similarity in the morphology and sounds of the words lead to the assumption that all these terms may have a common word history.

2.6.3.5 Other terms for Chain Dance or dance

In the outer regions of distribution of Chain Dances, there are other names that do not belong so obviously to the word family 'chor', because their presumed word root does not correspond to 'chor' (see tab. 263b).

Tab. 263b: Other terms for Chain Dance

<i>term</i>	<i>Gebiet, Ethnie</i>	<i>Bedeutung</i>
Guoxie	Tibet	dance
ghoomar	in Rajasthan, India	Chain Dance
Gidda	in Punjab, India	Chain Dance
Kaikottikali	in Kerala, India	Chain Dance
woa kia	Norther thailand, Lisu	dance, performed als Chain Dance
Ohuokhai	Yakuten of Sakha	only Chain Dance
Ahidous	Amazigh-Berber, Middle Atlas	main Chain Dance
Ahouach (sprich Achwuasch)	Chleuh-Berber, High Atlas	main Chain Dance

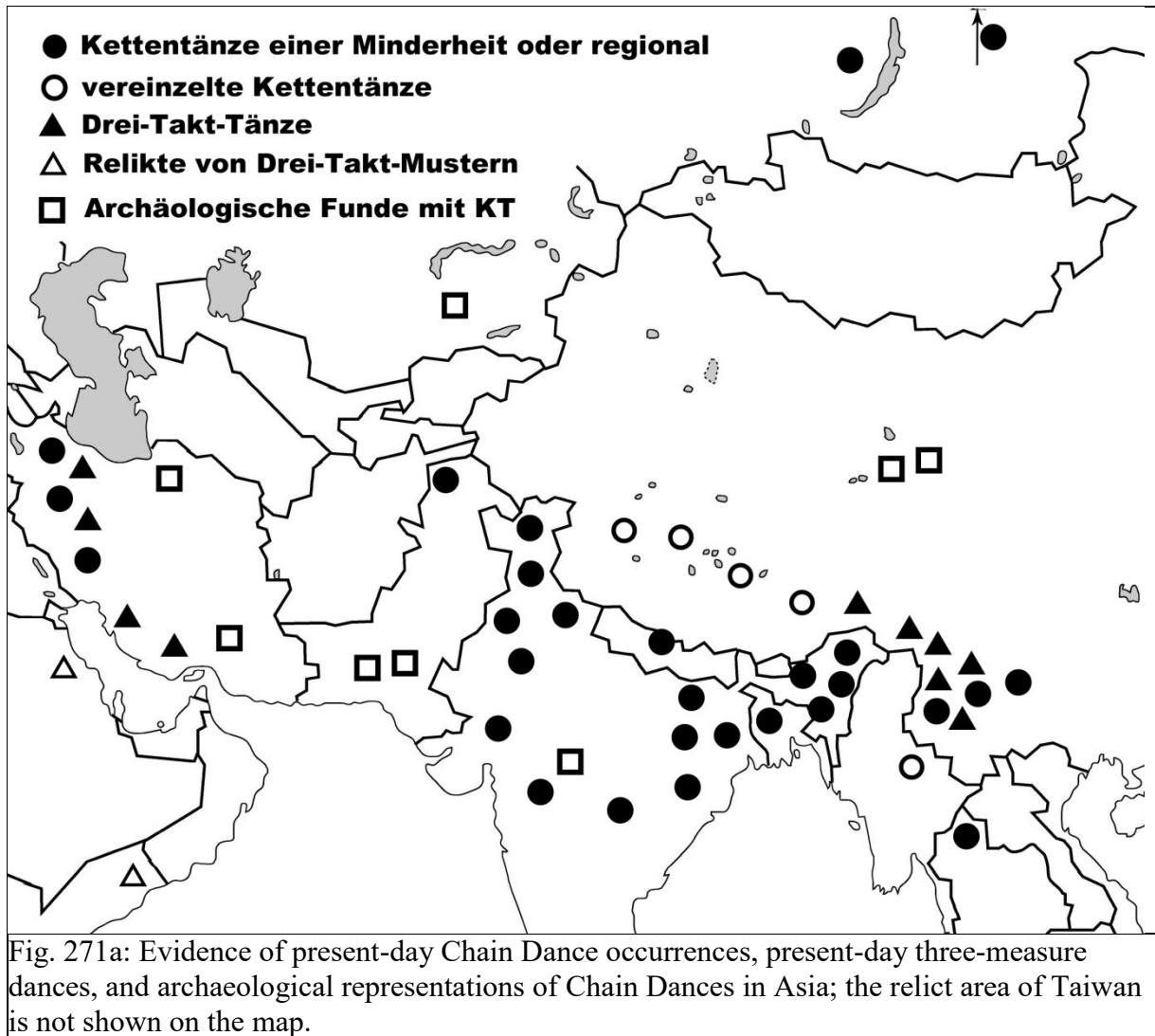
Here, however, it is noteworthy that all of these terms for chain dancing contain the first consonant of the presumed word root 'chor' (marked in bold in table 263b), and that there are striking similarities between some terms such as woa kia and ohuokhai, which come from quite different regions and language families. All this points to a common origin of the terms. Moreover, I have yet to find any name for Chain Dance in the West Eurasian range that has no correspondence with 'chor' at all. Only on the Indian subcontinent the similarity blurs. The names of the natives of Taiwan for their Chain Dances, however, are quite different and have no correspondence with the root 'chor'.

2.7 Chain Dances in Asia and North Africa

2.7.1 Asia

As shown in Fig. 250, there are still very many Chain Dances in SW Asia, excluding the Arabian Peninsula, whose origin can be explained by the emergence and spread of this dance type in connection with the Neolithic culture.

East of a border that runs roughly through the middle of Iran, there are still regional occurrences, but they are separated from the West Eurasian area by areas free of Chain Dances. The largest, both in terms of number of dancers and area, is an area stretching across northern and central India, Nepal, and Bangladesh. Many of the "tribes" (original folk tribes) there perform traditional dance forms that are remarkably similar to the circle Chain Dances of Europe, showing all the structural features of that dance type. The step patterns are also similar, though simpler in composition, and the three-measure pattern so prominent in Western Eurasia is something I have not encountered so clearly until now. The Sanskrit word for dance is 'kurdanam'. Also other names like 'Khel' (Roma), 'Shhapro (Nepal) or 'Garba' (Gujarat) fit to the word root 'chor', in other names only the first consonant is correct, others are quite different.



There are several rock paintings from the Bhimbetka area with circle Chain Dances (see Fig. 271b), which show that this dance form has existed here for a very long time. Unfortunately, there are no dates available for the petroglyphs.



Fig. 271b: Rock painting of Bhimbetka

'Guoxie' is the name of a group of dances of Tibet that can be found in village areas with setting and vocal accompaniment, thus possessing the typical Chain Dance characteristics. However, the distribution is not widespread, because most of the folk dances of Tibet are danced in a circle, but without a setting. The words 'Khor ro ro' for 'dancing in a circle' and 'gnas-skor' for 'going around a sacred place' are used as dance names.

The Yi people in China's Yunnan Province also have Chain Dances, often with four measure patterns, called 'Qie' (pronunciation: tʃeə[r]). The Yis are herders of sheep, goats, and cattle, and the people are said to have originated in southeastern Tibet. In addition to the Yis, other ethnic minorities in Yunnan Province such as the Nu, Pumi, Mosuo, Tibetan, Naxi, Bai, Hani, and Lisu have Chain Dances. The Naxi call their dances 'wu chuo', for the Lisu they are called 'woa ki'. In particular, the step patterns of the Naxi and Lisu are very, very similar to those of Western Eurasia.

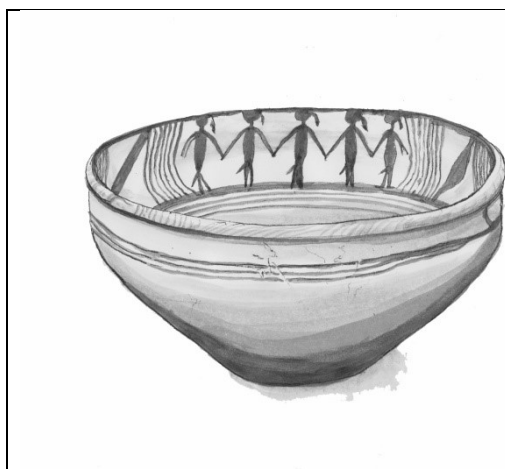


Fig. 271c: painted ceramic vessel with Chain Dance, Majiayao culture northwest China, c. 3900 - 3500 BC, from Datong Shangsunjiazhai, Qinghai.

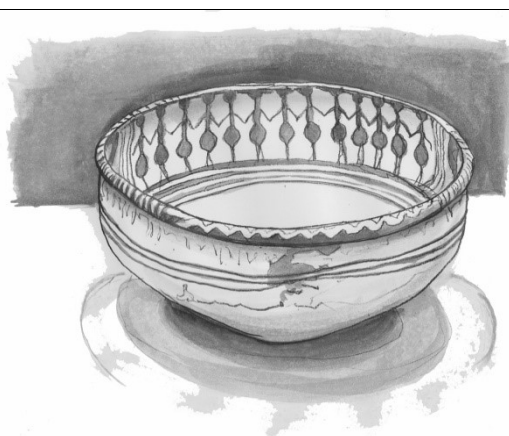


Fig. 271d: Painted ceramic vessel with Chain Dance, Majiayao culture northwest China, ca. 3700 BC, from Tongde Zongri, Qinghai.

Most of Taiwan's minority ethnic groups, such as the Amis, have Chain Dances. These ethnic groups are called 'indigenous' to Taiwan, and it is likely that their dances are also very old. However, their names for Chain Dances are very different from 'chor'.

In many respects the 'Jochar dances' of the Buryats west of Lake Baikal are remarkable. The Buryats linguistically belong to the Mongols, but unlike the other Mongolian populations they are not horse herders, but herd goats and sheep. They came under the rule of Dchinghis Khan and his Mongol horsemen in the 13th century. Jochar dances are archaic circle Chain Dances with simple step patterns (predominantly two- or four-measure patterns) accompanied by singing. The dance movement is to the side to the left. They have all the characteristics of the European circle Chain Dances.



Fig. 271e: Bronze Age petroglyph in Tamgaly Gorge, Kazakhstan (detail), 2nd mill. BC.

Likewise, there are circle Chain Dances among the Yakuts of Sakha. Today's Yakut language belongs to the Turkic languages. Archaeological findings show great similarities with the Buryats. The Sakha Yakuts may have been a population originating in the region east of Lake Baikal that was pushed northward. Crate (2006) describes the 'Ohuokhai' of Sakha as a dance that is an important part of the Yhyakh festival from May to June. In this, deities of the sky are worshipped for sun, rain, fertility, enough food, animals and fodder for the animals. In a closed circle with the front of the body facing the center, a two-measure pattern of simple cradle steps is performed. A precentor sings seven-syllable traditional standard verses or invents new verses, the group repeats them in the form of alternating chants. The circle moves

to the left in the direction of the sun's course. Both context, external structural features and step patterns are the same as in the European circle Chain Dances.

2.7.2 North Africa

From the pre-dynastic period of Egypt from about the 5th mill. BC. there are pottery finds with dance representations, of which one third shows Chain Dances - in comparison to the pictures from the Near and Middle East a small portion. The remaining two thirds (apart from 3% Couple Dances) show individually dancing dancers, of which again more than half depict "graceful-erotic" dancers. The latter category in particular is absent in the regions of SW Asia and SE Europe, at least for this period. The depiction of "graceful-erotic" dancers seems to be a particular development of Egypt, probably due to specific regional (african) influences. Chain Dances are no longer found in modern Egypt. In North Africa only two "relict areas" with this Neolithic dance form still exist.

First, the Berbers in the Atlas Mountains still have circle Chain Dances in which all the important features of this dance form are present. The "Ahidous" is a mixed circle Chain Dance of the Amazigh Berbers from the Middle Atlas. It is danced on the occasion of agricultural festivals, where the participants move very closely shoulder to shoulder with the body front to the center, sometimes facing each other in two lines. The accompanying songs are sung alternately by the men and the women. The corresponding dance type of the Chleuh-Berber from the High Atlas is called "Ahouach" (pronounced Achwuasch) and has the same external structural features. The Ahouach is also accompanied by an alternating song of preceptor and choir or men and women based on the pentatonic scale.

Second, in Sudan and Ethiopia, there are dances among the Nubian ethnic group that have some, but not all, of the characteristics of Chain Dances. Remarkably, in the highlands of Ethiopia, the word 'chifera' (pronounced tsifera) exists in the Amharic language, which may be related to Middle Eastern dance words.

Neither are there any Chain Dances in sub-Saharan Black Africa, nor are there any relics.

In addition to archaeological findings, the word affinities of the terms for Chain Dance also prove that this dance type originated in the Middle East and spread with the Neolithic migration as an expression of village community throughout Europe, as well as to North Africa and to Asia. This is clearly provable for the southwestern Chinese distribution areas, as well as for the relict areas further north. It is not quite so clear for the occurrence on the Indian subcontinent. The Taiwanese Chain Dances seem to have their own origin and represent an analogous development.

However, in the course of their ten thousand year history of this dance type, there have been developments and changes, which are described below.



Fig. 272: Ahouach of the Berbers in the cedar forest of the Atlas Mountains

3. Development of Chain Dances.

Chain Dances have common characteristics. In the chain there is a connection, usually by clasped hands, the front of the body, except for the Snaking Dances, is directed to the center of the circle and the movements go to the side. Differences exist in the style of the movements and especially in the step sequences. The latter characterize the respective dances and are the focus of further analysis and interpretation.

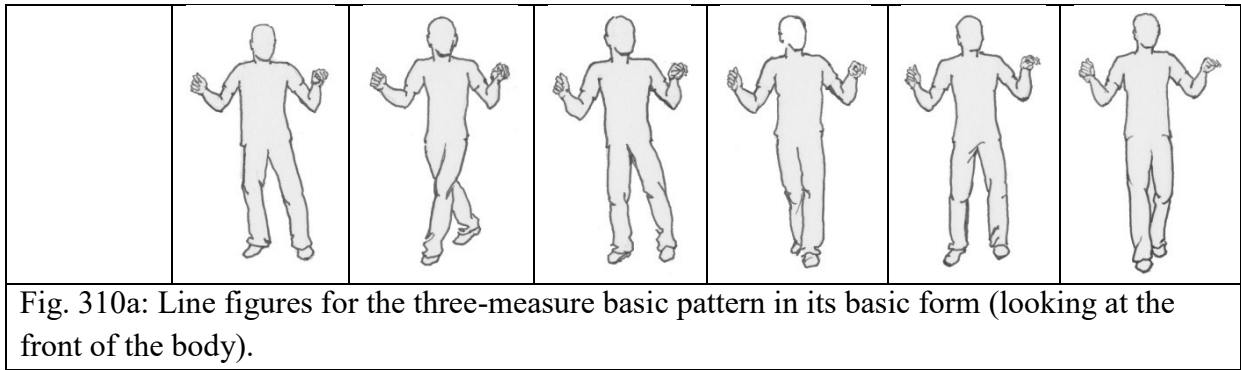
3.1 Step pattern analysis according to Leibman

Most Chain Dances have only one part and consist of a single step pattern that extends over several measures. The concept of Robert Leibman (1992) is particularly suitable for the description and analysis of such forms:

Step patterns consist of a sequence of movements with and movements without weight shifting. A measure length serves as a temporal reference system. The number of weight shifts during this time interval is analyzed. If an even number of weight shifts is performed within a measure, a 0 is set. If an odd number of weight shifts is performed in one measure, a 1 is set. This analysis is performed over all measures that make up the step pattern. The step pattern is the sum of the movements up to the beginning of its repetition. The step pattern of a dance is thus a description of the sequences of weight shifts and actions without weight shifts. This analysis leads to a sequence of 0 and 1, a binary code, which is called basic pattern (underlying structure). For a given basic pattern, there are distinguishable variants that can be distinguished by the number of weight shifts per measure, by the rhythmic execution, and by the direction of the movements. As an example, Tab. 310 describes a three-measure pattern in its basic form, as found, for example, in the Pontic dance Omal or the Bulgarian Pravo Horo, or in the Branle simple laterally reversed to the left.

A basic pattern coded in this way does not describe specific steps, but it describes the dance on a more abstract level. Thus, dances can be compared very well in the structure of their basic patterns and can be grouped into relationships. Symmetrical patterns can also be distinguished from asymmetrical ones.

A particularly striking step pattern is the three-measure pattern described above, because it is conspicuously common in the area of distribution and because the length over three measures almost never fits the usual eight-measure music.



Tab. 310: Description of the basic pattern in its basic form (to the right)

Count	1	2	3	4	5	6
Takt 2/4	1	and	2	and	3	and
Füße	right foot step right sideways	left foot crosses in front with weight	right foot step right sideways	left foot closes without weight	left foot step left sideways	right foot closes without weight
	SIDE	CROSS	SIDE	PENDULUM	SIDE	PENDULUM
Code	0		1		1	

3.2 The three-measure pattern

The step pattern of the three-measure dances goes over three measures, consists of four steps and is asymmetrical: Two steps go in one direction, then a one-step pendulum movement follows in one, then in the other direction. The dancers do not stay in place, but continue to move along the circular path. There is a "progression," as it is called in dance lingo. The associated melodic phrase is sometimes three- or six-measure according to the dance form, but usually eight-measure and then not congruent with the dance phrase.

3.2.1 Examples of Three Measure Dances

The three-measure pattern in its basic form is also known as the ballad step and forms the step pattern of the song dances in the Faroe Islands. The lead dancer starts with the narrative part of each verse, and the others immediately join in with the last note and sing the reciprocal rhyme. The content is about old sagas, e.g. about Siegfried, the dragon slayer, up to spontaneously composed stanzas. Since the ancestors of the Faroese come from Norway, it is not surprising that the lyrics of the ballads are sung in an ancient Norwegian.

This three-measure dance pattern is also very common in many regions of southeastern Europe. In Greece, these dances are grouped under the category 'sta tria', which means "on three" or "on three times".

Remarkably, I was able to observe exactly the same ballad form in the Faroe Islands and at the opposite end of Europe, among the Pontos Greeks who originated in northern Turkey,

with respect to the accompanying song. Songs with verse and reciprocal rhyme are sung, and the same step pattern is danced to them. The dance is called 'Omal' by the Pontos Greeks, and by the Faroese it is called 'Langisandur'.

Even in Germany there has been this form of dance, which was called 'Roie'" or 'Roien' in the Allgäu and according to K. Reiser was still danced until 1860 in Missen, Wiederhofen, Wilhams, Börlas, Sibratshofen and Weitnau in the summertime. This is also confirmed by Alfred Quellmalz: "It [the Roie] was therefore in use in Bolsterlang and the Weitnau area until 1905/06. Its execution agrees in all essential points with the Reigen danced on the Faroe Islands: A closed circle with clasped hands intones a song and begins to 'roie'. The movement, like everything primitive, is simple: two lateral post steps, after the second step cross the right leg over the left, so it floats in the air. At the next beat time step to the right, then the left leg crosses over the right and continues to make a step to the left [...]. The arms with the clasped hands swing widely back and forth in time with the measure. The circle turns, interrupted by the short right movements, slowly clockwise to the left. [...] The 'Roie' was danced mostly on Sundays after the afternoon service, at weddings and other occasions."

There are some older proofs for France too, because already in 1588 Thoinot Arbeau describes the 'Branle simple' or 'simple Branle' with exactly the same step pattern: "Open left foot - Approach right foot - Open left foot - Join right foot - Open right foot - Join left foot" . Arbeau further reports that some Maltese knights danced a 'Branle en ronde' around 1550, which then became popular in France as the Maltese Branle. This form from Malta also contains the step pattern described above over three measures in the first part. The respective versions differ only slightly and will be referred to as the basic form in the following.

3.2.2 Variants of the three-measure pattern

Depending on the mood or tempo of the music, certain elements of the basic form can be varied. For example, the second step can be crossed in front or behind. Also, the side step without weight in beats 4 and 6 can be expanded into an overswinging of the playing leg with a hop. In the so-called "triple form", the "step ran" in beat 3 and 4 (also in 5 and 6) becomes a "step, step, step" in the rhythm short, short, long, which is called "pas des basques" in the technical language. One step thus becomes three steps in the same available time. The principle of these simple variations is always: the basic pattern remains, but individual elements can be varied to a certain extent. In the Sardinian 'Passu Torrau' and the northern Greek 'Bogdanos', the steps are executed in a small zigzag pattern. In Bulgarian 'Pravo horo', the zig-zag pattern is often performed the other way around. In the Bulgarian 'Trakijsko horo' or the Northern Greek 'Zonaradikos', two step patterns are combined as a large zig-zag pattern. In many Balkan dances with "crooked"¹² measures, the pattern is extended to fit the measure. For example, additional spring movements are incorporated. In addition the basic steps of some Couple Dances like Quickstep, Boleros (Mallorca) or the solo Menuet are based on the three-measure pattern. Even the Arabic form 'Debke' with the code 000 seems to have emerged from the basic pattern 011 through a phase shift, as transitional forms observed in the Middle East show.

¹² Sometimes folk dance people call it "aksak".

3.2.3 Symbolic content of the three-measure pattern

There are several interpretations of the symbolic content of such a special pattern over three measures.

In principle, there are two possible interpretations. On the one hand, there is the number three in these three-measure dances. And on the other hand, Three is a sum of "two and one": two measures in place and one further along the circular path, or two in one direction and one in the other.

About the number three: In many cultures, including ours, the number three is regarded as a divine number¹³. Already in the imagination of the ice age hunter-gatherers there was a trinity of the world of spirits and the dead, the world of the living and the world of divine beings. The idea that three-measure dances originated this way because of this symbolism is very speculative. However, for many of these three-measure dances, it can be said that they are or were danced in a religious context.

The Two and One scheme is sometimes interpreted to mean that the dancer moves forward two measures in one direction and then back again one. Perhaps he moves back again out of caution, so as not to venture too far forward? The scheme of the pilgrim's step is also interpreted in this way.

Rudolf Sonner sees the two steps forward as a victory of summer, the step backward as resisting the loss of its dominion. Laura Shannon sees the step pattern as a symbol of the tree of life and also as a symbol of abiding.

The two-and-one principle can also be seen in reverse. Two steps are shuttled back and forth in place. In order not to remain on the spot, one goes two steps further in between. The "moving on and not staying in place" seems to be an archaic principle in dancing. Even symmetrical step patterns are almost always danced more expansively on one side¹⁴ in order to move further along the circular path.

3.2.4 Today's spread of the three-measure pattern

The three-measure pattern is by far the most common step pattern of circle Chain Dances in Europe, and it is also the most widespread. Three-measure dances are particularly common in parts of the Balkans and the Middle East: in Moldavia, Romania (in the Moldavian region, Wallachia, and Dobruja), Bulgaria, southern Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Greece, Albania, Turkey (except in western Asia Minor), Palestine, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon. There are also many dances with a three-measure structure in the Faroe Islands, Brittany, and Sardinia. Some variants are found in parts of Hungary, Romanian Transylvania, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Iraq, Iran (north, west, and along the Gulf coast), Azerbaijan, Armenia, and the Caucasus. Possibly this dance pattern also exists further east in Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. However, it was not possible for me to prove this clearly until now. Also a

¹³ Thus, in Christianity there is a Trinity, the Holy Family consists of three persons, the Holy Kings from the East were three of them, and the resurrection of Christ was on the third day.

¹⁴ For example, in the Breton An Dro, the steps to the left are danced larger than those to the right, and many other examples.

proof in North Africa is missing, although the dances of the Berbers and Nubians obviously show kinship similarities to European circle Chain Dances.

However, there are no three-measure dances in large areas of present-day Europe because there are no longer any Circle Chain Dances there. On the other hand, for many regions there is written historical evidence that such dances existed there in the past. In addition, many Couple Dances have a basic step in a three-measure pattern. The many evidences indicate that the associated step patterns were adopted from the older Chain Dances. Basic steps of Couple Dances in the three-measure pattern are therefore called relics. Such relics in couple dancing exist in addition to the historical evidence throughout Europe. The historical evidence is particularly dense in Central Europe. This is probably because the source material for this area is more accessible and therefore more evidence has accumulated. Unfortunately, I have not yet succeeded in finding evidence of a three-measure pattern for Russia.

For Great Britain there is at least the assumption that island Celts, who migrated to Brittany in the 5th to 7th century, brought these dances, which they still dance today, from Great Britain together with the Celtic language. Otherwise, there is only one relict evidence for Great Britain so far.

There is no proof for Italy either, because a relict proof from the Rezija valley, which lies in Italy, goes back rather to Slovenian origins.

In the map Fig. 324, both present-day evidence of three-measure dances and historical relics are included. The following distinctions are made:

Area-wide, many variants: There are many local variants of three-measure dances throughout these regions. For example, in Greece there are hundreds of these 'sta tria' variants.

Area-wide, some variants: Across these regions, there are some local variants.

Single regional (or local) dance: Only one dance with this pattern is known for this region, for example 'Arkan' in Ukraine.

Element in a dance: In these records, not the whole dance consists of the three-measure pattern, but only a part. In the West Bohemian 'Žinkovske kolečko', for example, the girls dance the three-measure pattern in the 1st part of the dance.

Historical evidence: this is a form no longer danced today, but it is attested in literature. For example 'Branle simple' mentioned by Arbeau (1588). However, some of these dances have been revived.

Relic in Couple Dance: single figures or even all movements of Couple Dances are performed with a three-measure pattern. This is the case, for example, in the "boleros" in Mallorca.

?: There is too little data about this area.

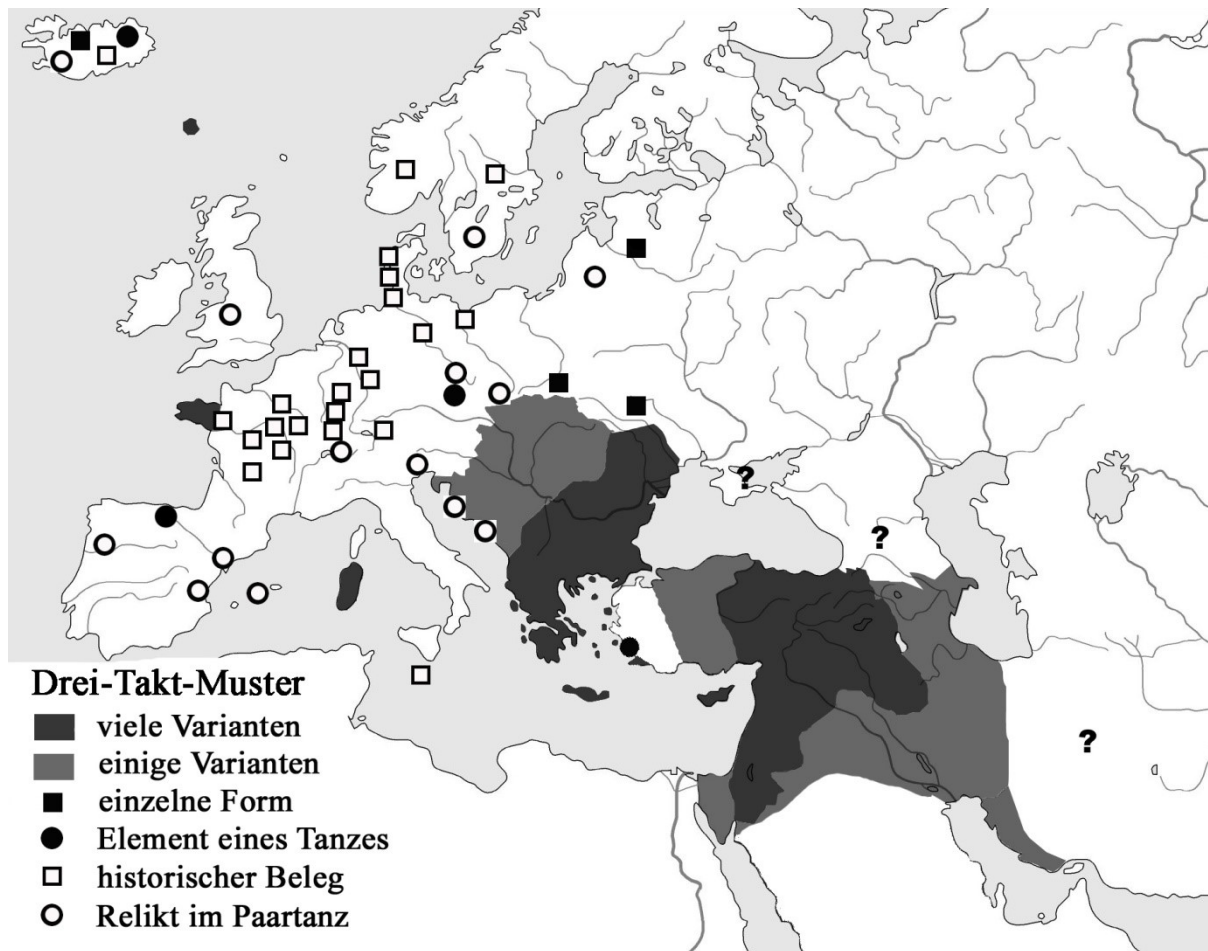


Fig. 324: Present-day distribution of three-measure dances and relics.

3.3 Distribution of patterns today

In addition to the three-measure pattern, there are other pattern lengths, i.e. step patterns that go over 4 measures (4TM), 5 measures (5TM) or other pattern lengths. The result of an analysis of 999 Chain Dances (own data) from Croatia, Serbia, Northern Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece with regard to pattern length is shown in Fig. 330a. In addition to the pattern length, it was also recorded whether there is a one-piece structure or a dance consists of several parts.

