

# **Genesis and Genealogy of Western Eurasian Chain Dances**

**abridged version of the**

dissertation

to obtain a doctoral degree

in the department of psychology and sports science  
at the Westphalian Wilhelms University of Münster  
(Westf.) Germany

presented by  
Michael Hepp  
from Stuttgart

Münster 2015

Translated by Vicky Kastner

# Inhalt

1. Introduction .....	6
2. Fundamentals and references .....	8
2.1 State of research .....	8
2.1.1 Works on dance history .....	8
2.1.2 Works on dance terms and their etymology and theoretical basics for the analysis of word meaning and word history .....	9
2.1.3 Treatises with an analysis and interpretation of dance images (iconography).....	10
2.1.4 Work that draws conclusions from today's dances and the associated analysis methods .....	11
2.2 Empirical and Theory .....	15
2.2.1 Characterization of today's types of folk dance forms in Europe .....	16
2.2.2 Creation of the database and its analysis under structural criteria - empiricism and methodology .....	16
2.2.4 Ethnographic references .....	17
2.2.5 Interpretation of the results of the structural analyses.....	18
3. Forms (types of forms) and classification of European folk dances .....	19
3.1 What is folk dance anyway?.....	19
3.2 Requirements for an order system for European folk dances .....	21
3.5 Assessment of the differentiating criteria.....	22
3.6 Systematics of European folk dances (classification) .....	24
3.7 Summary characterization of European folk dance types .....	26
3.7.1 Solo dances.....	26
3.7.2 Couple Dances.....	26
3.7.3 Group dances.....	30
3.8 Today's distribution of folk dance types .....	33
4. Origin, spread and distribution of the chain dances with special consideration of the three- measure dances.....	34
4.1 Chain Dances today.....	34
4.1.1 Occasions where chain dances are still danced today and the motives associated with them.....	34
4.1.2 Today's distribution of chain dances in Europe and Western Asia .....	36
4.1.3 Three-measure dances (as a marker for chain dances).....	38
4.2 Spread of chain dances up to the Middle Ages .....	47
4.2.1 Written sources.....	47

4.2.2 Pictorial and figurative (iconographic) representations .....	48
4.3 Hypotheses and evidence on the origin and spread of chain dances - carried out at the marker three-bar dances .....	51
4.3.1 Hypothesis 1: Multiple and independent origin of the three-bar dances.....	52
4.3.2 Hypothesis 2: One-time creation with subsequent spread of the three-measure dances .....	53
4.4 No chain dances among the hunters and gatherers of the upper Palaeolithic and Middle Stone Age in Europe .....	56
4.5 Origin and spread of the chain dances in connection with sedentary lifestyle and earlier agriculture.....	60
4.5.1 Reasons for the creation of the chain dances .....	61
4.5.2 Archaeological evidence of the origin of the chain dances.....	63
4.5.3 Development of the external structural features of the chain dances.....	71
4.5.4 Archaeological evidence of the spread of the chain dances in connection with the Neolithic era .....	73
4.5.5 Summary - The emergence of today's chain dances from the dance forms of the Neolithic of the Middle East .....	76
4.6 Chain dances in Asia and Africa .....	77
4.6.1 Asia.....	77
4.6.2 Africa.....	79
4.7 Etymological consideration of names for chain dance and other types of folk dance: meanings of terms, spreading, transformations.....	81
4.7.1 Reihen and Reigen .....	81
4.7.2 Laikan and langer Dantz .....	85
4.7.3 Carole .....	85
4.7.4 Horos .....	86
4.7.5 Kolo .....	88
4.7.6 Ples und Plinsjan .....	89
4.7.7 Ballare und Ballatio.....	89
4.7.8 Spryngen.....	90
4.8 Dance words - an old language layer?.....	91
4.8.1 The relationship of words with the stem 'chor'.....	92
4.8.2 Further terms for chain dance.....	100
4.8.3 The relationship between the words 'bal' .....	104
4.8.4 Summary for the affinities 'chor' and 'bal' .....	111
4.9 Couple dances replace the chain dances .....	113

4.9.1 Free couple dances .....	114
4.9.2 Closed couple dances .....	120
4.9.3 Open couple dances.....	126
4.9.4 Multi-couple dances .....	134
4.9.5 Interactions between dance forms of different social classes.....	136
5. Development (genealogy) of the chain dances.....	137
5.1 Structural analysis for chain dances .....	138
5.1.1 Structural analysis according to the terminology of the IFMC .....	138
5.1.2 Structural analysis according to Leibman (1992) .....	138
5.2 Results of the qualitative and quantitative analyzes of the step patterns of different regions .....	140
5.2.1 Analysis of the pattern lengths of 999 chain dances ( my own data set) .....	140
5.2.2 Comparison of the results for the sample length with the analysis results of data from other authors .....	142
5.2.3 Regional differences in the frequency of certain pattern structures ( my own data) .....	142
5.2.4 Comparison of the results of my own data set with the results of other authors regarding the pattern length frequency of dances from North Macedonia.....	146
5.2.5 Regional differences for the frequency of symmetrical structures.....	146
5.2.6 Theoretically possible basic patterns and their frequency and distribution .....	146
5.2.7 Regional distribution of certain patterns .....	150
5.2.8 Summary and interpretation of the results of the sample analyses .....	152
5.3 Influencing variables for the regionally very different frequency of short patterns, eight-measure, multi-part and symmetrical structures .....	154
5.3.1 The duration of the Ottoman occupation.....	154
5.3.2 Original and modern era characteristics of the chain dances .....	155
5.3.3 Modern era developments in music .....	160
5.3.4 Effects of modern changes in dance music on dances and dance movements.....	171
5.3.5 Transitional forms between non-binary starting forms and binary pattern lengths .....	175