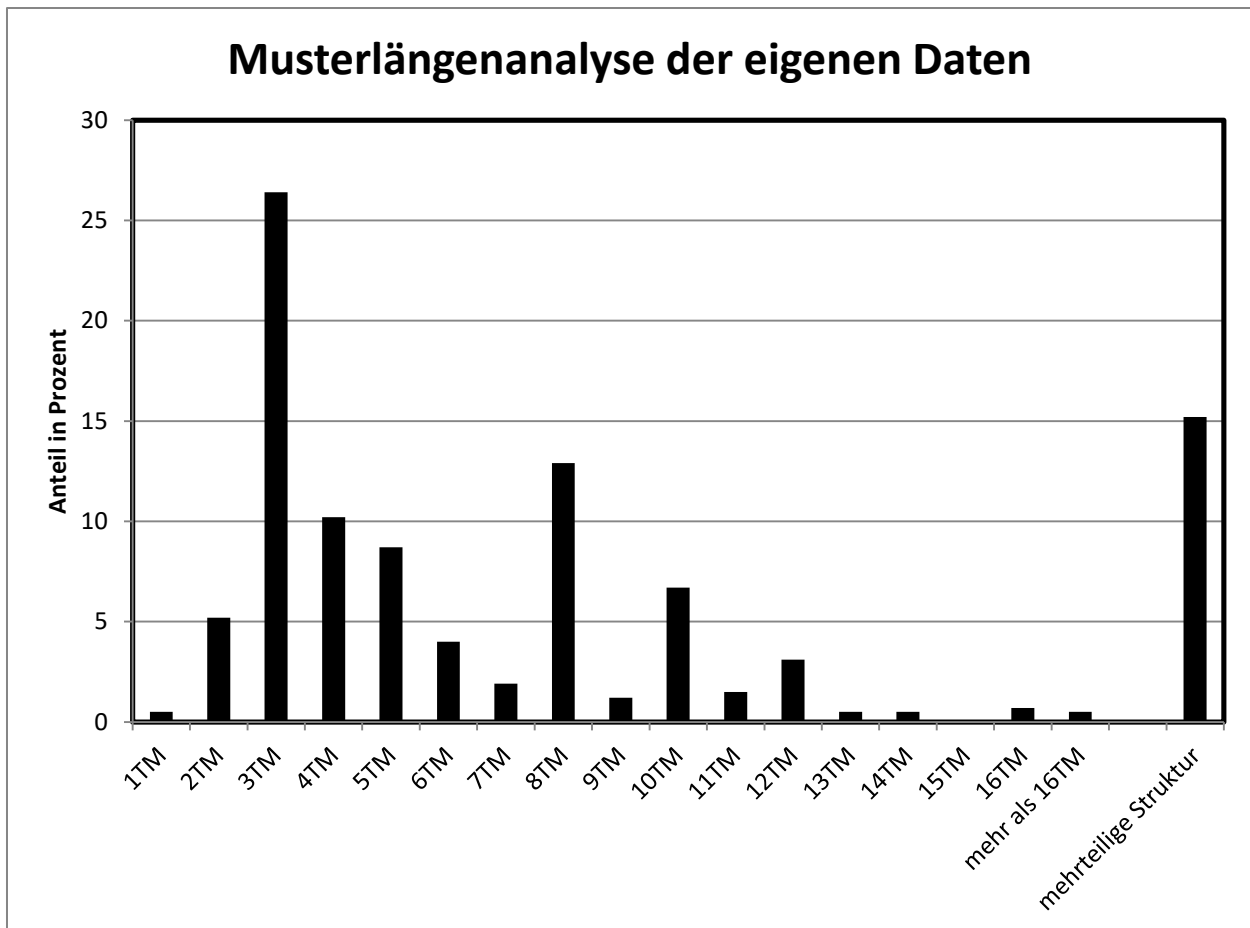


Fig. 330a: Percentages of the individual step pattern lengths of 999 Chain Dances of the countries Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece.

The high proportion of three-measure dances with 26.4% is striking, which impressively emphasizes the special importance of this pattern. In addition, the values for 8TM with 12.9%, for 10TM with 6.7% and for 12TM with 3.1% are to be emphasized. Ignoring the latter groups (8TM, 10TM, 12TM), the result is a left-skewed distribution with a maximum for the 3TM of over 25%.

1TM are very simple, perhaps too simple and therefore rare, 2TM are already more common at 5.2% share and 4TM with 10.2% and 5TM with 8.7% are frequent. The larger the number of cycles, the more complicated the patterns are, therefore the rarer they become then with such a distribution.

Next to the 3TM, the 8TM takes a prominent position, because in addition to the 8TM dances with 12.9%, most of the multi-part structures are eight-measure, which adds up to a total share of 27%. An attempt to explain this high proportion of eight-measure structures is made in section 3.8.

But also the 10TM and 12TM stand out clearly from a unimodal distribution and have strikingly high shares. These result from respective regionally high proportions of these structures in SE Serbia, W Bulgaria, and central to NE northern Macedonia. In this region these dances have developed and spread.

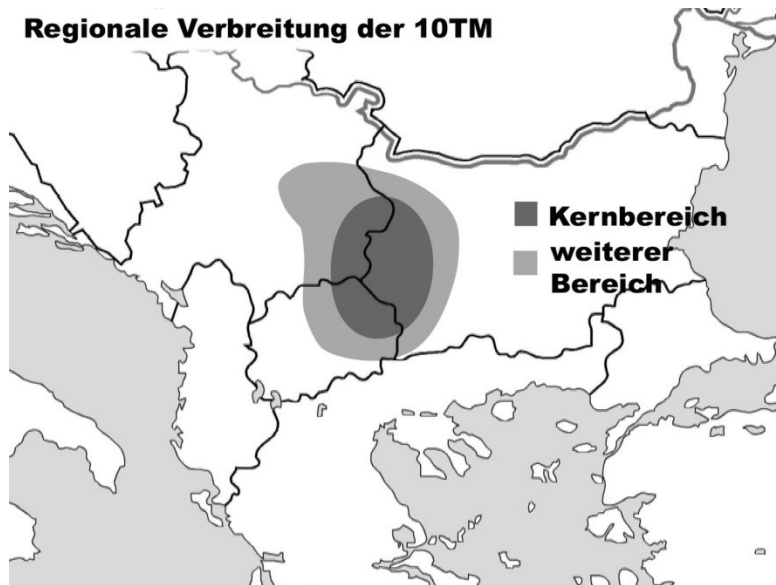


Fig. 330b: Regional distribution of the 10TM.

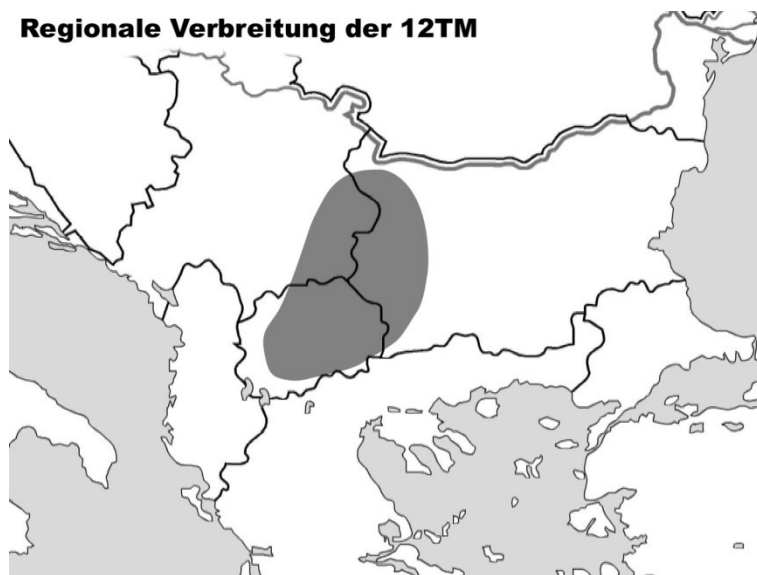


Fig. 330c: Regional distribution of the 12TM.

Furthermore, the 8TM still have a prominent position, which will be addressed in the following chapters (3.6 and 3.7).

In order to make sure that these results are not the result of a non-representative data set, data set of Chain Dance collections of other authors were examined.

Tab. 330: Data sets of other authors.

Autor/in	Region	Anzahl
L. Torp (1990)	whole Balkans	847
B. Ravnkar (1980)	former Yugoslavia	224
M. Dimoski (1977)	North Macedonia	46
G. Pajtonžiev (1973)	North Macedonia	105
P. Atanasovski (Videos collection 2003)	North Macedonia	46

A comparison of the results of the own data with the analysis of pattern lengths of other authors have shown a very similar result. In total, 2267 Chain Dance forms were analyzed.

Interesting in connection with the origin and further development of Chain Dances is the question whether all these patterns existed from the beginning or whether some of them developed only in the course of time. Since there are no records of the patterns from this early period and the Chain Dance illustrations of that time do not reveal any patterns either, this question has to be answered indirectly.

3.4 Original patterns

First of all, it is reasonable to think that patterns changed from simple ones to more complex ones, as can be observed in most developmental processes. According to this reasoning, Neolithic herders and farmers would have maintained Chain Dances whose patterns were simple and thus short. In order to make a distinction between short and long, pattern lengths of one to seven measures are hereafter classified as 'short'. If this is correct, there should be more dances with short patterns and fewer with long patterns in older collections of Chain Dances.

a) Structural analysis of the pattern lengths of the Branles at Arbeau.

Unfortunately, almost nothing has survived about the quality and frequency of step patterns of Chain Dances from earlier times. The oldest description of dance steps and thus information about basic patterns can be found in the descriptions of 24 Branles by Thoinot Arbeau from 1588.

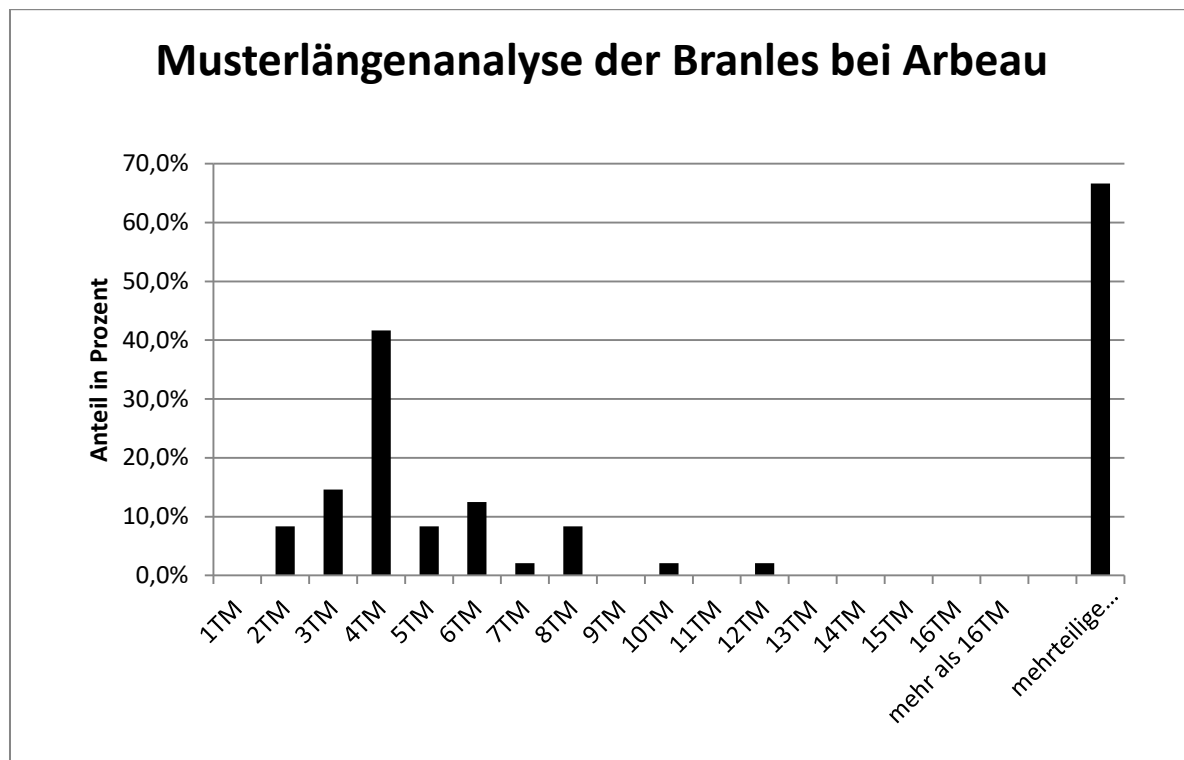


Fig. 340a: Proportions of the individual step pattern lengths of 24 branles described in Arbeau (1588).

With all reservations about an analysis of only 24 dances, it is evident that Arbeau's branles have predominantly short step patterns (87.5%). The proportion of three-measure pattern is much lower compared to the Balkans, even when the 6TM are added to the true 3TM as an expanded 3TM (together 27%). Four-measure patterns (double left and double right) are the most frequent form with 42%. Apart from this small difference, the frequencies of the individual step patterns of the 16th century branles correspond to the analysis results of the Chain Dances of the southeastern Balkan countries. This confirms the statements of Martin , who finds many similarities between the branles and the Chain Dances of the Balkans. Also the analysis of presumably original Breton and Assyrian Chain Dances could contribute to the question, which patterns were at the beginning of the development.

b) Structural analysis of the pattern lengths of today's Chain Dances of Brittany.

A collection of 40 Brittany dances is described by Corina Oosterveen (1995), which includes 25 Chain Dances and 15 Couple Dances that are still danced today.

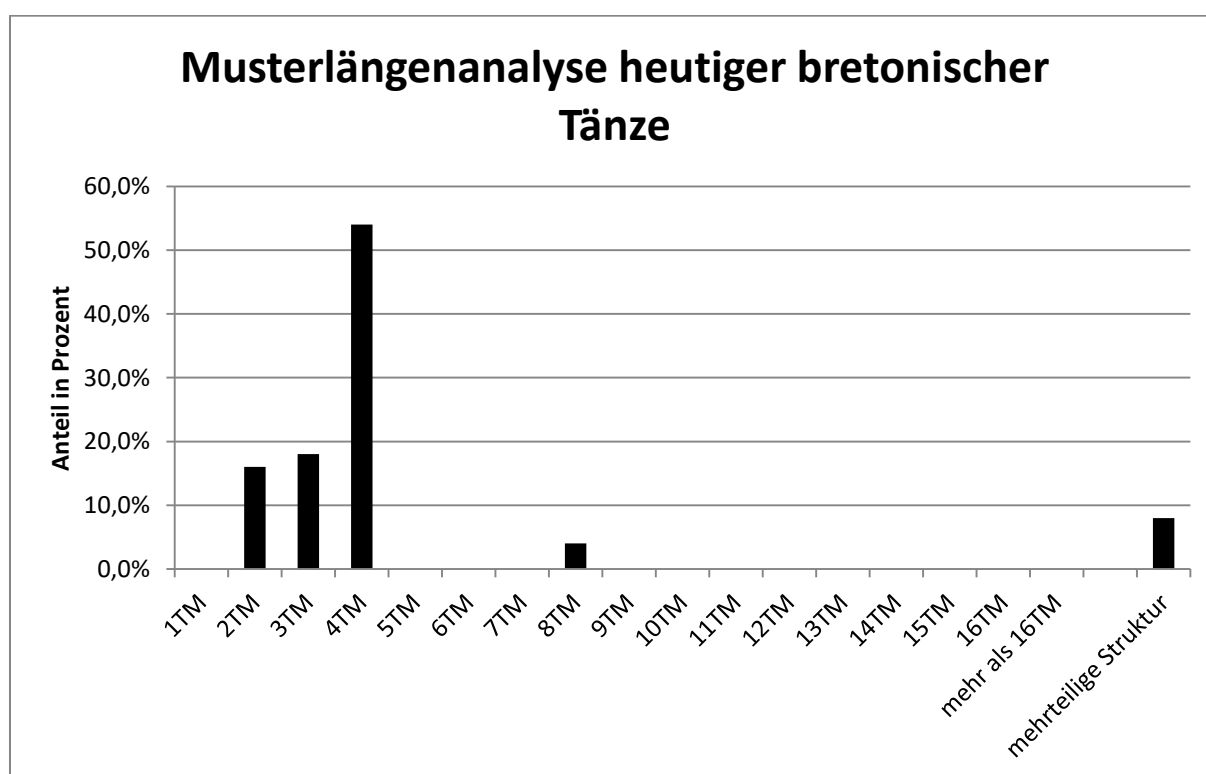


Fig. 340b: Proportions of the individual step pattern lengths of 25 Breton Chain Dances described by Oosterveen (1995).

The analysis of Breton Chain Dances also reveals a very high proportion of short pattern lengths (92%) with a dominance of the 4TM, with 2 multipart (8%) and no symmetrical structures detected.

c) Structural analysis of 28 Assyrian Chain Dances

The collection "Thirty Assyrian Folk Dances" published by P. BetBasoo in 2003 contains 28 Chain Dance forms. It is based on ancient sources from the first half of the 20th century and contains authentic dances.

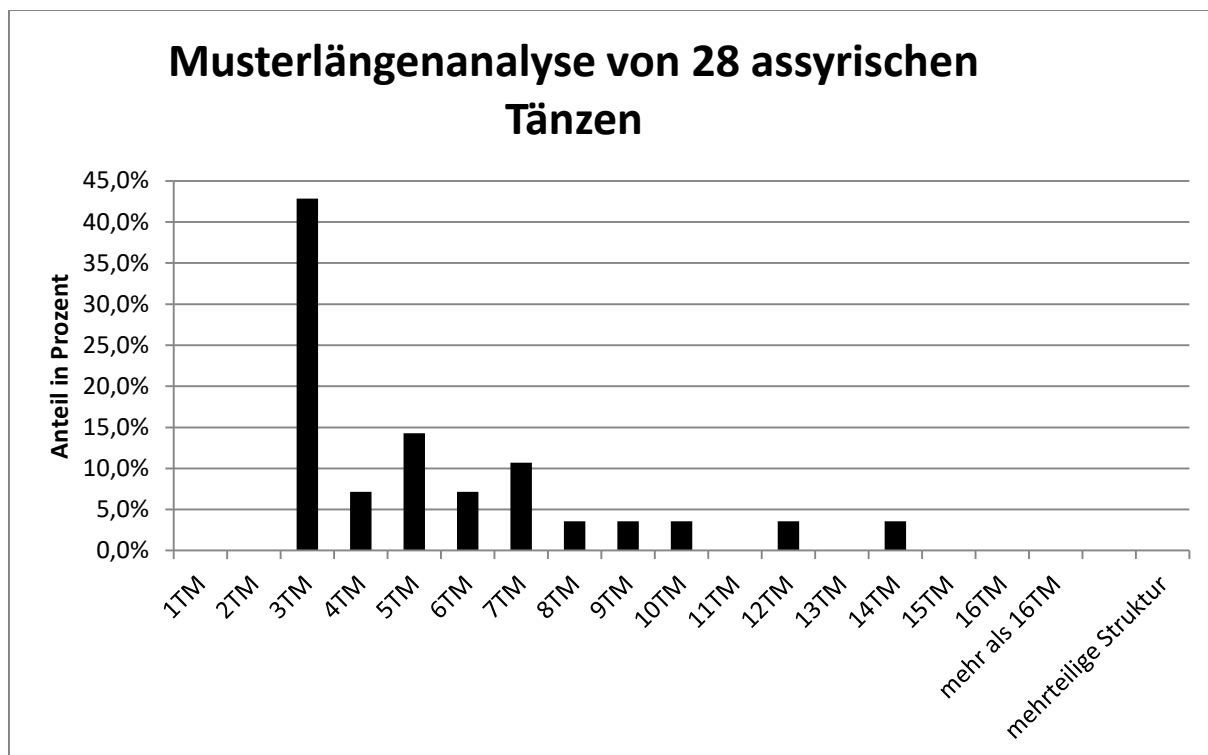


Fig. 340c: Proportions of the individual step pattern lengths of 28 Assyrian Chain Dances described in PetBasoo (2003).

In the frequencies of the individual pattern lengths, the short pattern lengths have a share of 82%, with the 3TM being by far the most frequent. There is no multipart structure in this collection, but there is a symmetrical structure. The result corresponds quite closely to the results for the southeastern Balkans.

The cited three comparative analyses prove that a pattern composition with predominantly short patterns can be classified as old. Whether the dominance of three- or four-measure structures represents a regional difference or already reflects a further development cannot be decided in this way.

d) Structural Analysis of Ritual Dances

A further clue for the question, which characteristics are old and which are new, could be shown by the analysis of ritual dances. Ritual dances are, according to a definition generally applied to dance by Hirschberger, dances that are performed in non-ordinary actions with a traditionally fixed sequence for a specific occasion. Such occasions usually have a long tradition and partly go back to pre-Christian rituals. It can therefore be assumed that the dances performed on these occasions and their characteristics are ancient.

Of 63 ritual dances (see Fig. 340d), 97% have simple patterns (1TM - 7TM). Among the two exceptions, the 8TM has a very simple structure and the 10TM is a frequently danced 'baidushka'. Among the ritual dances there are no symmetrical or multi-part forms. They are mostly accompanied by singing.

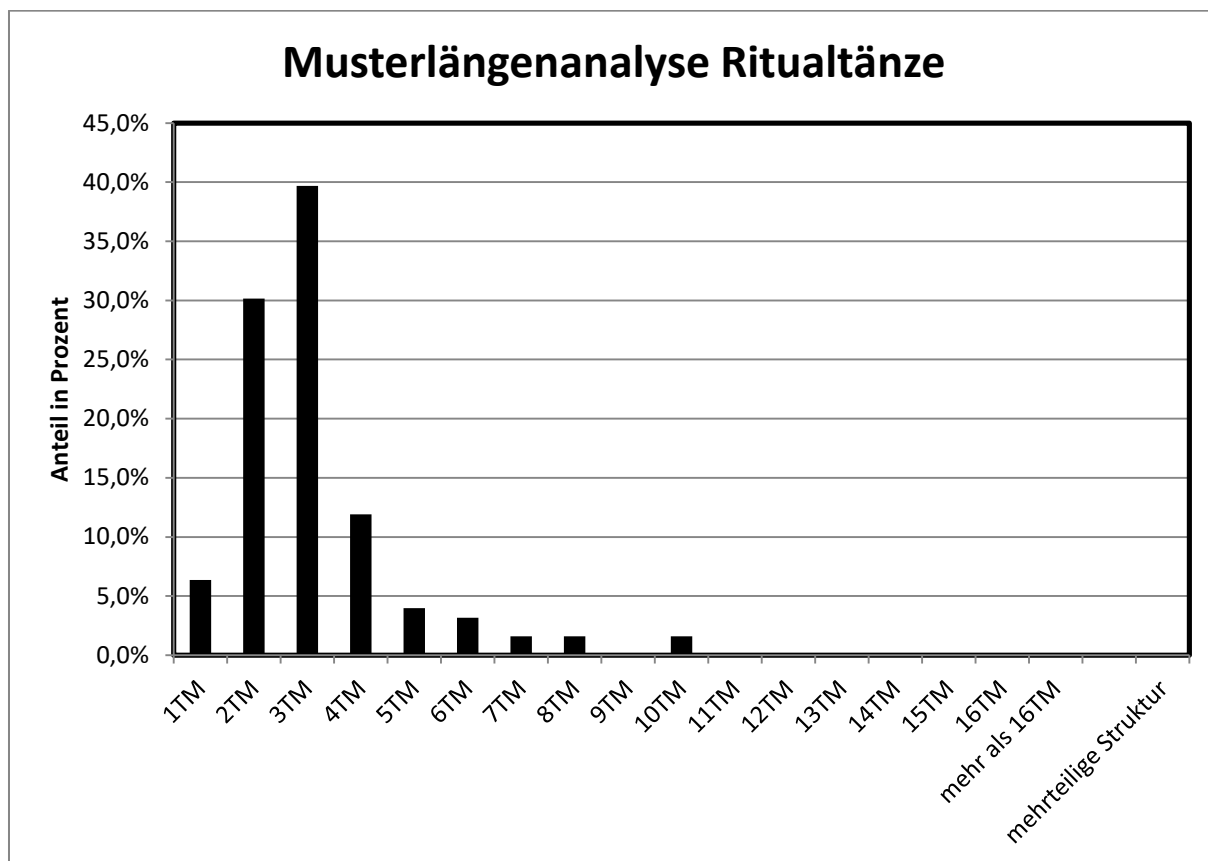


Fig. 340d: Pattern length analysis of ritual dances from the Balkan region.

The analysis of ritual dances also indicates that the characteristics of simple patterns, one-piece and asymmetry can be classified as ancient and original.

In the large period since the emergence of Chain Dances, their step material had hardly changed. There were only simple and asymmetrical step patterns and the dances had no multipartness. The basic patterns, once created, proved to be very stable over time. There are three reasons for this, which are ultimately interrelated.

First, the Chain Dances were ritually integrated into the early village community, in individual cases up to our present time. They were danced at certain times and occasions and were sung while dancing. Thereby the context of meaning was dominant, to which also the lyrics of the songs were related. The steps were only a means to an end and had little independent function. The accompanying singing excluded complicated patterns and fast execution. Thus, only the old, simple patterns were ever used.

Secondly, dance and dances are, at least in the rural context, the most important means of group identification. Those who dance together and know the same dances also belong together, form a group. From this point of view, dance is group or village identification, is

tradition in a positive sense, and ultimately also serves to distinguish people from other groups.

Thirdly, a certain step pattern - at least in uniformly performed dances or dances with a fixed basic step - cannot simply be changed. Folk dances are performed by certain groups. Within this each group, each member must master the steps in order to participate. Changing step sequences would have the consequence that not all members of a community would be able to join in the dance or would at least have to learn the new steps. This preserved the old step patterns.

From about 1400, dances in Central Europe were then accompanied by instrumental music, and since 1450 on, so were the Chain Dances. This opened up new possibilities for step patterns and dance structures, which first became tangible in France.

3.5 Multipartition first emerges in Western Europe

The 24 Branles published by Thoinot Arbeau in 1588 were already danced in the first half of the 16th century, as he himself writes. The step patterns were predominantly short and asymmetrical, as had been the case with these dances for thousands of years. What was new, however, was that they were accompanied by instruments, and two-thirds of them had a simple multipart pattern. The step patterns were still simple, but the dance received another structural level in the sequence, it became more complex. That is why these chain forms were no longer called Carole, but had a new name, Branle. In terms of style, they were now performed in a courtly manner.

The term 'branle' is probably derived from the French verb 'branler', which means 'to sway' or 'to swing'. Possibly this term reflects the constantly occurring small sideways changes of direction that result from the stringing together of doubles and simples that essentially make up the step patterns of the branles.

This multipartness was made possible and encouraged by the further development of Western music, which unfolded in the direction of polyphony and highly complex structures. The noble society at court, itself involved in the development of differentiated and complex structures in society and state, was very open to such changes, as can be understood. And two other innovations can be noted in the early Branles. Whereas the reien and caroles of the people had long been tied into custom and ritual, this connection disappeared at the courts. Branles were danced for conviviality and fun. The dancers themselves or the first dance teachers, who emerged in France from the 16th century onwards, created these mostly two-part dances to fit a certain music. Branle Casandra', for example, cannot really be danced to other music. While the performance of a simple step pattern only requires that the tempo and style has to be correct, these branles require a very specific music for their special sequence, because it is this music that they were choreographed for.

These step sequences were not yet symmetrical and most of them did not go over eight measures. These new features developed much later in some regions of the Balkans, when Chain Dances were almost non-existent in the rest of Europe.

3.6 Further developments in the Balkans

In the Balkan countries, the detachment from custom and ritual and the associated instrumental music accompaniment began much later. However, the Chain Dances lasted much longer and so further developments could take place. In the individual regions, however, one finds a different state.

3.6.1 Proportions and regional distribution of multipartness, symmetry and pattern length

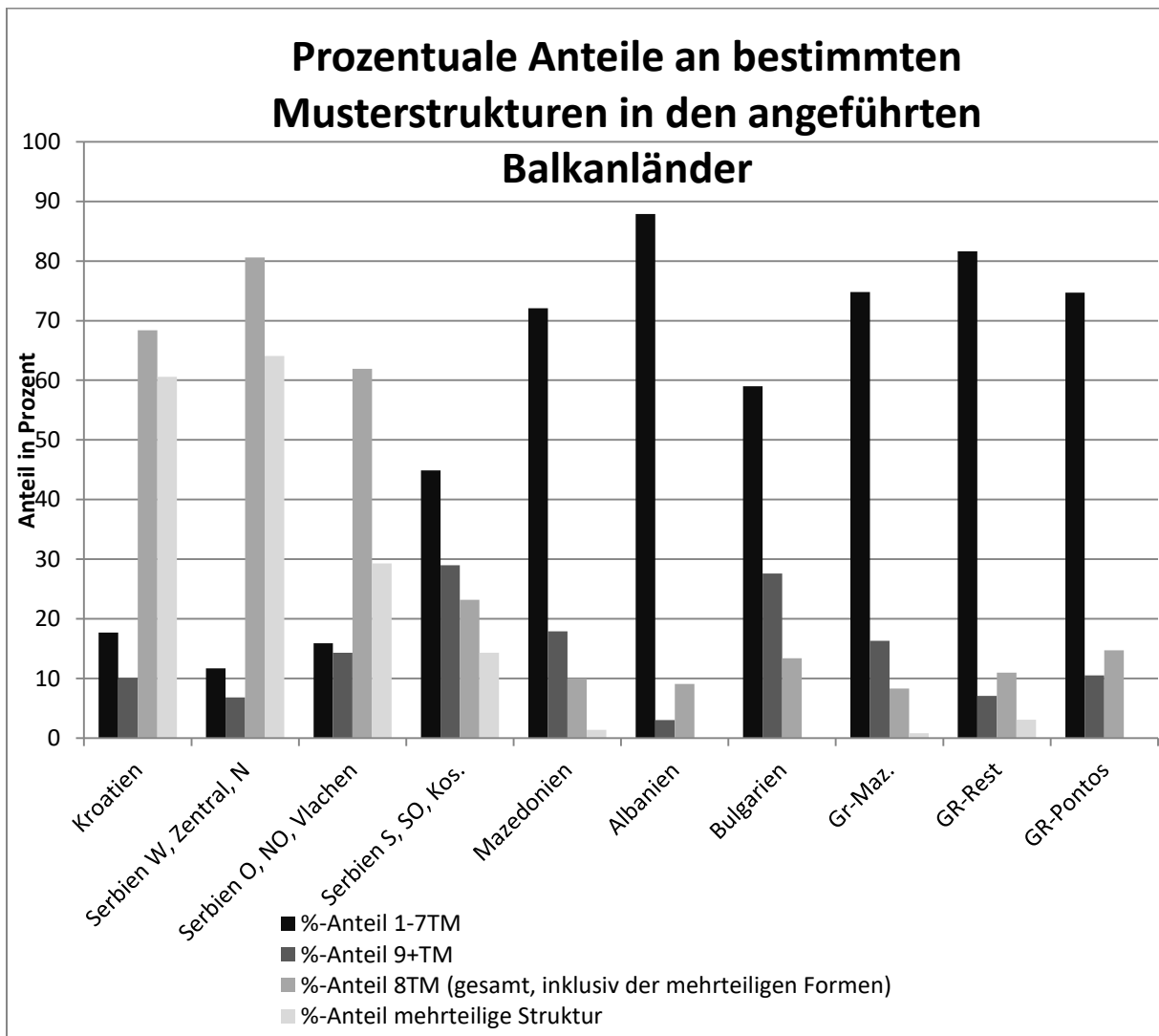


Fig. 361a: Percentage of certain categories of pattern length in 999 Chain Dances for the countries listed.

In order to show clear regional differences, the results of the analysis are summarized in four categories.

- Short patterns (1TM to 7TM).
- Eight-measure patterns (8TM).
- Longer patterns (9+TM = 9TM and larger).

- Multi-part structures regardless of pattern length.
- The respective percentages are shown graphically in Fig. 361a.

Different proportions result for the individual categories in the Balkan countries. Short measure patterns (1TM - 7TM) are rather rare in the western Balkan countries Croatia and Serbia, whereas they dominate in the southeastern area (cf. Fig. 361b).

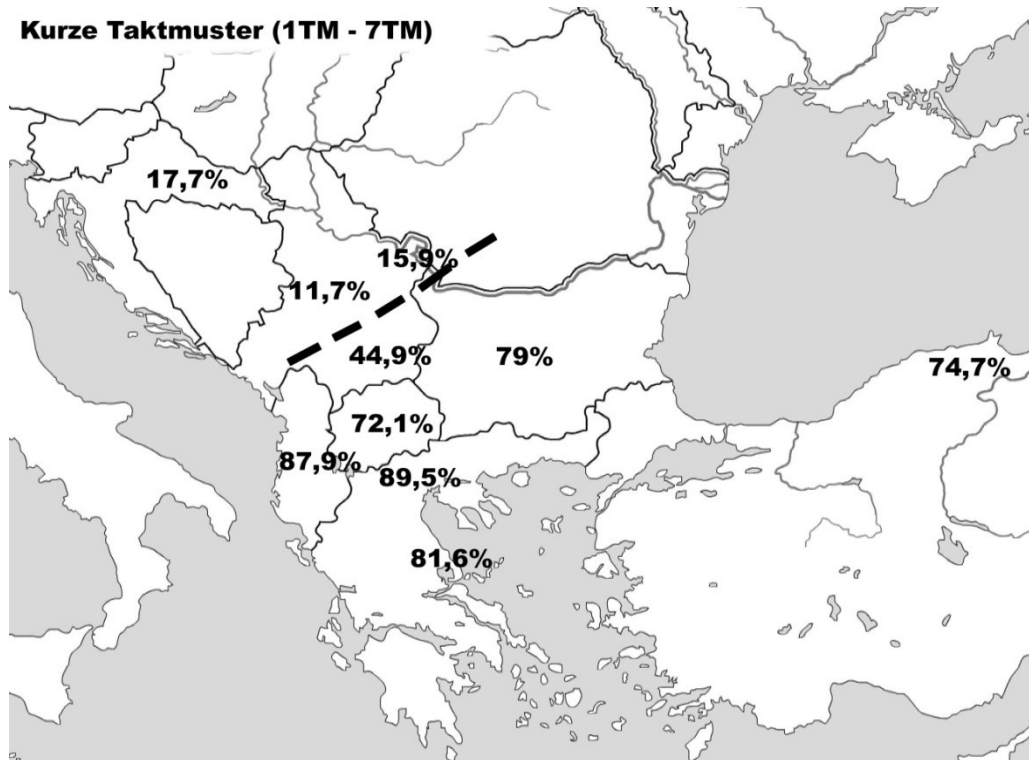


Fig. 361b: Percentages of short measure patterns (1TM to 7TM) in different regions of the Balkans.

In contrast, eight-measure pattern structures are distributed in the opposite direction (cf. fig. 361c). They are predominant in Croatia and Serbia, but reach a share of only about 10% in the southeastern Balkans.

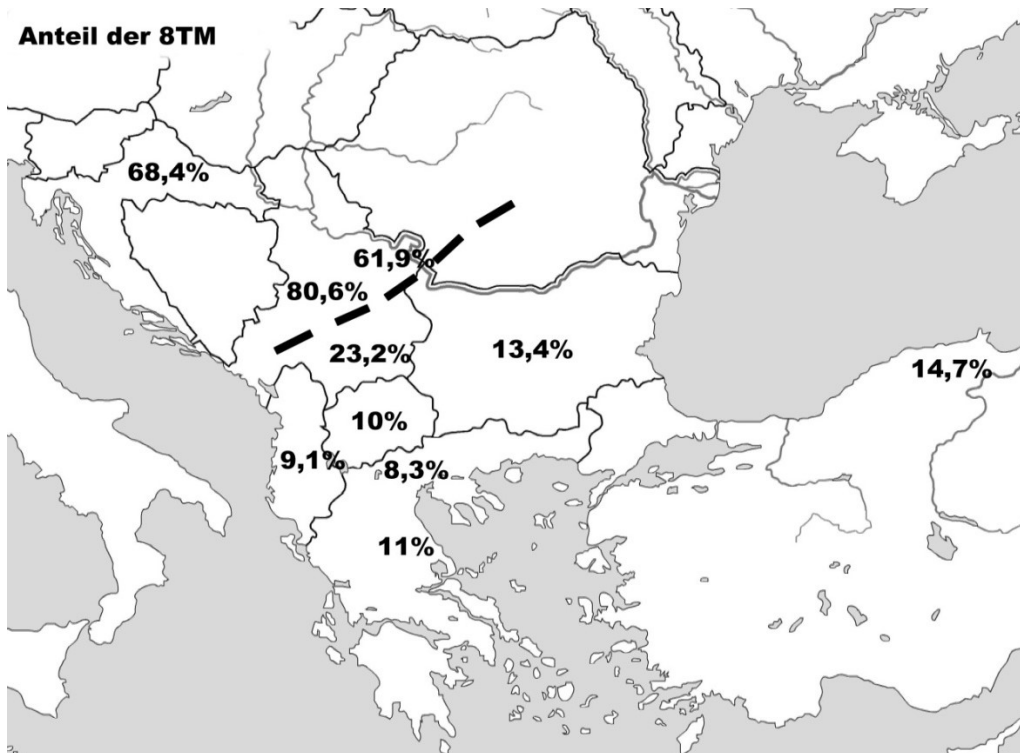


Fig. 361c: Percentages of eight-measure patterns in different regions of the Balkans.

Multi-part (cf. Fig. 361d) and symmetrical structures (cf. Fig. 361e) are also common in the west and rare in the southeast.

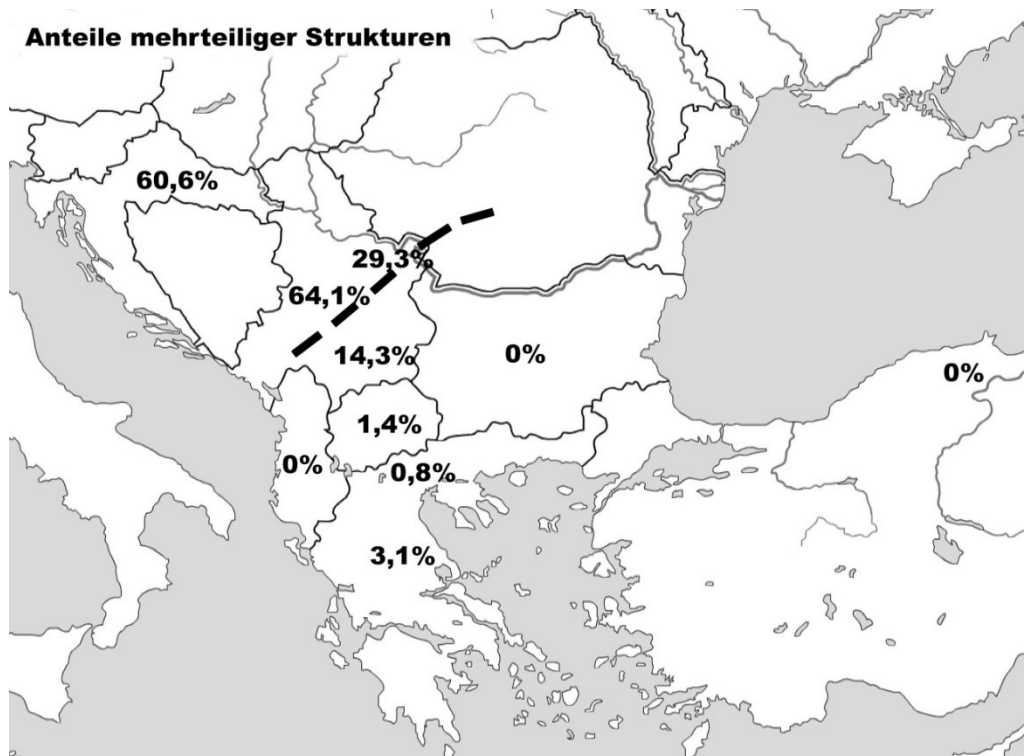


Fig. 361d: Percentages of multipart structures in different regions of the Balkans.

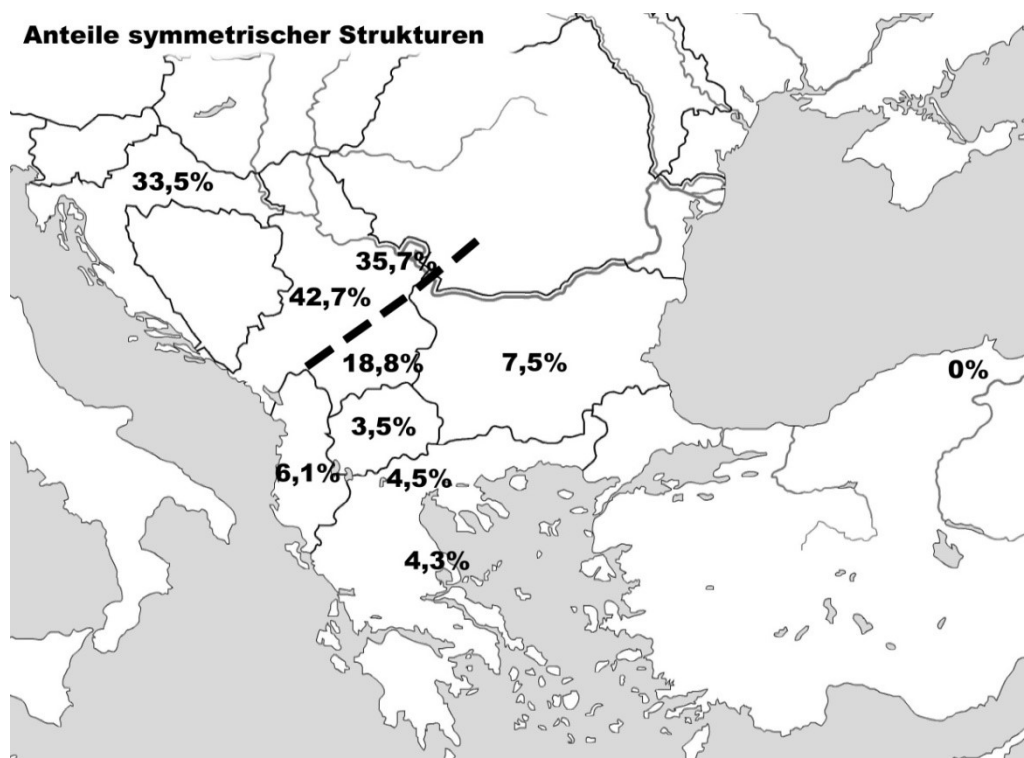


Fig. 361e: Percentages of symmetrical structural patterns in different regions of the Balkans.

Symmetrical patterns are those in which patterns are repeated in the other direction with the respective "other feet" in a corresponding manner. Both parts must have the same spatial and intensity range.

Patterns that are symmetrical in principle, such as many branles with a double step to the left and then to the right, but which are further extended in one of the two directions, are not considered symmetrical here.

Symmetrical structures are quite common from Croatia to Eastern Serbia with 35 - 45%. South and SE Serbia represents a transitional area with almost 19% in comparison to the regions lying south and east of it, which have a share of symmetrical structures of less than 8%, usually even less than 5%.

Significantly different regional distributions exist for the proportion of short measure patterns, eight-measure dances, multipart and symmetrical structures, separated by a border running roughly from southern to eastern Serbia (cf. fig. 361b-e, fig. 361f and tab. 361).



Fig. 361f: Regionally different emphases of certain pattern properties.

Tab. 361: Areas with different characteristics.

	Proportion of short patterns (1-7TM)	Proportion of longer patterns (9+TM)	Proportion of 8TM	Proportion of multipart structures
Croatia, N-,W- u. Central-Serbia	10-20%	5-10%	etwa 70-80%	60-70%
O- . NO-Serbia, Vlach	10-20%	10-20%	etwa 60%	etwa 30%
S-, SO-Serbia, Kosovo	40-50%	20-30%	20-30%	10-20%
Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece	60-85%	5-20% (except Bulgarien)	about 10%	less than 4%

North and west of this border there are many dances with 8TM, with multiple parts and with symmetrical movements. In addition to multipartness, eight-measure and symmetry were two other modern features that had emerged.

East and south of the border there are many dances with short patterns and comparatively few with eight-measure and very few with multipart or symmetrical structures. In the southeast, essentially the original features had survived.

3.6.2 Reasons for the uneven distribution of characteristics

a) Geographical location

The innovations obviously started from Western and Central Europe. In France, the Branles already developed a multi-part dance structure in the 16th century. Geographically, the southeast of Europe is already further away and new developments first reached the western Balkan countries of Croatia and Serbia.

b) The different duration of the Ottoman occupation.

The Ottoman Empire and the associated occupation of southeastern Europe by the Turks probably played the most important role in the preservation of Chain Dances in the Balkan relic area. It largely prevented modern changes in society and thus the appearance of the Couple Dances. It preserved and stabilized village structures and thus Chain Dances, which are, after all, an expression of these village communities. Moreover, the practice of Chain Dances in connection with nationally oriented Orthodox churches led to the fact that Chain Dances became an important symbol of national-ethnic identification. All this led to the preservation of this ancient dance type in the Balkan relic area. However, the Turks ruled the individual regions for different lengths of time, which certainly had an impact on dance development.

Northern Greece, Albania, northern Macedonia, northern Montenegro and southeastern Bulgaria were under Ottoman occupation until 1913, so most of these areas were under Ottoman occupation for a period of over 500 years.

Parts of Croatia and Hungary, on the other hand, were under Turkish rule for only about 150 years. In these areas today one finds Couple Dances and/or Chain Dances with eight-measure, multi-part and symmetrical structures.

Serbia became an autonomous principality in 1817, but not the southern and southeastern parts of present-day Serbia, which became part of Serbia only in 1878 and 1913. This difference confirms quite well the border that exists between predominantly ancient and already modern features of the dances. After the independence of the Principality of Serbia, it opened culturally to the West again. Influences coming from there were about 100 years ahead start to manifest themselves. However, the Orthodox Church of Serbia prevented the emergence of Couple Dances in contrast to Catholic Croatia. It did not, however, prevent Western influences from changing dance patterns. The eight-measure, multi-part and symmetrical structures increased.

What are these 'Western' influences that affected dance development in the Western Balkans? There are many indications of changes that took place in the music accompanying the Chain Dances. These changes then had an impact on the dances themselves.

3.7 Modern Developments in Music

Of the many features that constitute music, there are only a few that can influence structures of dances. These features include, in particular, rhythm, tempo, bar type, and the length of the melodic phrase.

3.7.1 Historical changes of certain music characteristics in Central Europe

Rhythm and first notation

In ancient times, rhythm was always related to song and poetry and was never autonomous. "Saying and singing" was equal to "Musiké". The duration, length and brevity of syllables was regulated by the speech rhythm of the Greek language. A statement that probably applies to songs of other languages as well. A rhythm quantity developed from regular sequences of long and short syllables. Thereby a long syllable is in principle twice as long as a short one. The only exception to this was the 'irrational rhythm' with a ratio of 4:3, which still occurs today in some composite measures in the Balkans.

In Central Europe around 800 and earlier, the performers of music in accompaniment or as singers were oriented to the flow of the text. The mostly liturgical prose texts were recorded using neumes, an early musical notation. Exactly defined pitches or the length of notes, however, could not be reproduced with this system. The close relationship between word and melody characterized the songs. Until the 13th century, neumes did not contain time signatures or metrical emphases.

Mensural notation with a ternary or binary concept

From the 13th century onwards, a number of mensural notations developed in Central Europe, France and Italy, by which the note values, i.e. the note lengths, were clearly defined. Until the 14th century, the note values were subdivided in ternary form according to the "ars antiqua", i.e. one longer note was subdivided into three shorter ones. This principle is still reflected in the ternary eighth-note measures $6/8$ and $12/8$ and in the use of triplets in our time. The ternary subdivision was perceived and described as "perfect" against the background of the "Trinity" of the Christian conception of God. The treatise "ars nova" by Philippe de Vitry from 1322 contrasted the ternary with a binary, "imperfect division". Each note consists of only two partial values. For example, a quarter note consists of two eighth notes. A composer could now divide perfectly or imperfectly. The "binary concept" with the division into two notes was not fully developed in Western notation until about 1700, although it was already dominant since the 16th century. Since 1600, modern notation with smaller note values, dotting, slurs, and triplets prevailed. The bar line was introduced.

Bar types

After the introduction of bar lines in modern notation, the accented-step time signature became the new metrical unit of the rhythmic framework of Western art music. Measures were divided into accented (heavy), unaccented (light), and somewhat accented (medium) time signatures. The system of time signatures with measures of 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, and 12 came into being.

Polyphony

In the 14th century, polyphonic songs emerged. In connection with this polyphony, a fixed pulse also solidified in music since the time of the Renaissance, because several musicians involved in the music must be coordinated in time. The standardization of musical pieces in the sense of clearly defined note lengths increased in the course of polyphony.

Melodic phrase

The term phrase is not clearly defined in music. According to an old and simple definition, a phrase consists of as much music as can be sung in one breath. The melody is a self-contained and manageable sequence of notes, which in vocal music is underlaid with a text. Both terms in combination here mean a self-contained, manageable-length sequence of notes that is repeated or replaced by another melodic phrase after one run.

Melodic phrase structure (sequence of melodic phrases).

A melodic phrase structure is created when a track consists of several melodic phrases. Then the individual melody phrases in their sequence and in their respective repetitions form the melody phrase structure. It forms another level of order in more complex pieces of music. Both the historical change of the melodic phrase and the melodic phrase structure are not mentioned in the literature accessible to me. Therefore, first analyses were made in Hepp (2015).

3.7.2 Effects of Notation and the Modern Binary Concept on Music

In connection with the increase of professional musicians at the courts or in the cities at the beginning of the modern era, notated music became more and more established. Music written down in notes could be played by musicians at sight, and newly composed music could be recorded in writing. The newly developed printing press accelerated this development and led to the wider dissemination of notated music. Even music that had been passed on exclusively orally up to this time was now notated. The notation of musical pieces led to leveling and standardization.

Since the 17th century notation was exclusively in the binary system, which led to further leveling and standardization and had an effect on time signatures (bar types) and melodic phrase length in particular.

3.7.2.1 Effects of Notation and the Modern Binary Concept on Meter

"The introduction of the binary principle in notation, while bringing greater clarity, entailed a general leveling of applied meter in the increasingly notated art and folk music of Europe. Metrical structures, originally kept far more complex, were now eagerly 'recomposed' into the predominant 4/4 mode. This self-restriction contributed to a sometimes very unaesthetic separation of verse and rhythmic structure and to a flattening of metrical variety and rhythmic dexterity. Measures of five, seven, and nine disappeared, but not their melodies and texts."

This division of meters dissects some melodies in an unnatural way, leads to wrong accentuation or disturbs the melodic flow by inserting unmotivated rests. Many of the surviving songs were originally sung in a different time signature.

Further evidence of greater metrical variety in medieval music is provided by a passage in Neidhart : "There they all cried out at once for the minstrel: Make us the crooked row to limp."¹⁵ For a folklore dancer with knowledge of Bulgarian dances, this sounds very familiar. In Bulgaria, dances with compound measures are called "krivo," which means "crooked." Mixed compound measures consist of elements of two and three. An example of this is a 5/8 measure composed of two eighths and three eighths. The second bar element is one and a half times longer than the first. If one moves in this rhythm, a limping movement is created. From the analogy of the cited passage in Neidhart and the designation of certain Bulgarian folk dances, it can in turn be concluded that such crooked, compound measures also existed in Central Europe in the Middle Ages. However, the notation of musical pieces within the framework of a binary concept led to the leveling and standardization of measures. The development of Western music did not go in the direction of rhythmic differentiation. It narrowed down to even and odd measures because, as Finscher explains it, the highly organized polyphonic music of modernity gives the ear so much to do that it cannot cope with complex rhythmic proportions. But in the meantime, such leveling tendencies can also be observed in the Balkan countries, when songs sung in 7/8 time in the countryside change to 3/4 time in the city.

3.7.2.2 Studies on the effects of the binary concept on the length of melodic phrases

There are probably no papers on the historical change of this musical feature. Developments regarding the length of melodic phrases are therefore first formulated hypothetically in the following and then tested with our own investigations.

The core of the binary concept is bipartition, or doubling. With progressive doubling, one obtains the numbers 2, 4, 8, 16, and so on.

Today's music, whether popular, serious or even folk, is composed almost exclusively according to this principle. Almost all melodic phrases or compositional units are 4-, 8- or 16-measures. Exceptions to this are found extremely rarely. This is consistent with the dominance of the binary concept since the 17th century, which led to a preference for a measure of 2ⁿ for melodic phrases, usually 8 measures. Before this time, melodic phrases often did not have the number of 2ⁿ measures.

In support of this hypothesis, our own analyses are cited below. It should be noted that the first notated musical sources are only available from the 13th century onwards.

a) Music Supplements to the History of Dance in Germany (Böhme 1886, Volume II).

The collection by F. Böhme is particularly suitable for an analysis of the historical changes in the length of melodic phrases, since it contains dance music from the 13th to the 19th century. The pieces of music contained in it were analyzed in terms of their time signature (bar types) and melodic phrase length. The result for melody phrase length is shown in Fig. 372a. Music

¹⁵ The original says: `mach uns den krumben raigen, den, den man hinken soll, der gefelt uns allen wol! `so bin ichs, der Löchline, der in füeren soll! (in Harding 1973, S. 131).

pieces consisting of melody phrases with a length of 4, 8 or 16 measures are classified as binary.

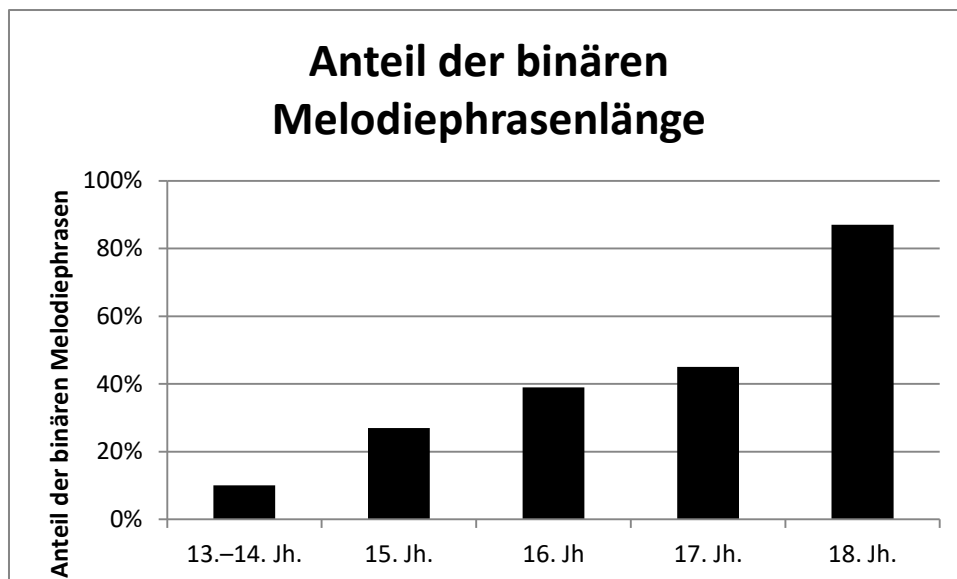


Abb. 372a: Anteil der binären Melodiephrasen in der Tanzmusiksammlung von F. Böhme (1886).

The result of the analysis shows that there were not many binary melodic phrases in the late Middle Ages and early modern period, but their share increased to over 80% by the 18th century. In this respect, this result confirms the hypothesis of the increase of binary melodic phrase length.

b) Chansons and Dances by P. Attaignant (1530)

One of the oldest dance music booklets is the "Heft 4: Tänze" by Pierre Attaignant from the collection "Chansons und Tänze" from 1530. It contains a total of 31 dances, 24 of them Couple Dances and 7 branles.

Table 372a: Proportion of binary melodic phrases in Pierre Attaignant's dance music (1530).

Gesamtzahl	Number of pieces with binary music phrases	Proportion
31 dances	13	42%
of which 24 Couple Dances	12	50%
of which 7 branles	1	14%

Overall, the proportion of pieces with binary melodic phrases in Attaignant's 42% is very similar to the corresponding value in Böhme's 39%. If one now compares Couple Dances and branles, there is a clear difference. Couple Dances already have 50% binary musical structures, whereas only one (14%) of the branles is binary composed. This could have the following reason: The dance type of branles is much older than closed and open Couple

Dances. Accordingly, the music accompanying the branles is also older, whereas the music of the Couple Dances is more recent. Therefore, it is not surprising that in Attaignant's collection, the proportion of binary musical structures is much higher in the Couple Dance music.

c) Music to the Branles by Arbeau

In the orchésography of Thoinot Arbeau (1588), he describes the dance steps of 24 branles with associated music.

In comparison, the proportion of binary musical phrases in Arbeau's branles is 40%, almost the same as the proportions of binary musical pieces in Attaignant (41%) and in Böhme (39%).

All three analyses of dance tunes from Central and Western Europe confirm that binary musical phrases are a modern development in dance music as well, beginning in the 15th century but dominating only since the 18th century on.

d) Folk Music of Bulgaria (Kaufmann 1977)

An investigation by Kaufmann shows that the melodies of the songs probably developed in clear dependence of the respective texts. The number and distribution of syllables had an influence on the metrical structure of a melody.

Predominant in the songs of Bulgaria is an eight-syllable verse, which, however, is rarely symmetrically divided into 4+4, but mostly into 5+3 or 3+5. Furthermore, there are also 4+6-syllable (Western Bulgaria), 5+5-syllable (everywhere), more rarely 5+4-syllable or 4+3-syllable verse measures .

Thus, in the older Bulgarian folk music until the middle of the 20th century, the lengths of melodic phrases are predominantly non-binary.

e) The collections of Belčo Stanev, published 1998 - 2012 and Yves Moreau, published 1997 - 2004.

Out of the total 285 music titles, 169 are purely instrumental, 7 have vocals only (a cappella) and 109 have both instrumental and sung parts.

When analyzing the collections of 285 music titles of the folk dance CDs, we find that almost 84% of the instrumental parts are conceived in a binary way, whereas only about 50% of the vocal parts are. How is this difference to be interpreted?

In the instrumental parts of the folk dance music of Bulgaria, the binary concept has already largely prevailed. This is not the case with many songs, since at least the traditional songs have fixed lyrics and melodic phrases that date back to a time when the binary concept was not yet dominant and which cannot be easily changed.

This is also reflected in music pieces that have both a sung and an instrumental part. Of these, almost 30% have a binary instrumental part and a non-binary vocal part. Actually, one could have assumed that instrumental part and vocal part are created in the same concept. But the older non-binary song verses were supplemented with binary instrumental interludes. Also, it is understandable that instrumentally played melodic phrases are easier to change from non-binary to binary, especially when there is only one melodic instrument and the pieces are not

played in pronounced polyphony. Then, for a change to binary, only the player of that instrument needs to make that change. The harmonic accompaniment is then based on the melody.

Tab. 372b: Binary share of melodic phrases of 285 music titles of the dance CDs Stanev/Moreau.

	Anzahl	Number of binary melody phrase lengths	Proportion of binary melody phrase lengths
Instrumental parts (of 109 pieces) and pure instrumental pieces (169 pieces)	278	239	83,8%
Instrumental parts (of 109 pieces) and pure instrumental pieces	116	59,5	51%

Tab. 372c: Proportions of 109 music tracks on the Stanev/Moreau dance CDs that have both instrumental and vocal parts, differentiated by combination.

		Number	Proportion
Instrumental part binary, vocals not binary		31	28 %
Instrumental part non-binary, vocals binary		4	3,6 %

3.7.2.3 Effects of the binary concept on the melodic phrase structure (sequence of melodic phrases)

Music phrase structure characterizes the sequence of different melodic phrases and their respective repetitions. The impact of a binary concept on music phrase structure is understood and characterized here as the number of respective repetitions being 2^n , where $2^0 = 1$ is not considered binary here. In principle, repetitions must be present for a classification as binary. Thus, for example, phrase sequences of AABBC or also AABBCCCC arise. A repetition of a single melodic phrase (AA) is therefore not classified as binary, because such a repetition arises in songs already alone by different verses. Phrase sequence of AAB is also not classified as binary here because there is no continuous repetition concept and this sequence, known as 'bar' form, is found in medieval songs long before the emergence of the binary concept.

An analysis of the pieces listed in the dance music collection of F. Böhme (1886) according to these criteria comes to the conclusion that binary phrase structures did not yet exist in the 13th-15th centuries, that in the 16th century just under 20% of the dance music pieces were binary structured, and that in the 17th and 18th centuries this value then rose to about 50% (see fig. 372b).

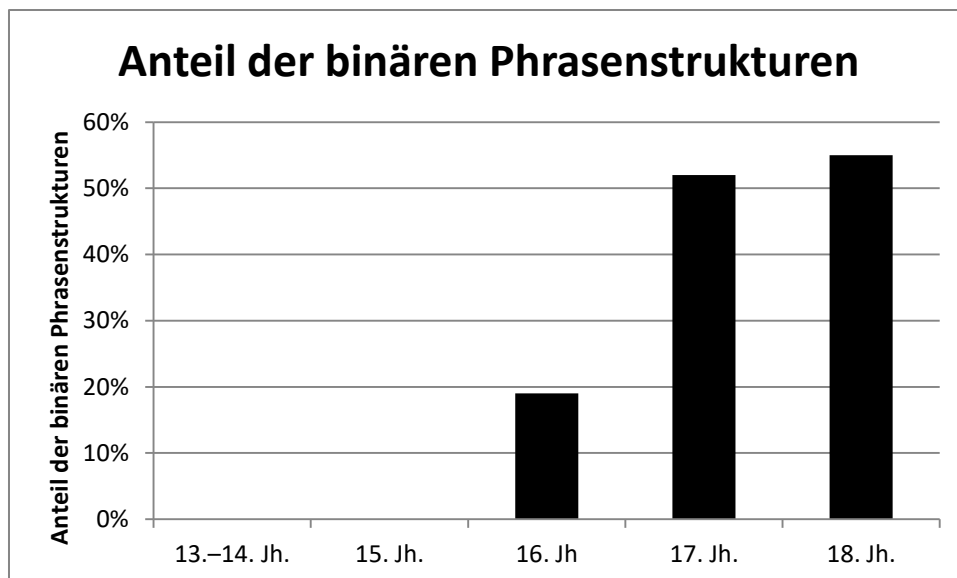


Fig. 372b: Proportion of dance music pieces with binary melodic phrase structure in the collection of F. Böhme (1886).

If one compares analysis values from the 16th century with each other, no homogeneous picture emerges, but the values diverge clearly between 19% for the pieces by Böhme and 61% for the pieces by Attaignant (see tab. 372d).

Tab. 372d: Proportion of binary phrase structures of different music collections of the 16th century.

	Number of pieces with binary phrase structure	Proportion
24 Branles, Arbeau (1588)	9	38%
31 Tänze, Pierre Attaignant (1530)	19	61%
Böhme 16. Jh.	14	19%

The reason for the low proportion of pieces with binary phrase structure in Böhme could be that the melodies do not originate predominantly from the courtly sphere and, moreover, from Germany. Possibly, the development of musical pieces towards more complex and binary structures started in France on the one hand and in the noble society there on the other hand. And the leading representatives of the noble society also had the possibility to have new pieces created in the spirit of the times. The high proportion of binary structures in Attaignant (Tab. 372d), who was a composer, could also be understood under this aspect.

In a study of Bulgarian folk music, Kaufmann analyzes several age strata with respect to the melodic phrase sequence in songs:

In an oldest stratum, the song consists of a single melodic phrase (a). Thus, there is no sequence at all. Lyrics and melody are linked by common features - and possibly the dance pattern as well.

In a second layer, the melodies of songs and instrumental pieces are usually two-lined (a + a'), with the two small phrases being predominantly of similar musical content. "The connection between text and melody is particularly emphasized, which testifies to an origin of the melody

on the basis of the text". At the same time, (a) and (a') usually has a different length, so it is not a doubling. Also the songs of the third layer with multiline combinations do not follow a binary multiplication. The binary concept had no influence at all on the folk songs of Bulgaria in the first half of the 20th century.

It is instructive to compare Kaufmann's results with contemporary folk dance music from Bulgaria. For the Bulgarian folk dance pieces from dance CDs Stanev/Moreau, there is a binary melodic phrase structure for most of the instrumental pieces. However, it is striking that for 30 of the 116 vocal pieces (25.9%) there is a structure that can be reproduced with ABB, which is therefore not binary and is called 'antibar' form in music.

Summary

The concept of binary doubling first emerges in France in the 14th century and becomes dominant throughout Western Europe by the 17th century. Together with other developments such as notation and the increase of polyphony, it leads to a leveling and standardization of musical pieces. In the case of time signatures, this leads to an impoverishment of variety, in the case of phrase length, the proportion of eight-measure melodies approaches 100%, and even in the case of phrase structures, which are becoming more complex, binary constructs are on the increase.

The analysis of music pieces used today for Bulgarian folk dances leads to the conclusion that in the instrumental pieces binary melodic phrases have largely prevailed with a share of almost 85%, but this process is not yet completely finished. In the songs with a share of about 50% of binary melody phrases, this transformation process seems to be slower. The reason for this may be that traditional songs with fixed lyrics are not so easy to change in melody length, and a binary concept can only be applied to new compositions.

So what effect does a binary-based music have on the dances and the movements that go with them?

3.8 Effects of modern changes in dance music on dances and dance movements

As the study of Bulgarian music titles in the previous chapter shows, the increase in binary structures in music is not independent of whether there is singing to the dance or whether instruments are played. Regardless, however, vocal or instrumental accompaniment in itself has different effects on the dances themselves.

Vocal accompaniment

Chain Dances were accompanied exclusively by singing until the Middle Ages. The singing of the dancers formed the actual musical accompaniment. The lead dancer intones a song, the crowd sings the refrain or repeats the individual verses. The exclusive vocal accompaniment is documented in particular for the French Carole. The term carole disappears in French literature around 1400. At this time, at least at court, instrumental accompaniment begins, but it is not until the middle of the 17th century that vocal accompaniment for dancing ceases completely in Central and Western Europe. This change probably took place in Serbia only at the beginning of the 19th century, and in Bulgaria and Greece even later.

Singing while dancing limits the possibilities of movement. Fast dances and complicated patterns are hardly possible. Also, in dances performed in this way, the lyrics of the songs are in the foreground, which, until the introduction of instrumental accompaniment, are again predominantly ritualistic or influenced by custom.

Chain Dances accompanied by their own singing tend to be slow and have simple step patterns. This follows from theoretical considerations and is confirmed by the dances with these characteristics that still exist today.

Instrumental accompaniment

The emergence of professional musicians (and probably also professional dancers) in the Middle East has been proven for the first cities in the 3rd century B.C. and is connected with the formation of social strata and the differentiation of the society there. Some pictures on vases of the Greek antiquity indicate that there could have been professional musicians at the noble courts of that time. For Central Europe, itinerant musicians are documented from the Middle Ages onwards, and from the 15th century onwards there were permanently employed pipers in larger towns. At court, instrumental accompaniment to dancing began around 1400. This is true for the "hove danse" performed in pairs, but also for the courtly round dance from 1450. There is no early evidence for the dance of the Central European peasants. Their Couple Dances are depicted with musicians in almost all paintings from the 16th century at the latest. In comparison, the instrumentalization of dance music in the Balkan countries probably took place later. Some evidence suggests that this process of change began in the 16th century in large cities of Dalmatia under the influence of Venice, then slowly spread to Croatia, and by the beginning of the 19th century it affected the citizenship of the cities of Serbia. At the latest after World War I, a secularization of folk dancing in the Balkans was largely complete. This enabled and forced instrumental accompaniment. For ritual dances, vocal accompaniment mostly remained.

Accompaniment by musicians allows faster movements and complicated movement patterns, which are impossible with own vocal accompaniment because of the resulting breathing problems. The attention of the dancers is no longer focused on their own singing and the associated content. This allowed a development towards greater variety and differentiation of dance movements.

The emergence of musical groups that moved from village to village enabled further development. With such groups, dance pieces and associated steps spread over larger areas, playing certain melodies over and over again as they wandered and also performing the associated dances. Dances of the "Alunelul" family with their catchy melody such as Ovčata, Kukuvička, Čukanoto, Podaraki and some more are spread over southern Romania, northern Bulgaria, Greek and Bulgarian Thrace, the Balkan Mountains to the Strandža Mountains. They show their kinship in very similar step sequences and dance songs. Moreover, they have two to three parts and eight-measure structure, which is completely unusual for older traditional dances from Bulgaria and Greece. Kacarova-Kukudova speculates that the song and dance became fashionable at a certain time and soon spread through the villages and towns. The period of spreading is assumed to be at least one hundred, more likely two hundred years.

Local Chain Dances with special songs, on the other hand, did not spread very much.

Melody phrase length and melody phrase structure

Melody phrases have a certain length. As a rule, they are repeated in the further sequence of a piece of music or are replaced by further melodic phrases. This creates a superordinate musical phrase structure. This is true at least for Western-influenced music. Most folk dances of Western and Central European Europe, including the Western Balkan countries, have a structure analogous to music. Here the music phrase length is equal to the step pattern length and the music phrase structure corresponds to the structure of the dance parts. They are congruent. The reasons for this observable congruence of music and movement in dance may lie in a need for harmony of form characteristics that seems to be inherent in most people. This was true even in Arbeau's time: "Dance depends on music and its alternation, in the rise and fall of the notes. For without the rhythmic quality it would be dull and confused, all the more so because the movements of the limbs must follow the cadences of the musical instruments, and it is not proper that the foot and the music should each have its own measure of time". At this point, Arbeau does not speak of musical and dance structures, but it is obvious that his statement also refers to them. Thus, Arbeau's branles show one hundred percent congruence between music and dance structure.

Similarly, analysis of the Chain Dances of ethnic minorities of China's Yunnan Province reveals complete congruence of music and dance structures.

However, for many folk dances of the Southeastern Balkans and their music, there is not a high degree of congruence between music and dance structure. Here, a melodic phrase often extends over eight measures, but the step patterns extend over three or five measures, for example. The two phrases do not run synchronously, they are not congruent. Only at the common multiple, at three and eight thus after 24 measures, do the dance pattern and melodic phrase begin again simultaneously. This observation often leads "Western Balkan dancers" to the statement that in the lack of congruence of dance pattern and music course lies an additional stimulus and this probably represents the reason for this phenomenon. While this interpretation explains the specific experiences with this phenomenon in dancing, it does not explain why this phenomenon is limited only to certain regions of Europe, namely those with predominantly short step patterns and a high proportion of three- or five measure patterns. Therefore, against the background of what has been said so far, the following view is formulated as an explanation for this phenomenon.

Summary

The step material of Chain Dances, insofar as they were not replaced by Couple Dances, probably consisted of predominantly short pattern lengths everywhere in Europe until at least 1600. The associated music, especially as long as the dances were still accompanied by song, was predominantly non-binary in conception. In most cases, the melodies were probably congruent with the step patterns used in each case. The binary concept, dominant in Central Europe, France, and northern Italy from the 17th century onward, also influenced dance music, especially instrumental music. Newly composed musical phrases almost always had a binary number of measures, and existing ones were sometimes rewritten. This transformation of music affected the Balkan countries with a time lag. Today, even in the Eastern Balkans or in Turkey, one can find predominantly binary conceived dance music in terms of its melodic phrase length and musical phrase structure, at least if one considers polyphonic instrumental music. Older songs and folk pieces with solo instruments such as gaida or lyra often still have

a non-binary character. From this point of view, the binary concept in Balkan folk dance music has not yet been established everywhere and in general, and can be observed as a current process of transformation in some areas.

In the course of the transformation of dance music towards binary melodic phrases, the step patterns of Chain Dances are also changing and the proportion of eight-measure forms is increasing. There are also indications for this currently ongoing process, such as transitional step patterns or observable similar processes.

But the change of step patterns is much slower and consequently time-delayed. Therefore, dance music pieces have a much higher proportion of binary structures compared to the associated dance forms.

When dance music changes, especially with instrumental accompaniment, only the musicians have to relearn, which is not a problem for them. In addition, specific melodies are rarely permanently assigned to specific dances. For the dance, especially the tempo and the time signature must be right. Thus, it is quite common in the Balkans that several melodies are used for certain step patterns. This explains the much slower transformation process of the dance steps to binary step patterns compared to the music.

The increase in the complexity of melodic phrase structures, especially in instrumental music, led to multipart forms in the dances. This process is first noted in the Branles at Arbeau, of which 66% are already multi-part, although the step patterns remained simple. Similar simple step patterns are still found in today's Breton Chain Dances. However, unlike the Branles, these have hardly any multipart structure, which leads to the conclusion that the emergence of multipart dance structures could also have to do with the distinguished society.

The increase in the repetition of melodic phrases in the musical structures may have led to symmetrical step patterns, because it is common in dances for a step pattern to be executed first to one side and then to the other side when the melodic phrase is repeated.

This process of transformation of Chain Dances, which through changes in music led to a high proportion of binary step patterns, multipartness and symmetry reached the cities of the Dalmatian coast in the 16th century, the cities of Croatia in the 18th century and western and central Serbia in the 19th century, whereas it has not yet reached the southeastern part of the Balkans or is just reaching it. This is due to the greater distance from the place of origin of these changes, but also to the different duration of the Ottoman occupation and the unequal time of its liberation.

In order for this process of transformation, shaped by the changes in music, to begin at all, two other conditions had to be met. First, the compelling link between vocal accompaniment and dance had to be broken, because only instrumental accompaniment made longer, more complicated and faster step patterns possible. For this change, in turn, secondly, the dances had to be detached from an exclusively ritual integration. For only with secularization was it possible to use instruments as exclusive accompaniment. And secularization combined with the increase of instrumental accompaniment did not happen everywhere in the Balkan countries at the same time and thus led to the areas with different characteristics.

Southern and southeastern Serbia, with its mixed characteristics, is an area where this change in dance patterns is in full swing. This region can be classified as a transitional area between binary and non-binary step patterns. That such a change from non-binary to binary patterns has taken place can be evidenced by many transitional forms.

3.9 Transitional forms between non-binary initial forms and binary pattern lengths

In order to be able to make statements about the change from non-binary step patterns to binary ones, the basic mechanism of the change of step patterns must be discussed first. For this discussion, two principally different processes come into question. On the one hand, new patterns can be invented, which then spread. Such a process would require inventors and multipliers, i.e. choreographers and dance teachers, who first appeared in the noble classes of Italy in the 15th century, in France from the 16th century and in the German bourgeoisie in the 17th - 18th century. For the folk dances of the village communities of Western Europe until industrialization and for the traditional dances of the Balkans until the present time there are no such institutions. Here a second process seems likely, in which existing patterns are only slightly modified. Such an adoption of only minor changes is obvious for the tradition of the village community, because hardly any relearning processes have to be carried out in the process.

In a process of transformation from non-binary initial forms to binary pattern lengths based on gradual change, transitional or intermediate forms emerge that may exhibit characteristics of both groups. Such examples of transitional forms are given below and may be taken as evidence of such change.

In categorizing transitional forms, however, the problem arises of how, for example, to distinguish an originally existing four-measure pattern from a four-measure pattern that emerged in the course of the binary concept. For such a distinction, further criteria must be invoked.

Original patterns are characterized by the fact that a shorter pattern cannot be detected in them as a partial element. In addition, original patterns may have a wider distribution because they originated earlier. The four-measure step patterns of the old French branle double or the Romanian hora are step sequences which are binary, but in which no shorter partial patterns can be detected and which also have a very wide distribution.¹⁶

Transitional forms, on the other hand, have step patterns that are binary in length, but still have an old, non-binary core to them, and also do not have a wide distribution. Some of these transitional forms are also still danced in the presumed non-binary original form in certain regions, and as transitional forms in other regions. Examples for such a parallel existence of original form and binary transitional form are Zacharoula, Omorfoula (Northern Greece) or the Pontic Chalai. According to observations of S. Kotansky, for example, the Vlachian dance Stara Vlajina is danced over 7 measures in the mountains (0011101) and as 8TM in the flat lands of the Danube region (00011101). There are also three-measure and four-measure versions within a dance. For example, in the Serbian dance Srbijanka, the 3TM is repeated

¹⁶ Remarkably, the 4TM 0101 also dominates most of Tibet's folk dances and is also very common in the chain dances of ethnic minorities such as the Lisu in southwest China.

several times, then an (additively supplemented) 4TM follows, changing the direction of movement, then the 3TM is performed again in the other direction.

How can the change of an originally non-binary pattern to a binary one take place? Two-measure or four-measure patterns need little or no change to accomplish this. In principle, they are already binary, and eight-measure patterns automatically emerge from them through multiplication.

For three-measure and five-measure patterns, some real examples are shown below. Their resulting transitional forms, or subsequent forms, have been created by very simple modification:

a) From 3TM 011 to 4TM 0110 by addition at the end of the pattern.

Example Lemonia 1st part (Greece, Epiros)

b) From 3TM 001 to 4TM 0011 by doubling the initial steps of the first measure. Example Suflitouda (Greece, Thrace)

c) From 3TM 001 to 4TM 0101 by addition in between.

Example Halaylarimiz (Turkey).

d) From 3TM to 4TM by spreading the step pattern to 4 measures.

Example Potkolo (Dubrovnik).

e) From 3TM 000 to 4TM 0111 by addition and symmetrical doubling to 8TM 01110111.

Example Moravac (Serbia).

f) From 5TM to 4TM by shortening by measure 5 and symmetrical doubling to 8TM.

Example Trojanac 01111 becomes Moravac 01110111.

g) From 5TM 01111 to 8TM by breaking off at measure 8 0111011.

Example Staro oro (South Serbia)

h) From 5TM 11110 to 8TM 1111010 by addition.

Example Ibraim Odza (North Macedonia)

In the Eastern Balkans, dances are still mostly non-binary in their pattern length. However, as binary structures become more prevalent or have already become prevalent in the associated music, a discrepancy arises between the step pattern lengths and the melodic phrase lengths. They are not congruent. This situation has triggered a tendency toward binary structures in dances, as evidenced by the transitional forms cited above. The eight-measure, multipart, and symmetrical structures increase in a slow process of transformation.

Thus, 4 age strata can be distinguished in the development of Chain Dances.

3.10 Age strata of Chain Dances

The age strata model describes important changes in external form characteristics and step material over time in the development of Chain Dances. Not all age strata are found in all regions and they didn't always evolve at the same time, because the controlling factors varied in time and region, which explains the present-day conspicuousness of step patterns in geographic distribution.

	Step pattern	Accompanying music	Social background
1st layer = very old layer (ritual layer)	short, simple step patterns, body front to the center, dance movement sideways and asymmetrical (never to the center, at most small zigzag movements), often with round leader	own singing	embedded in customs and ritual of the villages
2nd layer = old layer	short but more complicated patterns, faster execution	also instrumental music	convivial situations of the village community
3rd layer = modern period layer	predominantly binary patterns, simple multipartness, symmetrical forms, body front no longer exclusively oriented to the center, also radial movements	instrumental music with binary concept	also urban situations and bourgeois classes, possibly first dance teachers, but couple dancing is not possible due to clearly pronounced patriarchal social structures
4th layer = nowadays layer	complicated step sequences, complex structures	modernized or modern music	dances are performed in the hobby, are put together, choreographed and taught by dance teachers

In the Western Balkans, the process of transformation of Chain Dances is also evident at the level of naming.

3.11 From oro to kolo - a new name for Chain Dances

The word Kolo is now widespread in the southwest of the Slavic language area as a name for Chain Dances. The original meaning is "wheel, circle, wagon". In Old Church Slavonic texts it is used only in this sense. Only in Berneker the meaning Chain Dance appears for the Serbo-Croatian, Czech and Little Russian language areas, but not in Russian, Bulgarian or Polish. For the word kolo, Chain Dance is consequently an additional meaning that can have occurred earliest after the Slavic language separation in the southwest.

In the early ecclesiastical writings of the 14th century from the area of the former Yugoslavia, only the word 'oro' is used to refer to Chain Dance, as is still the case today in southern Serbia and northern Macedonia. It is only around 1515 that 'kolo' appears for the first time in writing in Dubrovnik. In Vienna it is used in 1818 by Vuk Karadžić in his work *Srpski rječnik*.

However, until around 1900, the term 'oro' is still found more often than 'kolo' in publications,

but with the "Collections of dances and music to kolos" published by M. Miličević in 1876 and 1884, the new word becomes more and more accepted.

Why was the old word 'Oro' replaced by 'Kolo'?

The term kolo as a designation for Chain Dance first appears in written sources in 1515 in Dubrovnik in a region that was never under Ottoman occupation. The western influence of Venice on the urban-bourgeois society there led to two changes in the dance culture comparatively early. First, Western Couple Dances were imported, and second, the old 'oros', accompanied by their own singing, were transformed into modern 'kolos', which were accompanied by instruments and had more complex step patterns. With the withdrawal of the Ottomans from Croatia, these innovations spread to the cities of these regions from the 18th century onwards.

When Serbia (excluding today's southern and southeastern parts) became independent after Ottoman occupation in the early 19th century, it opened up and reoriented itself to the West. The Couple Dances that developed there could not spread in Serbia under the authority of the Orthodox Church, in contrast to Catholic Croatia and western Romania (west of the Carpathians), which was also under Austro-Hungarian influence. Perhaps for this reason, the Western-influenced music had a particularly lasting effect on the further development of Chain Dances, which resulted in eight-measure, multi-part and symmetrical structures. Thus, in the course of the 19th century, a completely new type of Chain Dance emerged here as well, which overlapped or supplanted the old forms and was called 'kolo'. These kolos were first danced in Serbia only by the more distinguished and urban class of the population, which suggests the name "ballroom dance". They were adopted only later by the village population. The accompanying music was instrumental and no longer sung. These innovations were also reflected in the naming, for in central Serbia and west of it the designation 'kolo' is now used (see Fig. 311), whereas in southern and southeastern Serbia the old designation 'oro' is still common.

Kolos, then, are Chain Dances that originated in an urban-bourgeois milieu in Serbia in the 19th century, and earlier in Croatia. They are no longer performed in the context of custom and ritual, but in a social setting. Instrumental music accompaniment opened up further possibilities for the development of step patterns. Modern musical structures entailed a simple multipart structure, symmetrical step sequences, and binary pattern lengths, a process that in principle had already taken place in France in a similar way with the emergence of the branles, but which was stopped there earlier by the spread of Couple Dances.



Fig. 311: Terms for Chain Dance in the Balkans.

The border between the designation kolo and oro correlates with the border between predominantly binary, multi-part and symmetrical and non-binary, short dance patterns. It represents the current state of a development that was made possible by the detachment from customs and religion and was significantly influenced by innovations in music. In the course of time, more and more Chain Dance forms emerged.

In the original, very old layer of ritual and custom dances, on the other hand, there were only a few different pattern forms that had developed since the birth of this dance form.

3.12 Emergence of new dances

From the analyses of old records of Chain Dances and of ritual dances it can be deduced that the repertoire of the early farmers and herdsmen in the area of origin consisted of Chain Dances with very simple step patterns. From the distribution areas of individual patterns it can be further concluded that the initial repertoire consisted of 1TMn, 2TMn, 3TMn and probably 4TMn, which developed during the period of the genesis of Chain Dances in the Middle East. From this basic stock, after the spreading, further, mainly simple patterns resulted, which still today characterize the step sequences of the Chain Dances of the southeastern Balkan countries or Central Asian forms. They have hardly changed over such a long period of time. Despite the obvious constancy of the structures and patterns of the Chain Dances, there have also been changes in the long period since their origin, which led to the modification of existing step sequences and thus to new patterns. In addition to external influences such as a change in accompanying music, some changes can be traced to an internal dance change.

Some development resulted in new patterns, in others the basic patterns remained, but they were changed in their rhythmic or spatial execution.

However, large developmental steps or even leaps are not observable and also not to be expected from fundamental considerations, because the dances are still performed by certain groups only. Within these groups, each member must master the steps in order to be able to dance along. Consequently, only small events of change are to be expected and also to be observed, which take place on the basis of the existing. Such small change events are, for example, doublings, multiplications, small extensions, and spatial or rhythmic variations. A common variation seems to be a doubling or multiplication. When the pattern (abbabbabb...) as a whole is doubled or multiplied, this is additionally associated with other small variations¹⁷ such as rhythmic or spatial variations (abbabbbabbabbb...). Some new patterns are also created by doubling single motifs (aabbaabb...) or all motifs of the step pattern (aabbbbaabbbb...).

Possible change events and examples

a) Partial duplication, duplications of parts.

A pattern usually consists of several subunits, which are called motives and phrases according to the structure and form analysis of Petermann (1983, p. 9 - 31). For example, the widely used three-measure pattern consists of two motives. The first motif is formed by two steps and the second motif consists of a pendulum movement to one side, then to the other.

a1) From 3TM to 5TM by doubling the second motif, the pendulum step.

This transition is realized, for example, in the Pontic dance Tik, which goes as Tik monon over three and as Tik diplon over 5 measures, although both structures are still danced today. Thereby (abb...) becomes (abbbb...)

a2) From 3TM to 4TM by doubling the first motif,

Again, both forms exist in Suflitouda (Greece, Thrace). Other examples are Thastrin ki tu figaraki and Simpethera.

Here (abb...) becomes (aabb...)

b) Duplication of the whole pattern with subsequent modification of individual motifs.

In this duplication, the step pattern is performed twice in succession. In the process, individual motifs are slightly modified.

b1) From 3TM to 6TM

In the example Gaida Pousteno Florina the basic pattern is widened (see below under d) and e) with metric adaptation, two measures are executed in dance direction, two measures against dance direction, the measures in between are more or less in place and serve to reverse the direction. The time signature is composed of 9/8 and 7/8 and consists of 4+2+3+4+3-valued subunits. The pattern is also started out of phase.

(babbab...) becomes (babβαβ...).

b2) From 5TM to 10TM

¹⁷ In an analogous way, it is known in the field of molecular genetics for new genes that far more than 90% of new gene functions simply result from duplication and subsequent diversification of an older gene with a well-established function (R. Neumann, Laborjournal 1-2/2011 p. 45).

There are comparatively many 10TM in certain regions. They almost always consist of an outward and a backward movement, which are rarely really symmetrical. Since there are also many 5TM dances in these regions, the assumption is obvious that the 10TM dances were created by doubling a 5TM. In order for the 10TM to have a harmonic back and forth motion, a small structural change has taken place, in that 01111 has become 00111, which then leads to a symmetrical doubling

Examples: Šopka or Trojka, Gorno Djumajsko; Potrčano oro; Kopačka; Štípski Čačak; Injevko; Kočovo; Ravno oro.

(abbbbabbb...) becomes (aabbaabbb...)

c) Multiplication of the whole pattern with subsequent modification of individual motifs

c1) From 3TM to 12+2TM 011 011 011 00

Lengthening the pattern by varying the spatial arrangement of the individual basic patterns and adding two more measures at Sofka, thus creating a longer pattern.

(abbabbabb...) becomes (abbαββãĤbãĤbĤcc...).

c2) From 3 TM to 9TM

Example: Olimpio

(abb...) becomes (abbαββãĤb...)

d) Doubling of all motifs (doubling expansion): element-wise doubling 0 1 1 becomes 00 11 11 or 00 01 01.

Examples: Tis Marias; Vrbo vrbičice; Kutsos , Boimitsa.

(abbabb...) becomes (aabbbb...)

e) Metric expansion

In metrical widening, the steps of a pattern are spread over twice the number of measures.

This is probably not really a developmental event, but one that arises from specifications for standardized musical notation. In contrast, metrical alignment is a frequently observed event.

e1) Widening from 3TM to 6TM

Some examples exist for an expansion of the 3TM (triple form) to a 6TM.

Examples: Dimitroula ; Gejko, Tsinganikos

e2) Expansion with metric adjustment

This process seems to have happened more often in the development of the Chain Dance patterns, because in the three-measure dances alone there are very many variants adapted to the particular meter of the music. It can be assumed that the preferred dances, or even the few common dances, were danced to different music. In order to do justice to the different meters, movements without weight shifting were added, e.g. hop or tap movements. Also, the individual actions were performed for different lengths according to the meter of the music. Examples of the metric adaptation of the 3TM: Devetorka 9/8; Gankino Horo 11/8; Eleno Mome 13/8.

There are also many examples of metrical adaptation of the 5TM, especially in Macedonia, e.g. Topansko oro 12/16, Žensko Pušteno oro 12/16; Čučuk 9/16; Postupano 13/16;

Another example of metrical adaptation is the Beratse of Flambouron, Florina where the underlying Syrtos pattern (2TM) is adapted by a pause or a hop

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a6PyUaGZNE4&feature=related>).

f) Addition

In additions, motifs are added. In the following, only examples are given for which the process of addition is still comprehensible.

f1) From 3TM to 4TM

Examples: Jatros, Valle Nuseve, Toi Negris

(abb...) becomes (abbc...)

f2) From 3TM to 8TM, 011 becomes 0111 0111.

There are many examples of this 8TM: Changulovo (Macedonia), Maleševsko oro (Macedonia) or Čigancica (Eastern Serbia).

(abb...) becomes (abbbαβββ...)

f3) From 3TM to 5TM.

This process is very rarely attested.

(abb...) becomes (abbcd...)

g) Subtraction and termination

Subtraction removes parts of the step pattern; termination breaks the repetition of the basic pattern at a specific point within the pattern.

Example for abort: Staro oro; (abbbb...) becomes (abbbbαββ...).

Example for addition: 11110 to 8TM 11111010 by addition.

Example Ibraim Odza; from (bbbba...) becomes (cbbbαβββ...)

h) Variants of a basic pattern

Variants of a basic pattern consist of different movement actions with the same binary coding.

h1) Addition or subtraction of weight shifts.

The basic pattern is described by a binary code. For a given basic pattern, there are distinguishable variants that differ in the number of weight shifts per measure. An even number of weight shifts can always be added or subtracted per measure so that the coding does not change. For example, a common variation is to replace a step-hop/tap with a triple step. To keep the binary code the same, an even number of weight shifts must always be added or subtracted. Even with additional actions without weight shifting, the code remains the same.

h2) Different rhythms

Within the same basic pattern, movements can have a different rhythm, e.g. a triple movement can be long - short - short or short - short - long.

h3) Different meter

The time signature of the music has a decisive influence on the rhythm of the movements.

This can be very different with the same basic pattern. For example, a 3TM base can be in 2/4, in 3/4, in 6/8 or in 7/8 time, which already leads to distinguishable dances by the different meter of the music.

The use of music that did not belong to the repertoire until then seems to have been an important cause for the creation of new dances by variation of the basic pattern (cf. also e2: widening with metrical adaptation). There are some indications for this. For example, in the urban area of Naoussa (northern Greece) a metrically adapted Syrtos variant is danced on the certain melodies, while in the surrounding area variants of the 3TM are performed on the

same melodies. Considering this it can be concluded that when new, fashionable melodies appeared, the usual step patterns were used, which were then metrically and rhythmically adapted to the new music. There were regional differences in the preference for certain step patterns.

h4) Stylistic variations

Stylistic differences result especially from additional movements of the knees and ankles, but also of the body. Other style-defining characteristics are the posture, the speed and dynamics of the movements. Style characteristics are also the result of special mounts (cross mount, shoulder, belt mount, etc.) , as this limits certain movement possibilities or makes others more possible.

h5) Phase shift

Leibman describes a situation in which a family from Prilep (Central Macedonia) meets a family from Peštani (Southwest Macedonia) for a wedding. Both groups dance a lesnoto (3TM) to a melody in 7/8 measure. The difference is that the people from Peštani perform the step sequence on the accented parts of the beat, while those from Prilep perform it on the unaccented parts. Although the step pattern and the music are the same, they do not match at all and the dances, which are in themselves the same, are perceived as very different.

i) Variation over two measures, where 0 0 becomes 1 1.

The variation of two measures can lead to a new code sequence, in this example 00 becomes 11, and thus to a new basic pattern, although this variation is not perceived as a significant change when dancing and is sometimes observed as a common variation of a basic pattern.

In the case of the listed change events, only those are listed a change can be traced for by comparison with other, existing patterns or even transitions can be observed. In order to verify the usefulness of these change events, an attempt was made in the following to create a phylogenetic tree for Pontic dances and to characterize the different branches by events listed above.

3.13 A Pedigree of Pontic Dances

Dances that originated in the former Greek settlement area in the north-east of Turkey on the Black Sea, are called Pontic Dances. Today they are danced by Greeks whose ancestors were resettled from their homes on the Pontos in 1922. These descendants of the displaced Pontos Greeks are very proud of their tradition and they largely preserve their dances from change. Thus, the traditional forms are old, original and authentic. This assessment is also shared by Zografou. Moreover, there is a well-documented and researched collection of Pontic dances on two videotapes published by the Pontic Association. The pedigree refers to this collection. Thus, lineage considerations are always made with exclusive reference to the patterns given in the collection. Branchings in the family tree are created in such a way that as few events as possible are necessary for it. Thus the assumed result is the simplest explanation with further possible ones. In total, four basic patterns are assumed, from which the others are derived:

1TM: In this pattern, 2 steps are executed per measure. In Europe, this pattern is only (still) found in sung dances where the lyrics of the song are in the foreground. 2TM (Triple-step): In this pattern, 3 steps are performed per measure. This can be in the rhythm short - short - long, but also long - short - short. Depending on the meter, there are also other rhythmic subdivisions. 3TM (basic): This pattern is described in detail in chapter 3.2. 4TM: In this pattern, three steps and another action are performed without shifting the weight (hop, tap) in one direction and in the other. A hypothetical pedigree - explained by simple change events - is shown in Figs. 313a and 313b. This pedigree shows that of the total 67 Pontic dances in the collection, 57 forms can be derived by simple change events starting from four basic patterns. If we add the 'combination of existing patterns' as an obvious change event, all 67 dances can be derived from 3 to 4 basic patterns. Fig. 313a shows the part of the family tree starting from the 1TM and the 2TM. The names of the concrete dances are shown in italics. With the same features, the family tree in Fig. 313b was created, starting from the 3TM. On both family trees together, all dances of the collection are recorded.

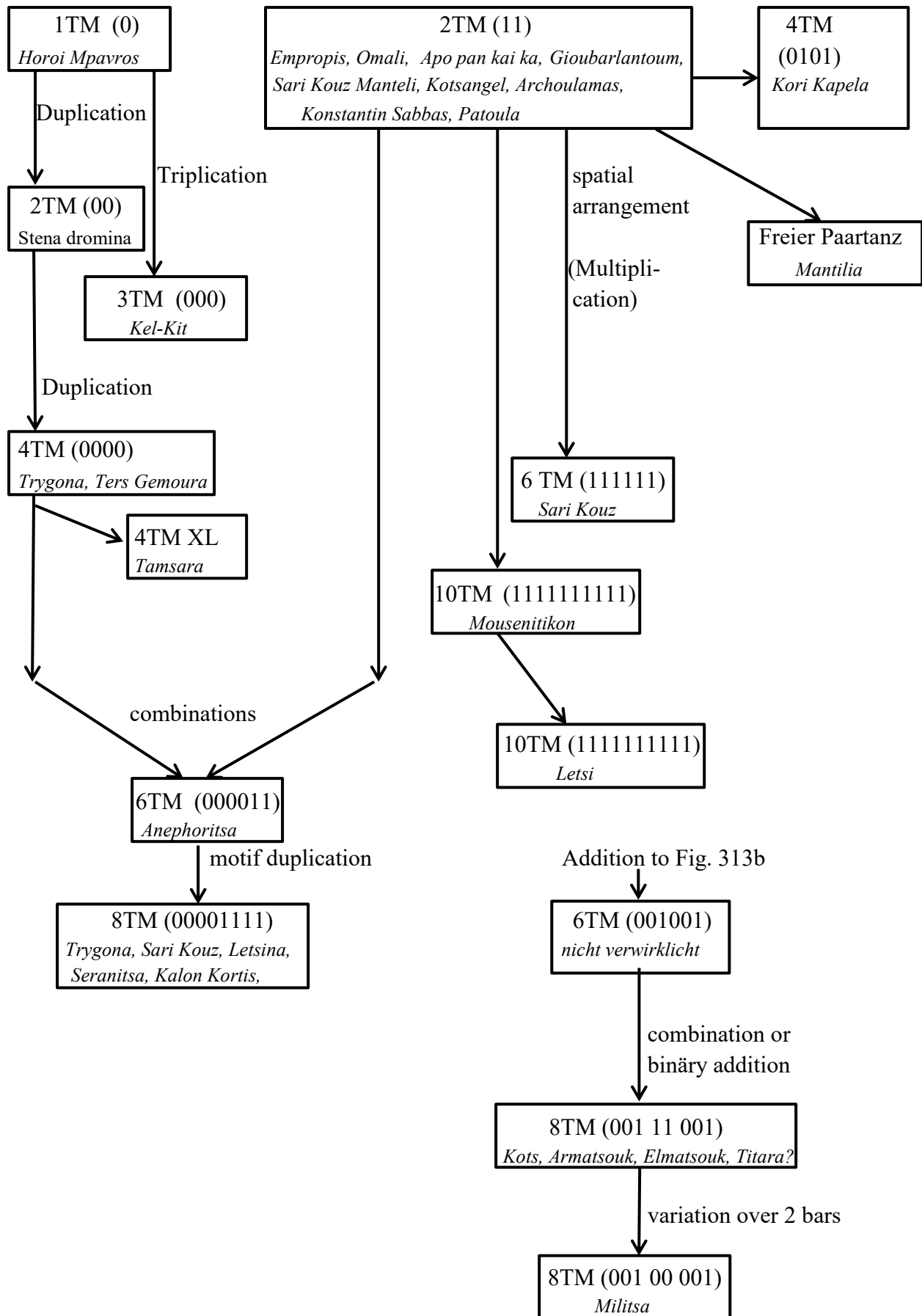


Fig. 313a: Hypothetical family tree for the initial forms of 1TM and 2TM with the respective concrete dances (written in italics).

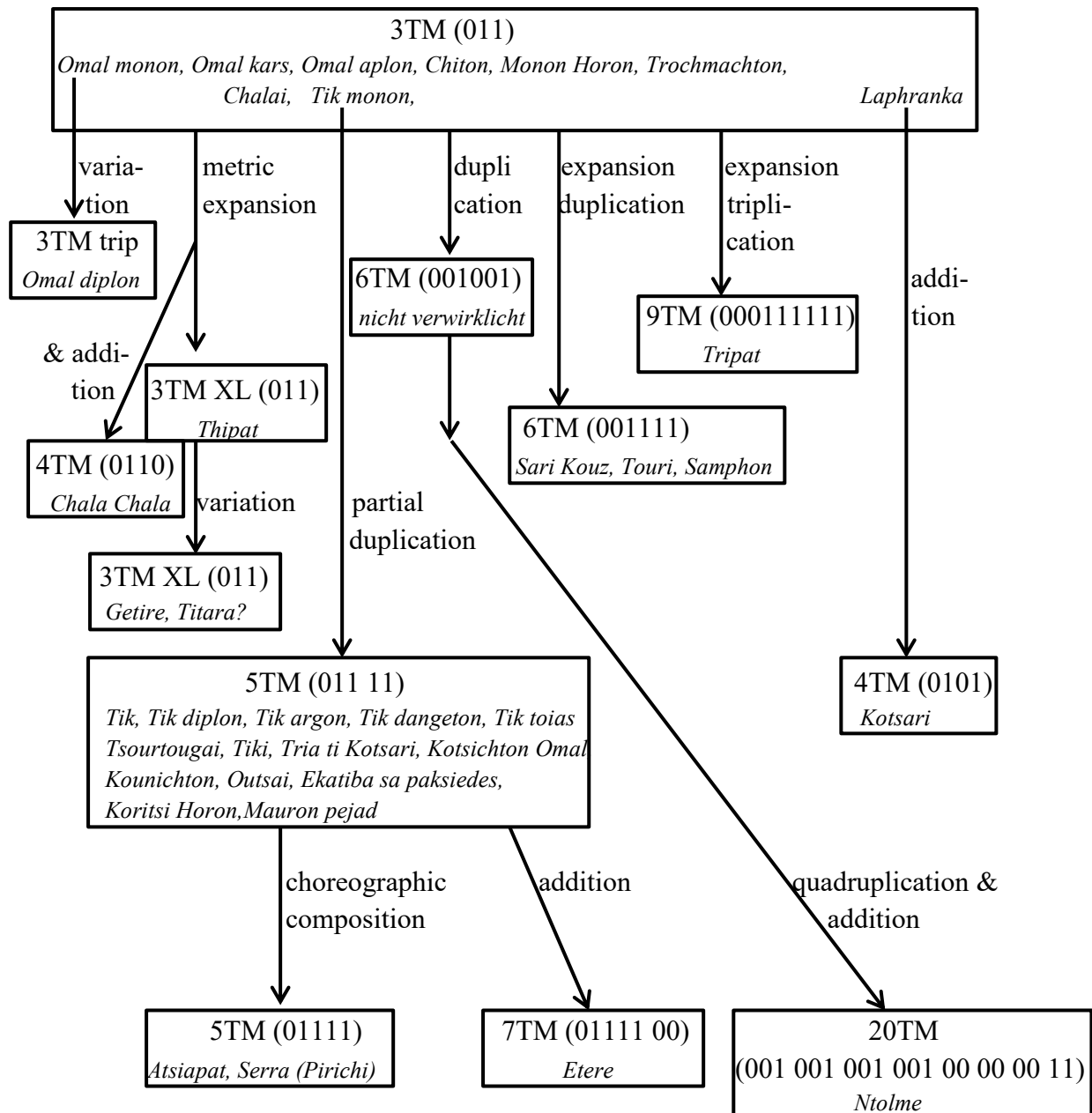


Fig. 313b. Hypothetical family tree for the initial forms of the 3TM with the respective concrete dances (written in italics).

Conclusion:



Overall, the genealogy of the patterns of the 67 dances in the Pontic Dances collection can be explained by a family tree in which all of the more complex forms are derivable from three simpler patterns through simple and traceable events of change. This suggests that the Pontic dances are a kinship group in which the individual forms emerged from existing patterns through minor changes. There is no evidence of spontaneous creative new creations. Pontic dances, with few exceptions, go to the right. Thus, each region has a preferred direction. A mapping of these preferred directions results in a left and a right region with a border through the middle of Europe.

3.14 The preferred direction for Chain Dances

Globally, there is a preferred direction for group dances performed in the circular path, namely counterclockwise. This preferred counterclockwise dance direction is consistently true in the tribal dances of the North American Indians, the Black Africans, and the Australians, which are performed in a circle without joining hands. In the same way, in the folk dances of the "Attan type" in the Middle East, the "Attam type" in southern India, and for Central and East Asian forms of folk dance, the direction of the dance is counterclockwise. Even in the southern hemisphere there is no deviation from this preferred dance direction. Overall, there are only very few exceptions, such as the circle dances of Tibet. These are mostly danced clockwise with or without a frame.

In the Chain Dances, which are distinguished from other forms in particular by the setting with the neighboring dancers and an alignment of the body front to the center, there are, however, regions with different preferred directions.

Tab. 314a: Direction for Chain Dances

Dance direction for Chain Dances	right, counterclockwise, "anti-sunwise".	left, clockwise, "sunwise"
		

The designations for the direction in Chain Dances are inconsistent. In today's descriptions for dances, the starting point is usually the dancer himself and the direction of movement from this point of view is described as left or right. In relation to the circle, right is then equivalent to counterclockwise, which is also called "gegenonnen" in German-speaking folk dancers. The same applies to the other direction. In the following, right and left are used from the point of view of the dancers themselves (cf. tab. 314a). This also applies to the iconographic evaluations.

3.14.1 The direction of movement of today's Chain Dances

If one analyzes today's Chain Dances according to their direction of movement, one finds a conspicuous border running through the middle of Europe. West of it the Chain Dances are, or were danced to the left, east of it they are performed to the right.

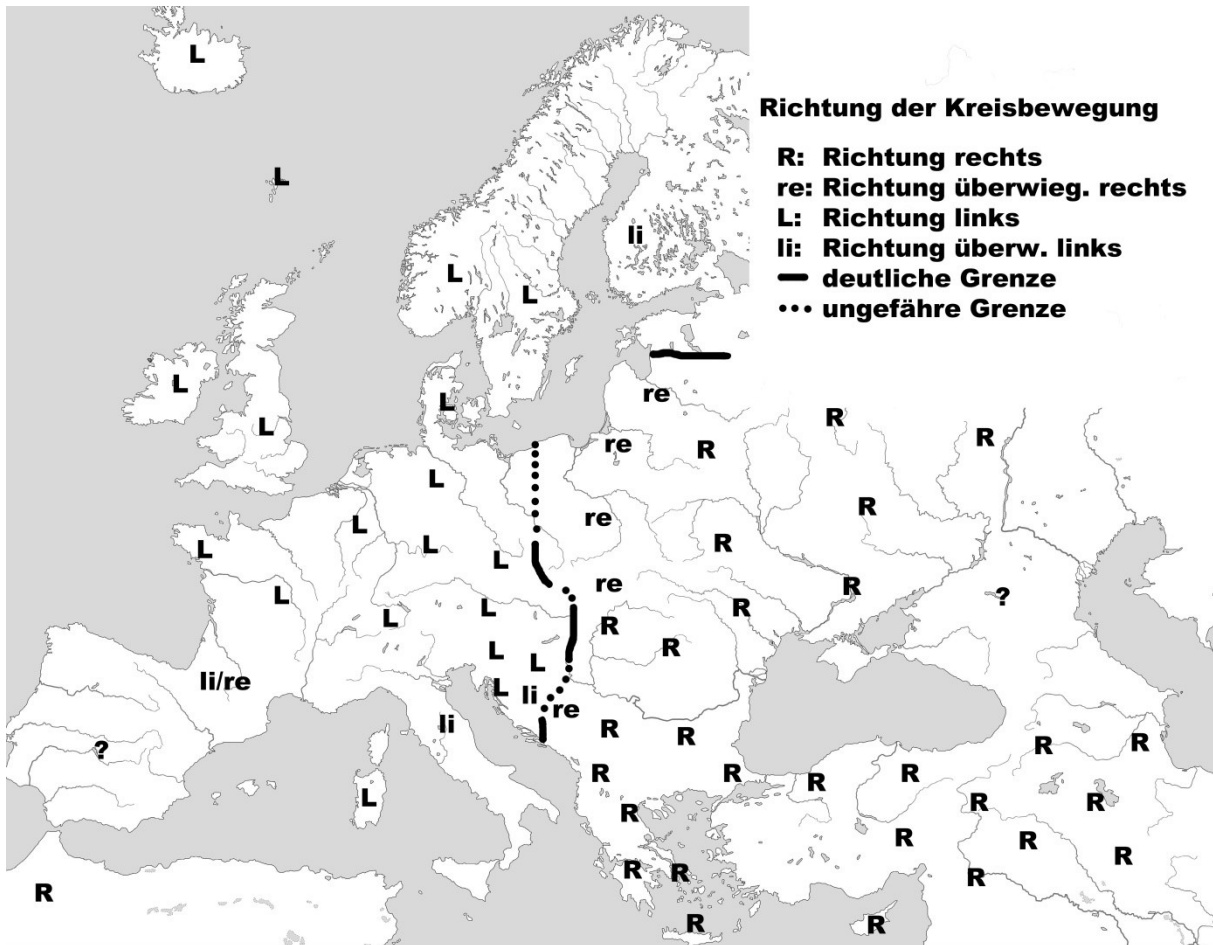


Fig. 314: Regional expression of the direction of the respective Chain Dances of contemporary and documented forms.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, this border (see Fig. 314) runs from the mouth of the Neretva into the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Bosna into the Danube. In the center of former Yugoslavia, the division is not so sharp, there are exceptions on both sides. In Hungary it runs along the Danube. In Slovakia there are both directions, in the Czech Republic predominates in Moravia on the right and in Bohemia on the left. The Polish Chain Dances go rather to the right, as far as today's remnant is representative at all. The same applies to Lithuania and Latvia, whereas left is the preferred direction in Estonia, as in the rest of Central Europe. Throughout the north and west, clockwise dominates¹⁸, as it does in southern Europe. However, both directions are found in the Basque Chain Dances. In contrast, in eastern and southeastern Europe, as well as in the Middle East, right is very predominant, and in other Asian Chain Dance forms, right predominates as the preferred direction. There are a few regional exceptions to this preference for one direction, such as the direction of Chain Dances in the Hakkari region in southeastern Turkey, which goes to the left.

For the preferred direction of a region itself, there are in turn individual exceptions that are danced in the opposite direction. These are then, for example, in Bulgaria as "Ljavo" (left, leftist) or in Greece as "Zervos" (left, leftist) demarcated from the "normal" direction. Left is

¹⁸ The circle elements of the Multi-Couple Dances also go to the left or at least start to the left when performed symmetrically.

often also meant evaluatively in the sense of "not to the right", "not right", "left equals wrong and dangerous". If the dances are still integrated into customs or even still have a ritual reference, then they often stand in the context with funeral and death or with the defense of old ghosts, the devil or witches. Joe Graziosi notes, "I know that in Kassos and Karpathos at least the Zervos is never performed at weddings, being considered bad luck." The association of the direction of movement "left" with a negative evaluation is not so obvious for Bulgaria and Greece, but is clear for Armenia, where "that dancing to the left is associated with loss, grief, sadness, drought, exile, etc."

This evaluation of circular direction also applies to other movements incorporated into ritual actions. Thus, all ritual circular movements, including those in the Orthodox Church such as circling the altar, are performed in a counterclockwise direction like the dances there.

Such references are also proven for the "left area" in the west of Europe, just with an opposite sign. Here, moving to the left is good and right, and moving to the right serves to exclude evil. Thus, in the ancient Roman wedding custom, the altar is circled by the bride and groom in a clockwise direction, that is, with the right side facing the altar. 'Withershins' (counterclockwise) in Scotland is the way of witches and all that is unpleasant. Also what turns to the dead moves counter-sun. Circling with the sun, on the other hand, expresses the special bond with the circled: the bond with the divine in the sanctuary, with the new home and the seat of its good spirits when the bride dances around the hearth, and so on. The direction of movement determines the meaning of the action. In Norway, when passing a cemetery, one turns around oneself three times in the opposite direction, then the evil spirits cannot harm one. Wolfram interprets this as a defense circle. Also, a child had to turn away with sun in former times at the first communion in Norway. Likewise the priest turned before giving the sacrament. Also circumambulations at Three Kings or at similar occasions in Austria are made clockwise. Thus it was still 1947 in Rauris in East Tyrol custom that a house father had to circle the house three times on Three Kings with an ember pan with sun. Also the "wrong" direction is associated with witches or the devil. Thus, the death dances depicted in some churches, for example in Lübeck, with Death as the lead dancer move to the right, but this is not the case with all death dance illustrations.

This dichotomy of Europe with different preferred directions is remarkable and raises some questions: Did these preferred directions always exist or did they change in one of the two areas? What was the original direction and what reasons led to a change of direction?

Besides few written evidences and rare transitional forms in today's Chain Dances, the analysis of images offers a possibility to determine the preferred direction in past times.

3.14.2 Iconographic analyses and other indications of the preferred direction in historical and prehistoric times

For the period from their origin to the Middle Ages, pictorial representations are the most important source of information about Chain Dances. The basis for the following analyses are dance representations on Neolithic pottery especially from the 6th - 4th mill. BC, rock

paintings, stone carvings and wall paintings from quite different time periods, figures made of clay from the 4th and 2nd Jt. BC, figures made of metal from the corresponding metal times, seal impressions from the 4th Jt. BC, relief representations from the ancient Greek and Roman times, frescoes and painted pictures from the Middle Ages to modern times.

In addition to various basic, material, execution and other conditions that influence an artistic product, such representations always include the subjective and artistic view of the performer. In addition, there are preferences and stylistic influences due to the spirit of the times. A particular problem arises in interpreting the direction of movement of representations applied to the outside of an object. Here the direction is always assigned from the dancers. In the case of representations from which it is not clear whether the dancers are arranged with the body front or the back facing the viewer, it is assumed that the body front is always facing the viewer.

In the concrete evaluation, this results in three categories. In addition to left and right, there are frontal representations without profile parts, to which unclear or inconsistent representations are also counted.

The evaluation of the representations is compiled for the left-dance area of western Europe in Table 314b.

Tab. 314b: Evaluation of old Chain Dance representations from the western left dance area.

Secular motifs	left	right	unclear/frontal
bevor the Middle Age	7	0	2
Middle Ages until 1820	47	19	13

Before the Middle Ages, there are only a few representations for the left-dance region, but they clearly indicate that dancing to the left was also done earlier in this area. Also the medieval and modern pictures confirm the left direction for these later times.

The evaluation for the eastern legal region of Europe is compiled in Tab. 314c.

Tab. 314c: Evaluation of old Chain Dance representations from the eastern right dance area of Europe

	left	right	frontal	2 groups against each other	unclear
Images by Garfinkel (2003) Neolithic period			10		1
Prehistory until Minoan times			5		
Early Greek period 900 - 675 B.C.	30	1	3	5	
Archaic, Classical and Hellenic periods 675 - 100 B.C.	11	17	4	2	
Pictures from about 1000 (without tombstones)	4	30	0	0	2

For the Neolithic and Minoan period, the direction of movement in the images is not relevant. Here the dancers are all shown frontally without preference of a direction. From the Early Greek period to the Classical period, the direction to the left clearly predominates. For the period from about 500 B.C. on, for which most of the dance representations of Greece are found in reliefs, the situation is not clear. The Chain Dances depicted with direction to the right predominate somewhat, but this need not be significant given the small amount of data. For the first millennium AD., there are no Chain Dance images at all or none are accessible to me. In the images from 1000 AD on, the right is now clearly dominant as the predominant direction of Chain Dances in the East.

Evaluation of the images supports the assumption that Chain Dances in the East originally moved to the left as well, and that a reversal of direction occurred between 500 BC and 1000 AD.

For all of Europe, left seems to be the original direction of movement. Whether the preferred direction to the left also prevailed in the area of origin can only be clarified by a corresponding analysis of Neolithic representations. The results of this analysis are summarized in table 314d.

Tab. 314d: Own evaluation of the Neolithic images of Chain Dances in Garfinkel (2003)

Zeit	Dance direction seen from the dancer			
	left	right	unclear	frontal
Middle East 8th-7th mill. BC.	3	2	0	2
Halafian and Samarra Cultures 6th mill. BC.	5	0	0	93
Iran to Pakistan 6th-5th mill. BC.	15	2	1	74
SO-Europe 6th-5th mill. BC.	0	0	1	10
Predynastic Egypt 5th - 4th mill. BC.	6	7	1	7
Nah Middle East 4th-3rd mill. BC.	11	19	1	2
Total	40	30	4	188

The quite predominant number of the dancers is in the 8th to 5th mill. BC. frontally illustrated and in such a way that no direction of movement can be assigned. Today, in the Middle East and in the Asian areas where the Chain Dances are spread, the direction to the right dominates. Whether this has always been the case there or whether a reversal of direction has taken place as in eastern Europe cannot be said. However, the circle dances of the Buryats, the Tibetans, the Yakuts are or were danced to the left. And in old videos of the southwestern Chinese minority dances one also finds Chain Dances to the left. But for Eastern Europe this reversal of direction seems to be clear and this assumption is supported by further circumstantial evidence.

So Prokhorov writes that in the pre-Christian Slavic society the Khorovod was danced with sun. In this sense also R. Koop expresses itself, whereby he assumes a change of direction not until in the 17-th century.

Also, the old Vlachian dances were all danced to the left, as D. Barbarousis states for his homeland Northern Greece. The same statement is made by D. Paunovic about Vlachian dances in eastern Serbia. According to Barbarousis, this is also true for the ancient dances from Epirus.

A few ancient dance forms can be interpreted as a transitional form between a performance to the left and one to the right. For example, the dance Ethianos exists in Crete with a basic three-measure pattern in two different variants, both danced to the right. One variant starts with the right foot and the steps are set as is usual in the three-measure pattern to the right. The other variation starting with the left has a step distribution as is common when this pattern is performed to the left. It is possible that this dance was danced to the left in the past. In the process of reversing the direction, the original steps were used first, just executed to the right, and then in another stage of this transformation, the steps within the pattern were also changed from left to right.

The question now arises whether factors or processes can be named that triggered a reversal of direction in the Chain Dances of eastern Europe, which took place in Greece in the period between 500 B.C. and 1000 A.D. and may have begun later in other regions of eastern Europe.

3.14.3 Attempts to explain the different preferred directions of Chain Dances in Europe

In principle, there are two different possibilities that could have led to the present situation of preferred directions. Either the areas with different directions emerged already during the spread of the Chain Dances, or in one area the direction was changed at a later time.

Against different directions from the beginning speak the iconographic evaluations, which indicate that in throughout Europe originally and afterwards until at least the 6th century B.C. left was preferred

Supporting this view, Mladenović cites the opinion of Stojković et al , who believe that the preference for the direction of movement to the left, i.e., co-sun, is a remnant of a primeval sun-god cult among all Indo-Europeans.¹⁹ Clockwise, i.e., turning with the sun, is therefore understood to be beneficial and good in a peasant tradition based on the cultivation of plants . Since at present there is no evidence against this hypothesis, it must be assumed that after the spread of the Neolithic culture throughout Europe Chain Dances were performed with the preferred direction to the left.

But when and why did the change of the preferred direction in Chain Dance from left to right take place in the eastern part of Europe?

In the case of Chain Dance representations of Greece, this change takes place at the earliest in 500 B.C. at the beginning of the classical period. Chain Dances depicted mainly on ceramic vessels up to this time move predominantly to the left, while the relief images preferred from this time onwards move mostly to the right. The rest of Europe probably still moved to the left

¹⁹ In pre-Christian Slavic society, the khorovod went along-sunning to the worship of Yarilo, a Proto-Slavic goddess of fertility, spring and vegetation (Prokhorov 2002, p. 50). From today's perspective, the direction of rotation of the dance circle probably goes back to a culture that was already there before the Indo-European spread.

at this time. However, the fact that this change of direction occurs first in southeastern Europe suggests an influence emanating from neighboring southwestern Asia. But perhaps the direction to the right in the relief representations has also other reasons, which are connected with the change of the representation material or the change of direction took place first in the noble class, which financed the relief representations. In any case, the results of the analysis of the vine depictions are a first indication of an incipient change of direction in this period. Also, Mladenović's assumption that indigenous peoples of the Balkans had already danced to the right before the migration of the Slavs in the 5th and 6th centuries AD does not contradict iconographic representations. After their migration, the Slavs adopted the preferred direction to the right for the Balkan territories, whereas the Russian chorovods, as well as the last circle dances of the Poles and Czechs according to Mladenović, still went to the left at that time. Today, in Poland, Slovakia and Russia, most of the dances are danced to the right and possibly underwent a reversal of direction only later.

Leibman contributes another aspect to this topic in his work on the structure of Balkan dances. In it, Leibman correlates the boundary between the preferential dance direction to the right and to the left with three historically attested or conditional boundaries that are broadly consistent with the left-right boundary. These are the boundaries between the Holy Roman Empire and Byzantium, the boundary between the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary, and the boundary between Catholic and Orthodox Christians. In terms of content, the boundaries between Byzantium and Rome, and thus between Orthodox and Catholic Christianity, seem to be essential, because with Byzantium the Greek influence dominated, and with Rome the Western one, and this difference could also be related to a different evaluation of the directions in earlier times.

Still today this difference is reflected among other things in the execution of the personal cross-bearing, with which in the horizontal portion in the Orthodox churches the altogether third touch is carried out first on the right, in the Catholic Church this first on the left. Other ritual directional movements, such as circling the altar, also differ.

About the spread of Orthodox Christianity then came the preference from the right also in North Slavic and partly in West Slavic areas and there are a few indications that also the direction of preference in Chain Dances changed from left to right in the course of the Christianization of these regions.

Looking at the situation today, one generally finds in all European languages and probably beyond them a linking of right with luck, honorable, right, positive and good and likewise a linking of left with bad luck, wrong, leftist and the like.

A basic cause of the different left-right evaluation probably lies in the world-wide dominance of the right-handedness of about 90%. The right hand is the more skillful one that can accomplish more, therefore it can help, protect, work miracles and crush enemies. Left-handedness seems to have been discriminated as inferior already in ancient times. This was not the case everywhere. In ancient Rome, in bird flight and sacrifice, the left side was the most auspicious. Right side meant for the Romans misfortune. The same was true for the Germanic language area, where still until Old High German the word 'winistar' had the meaning left. A word whose semantic field includes words like 'delight', 'gain', 'desire' and passion. There is a relationship to the Latin 'sinister' (left) and the Greek 'aristeros' (left), which could indicate that these words originally did not have a negative connotation either.

The word 'winistar' reflects that in this case the left side was considered the more favorable, better. "While the right hand owes its preference to greater strength and skill, the positive valuation of the left side may have been motivated by the sacrificial situation. The 'primary' direction of the gaze is to the east, to the rising sun, but the Germanic people put the residence of the gods in the north, because one prayed facing north (horfa, lita î nordr) ... The divine side of the sky, however, was necessarily considered to be the more salutary, more favorable". When looking towards the east, the gods were then in the north. The preference for left also applied to the ancient Slavs before their migration to the Balkans, at least in dancing. The Romans later adopted from the Greeks the belief that the left side was the unlucky side and the right side the lucky one. This change can also be traced in North Sea Germanic, where 'wenistera' is replaced by the common neologism 'lufti', which inherently means not 'left' but unfortunate. In Middle High German we find, among others, 'linc'. This process took place between the 8th and 15th century in many European languages. Possibly a general trend, but possibly also a consequence of Christianization and the associated positive evaluation of the right side in the western half of Europe. Already in the Old Testament, Yahweh saves the afflicted with his right hand, punishes enemies, gives land to his people, helps in times of need, and accomplishes the creation of the world. The right side is connected with favor, luck, honor and justice. Whereas the heart of the fools goes after his left. "The whole image of the right hand of God has developed in the course of Jewish apocalyptic: in the Persian and Hellenistic period from the 5th century B.C.". The negative evaluation of the left side is also common in many cultures in the neighborhood of Israel. This value system continues in the New Testament, in that Jesus at the Last Judgment places the sheep on the right, the goats on the left, likewise in the exaltation of the Christ to the right hand of God. In Central Europe the idea that dancing goes to heaven on the right and to the devil on the left can be traced back to the 13th century. In Master Ingold's "Golden Game" from the year 1432, it is said analogously: dancing to the right with our Lord Jesus Christ into eternal life, not to the left like the sad dancer It is very similar in the Mireour du Monde from the 14th century, where caroles are called processions to the devil because they go to the left. Further it says there that the ways which turn to the right go to God. And also the often quoted sentence of Jacob of Vitry: "Chorea enim circulus est, cujus centrum est diabolus, et omnes vergunt in sinistrum" (The round dance is a circle, whose center is the devil and all are oriented to the left) contains this message. Despite this negative evaluation of the dance direction to the left, the western half of Europe remained with this preferred direction. This may have been caused by a comparatively early secularization of dance in Central and Western Europe, which led to an early separation from the religious ritual realm. In addition, Chain Dances were increasingly replaced by Couple Dances. In the eastern half of Europe, Chain Dances remained much longer even in a religious context. This led to the fact that even outside the Balkan countries, under the influence of the Orthodox Church, the preferential direction to the right dominated. This may also explain the preferential direction to the right in Catholic Poland and Lithuania, where the secularization of dancing was probably not yet so advanced. Because of the limited evidence and elusive processes, the following sequence emerges for the change in preference from right to left.

After the spread of Neolithic culture, left was preferred throughout Europe. This is true for the Chain Dances and probably for other references as well. From the 5th century B.C. at the earliest, a process of change set in, which can first be grasped in ancient Greece of the

Hellenistic-Persian period. A changed evaluation of right and left seems - already geographically seen - to come from southwestern Asia. This is also supported by the image of God's right in Jewish apocalyptic, which becomes tangible in the Old Testament at that time. This is further supported by the fact that other peoples of the Middle East also valued the right as the better side. In the course of the spread of Christianity, which adopts this evaluation, the direction of preference in dancing changes throughout eastern Europe. Western Europe also adopts the new value system probably as a result of Christianization. At this point, however, the Chain Dances of Western Europe were no longer religiously ritualistic. They were predominantly performed in a social context, which meant that they retained their old direction, if they were still danced at all.

4. Origin and spread of the Couple Dances

Couple Dances characterize the appearance of folk and folklore dances in large parts of Europe today. Since the different Couple Dance forms have different characteristics, they are divided into Closed Couple Dances, Open Couple Dances and Free Couple Dances. The Closed Couple Dances dominate in Southern and Central Germany, in Austria, in Switzerland, in Slovenia, Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary. They can also be found in France and the Benelux countries. Free Couple Dances are found mainly in the southern parts of Spain, Portugal and Italy, but also on many Mediterranean islands and along the east coast of the Adriatic Sea. In contrast, Multi-Couple Dances are particularly popular in Flanders, the Netherlands, northern Germany, Great Britain, Scandinavia, and sporadically in the Baltic States and Russia. The open Couple Dances do not have such a clear regional reference, but they are frequent in northern Italy and rather sporadic in other areas. This characteristic distribution is a result of historical development since the appearance of Couple Dances. Until the Middle Ages, however, there were few Couple Dances, because Chain Dances were the predominant dance form throughout Europe. In addition, there were still isolated Free Couple Dances, which are already depicted on archaeological finds of considerable age. These free Couple Dances already had a function in the societies of the early shepherds and farmers. They seem to be closely related to terms belonging to the word family 'bal'. And in the occurrence and history of words of the 'bal' family, much can often be found about the history of the dances themselves associated with them. Therefore, we will first deal with the word relationship 'bal'. Then archaeological findings and the history of the individual Couple Dances will be discussed.

4.1 The word relationship 'bal'.

Many dance terms of the Mediterranean region belong to the root 'ball', as it is called by Aepli. In Spanish and Portuguese, 'dance' is still called 'bailar', in French 'baller' and in Provençal 'balar' are no longer used, whereas in Italian 'ballare' is still in use today. In Albania many folk dances are called 'Valle' and on the Greek islands with the emphasis on the

Cyclades and the Dodecanese islands one knows the 'Ballos', a free Couple Dance with the Syrtos basic step ("sta dio"). In Sardinia, 'ballu' is the umbrella term for all dances. In addition, in Southwest Asia there are other such words related to dance.



Fig. 410: Mediterranean distribution of the word family 'bal'.

GROSSSCHREIBUNG = CAPITALAZATION: today's folk dance

Großschreibung = large letter at the beginning: historical evidence

Kleinschreibung = small letter at the beginning: historical or today's verb

The German vocabulary also has vocabulary that belongs to this word family. The term 'ball' (dance feast) is a loan word which in the 17th century was derived from the French 'bal', which in turn belongs to a no longer used Old French verb 'baller' meaning to dance and goes back to the synonymous Late Latin 'ballare'. Likewise, 'ballet' was borrowed in the 17th century from Italian 'balletto', which in turn is also traced back to 'ballare'. The epic-dramatic poem form 'ballad' derives from the French 'ballade' meaning "dance song", which also has its origin in 'ballare'. 'Ballare' seems to be the source word for all the derivations given. What is the origin of this word?

4.1.1 Common etymology for 'bal' - a Greek root word

As with 'horos', 'ballare' and its word cognates are thought to have a Greek root word 'βάλλω' (ballein - to throw, to move). The Latin 'ballare' developed from the Greek word 'ballizein', common in Sicily and lower Italy, with the meaning: to throw one's feet, to dance. Via Latin the word came into other Romance languages with the exception of Romanian.

In terms of content, dances with the root 'bal' are distinguished from the uniform community dance 'chor' by a mimic to pantomimic character: it is usually performed by individuals or a few people or couples. In Sachs we find the following description: "Women turned to their partners, and, while they moved with daintily clasped skirt-tails, the men danced the pantomime, the ballo, with raised arms." And Brunner says: "The so-called 'Ballo' was the favorite of the Italian dance masters. Dance masters: a dance with free choreography, in whose (often pantomimic) composition there were no limits to the imagination." In both descriptions, the mimic or pantomimic character of this dance form is emphasized. In 1465, A. Cornazano describes a ballo: "The general theme is courtship (between the sexes) in its various ways: [...]"

This is also reinforced by the fact that in the ecclesiastical dance prohibitions and medieval literature 'ballatio' is repeatedly distinguished from other dance words. Accordingly, it is neither 'choreis', 'carole' or 'reien', nor 'tanzen' or 'danser', nor 'sprynge' or 'espriguer' - these terms stand for dances with other characteristics.

The specific characteristic of 'ballatio' or 'ballo' is and was its mimic and pantomime character. At the same time, it was performed more by individuals or a few dancers. The term applied both to the professionally performed dance and to the popular one. Also the dances performed solemnly in church were called 'Ballationes'. Dance floors covered with tarpaulins, which were set up near churches in the early days of Christianity, were called 'Ballatoria'. Dances were probably put on 'display' there. Our modern word 'ballet' fits this very well, both linguistically and in terms of content, because dance choreographies are presented on stage with a lot of expression and design.

In some regions (Sardinia, Armenia, Albania) it became the generic term for couple and community forms.

The Greek-Latin origin of the word family is understandably clearly reflected in the Greek-Roman influenced Mediterranean distribution area of Southern Europe (Fig. 410), but there are some arguments against the interpretation of the origin from Greek, as it is represented in the current dictionaries.

4.1.2 Arguments against a Greek-Latin origin of the word family 'bal'

1. In the Greek sphere of influence, words of the 'bal' family are restricted to the Mediterranean islands. On the mainland and in Asia Minor settlement areas of the Greeks, this dance term does not exist. This is a remarkable limitation for the assumption that 'bal' derives from Greek. According to this interpretation, the word would have to have formed regionally in southern Italy.

2. Other words with clear phonetic and semantic similarity are found outside the Greco-Latin area of influence. In eastern Anatolia 'bar' and in eastern Armenia 'par' is a generic term for folk dances. In Iran there is 'bâzi' (the z is pronounced as a voiced s) meaning dance, play. Free dances in the larger cities are called this.

In Saudi Arabia, the sword dances there are called 'Mo-barasa', where 'Mo' is a nominal suffix and 'barasa' is neither a literal translation for sword nor for dance or fight. This is also true for the knife dances in Oman called 'Baraa', which are called 'Bara' in Yemen. Sword and knife dances are forms in which the performance and presentation character is in the foreground.

Folkloric solo dances performed by women are called 'Balady' in Egypt, though 'Balady' is now translated as "folk". Whether this translation is true to the original meaning of the word may be left open, because it is a dance in which presentation is in the foreground, and this fits very well with the use of the other 'bal' words.

3. The derivation of 'ballein' from the basic meaning 'to throw' via 'to throw the feet back and forth' to 'to dance' is not convincing. This interpretation indirectly assumes that in the Greek of that time a suitable word for 'dance' did not exist and therefore a new one was generated - or that an old term was replaced by a new one. There are no plausible reasons for either assumption.

4. The transition of the southern Italian word 'ballizein' into the Latin 'ballare' does not correspond to the rules, because usually derivations of '-izein' in Latin words appear as '-izare'.

5. Also, the phonetic form of 'bailar' cannot be traced back to 'ballare' in either Spanish or Portuguese without further ado, which is why Aepli already suggests to look for the origin of these words elsewhere at all.

6. Furthermore, there are fundamental doubts about the loanword character of original dance terms. Why should a Greek word, which in its original meaning has nothing to do with dancing, spread to Italy, France, the Iberian peninsula and all Mediterranean islands? Didn't these regions have their own dance terms? And also a new dance fashion, which would have started from Greece at that time, is not known.

The sum of these arguments clearly shows that an origin of the 'bal' words from Greek is not convincing. In the following, a view is presented which is compatible with the arguments given against a Greek-Latin origin of the word family.

4.1.3 Substrate hypothesis for the word family 'bal'.

The words of the 'bal' family were already present in their areas of distribution before the Greek and Roman expansion and entered Greek and Latin and other languages as "substrate words".

This hypothesis explains some inconsistencies of the 'Ballizein hypothesis'.

According to this interpretation, the Albanian 'Valle' would also be an old substrate word and not a Romance or Greek loanword. Whether the 'Balun', a Couple Dance in Istria, is an Italian loanword or a regional substrate word is impossible to say. The style of the dance speaks rather for an Italian origin.

In general, of course, it cannot be ruled out that individual words of the 'bal' family entered other languages as loanwords.

4.1.4 Extended word family 'bal'

In the Slavic, Baltic and East Germanic language areas, another word family existed or exists, which shows great similarities to the 'bal' family both in content and in sound. In all Slavic languages there are words like 'ples', 'plesem' or 'plesati'. Remarkably, according to Vasmer,

the relationship of ples/pljes is uncertain. They are mostly old terms for dance, no longer used today, and always refer to the rather free, pantomimic dancing. Today, 'plyas' or 'plyaska' in Russian still refers to a dance form performed with greater individual freedom by single or a few dancers or by couples. Thus, the same features appear that characterize the dances of the Mediterranean 'bal' family. Also the 'plinsjan' used in the Gothic translation of the Bible stands for the demonstration dance of Herod's daughter. Furthermore, in Old Lithuanian there is a word of this family with 'plenšti' in the sense of 'dancing, rejoicing'. The semantic correspondence is very clear.

The assessment of a word's belonging to the 'bal' family is carried out on the basis of the idea of a word root. Certain rules and restrictions apply to the phonetic structure of the Urindo-European verbal or nominal root. It consists of at least two consonantal radicals and one between vowel. A comparison of the 'ples' and 'bal' families is compiled in Table 414.

Table 414: Comparison of the root of the 'bal' and the 'ples' family:

family	1. consonant radical	between vowel	2. consonant radical
bal	b	a (o)	l/r
ples	p	-	l

The difference in the first consonantal radical in 'bal' and 'ples' is only in the hardness of the pronunciation. The second radical consists of the consonants r or l, between which in many languages no distinction can be made. A substantial difference exists however in the omission of the between vowel 'e' with 'ples'. Because of the great agreement in the semantic core as well as a remarkable agreement in the morphostructure, it seems justified to add the 'ples' family to an extended 'bal' family.



Fig. 414a: Distribution of the extended word family 'bal'.

GROSSSCHREIBUNG = CAPITALAZATION: today's folk dance

Großschreibung = large letter at the beginning: historical evidence

Kleinschreibung = small letter at the beginning: historical or today's verb

As already assumed for the Chain Dances and the associated word family 'chor', the spread of the 'bal' words also seems to go back to the Neolithic spread. The distribution area of the words coincides well with the distribution of the early farmers and herdsmen. Further, archaeological evidence (see chap. 4.2) shows that free Couple Dances and free dancing were depicted very early. These dance forms were definitely part of the Neolithic dance repertoire. Assuming that the way of dancing spread with the Neolithic from the Middle East, the basic word root for both families must be assumed to be a word with a between vowel, because if it had originated from a word without a between vowel, it would have had to originate independently several times. Because both in Egypt, as well as in Saudi Arabia, as well as in the east and northeast, as well as on the European Mediterranean spreading route there are only words with between vowel. In contrast, in the course of the European continental dispersal direction, there are words without between vowel.

1. consonant vowel 2. consonant

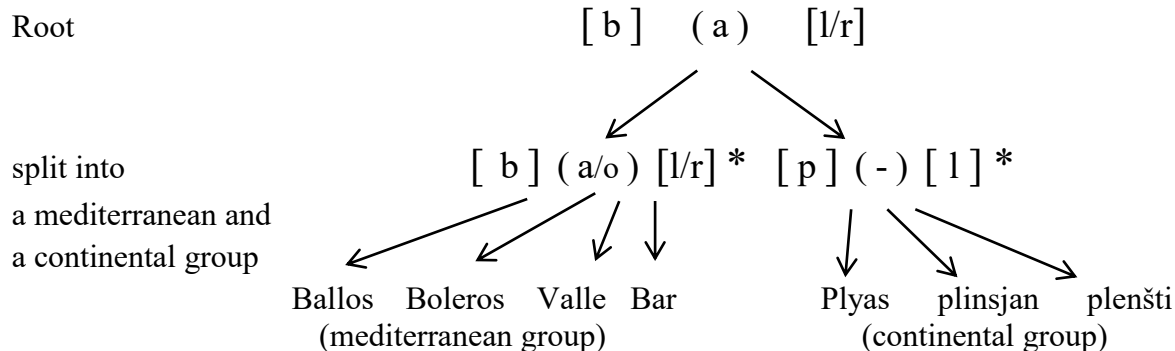


Fig. 414b: Possible word development within the "extended word family 'bal'". First square bracket = 1st consonant; round bracket = between vowel; second square bracket = 2nd consonant; * = suffix.

4.1.5 Other dance terms with greater similarity to 'bal'.

Other terms with great similarity to the root 'bal' in semantics and morphology are 'Plattler', 'Balz' and 'Walzer'.

'Plattler' derives from 'plätteln' with the meaning: to play with plate-like, flat objects. This interpretation refers to the fact that in Schuhplattler, the flat (platted) hand is used to strike the legs and shoes. However, except for the Schuhplattler, hitting with the flat hand is never called plätteln, so there is some justification for doubting this interpretation.

Horak writes about the Upper Bavarian and Tyrolean Schuhplattler: "But only in a small part of the country - [...] it (the Schuplattler) can be traced back to old tradition, without club-internal care. It was there advertising dance, in which the guy occasionally circled his dancer, showing off his skill and strength through improvised Plattler figures." 'Plattler' are special forms of the old advertising dances, which in their core area were widespread over southern and southwestern Germany, including Alsace, as well as Switzerland and Austria. "Through the dance care of the Trachtenvereine radiating from Upper Bavaria, the movements were standardized and changed the Schuhplattler from the advertising dance to the men's dance and to the show dance".

The words 'ples' or 'plinsjan' describe dances in which the performance in front of an audience or the advertisement between man and woman is in the foreground and this is the case with the original form of the Schuhplattler. Moreover, there is a phonetic similarity between 'plat' and 'ples'.

This courtship of males for females is called 'Balz' in the animal kingdom and takes place before the mating season. The males try to impress the females and also their competitors. In some bird species, such as the black grouse, the display fights are held in certain places. The roosters show all the splendor of their plumage, take threatening poses, emit peculiar calls and strut up and down the courtship area. The movements and vocalizations remind the human observer very much of dance rituals, for example of a wedding dance in the Hotzenwald cited by Wolfram.

Linguistically Balz is a word that is used in the Germanic language area only in Upper German. Its origin is completely unknown. The word, which is documented from the 14th century, was in use until the 19th century with the different vowels b-/f-/pf-, which made a clarification of the origin difficult until now. A derivation from the Middle Latin 'ballatio' with the meaning 'dance' is both phonetically and semantically comprehensible, as Vennemann explains. The reason for borrowing a Latin word is less obvious. Did the High German speaking inhabitants of Central and Southern Germany, Switzerland and Austria not have their own word for courtship? Did they have to resort to a Latin dance word for it? Or do both 'ballatio' and 'Balz' go back to the much older word 'bal'? Then 'Balz' could be interpreted as a nominalization of 'bal' or in the case of bal-zen -zen would be a verbal suffix quite common in German. A definite answer to this question will probably not be possible with the available sources.

Also the 'Walzer' is related to the 'Plattler' and the 'Balz'. "The dance itself, however, is nothing but the detached final figure of the 'Ländler', in which, after all the twisting, looking and turning of the courtship dance, the lad and girl finally find each other in the round dance of closed frame". The Ländler, in turn, is the continuation of the advertising dances that were widespread in southern Germany and the Alps. In Vienna, in the 19th century, the leisurely tempo of the Ländler was accelerated to a fast, polished waltz.

According to the Duden dictionary, waltz is derived from the verb 'walzen', which was used at the end of the 18th century in the sense of 'to dance spinning'. This in turn is placed with the Indo-European root *uel < to turn, to twist, to roll >. This is a phonologically as well as semantically plausible derivation, since the characteristic feature of the waltz is precisely the twisting movement.

In connection with the history of the development of the waltz, however, a second derivation also seems possible, because, as explained above, many of the names for pantomimic forms and advertising dances have the root 'bal'. This is also true for Waltz and its older name 'Weller'. The latter is already mentioned in writing in the 16th century, 200 years earlier than the derivation from the verb 'walzen' proposed in the Duden in the 18th century.

It is quite possible that a word allows two morphological analyses and in both cases the assumed change of meaning is plausible. In such cases a clear decision is not possible.

Based on the above considerations, the terms Platteln, Balz and Walzer are marked in Fig. 414a as "words with uncertain origin", although an affiliation to the word root 'bal' is both phonetically and semantically obvious.

The dance forms denoted by the 'bal' words have been around for a very long time. They probably originated together with the Chain Dances at the beginning of the Neolithic period and were performed in rather rare specific situations. Despite their long history, they led a shadowy existence in comparison with the Chain Dances, because it was not until the 12th century that the triumph of Couple Dances over the Chain Dances, which had dominated until then, began in Central Europe. What had changed?

Chain Dances are characterized by the group reference. Everyone dances the same steps and is part of the group. Only in the open circle the dance leader has an exposed position, in the closed circle there are no differences. The circle is a symbol for the community, to which all have to integrate and subordinate.

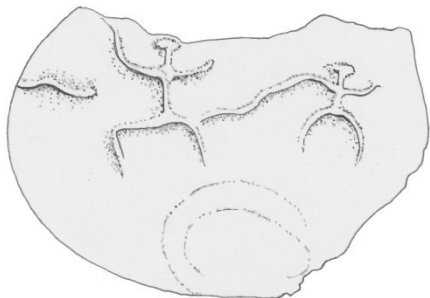
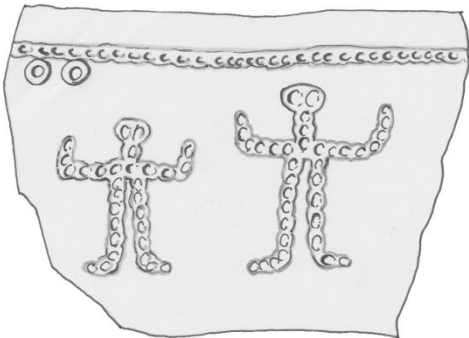
In couple dancing, individuality becomes more important. The dominance of the community reference fades. The couples dance, at least in the Free and Closed Couple Dances, independently of each other and thus move individually.

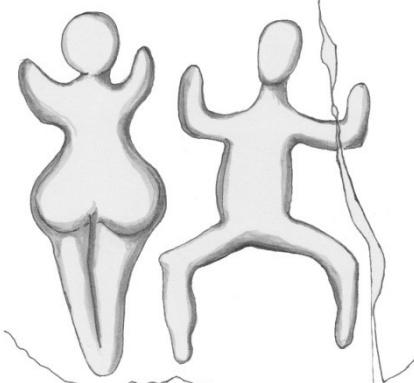



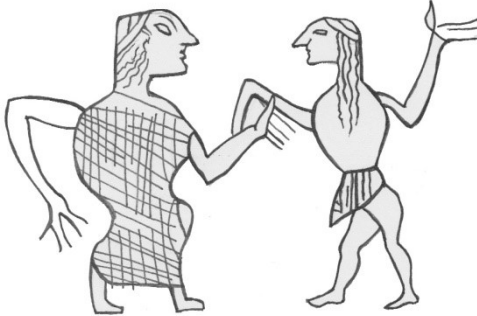

The prerequisite for this is a changed relationship between the sexes. In Couple Dances, the social position of woman and man must be approximately equal, because the partners dance directly with each other and even touch each other. In contrast, Chain Dances are possible under different gender relations. This is because an approximately equal position leads to joint participation in the chain; if the position is clearly different, the women form a separate circle or even have to dance in other places.

An 'approximate equality' of the sexes as a prerequisite for Couple Dances first became noticeable in the Middle Ages in Central Europe in the 12th century and led to the Open and Closed Couple Dances, which spread more and more as a result of this development. Much older, however, are the free Couple Dances associated with 'bal', because for this type of dance there are pictorial representations of considerable age.

4.2 Free Couple Dances

Free Couple Dances are characterized by dancing together in pairs, but the dancing is performed without physical contact. The oldest representations of such forms date back to the 5th mill. BC. Some pottery finds from Southeastern Europe and Egypt (see Fig. 420a to d) of this time layer show two persons in dancing posture. Typical for the 'free dancing' - even today - the arms are held upwards. Man and woman are distinguished by size or by directly recognizable sexual characteristics. The next finds in chronological order are much younger and date from around 1500 BC. from the Minoan and Mycenaean periods (Fig. 420e to f). In between, there is a gap of almost 3000 years, for which no dance representations at all have been found in Europe. Further scenes from antiquity and the Middle Ages round off the iconographic material on Free Couple Dances (Fig. 420g to m).

	
<p>Fig. 420a: Pottery from the early 5th mill. BC, Gomolava (northern Serbia).</p>	<p>Fig. 420b: Pottery from the late 5th mill. BC, Gumelnița (southern Romania).</p>

	
<p>Fig. 420c: Pottery from the late 5th mill. BC, Dumesti (Romania).</p>	<p>Fig. 420d: Vase from Predynastic Egypt (5th - 4th mill. BC), unknown origin.</p>
	
<p>Fig. 420e: Minoan signet ring impression from Vapheio (southern Peloponnese!!), 1500-1450 BC.</p>	<p>Fig. 420f: Signet ring impression from Mycenae, 1400 BC.</p>
	
<p>Fig. 420g: Detail of an image on an Etruscan clay jar 7th century BC, (from Prayon, Die Etrusker 2006, p. 59).</p>	<p>Fig. 420h: Bowl from Boeotia, 570 BC, own photo, Museum Hohentübingen (detail).</p>

<p>Fig. 420i: Ceramic painting on an Apulian crater, 500 BC (detail).</p>	<p>Fig.420k: Etruscan tomb paintings from Torquinia, 480 BC (detail).</p>
<p>Fig. 420l: Bavarian strap-tongue, 9th century AD (detail).</p>	<p>Fig. 420m: Drawing in the Heidelberg Mannesian manuscript, 1350 AD (detail).</p>

Even today, this Free Couple Dance can be observed on very different occasions and in different regions of Europe. In October 2009, when I was invited by my Greek friend Damianos Charalampides to Thessaloniki for the wedding of his son, I witnessed the following incident: After dinner, the band played for dancing. The mood was good, almost boisterous. The wedding guests formed a chain around the dance floor, led by Damianos, and danced a kalamatianos. It was getting very crowded on the dance floor. Some guests broke away from the chain and began to move individually inside the chain to the music. They held their arms upwards and used the same steps as the round dancers. While dancing, they made contact with other dancers with their facial expressions and their whole body gestures. Often two men or two women danced together, but there were also constellations of different sexes. Such or similar observations can be made again and again in the Balkans or in the Middle East. There, free dancing is a second important element at festive occasions besides Chain Dances. Dance depictions on archaeological finds also show that free dancing (without setting) was already part of the common dance forms in earlier times - possibly to different degrees in different regions. In this respect, the situation described above could have a model character for the emergence of the Free Couple Dances, both in principle and situationally.



Fig. 420n: Chain and free dance with partner reference.

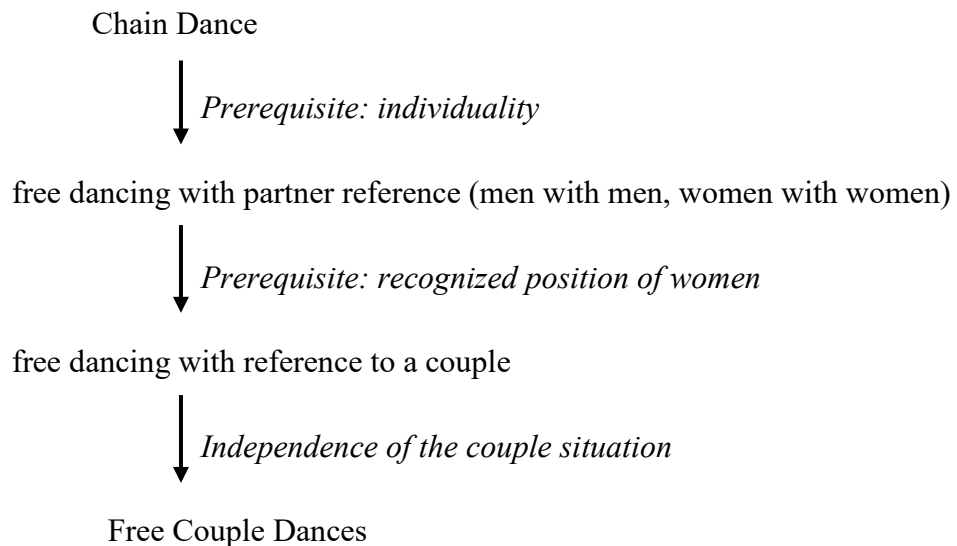


Fig. 420o: Model for the development of the Free Couple Dances. From the Chain Dance, the free dance with partner reference develops. This development presupposes a certain degree of individuality within society. With a socially recognized position of women, free dancing with couple reference and finally free couple dancing can develop from this.

Free Couple Dances then developed from free dancing with a couple reference. These independent forms are usually based on the same step material as Chain Dances. There are many examples of this, especially in the Mediterranean region: The 'Ballos' common on many Greek islands (Cyclades and Dodecanese islands) is danced in the 'Syrtos step' (long, short, short = sta dio); also the couple forms common in southern Albania have this basic step, there it is called Pogonishte. The 'Lindos' of the Dalmatian coast and the 'Boleros' on the Balearic Islands and along the northwest coast of Spain are based on the three-measure pattern. Even the classical minuet, danced at the court of Louis XIV, had this three-measure step distribution. Also the 'Sousta' in Crete is danced in the chain, then it changes to free dancing and there are even elements of open couple dancing (one-handed frame between dancer and dancer), all in the three-measure pattern. A three-step in 7/8 measure (short, short, long) forms the basic step of 'couple Račenicás' in Bulgaria, which is also found in 'chain Račenicás' there. Free forms and forms danced in pairs also exist among European Sinti and Roma. All these observations suggest that free Couple Dances do not represent a monophyletic group, i.e. they did not originate from a single original form, but developed several times in different regions. Their respective step material was taken over from the common Chain Dances. They developed from freer dance forms, which were performed in connection with Chain Dances on festive occasions. The names 'ballos' and 'boleros' indicate that the free forms of folk dancing are linked to the name 'bal'. The movements danced individually without a frame have a higher degree of improvisation, thus allowing more individual expression of fun and joy. This also allows more mime and gesture and leads to courtship between the sexes in the Couple Dance constellation. This also makes them attractive to spectators and increases the showmanship. In this sense, they represent an antithesis to the uniform movement repertoire of Chain Dances.

This dancing courtship between the sexes is also thematized in the much-cited Latin chivalric poem "Rudlieb".

<p>The young man jumps up and against him the girl. He resembles the hawk, and she glides like a swallow; No sooner are they close, than they pass by; He attacks her wooing, but she is seen fluttering away, And no one, who is allowed to see the two, would be able to In dance, in leap and hand gesture to master them.</p>	<p>Surrexit iuvenis, quo contra surgit herelis. Ille velut falcho se girat et he cut hirundo; Ast ubi convenient, citius se preteriebant; I/s se movisse, sed cernitur illa natasse, Neutrum saltasse neumas minibus variasse Nemo corrigere quo posset, si voluisset</p>
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This poem is often mistakenly cited as the birth of the Closed Couple Dances, but still clearly belongs to the Free Couple Dances, as they were common in southern Germany and in the

Alpine region in the Senn culture until the 19th century . Mostly they were performed only by a single couple.

4.3 Closed Couple Dances

In Closed Couple Dances, dancer and dancer usually take a closed dance frame throughout. The starting form for this form of Couple Dances was most probably a courting dance form, which developed from a version described as in "Rudlieb". It was later called Ländler, or more precisely Ländleric form. Compared to Ländler still preserved today, the original form was performed much more freely and improvisationally. However, certain stylistic elements were typical and can still be found in many of today's ländler dances. Significantly, usually only one couple danced. If several couples danced at the same time, each couple arranged the sequence as they wished.

Typical motifs that are mentioned again and again in old descriptions:

- Approaching and moving away
- Pursuing, surrounding and encircling the fleeing girl
- Dealing in pairs
- Detached turning of the girls in front of the boys
- Turning the girls by the hand
- The "peeping and throwing up" of the girls
- Turning around each other by means of intertwined arms
- Slipping under the arms that have been caught
- From the boys: jumps, stomps, claps, hits on thighs and soles of shoes
- Wooing sounds, singing, whooping
- At the end, however, always again the crowning union of the couple in a tight round dance ending the whole courtship and bragging game.

Pesovár describes the dramaturgy of this dance form as follows: "The larger structural units, which are constantly repeated and recurring during the dance, signify a courtship, dalliance expressed through dance, whereby through the prettying up of the boys (figuration), through the approach and playful rejection of the dancers, the tension created is only resolved in the closed turns of the Couple Dance."

The core area of the Ländler was southern Germany and Austria , but also the mountainous regions of Switzerland belonged to the area of distribution. Weiß sees the particularly dance-loving northern Alpine pastoral culture as the starting point of these dances.

The image of the sexes contained therein reflects a "classical" distribution of roles: the girls turn, show themselves from all sides and are courted by the boys. The latter impress with platters, jumps, powerful shouts or other freely varied tricks. In the joint round dance, the boy then leads. The quick turns required a tight frame, which was often banned as lewd in the 15th and 16th centuries.

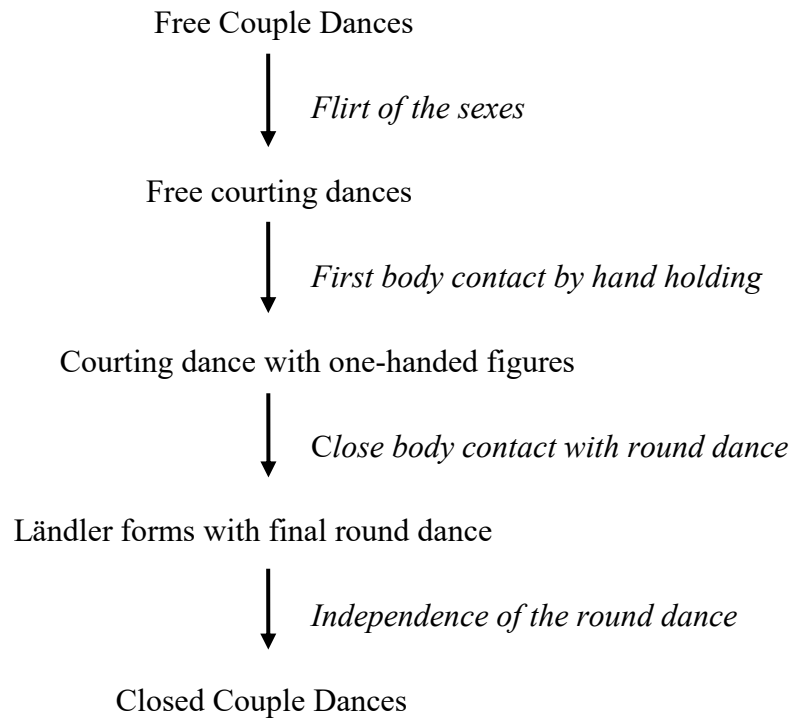


Fig. 430a: Model for the development of the Closed Couple Dances. From Free Couple Dances, the Closed Couple Dances develop through increasing body contact via ländler-like forms.

"When and how this form of direct contact between woman and man while dancing originated exactly, there is no testimony". The focus of the spread of the Ländlerische speaks for the northern Alps and southern Germany as the area of origin. The first historical evidence of this new dance form is contained in the following passage by Neidhard von Reuenthal XVI,2 (MSH.II,113):

Sus machen umb den giegen
 ie zwei und zwei
 ein hoppel-rei
 recht sam si wellen vliegen

The "zwei und zwei" formulates the Couple Dance, "hoppel" could be derived from hop or hop, and "recht sam si wellen vliegen" ("as if they wanted to fly") describes the fast round dance at the end.

Neidhart von Reuenthal was probably born in Bavaria in 1180 and worked in the Bavarian-Salzburg area until 1247, later also west of Vienna. The oldest evidence for closed Couple Dances thus comes from the first half of the 13th century. Also the South German minnesinger Goeli reports in the 13th century that girls were flung into the air and deliberately knocked over. The next testimony is found only a good 100 years later, in 1406, when Couple Dance is banned by the Ulm Council:

„So hat och der Rat dem ungeordneten tanz, der etwielang gewerot hat, als zwai und zwai mit ainander tanzoten abgenommen; und will und maint der rat, daz frowen und man hie zu Ulme

nür füro mer tantzen an ain ander in der wis, als man von alter biz her getanzet hat, an alle geverde. Un wer der stuk dahains überfür, es wer frow oder man der soll der stat fünf phunt haller verfallen sein.“ (Translation by M. H.: So [then] also the council has denied permission to the disorderly dance, which [indeed] has been practiced for a while, in which two and two dance together; and so it is then the will and resolution of the council that women and men here in Ulm henceforth dance together only in the manner in which one has danced from time immemorial, without any ulterior motive [in relation to the other sex]. And he who disregards any of the legal ordinances, whether woman or man, shall have to pay the city five pounds heller).

Based on these findings, it can be stated that closed forms of couple dancing emerged in peasant circles in the area of the northern Alps or in the southern German or Austrian foothills of the Alps in the period from the 11th to the 13th century. From there, the rural forms spread in the 15th and 16th centuries, especially to the north, which is reflected in many prohibitions against "unseemly twisting, swinging around, turning around and throwing around". On the basis of prohibition documents and pictorial representations of Couple Dances, this first wave of spread is shown in Fig. 412b.

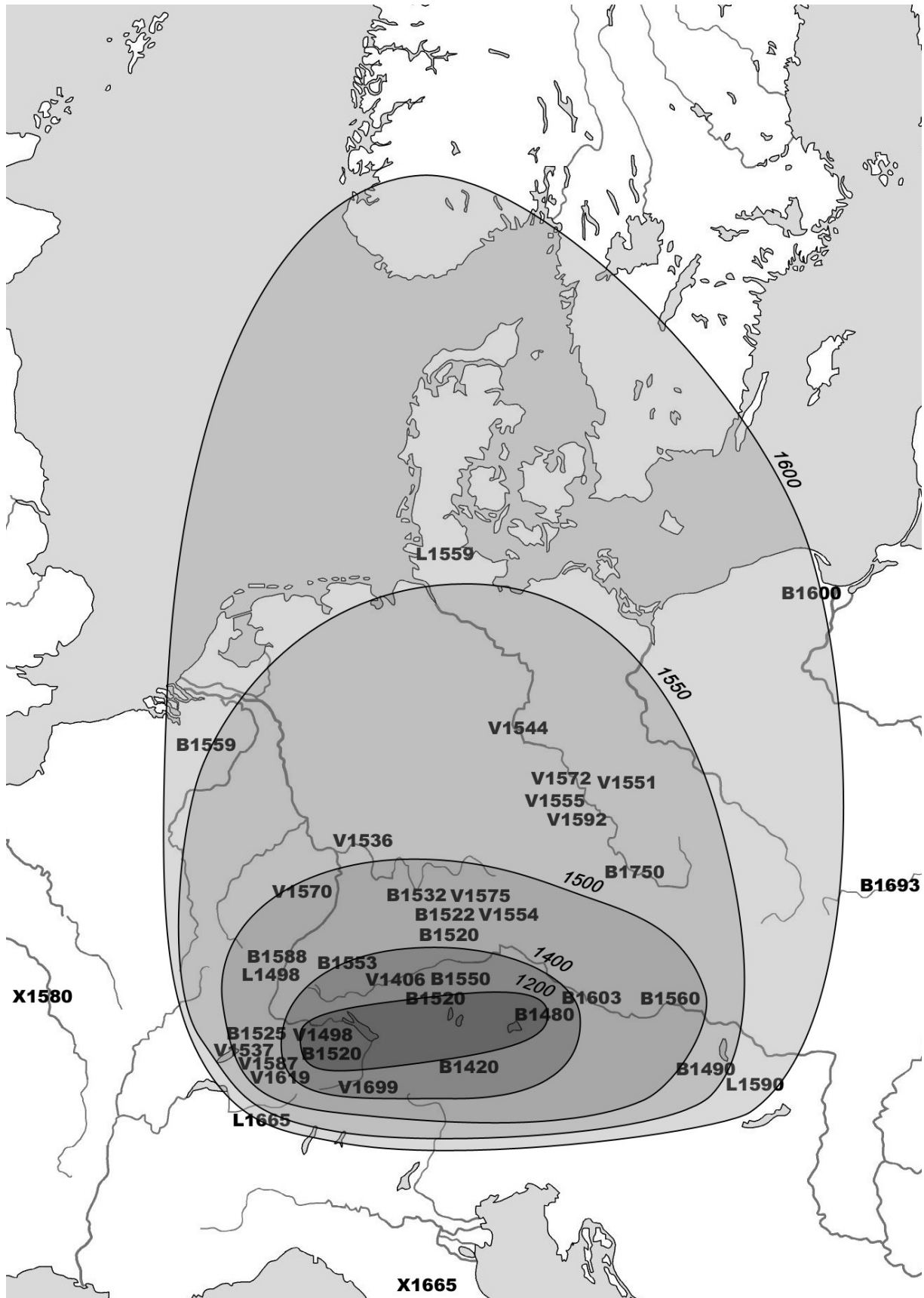


Fig. 430b: Spread of the ländler forms.

V=prohibition, B=pictorial representation, L=literary evidence, X=negative evidence (does not occur at this time in this place), the year of the respective evidence is behind the letter.

This new fashion also left its mark on the European courts. Throwing the girls up became the main element of the volte (16th - 17th centuries). In this dance, the dancer was held up or thrown up by a wooden log attached between her legs. The winder forms common in the Ländler and Steyrer found their way into the Allemande of the 18th century. Also, in the Allemande with the 'Tripla', a kind of polka, a final figure was danced in a closed version - analogous to the peasant model.

In today's courtship dance forms, the free and improvisational character has been largely lost. Only a few forms, such as some types of Csárdás, have retained the "Liebeständelei" to this day. In Bavarian Swabia, this original form still existed until the 19th century. At the end of the 19th century (about 1880) dances like the Schuhplattler, the Ländler or the Steyrer become group dances through the newly emerging folk dance and costume preservation societies. They receive a binding and common choreography. Their free and improvisational character is lost.

From the beginning of the 19th century, the turn dances, which became independent from the final round dance, dominated the dance floors. Forms such as the waltz, the polka, the mazurka or the Rhinelander spread throughout Europe and, in this second wave of expansion, also reached regions into which the ländler forms had not penetrated.

The step patterns are still the same. In the waltz an even step (short, short, short), in the polka an uneven three-step (short, short, long). The Swedish Hambo and the Slängpolka, the Franconian Dreischrittdreher, the Czech Starodavny perform in the three-step pattern (short, short, long, long), which then reappears in the Foxtrot, Tango, Jive, and after almost a thousand years of development, starting from the individual advertising dance with final round dance, also in the Discofox.

Remarkably, a second development started at the same time, which led to the Open Couple Dances in the social class of the nobility, and their history is closely linked to the term 'dance'.



Fig. 430c: half-closed peasant dance with pantomime



Fig. 430d: Peasant dance, "Umbdrehen" (closed round dance)



Fig. 430e: half-closed peasant dance



Fig. 430f: half-closed peasant dance



Fig. 430g: peasant dance, „Umschwingen“

Fig. 430h: half-closed peasant dance

4.4 About the history of the word dance

Today we understand 'dance' to mean all forms of "rhythmic body movement, usually accompanied by music or song." This was not always the case. The word 'dance' has only been in use since the late Middle Ages and usually referred to only a subset of the dance forms of the time. It was only in recent centuries that 'dance' developed into an umbrella term for all dance forms in German and in most European languages.

For a long time, the word 'danser, dancer' was considered the oldest evidence of this root in French literature around 1170 in Chrétien's *Erec and Yvain*. Since this first mention, the word appears comparatively frequently. In the early 13th century, the novel *Dolopathos* states, "Li uns danse, l'autres querole." At the same time, Gottfried von Neifen and also v. Stamheim use "tanzen und reien." From the further course of the 14th century there is further evidence for this pair of words from Styria, Westphalia and England. A handwritten sermon from a Walser church near Zurich in 1391 says: "die tenez ziehent und tenent den tanz."

Before the 12th century, the term 'dance' was considered untraceable. Even more recent editions of etymological dictionaries still see 'dance' as a loanword that came to Germany from the Old French 'danser' via Flanders ('dansen'). How this word came into Old French is completely unclear.

Harding's research shows, however, that the words 'tanzari' and 'tanzmeister' are already documented in writing in a pre-court period between 1005 and 1022 in Rhine-Franconian

territory. The Middle High German 'tanzen', which probably comes from the Franconian, thus continues an older word 'danzon', which was borrowed into Gallo-Roman and became 'danser' there.

In the late Middle Ages, the term established itself as a fashionable word of chivalry and spread throughout Europe by the 16th century. Northern France was the starting point for the expansion movement. Today, 'dance' is found as a loanword in almost all European languages (cf. Tab. 440a).

Table 440a: Languages in which 'danse' has found its way in

Danish: dans	Catalan: dansa	Swedish: dans
English: dance	Dutch: dans	Spanish: baile, danza
Estonian: tants	Norwegian: dans	Czech: tanec
Finnish: tanssi	Occitan: dança	Türkisch: dans
French: danse	Polish: taniec	Hungarian: tánc
Icelandic: dans	Portuguese: dança	Latvian: dancis
Italian: danza	Russian: танец	Slovak: tanec (tanca)
Bulgarian: tanc ТАИЦ	Basque: dantsa	
Malta: dance		
Welsh: dawn		

There are basically two different processes for the rapid spread of a word. First, new words from another language are adopted because they are more appealing and fashionable than the old words of one's own language. In this process, they replace already existing terms.

Secondly, terms expand with innovations that they name. In a present language there is no word for this innovation yet and the word from the language of the 'inventors' is adopted as a loanword. For example, nowadays 'computer' or 'software' are such inventions which originate together with their designation from North America.

Both of the above processes may have been involved in the rapid spread of 'dance'. Once a new 'way of rhythmic moving' might have emerged, which was clearly different from the old Chain Dance. This 'new dancing' spread from the place of origin. Furthermore, this innovation was perhaps still fashionable and chic, respectively practiced by the dominant social class.

This increased the attractiveness and strengthened the imitation effect.

Where did the term 'dance' come from and what did this new kind of rhythmic movement look like?

Two aspects related to the emergence of a "new kind of rhythmic movement":

(a) *'dance' originally means "moving back and forth, pulling row."*

Some dictionaries trace 'danse' back to the Gothic 'thinsan', Old High German 'dinsan, dansôn', with the meaning "pulling, dragging ". Also in Old Frankish 'dansôn' meant "to pull".

The Middle High German form was then 'dinse', or 'danse' . Böhme also agrees with this opinion. "Sonach bedeutet Tanz ursprünglich Zug, ziehende Reihe." In favor of this view is also a paragraph from the city charter of St. Gall of about 1355 :

"Of those who nahtes with vaklen through the stat tanzont:

Item es ist ouch ain gesetzt: Who nahstes durch die stat tanzot mit vaklan oder bûtzan, der gilt drige schilling zu buoss ieklicher, als vil ir ist, die ez tuont." (Who goes through the city at night with torches or disguised [...]).

Remarkably, in this handwritten text "stat tanzot" is crossed out and headed "gassan gat". In addition, in the reprinted text of 1426, the corresponding passage reads:

"Wer nahtz mit vaklen in der statt umb goât ..." (He who goes about the city at night with torches ...).

"Tanzon" was first replaced by "gassan gat" and then by "umb goan", because possibly "tanzon" meant "dancing" in the meantime and did not fit for the original sense "wandering".

b) Dance is something different from Reigen (carole).

The word 'dance' always appears in pairs with 'Reigen' or a respective synonym. The evidence is listed in Tab. 430b:

Tab. 440b: Evidence for word pairs related to 'dance'.

Time and place	word pair	Source
Middle High German	reigen tanz	Sachs p. 182, Böhme S. 24-25
Provençal	corola dansa	Sachs p. 182, Böhme S. 24-25
Old French	carole danse	Sachs p. 182, Böhme S. 24-25
Italian	carola danza	Sachs p. 182, Böhme S. 24-25
Old English	carole daunce	Salmen 1980, p. 15
Styrian, 13. Jh.	reien und tanz	Salmen 1999, p. 139
Gottfried von Neifen, 13. Jh.	tanzen und reien	Salmen 1999, p. 139
France, Anfang 13. Jh.	danse et querole	Salmen 1999, p. 139
France 14. Jh.	danse, carole	Salmen 1999, p. 139
England 1390	carole and daunce	Salmen 1999, p. 139
Erec von Chrétien um 1170	Puceles carolent et dancent	Sachs, p. 182
v. Stamheim., Anfang 13. Jh.	tanzen unde reien	Sachs, p. 182
in Dolopathos Anfang 13. Jh.	Li uns danse, l'autres querole	Sachs, p. 182
Heinrich v. Neustadt, ca. 1300, Wien	rayen und tantzen	Sachs, p. 182

Only one conclusion can be drawn from these pairs of words: Dance was something different from Chain Dance. But what was understood by dance at that time? Until the 11th century, there were only Chain Dances (round dances) in Europe, apart from some special forms.

Something new had to be created that could be conceptually distinguished from round dances. The starting point for the expansion movement was northern France.

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Table 430c: Comparison of dance and Chain Dance

dance	Chain Dance (Reigen)
A procession of dancing couples behind each other, holding hands, the ladies on the right.	A chain of dancers moving hand in hand (in a closed or open circle or in lines) (chorus dance).
indoors	mostly in the open air, on the square, on the streets
with singing or instrumental	with singing
with pre-dancer (pre-singer)	with precentor, chorus by choir
striding (stepped on, going around, with dragging foot)	stepping or jumping

What did this new dance form look like what was its background?

4.5 Emergence of the Open Couples Dances

After the fall of the Roman Empire, the Germanics became the new masters of Europe. The Germanic nobility did not differ in any way from the other freemen. It recruited itself from these. The dances of the nobles therefore did not differ at all from the dances of the normal people. In essence, they were Chain Dances to singing.

From the 8th century a new development began in Central and Western Europe. Originally free peasants became serfs - mostly voluntarily - to escape the threat of military service. In turn, a "warrior caste" emerged, knights specialized in combat with lower nobility. This new class separated from the peasants, but remained culturally connected to the peasants through land ownership. In addition, the separation of the clergy occurred during this period. This process was completed in the 12th century.

The nobility created its own, predominantly secular culture in the 12th century. Starting from Southern France, but also from the 'Danubian Minnegeang', it was the world of noble knights, troubadours and minstrels. In this world, the noble lady, at least in poetry, was considered a superior being in an aesthetic and moral sense. She was the epitome of beauty and moral perfection. The noble woman moved more and more into the center of social events. This development took place first in the nobility and in the knighthood. At tournaments and also at courtly festivities the distinguished lady was given a special role by handing out the prize to victorious knights. For the knights and noblemen, conversation and socializing with the ladies at the subsequent festivities were of great importance. Moreover, it was a requirement of that time to show oneself according to one's rank. This applied to both sexes. Especially on the female side, the need for presentation of beauty in appearance and dress was added. During this time, couples strode through the courtly halls. The distinguished gentlemen showed themselves with their ladies.

This special position of the distinguished woman made courtly couple dancing possible in the first place and also shaped its external appearance.

Even the old Chain Dances (Carole, Reigen) were danced in pairs in the late Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times, as all illustrations from that time show. "A long chain of girls and knights in a colorful row (genders alternating) followed a lead dancer". In contrast to the (supposedly) unbridled, wild and unrestrained peasant dances, the court dance was controlled, restrained, gallant and of distinguished bearing. In the Carmina burana it is called "stolz vnde hovisch" (no. 148a).

Couple Dances at court

In distinction to the Chain Dance, "circulating dances" developed in the 11th century at the Frankish courts of northern France. In connection with knights' tournaments, evening festivities were celebrated at which distinguished gentlemen and ladies paraded back and forth past the host family, accompanied by music, in the form of a processional stream dance. The courtly Couple Dance developed and this "hove danse" was accompanied by instrumental music. The ladies were led on the right side of the lord (cf. Fig. 450a), a rule which all pictorial representations show and which is still valid today.

There are only speculations about the reasons. Three of them are given here:

- The right side is the noble and privileged side. This side came to the noble ladies.
- Many noblemen danced with sword or rapier. This was, since most right-handed, ready to hand on the left side. So for the lady only the other, the right side remained. However, in most pictures the men are dancing without weapons. The rapier did not appear in Germany until the 16th century, too late to have any influence on the conditions of dancing.
- In the period of origin of an independent courtly dance scene, mainly round dances were danced. Within the chain, people stood in pairs. Since the chain went to the left and was led by a man, a sequence of man, woman, man, woman, etc., was automatically created. Consequently, when such a chain broke up into pairs to do a Chain Dance, the man stood on the left and the woman on the right (see Fig. 450a). For me the favored hypothesis.



A Abb. 450a: Modell zur Entstehung der Seitenverteilung der Geschlechter im Paar

From leading around to the music, forms emerged that are categorized here as Open Couple Dances. Typical for this form is that dancers take an open dance frame. As a result, they usually stand next to each other and are each connected by one hand. Open Couple Dances spread as a new fashion of knighthood together with the word 'dance' borrowed from Rhenish-Frankish into Gallo-Roman over all courts of Europe.

Three factors favored a rapid spread of the open Couple Dances and their name 'dance' among the European nobility.

First, at this time, from about the middle of the 11th century, the first jousting tournaments appeared somewhere in northern France. They spread throughout northern France and neighboring areas in the following decades. In 1095, the first tournament in Flanders was mentioned. In Germany, the first tournaments began from the 12th century. The first documented knightly competition on German soil took place in 1127 in Würzburg, Franconia. In the following centuries, the knights spread their tournaments and the associated festivals throughout Europe. Thus, with the new 'dansen', the word 'Tanzen' also expanded.

Secondly, the high nobility, who were widely related throughout Europe, favored this spread. Young nobles from Thuringia, for example, grew up in France with their relatives. From there they brought the new dance fashion home with them. Besides 'carole' or 'reien', it was now possible - at least among the nobility - to 'dance', walking in pairs side by side.

And third, this "new way of dancing" was fashionable and chic.

In addition to the new-fashioned dances, the Chain Dance forms (caroles) were retained for some time. The accompaniment by own singing decreased, instruments took over the musical

part. The Chain Dances with instrumental music accompaniment and hardly any changes in the step material were now called Branles.

The circulating dances developed in the 15th century to the Bassedanse, starting from Burgundy. Further influences came from Italy and Spain, and from about 1550 the pavane replaced the bassedanse.

Dancing at court had a dual function: on the one hand it served to entertain and amuse, but at the same time it was also intended to demonstrate how distinguished, knowledgeable and physically skilled the performers were. The high society was constantly striving to distinguish itself from the tradition-bound lower classes. This need also gave rise to the profession of the dance master, and ballroom dancing was born.

Dance thus also took on a formalizing and disciplining function, also with regard to the role behavior of the sexes. Thus, in the 15th and 16th centuries, dance became a medium to educate the young nobleman mentally, physically and morally.

Under the influence of dance teachers and the increasing self-expression of the nobility, more and more complicated dances emerge, mostly performed by single couples (e.g. minuet). Ultimately, this development ends with the ballet with professional dancers trained for many years.

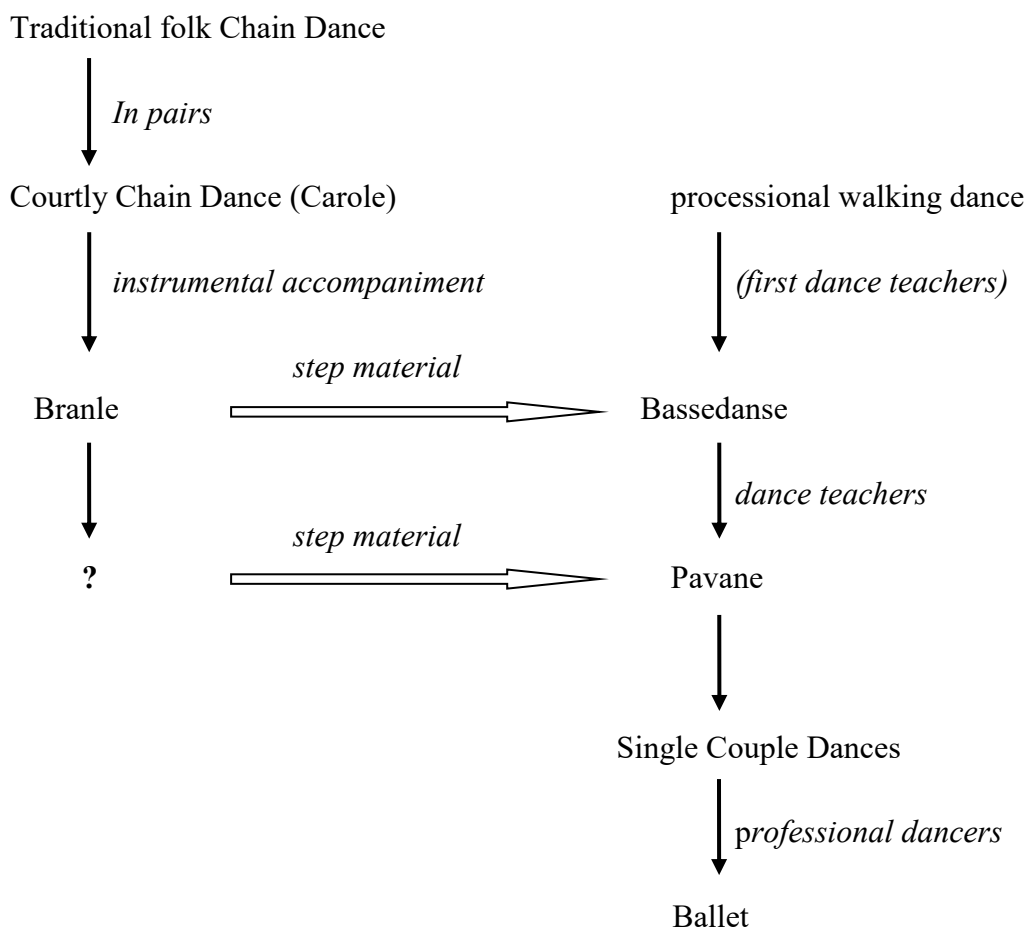


Fig. 450b: Development scheme of the court dances

There are no records about the step material of the folk Chain Dances from the Middle Ages and the time before. However, if we compare the structural patterns of the later branles with the Chain Dances of the Balkans today, we find very similar, often identical step combinations, which, as explained in chap. 2, go back to a common pan-European root. Therefore, it can also be assumed that the branles, which developed from the folk Chain Dances, took over the step material from the peasant forms. Also the elements of the Bassedanse "Simple, Double, Reprise, Branle and Reverence" and the components of the following Renaissance and Baroque dances are based on the step material of the Branles and thus go back to the old Chain Dances.

On the continent, this development ended in complicated Single Couple Dances and eventually in ballet. On the British Isles, it led to a completely different result, Multi-Couple Dances. These are dances in which several couples dance together.

4.6 Multi-Couple Dances

The origin of the Multi-Couple Dances from Great Britain is undisputed. However, there are no sources about the exact origin. The Rounds developed very probably from the Carols, which are no longer mentioned since the 15th century in England". These were probably danced mainly in couples, as on the Continent. As can be deduced from the structural analysis of later Rounds, further elements were added to the lateral movement on the circular path: movement to the center of the circle and back and movements related to a single couple, such as hand tour, leading around, turns, confrontation of the partners and the like.

Whether this development took place on the farms or among the peasants is not clearly distinguishable. Possibly it took place in close contact and constant interplay between the upper and lower classes. For nowhere in Europe was the distance between the classes so blurred as in Britain. Thus Wood (1952, p. 14) writes about the dances of the 14th century in England: "At court the nobles danced the new dances (estampie) among themselves, but at caroles, or then roundes, no distinction was made between noble and common, but rather between young and old. Gentlemen and servants danced together in the great halls of castles and palaces. Undoubtedly, this is how the common people learned these dances and then brought them to the villages. Therefore they became 'country dances' and came back to the court in the 16th century." Other sources attest to this close contact between the nobility and the rural population.

At the end of the 16th century, during the reign of Elizabeth I, these 'country dances' were incorporated into the repertoire of the English bourgeoisie and nobility. Shortly after, in 1632, King Gustav of Sweden danced such dances in the Fugger house in Augsburg.

The fact that the first edition of the English music publisher John Playford's "The English Dancing Master" of 1651 contains mostly rounds also speaks for the origin of the Multi-Couple Dances from the rounds. In the following editions (a total of 18 editions until 1728) the 'longways' increase more and more. The clientele for these collections of sheet music and dance descriptions were bourgeois circles in which this dance form was very popular.

While the peasants danced outdoors in squares and the nobility in large halls, the commoners used rooms in their houses. For lack of space, the circles had to be made smaller in the rounds. Rounds for 2, 3, 4, in exceptions also for 6 or 8 couples were created. Such forms

later developed into quadrilles or squares. Another line was formed under the influence of the country houses that appeared at the beginning of the 18th century. These had an elongated space called a long gallery. Adapted to this architecture then developed 'longways', where the couples are placed in a long alley.

With the rise of the bourgeoisie, Multi-Couple Dances spread very quickly across Europe, especially in the cities. "Squares for eight or four" are first mentioned in France in 1723 and in Germany in 1741. At the end of the 18th century also the column dances (longways) come to the continent. Cotillons, today quadrilles, were already in use from the middle of the 18th century, but became established only in the 19th century.

From 1830, the Multi-Couple Dances disappeared from the ballrooms, the couple round dances such as the waltz began to dominate the parquet.

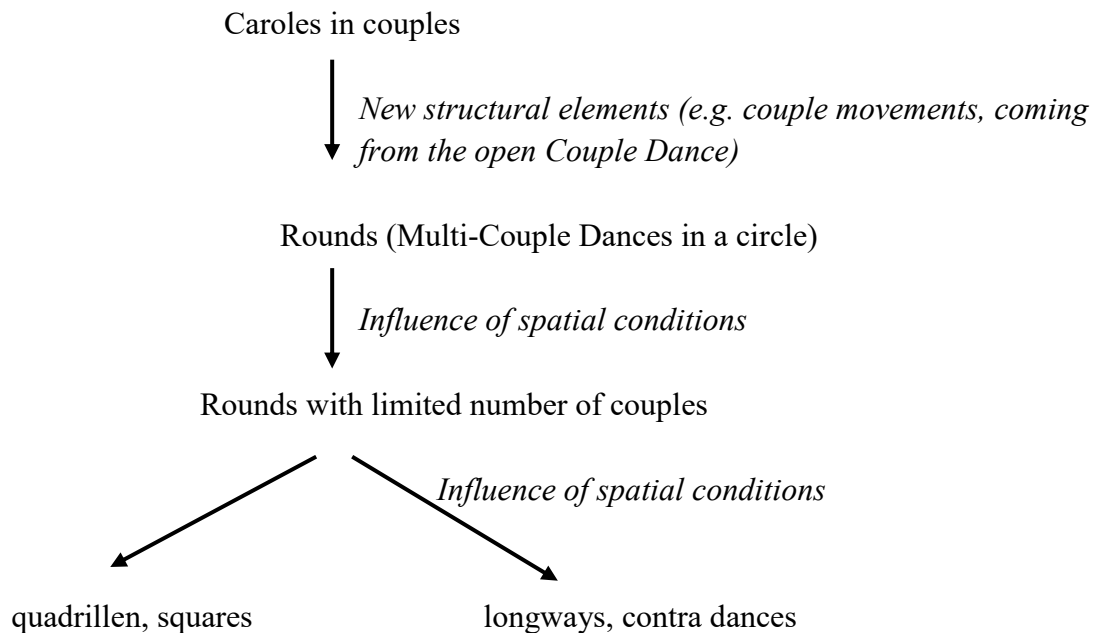


Fig. 460: Development scheme of Multi-Couple Dances

In particular, the history of the development of Open Couple Dances shows that dance steps and other elements were often adopted from other dance forms. As a result, there was also constant interaction between different dance forms and thus also between class-specific dances.

4.7 Interactions between dance forms of different social classes

In European history after the Middle Ages, some dance forms are carried out by certain social classes. There was a lively exchange between the specific dance forms of the different strata. Petermann (1982, p. 10) describes this phenomenon as follows: "The dance of all groupings is subject to a constant process of change and transformation in all its manifestations." Schoch

(1998, p. 9) continues: "On the one hand, the dances of the people were the source from which the courtly dances developed. On the other hand, however, burghers and peasants always tried to match the nobility and imitate their movement style in the 'hovetantz'. [...] Thus, the dances remained constantly in motion, comparable to fashion, which also constantly causes amazement and attention through novelty."

In the following account, only the basic processes are cited.

Interactions between dances of different social groups

- Chain Dances at court adopt the step material of the folk forms.
- Courtly Couple Dances adopt elements of the peasant dances such as the circular dance as a closing figure, the throwing up of the girls or wrapper figures.
- The noble society (aristocracy and bourgeoisie) adopts rural forms of the people with the country dance, these are modified into a noble style and spread.
- The dance teachers of the bourgeoisie take over elements of the folk dance again and again, in order to be able to present new forms.
- The folk, in turn, adopts forms of the nobility and the bourgeoisie: Multi-Couple Dances are part of today's idea of folk dances in Northern Germany, Scandinavia, etc. The folk North American squares also go back to forms of the bourgeoisie.
- Closed Couple Dances of peasant origin, such as the waltz, become social dances of the middle classes.

5. Phenotypes (form types) and classification of European folk dances

The current appearance of European folk dances is very heterogeneous. We can find here forms from quite different ages and development processes at the same time. Thus, in many areas new types of dances were formed in the course of time, but some of the old ones remained. In addition, further forms were formed by mixing new and old elements. Therefore, there are several layers of ages and different mixed forms. This does not make a clear classification easy, because there are always dances that have mixed characteristics.

The classification of folk dances is bound to certain intentions and interests, which are superimposed on the basic goal of a comprehensible and logical order. For example, it should make it possible to identify universals and details of a regional dance culture and allow comparisons between different areas. In addition, an ordering system in a historical context should allow comparisons between diverse time periods. Since folk dances have originated differently and developed over a long period of time, a classification system would additionally have to take into account this history of origin and development, which as a result has produced the present manifestations of folk dances.

5.1 What is folk dance, what is folklore?

The first "difficulties" begin with the exact meaning of the term 'folk dance', which historically has not existed that long. It developed in Central Europe only after the emergence of two other dance genres, the court dances and the stage or art dances. When in the Middle Ages the nobility began to develop their own court dances, this demarcation had become necessary. From these courtly dances, stage dance and later ballet developed. Before this time all dances were folk dances and a separate designation was not necessary. Thus, it was not until the 18th century that the term 'folk dance' came into being. This meant dances that were neither danced by the nobility, nor by the newly emerged bourgeoisie (distinguished society), nor by paid performers on stage. They were dance forms of the peasants and craftsmen. Petermann classifies only those traditionally handed down forms as folk dances, which within the respective group belonging to the working people have fixed functions in custom and tradition, in folk belief as well as for sociability and tradition. For the folk dance expert Felix Hoerburger, too, the unbroken tradition is an important characteristic of folk dances and so he defines it by four features: "Dance is folk dance only insofar as it has grown in an anonymous basic layer of the people through direct tradition, without intervention of an organizer and in functional connection with the traditional life of the people." Still in 2009 Horst Koegler defines in his *Kleines Wörterbuch des Tanzes* (p. 144): "Volkstanz (engl. folk dance)" as "the traditional dances of the rural population in the pre-industrial societies of Europe".

None of these three characterizations of folk dance considers the fact that in the past three centuries there has been a constant and lively exchange between the dances of the peasants and craftsmen and the noble society and that a precise demarcation between folk dances and social dances is hardly possible, at least in Europe. Also, an unbroken cultivation of folk dances in recent decades can be observed only in a few regions of Central Europe, for example in isolated areas of Bavaria. The definitions given are historically and traditionally focused and neglect the folk dance activities that have developed since the end of the 19th century. In many areas, for example in almost all of Central, Western and Northern Europe, folk dances had already died out by the end of the 19th century. Around 1900, some collectors began to record the last remnants of the dances and some of these dances were then revived and spread in the youth movement before the 1st World War as if in flight. After the 1st World War also new creations, so-called youth dances, came to it. Even today, dance forms from that time are still in use.

For such forms there is no uninterrupted tradition. However, for some of these dances a functional connection to the traditional life of the people developed quite quickly. Since they are danced today on certain occasions with a certain tradition, they fulfill this most important condition for folk dances and are therefore called folk dances.

So, for *traditional folk dances* in this sense, three criteria must be fulfilled: they must be danced on certain occasions with a tradition, even shorter in time, and they must not belong to the stage dance or social dance.

But even in the Balkans, the traditional is giving way to the modern way of life. Customs change or disappear completely. Nevertheless, some of these dances continue to be danced in other contexts. If a new tradition arises, the designation folk dance is still appropriate. If these dances are mainly performed on stage or if a group meets because the members simply enjoy dancing these dances under the guidance of a teacher, the term folklore is

increasingly used. This term contains the English words 'folk' and 'lore'. This term is clearly defined only in the field of music. There, 'folk' is understood as a contemporary extended folk music, which is popularized with modern instrumentation and appropriate arrangement.

Analogously, folk dances are forms derived from former folk dances, which are no longer in direct tradition of the people, but are performed in other sensory references. Such sense references are, for example, fun in practicing Greek dances in a folklore group or performances of lightly choreographed folk dances on stage at a festival etc.

However, in addition to a change in meaning references, the term folklore clarifies that tradition is still an important criterion and folklore dances have the same external structural features and consist of the same or similar step material as traditional folk dances. In this respect, the designation 'folk dances' better expresses the fact that on the one hand it is about folk tradition and on the other hand it also takes into account changed meaning references. Thus, following Hoerburger, the sociable folklore dance is about new forms of community experience. Its followers dance only for the sake of sociability, whereby it is possibly not at all important to them to continue the tradition 'true to the work'. Most folklore groups or visitors to dance houses or bal-folk events belong to this group.

A museum care of folklore dance, on the other hand, looks for the greatest possible 'faithfulness to the work'. Its goal is the preservation of what could be forgotten or has already been forgotten. Dances, however, become dead material, they no longer have any relation to a current function in people's lives.

Theatrical folklore takes the lore to a whole new level. The meaning of the dance is in the context of performance for the audience and is thus possibly filled with new content. The dance elements are combined in a new way, the movement technique is varied and changed, the traditional costume becomes the costume. In a very extreme form, this development can be seen in folklore groups of the former USSR. Their stage dances have very little to do with the original folk dances. The movement technique has been stylized and new elements have been added.

All three directions deal with folklore, because real folk dances in the true sense of the word hardly seem to exist anymore, at least in Western, Central and Northern Europe. They were a symbol and form of identification of the community, especially the village community. And these original village communities have increasingly dissolved in the course of industrialization and urbanization.

5.2 Criteria to distinguish dance forms

If one wants to divide dances into different categories, one needs distinguishing criteria. In the available German-language literature on European folk dances, one can essentially distinguish two opposing approaches.

Some classifications, such as that made by Wolfram (1951) in "Die Volkstänze in Österreich und verwandte Tänze in Europa," use the 'function of the dance' as the main criterion. In Wolfram's case this results in the four categories: Dance in the Course of the Year, Status and Representation, the Dance in Human Life, and Dances of Sociability. Does this procedure of classification according to the functions lead to a logical and usable system of order?

The classification according to this criterion has the advantage that one can assign all dances, because a function exists in every case. Another advantage is, that it can show connections and developments concerning the function or the occasion particularly well. A disadvantage, however, is that an assignment to a certain function cannot always be made unambiguously. For example, a dance may be danced at a certain time of the year and may well serve the purpose of socializing. Another disadvantage results from the fact that, for example, dances similar in their step material must be assigned to completely different categories. Related step patterns thus end up in completely different groups.

In addition, there are many examples of dances that have undergone a change in content and function, while other characteristics have remained the same. As a result, one and the same dance must be assigned to different categories depending on the situation and the fixing objective of an aim. For example, certain circle dances at certain times served to strengthen the group and integrate all the villagers, a task they usually no longer have today. Danced by modern "hobby folklorists", they provide, for example, fun in movement or create a sense of community in the dance group. These serious limitations lead to the conclusion that the 'function of dance' is not suitable as a main distinguishing feature.

An approach to be distinguished from this is the classification according to the number of people dancing and according to the social characteristics and relationships of these people. This was the approach taken by Goldschmidt (2001) in "Handbuch des deutschen Volkstanzes." She distinguishes, for example, group dances, Couple Dances, trio dances and special forms.

When categorizing dances, the criteria 'number of people dancing and their social relations to each other' as the main distinguishing features enable a largely doubtless classification. It can be read off directly whether, for example, a couple or a group of men is dancing. Only in the case of Multi-Couple Dances there is the alternative decision group dance or Couple Dance. Thus Goldschmidt does not classify Multi-Couple Dance forms with the Couple Dances, but with the group dances. This shows that even with these quite clear criteria there is some room for interpretation.

Another argument in favor of the criteria number of persons and social relations is that they have remained very stable in the historical course of time and that dances with the same external structural features usually have a common history of origin. A triolet form (dance form for three) cannot simply evolve into a Multi-Couple Dance. Such transformations are very unlikely, since essential structural features would have to be completely changed. In addition, it is precisely in these structural features that fundamental social relationships are reflected. After all, the question of who dances with whom has to do with social values, and these rarely change quickly. Also, the division into "group dances, Couple Dances and special forms" corresponds to the historical development of dances in Europe. For it has been known for a long time that group dances, especially the Chain Dances, are culturally and historically much older than the closed Couple Dances and also the Multi-Couple Dance. In this respect, this feature distinguishes both a striking structural element and a different history of origin.

Another level, completely independent of the above criteria, is "the degree of determination". The choreography of a Schuhplattler group has a sequence of movements that is fixed down to the smallest detail. In contrast, a flamenco dancer has a clear scope for individual design.

Whether the possibility for improvisation exists at all also depends on factors such as group size, formation or the dance setting. Free dancing allows more improvisation than a line tied at the shoulders. The smaller the group size, the looser the setting, the less fixed the formation, the more personalization is possible.

The performance situation also has a significant influence on the possibilities for improvisation. If folk dances are performed on a stage, the individual scope is limited in favor of an overall movement that is as uniform as possible. A striking example of such a development can be seen in the recent history of the Schuhplattler. As a courtship dance between a man and a woman in its original form, it offered dancers, in particular, very personal design possibilities in order to impress their respective dancer and the audience. It was therefore originally danced only by individual couples. When more and more folk dance and costume preservation societies were founded in Bavaria since 1883, the Platteln became more and more a show and group dance, presenting a rehearsed form that was as synchronous as possible. Today, each Plattelgruppe has its own choreography, which must be rehearsed over a longer period of time.

5.3 Systematics of European folk dances

The considerations made lead to a multidimensional construct. Its main features are shown in Figure 530 with three rings. The system is determined primarily by "external shape characteristics. The upper groups "SOLO DANCES, PAIR DANCES and GROUP DANCES" in the middle ring are split to the main groups in the outer ring. Further, for example, Couple Dances are subdivided by different formation or setting into open, closed and Free Couple Dances, which are characterized as subgroups.

In the inner ring, the dimension "degree of fixation" is shown, which is superimposed on the other distinguishing features. Thereby the degree of fixation increases from left to right. Part of this dimension is also the demonstration character, which pushes the character of a dance to the right in the systematics (Fig. 530).

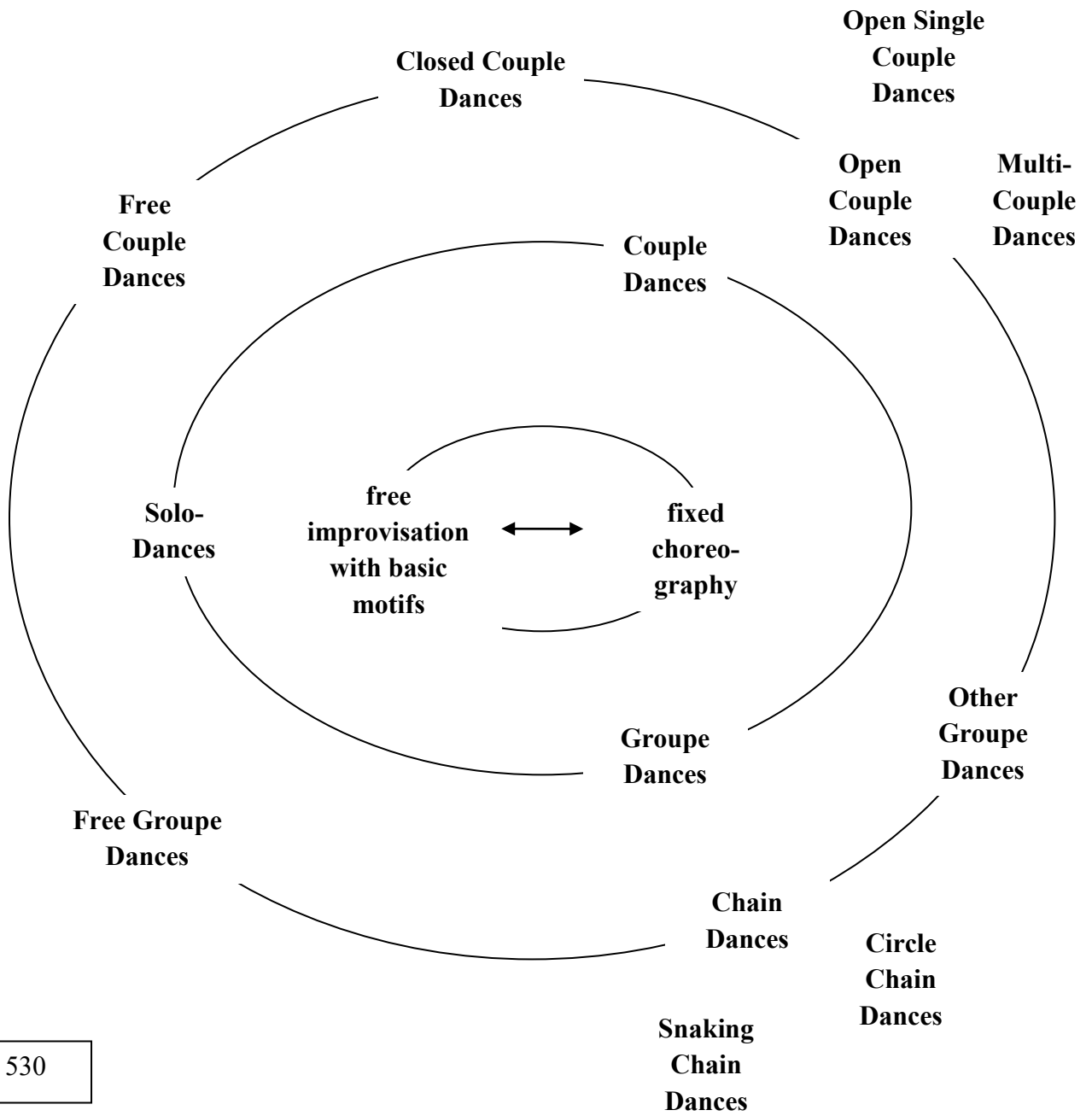


Abb. 530

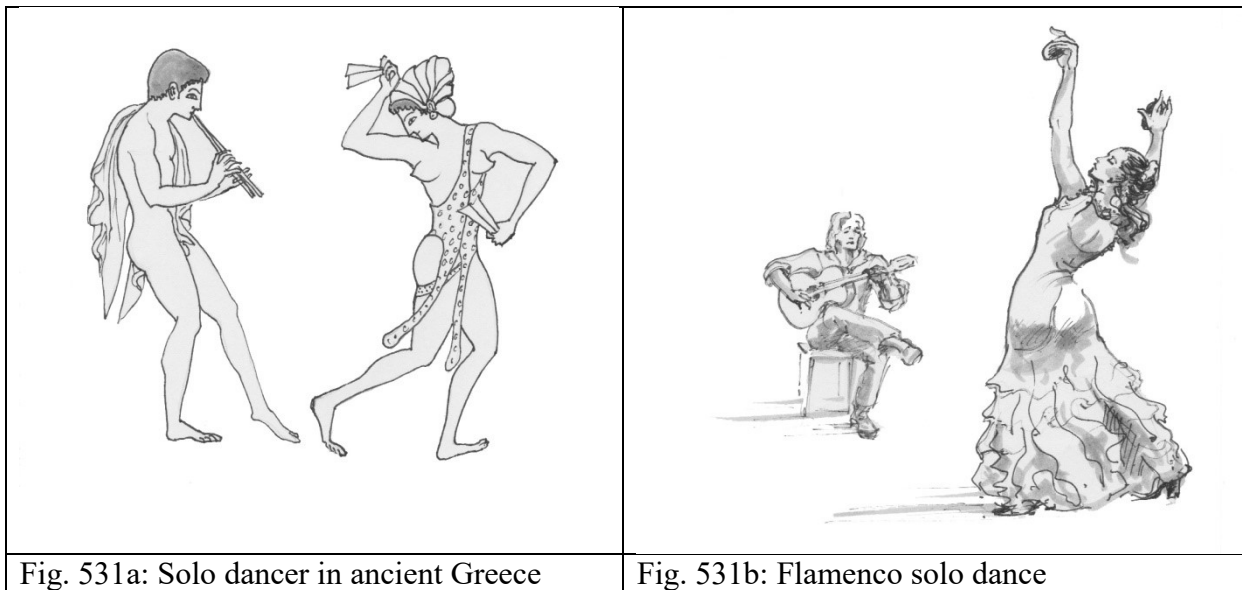
Table 530: Examples of systematic classification

Upper groups (middle circle)	Main groups (outer circle)	Subgroups (outside the outer circle)	dance families	dance
solo dances		graceful-erotic solo dances	Flamenco	
		solo skill dances	Halling (Norwegian male dance)	
Couple Dances	Free Couple Dances		Tarantellas	southern Italian Tarantella
	Closed Couple Dances		Mazurkas, Waltz	
	Open Couple Dances	Open Single Couple Dances	Minuet solo-pair	
		Multi-Couple Dances	Contradances Quadrilles Squares Gassentänze	Black Nag
Group Dances	Chain Dances	Circle Chain Dances	Three-measure dances	Roien
		Snaking Chain Dances		Tsakonikos
	Other Group Dances		Ribbon Dances	Swabian Ribbon Dance
	Free Group Dances		Free Group Dances in 9/8- meter	Antichristos, Karsilamas

The system of classification presented here takes into account formal and structural as well as developmental aspects. It is not universally applicable, but limited to dance forms of Europe and adjacent areas. It thus provides the basis for analyzing and categorizing present and past European dance forms. It is also necessary and helpful in answering the question of which dance types existed in certain periods, or even whether there were dance types that no longer exist today. This is because a system based primarily on external structural features has the advantage that these external structural features can be determined in dance representations, and thus dance illustrations or dance descriptions can be assigned to specific dance types on the basis of this system.

5.3.1 Solo Dances (Fig. 531a and 531b)

Single dances (solo dances) are dance forms in which only one person dances. There are not very many of these in European folk dance. Such dance performances are more likely to be found in artistic performing dance. Folk dance always takes place in community. Therefore, there are only a few dances in which a single person dances, as for example in the Greek 'Zeibekikos', in the Spanish 'Flamenco' or in the graceful-erotic solo dance of young women among the Berbers. Even in certain skill or lad dances there are short sequences in which individual dancers show off their skills. Such moments of self-expression by individual skills are rather untypical for the overall picture of folk dances.



5.3.2 Couple Dances

The upper group Couple Dances is divided into the main groups Free Couple Dances, Closed Couple Dances and Open Couple Dances. Open Single Couple Dances and Multi-Couple Dances form subgroups of the Open Couple Dances. In addition, there are triolet forms, the classification of which is discussed below.

FREE COUPLE DANCE (Fig.532a)

In this form of Couple Dance, the partners move opposite or even side by side without touching their bodies. There are usually certain standard movement patterns (basic movements), but the improvisational possibilities of the participants are great compared to other folk dances. Often the arms are held upwards during the dance. This form exists with both same-sex and opposite-sex partners. Usually only single or a few couples dance together for a while and are then replaced by other couples.

A focus of the distribution is in the western Mediterranean countries of Spain, Portugal, Italy, the Balearic Islands, the east coast of the Adriatic Sea and Montenegro. But also in parts of Turkey you can find this Couple Dance genre under the name 'Karsilamas', which means

"face to face". However, in most regions of Asia Minor, just as in the Balkans, Chain Dances dominate the folk dance scene and Free Couple Dances are rather the exception, at least in the countryside. The music to 'Karsilamas' is played in a 9/8 measure. It is possible that during the Ottoman rule this dance was spread to other countries such as Serbia, Macedonia and Greece, where it can be found today alongside the Chain Dances. In Northern Greece it is also called 'Antikristos'. In Bulgaria, this Free Couple Dance can be observed as 'Couple Račenica' in the 7/8 measure typical of Račenicas. Another center for Free Couple Dances is the region of the Caucasus, where this type of form represents the largest number of folk dances. Sinti and Roma also have such dances.

CLOSED COUPLE DANCES (Fig. 532b)

Dancer and dancer, throughout or in certain sections of the dance, assume a closed dance frame, i.e., both touch their respective partners with both hands. Usually the dancer embraces the female dancer. Both hands of the dancer rest on the back of his partner. In the Modern Ballroom Dance version, this applies only to one side of the body. In the latter, hands are clasped at head height on the other side.

Closed Couple Dance also includes forms in which dancer and dancer loosen the hold on one side for a short or longer time and the dancer, for example, performs turns under the clasped hands or swings the clasped hands back and forth, such as in the open waltz.

The dance steps are based on the principle "basic step and figures". In addition, there is a "leader" and a "follower". The leader in mixed-sex couples is, at least formally, the man. Closed Couple Dances include folk dances such as Rhineland, Ländler, Polka, Mazurka, but also modern ballroom dances or Tango argentino. Many Couple Dances originally led by the dancer are now also performed in fixed choreographies.

The main distribution of this dance type is in Southern and Central Germany, Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Switzerland, Slovenia, Benelux and France. But also in southern Scandinavia there are some Closed Couple Dance forms.

OPEN COUPLE DANCE (Fig. 532c)

Dancer and dancer are held by one hand and stand next to each other, so they are 'open as a couple'. Sometimes the setting is completely loosened in order to perform circles individually or to dance facing each other. This type of dance is widespread, but is dominant only in northern Italy.

MULTI- COUPLE DANCES (Fig. 532d).

Dances in which several couples dance in pairs together and with the other couples. In this dance, the dancer usually stands side by side with an open dance frame. The dance steps are simple, mostly just walking steps, but the spatial patterns are complex. The sequence either follows a given choreography or a so-called "caller" gives the dancers known figures. The "ornamentation" and the "construction" are in the foreground. This includes, for example, Contra Dances, Quadrilles, Squares and similar forms.

Today's main European distribution is in Great Britain, Ireland, Flemish and Lower Germany, but also in Southern Scandinavia there are many Multi-Couple Dances besides Closed Couple Dances.

In addition, there are also mixed forms, such as French bourrées, which belong to the free Couple Dances, but in which a fixed sequence is observed and the couples still stand in an alley for organizational reasons.

The emergence of mixed forms has several causes. First, as dance forms evolve, old elements are often preserved in partial sections. For example, most Low German Multi-Couple Dances contain a circle as an opening figure. This can be interpreted symbolically as a common beginning. But it could also be a Chain Dance relic from earlier times. Possibly both interpretations do not contradict each other. Secondly, dances are changed and varied again and again in their further development. Newly added elements can also come from other dance categories. This results in mixed forms such as the English dance "Lucky Seven", which combines elements of the circle Chain Dances, Multi-Couple Dances and the closed Couple Dances:

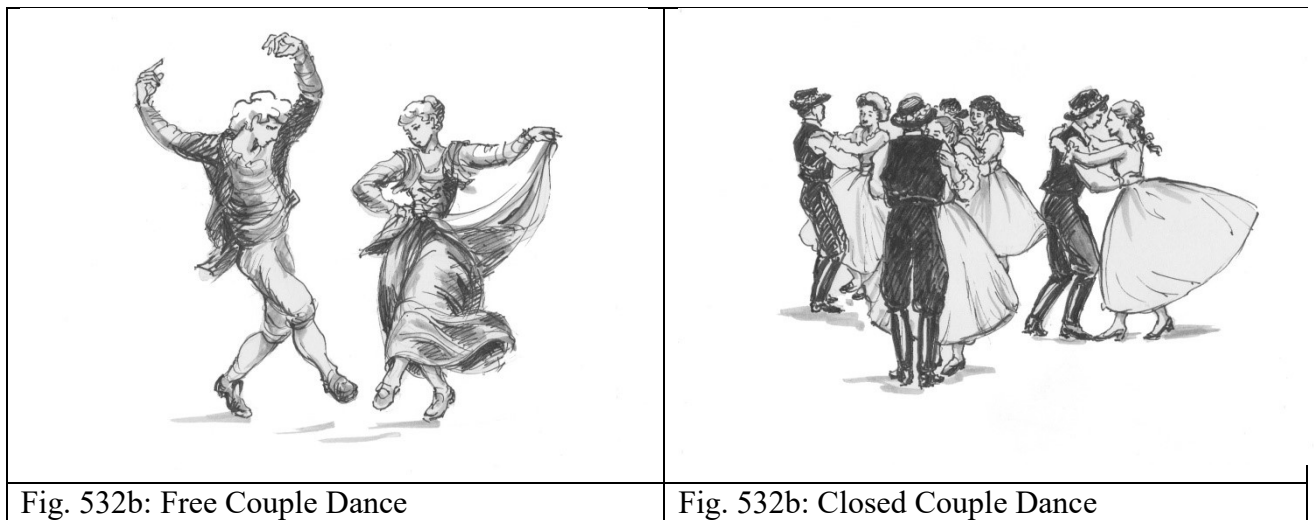
Tab. 532a: Elements of English dance: Lucky Seven

Part	Description	Category of the element
1	circle left	Circle Chain Dance
2	four step (double) to the center of the circle and back	Circle Chain Dance
3	big chain to seventh	Multi-Couple Dance
4	swing	Closed Couple Dance

TRIOLET FORMS (Fig. 532e)

This refers to mixed-sex dances in threes. Usually one dancer dances with two female dancers, but the reverse is also possible, but very rare. Triolet forms belong thematically to Couple Dances. They contain all the important moments of couple dancing. The dancer "flirts" alternately with one and the other partner. If there is a shortage of men, surplus ladies can also be included in this way ("male shortage form").

In the relevant literature this form is overrated in its importance and is led as an own dance genre. From my point of view some text passages as well as pictures are interpreted wrongly. Critically, there are only vanishingly few representations of true triolet forms. In my opinion, this does not further justify the triolet form as an important dance genre in its own right.



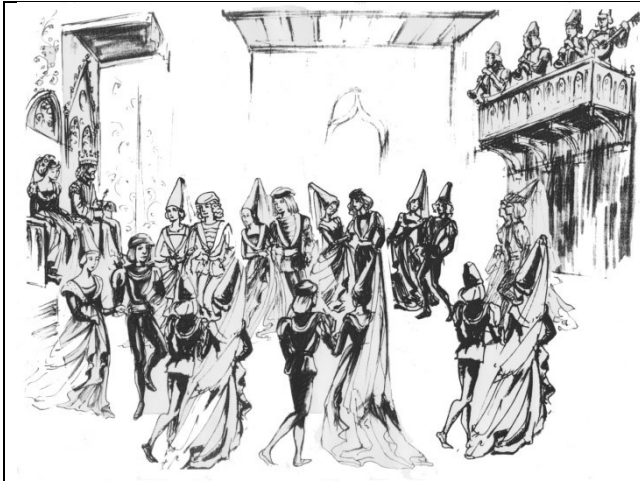


Fig. 532c: Open Couple Dance



Fig. 532d: Multi-Couple Dance



Fig. 532e: Triolet

5.3.3 Group Dances

The term group dance summarizes all dances which are neither single nor Couple Dances and which are performed in a group. This includes the large group of Chain Dances, which can be defined by clear criteria. What remains is a somewhat heterogeneous group, in which the remaining dances with quite different characteristics can be found. In the following, they will be referred to as "Other Group Dances", since a further categorization is difficult.

CHAIN DANCES (Fig. 533b)

Hoerburger uses the rather imprecise phrase "true circle dance" for this category. Those who have seen these dances in the Balkans know what they are anyway meant. However, the term circle dance is broader and includes other forms of dancing in circles. Ultimately, everywhere

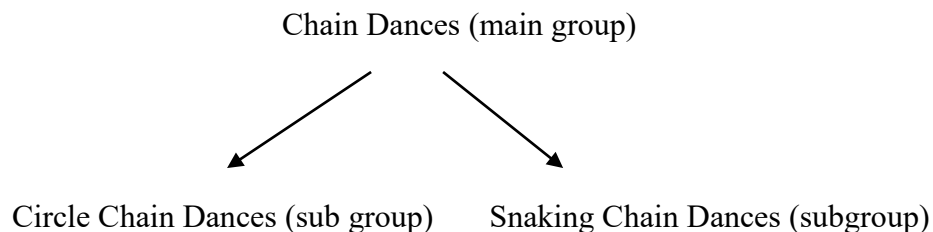
in the world and in almost all dances people dance in a circle. Even Couple Dances usually take place somehow on a circular path. This leads to the fact that when the term 'circle dance' is used, it is not clear what it means.

However, the circular movement alone does not sufficiently characterize the 'true circle dances'. People have direct contact in these dances. They form a chain. Thus Richard Wolfram (1986) chose the title "Reigen- und Kettentanzformen in Europa" for his remarks on these dances. In English, Lisbeth Torp (1990) calls them "Chain and Round Dances" and Yves Moreau, a Canadian folk dance teacher of Balkan dances, calls them "handjoined circle dances". This linking, created by the setting, which appears in analogy like the connected links of a chain, is the second important characteristic besides that of the circle. In the related formations, a distinction is often made between closed circle, open circle, semicircle or even line. These differences arise from other aspects such as the presence of a dance leader at the beginning of the open circle. In addition, a line formation is more favorable than a closed circle under certain spatial conditions. Closed or open circle and lines are consequently variations and adaptations to external conditions.

Dances in which there is no direct contact between the individual "chain links" also belong to this dance category, if the chain is clearly visible. In some dances of the Berbers of North Africa, for example, the dancers stand very close to each other without taking a direct frame. Nevertheless, the chain formation is already obvious by the contact of their shoulder. In sword dances, too, the dancers sometimes "reach through" the swords, which makes the links of a chain recognizable.

Characterization of Chain Dances: The category of Chain Dances includes all dances in which several performers form a continuous chain, usually through closed contact. This is done most simply by grasping hands, but can also be performed in shoulder settings, belt settings or connection by rings, scarves, sticks or even swords. Simple and uniform step patterns are performed.

In the main group of Chain Dances there are two subgroups, which differ especially in the alignment of the body fronts of the dancers.



CIRCLE CHAIN DANCES (Fig. 533d) are all Chain Dances that move more or less on a circular path. The main orientation of the body front is to the center of the circle and not in the direction of movement. The movements therefore go predominantly to the side. The circle can be closed, open or even dissolved into lines. Uniform step patterns are danced, which go over some measures and are then repeated. Mostly these dances are led by a dance leader. At least in old traditional forms there are hardly any movements to the center of the circle (radial

movements), the step patterns are quite simple and the inventory of motifs is small. Often the dances were accompanied only by singing.

The Circle Chain Dances also include those dances in which the dancers are aligned to the center, but a lead dancer leads meandering movements as, for example, in the round dances of the Faroese. Such sinuous lines always occur when many people dance in a small space and thus not all have enough room on a circular path. Danced in this way, these are not Snaking Dances, but Circle Chain Dances.

SNAKING CHAIN DANCES OR SNAKING DANCES (Fig. 373e) are Chain Dances in which the chain moves freely snaking, forming spirals or gates, across the dance floor. Thus, a Snaking Dance always has a beginning with a leader and a snake of dancers following to the end of the tail. The front of the body points in the direction of movement, and the movements themselves go forward. Almost always normal walking or running steps or a step pattern in the rhythm short - short - long are used to move forward. Both are quite simple patterns. Old forms are usually accompanied only by singing. Beyond the main characteristics of snaking dances mentioned above, it should be noted that the essential content of these dances is not the achievement of a goal, but the continued windings, the formation of geometric shapes and thus the path itself.

FREE GROUP DANCES

In the Free Group Dances there is no common choreographic concept. Each dancer moves individually and freely. The improvisational part is high. In many of today's folklore forms there is a common basic step. The dancers always make contact with each other. Mostly the gender does not play a role. Only men or only women or also mixed groups can be observed. If, however, only couples dance together, this form belongs to the group of Free Couple Dances (see ch. 532).



Fig. 533a Individuals dancing (Free Group Dance)

OTHER GROUP DANCES (Fig. 533c)

In addition to Chain Dances, there are many other group dances which, apart from the group, usually have the characteristic "danced in formation" as a common feature.

Often they are hybrids of other types. Some of them have performing or even pantomimic elements, others are danced with utensils like sticks, swords, hoops, ribbons, masks or similar.

The heterogeneous group of Other Group Dances includes group formations from southwestern Europe, professional and guild dances, weapon and flag dances, ribbon dances, special dances for certain occasions such as weddings or certain holidays, skill dances, and some more.

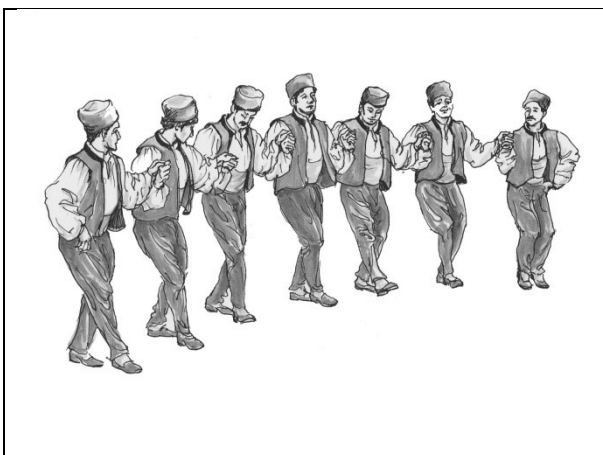




Fig. 533b: Chain Dance



Fig. 533c: Other Group Dance (Ribbon)

Dance)	
	
A Fig. 533d: Circle Chain Dance	Fig. 533e: Snaking Dance

6. Literature

All literature references are cited in my dissertation:

<http://miami.uni-muenster.de/Record/86efb62c-338d-431b-848f-62528fe6e6e4>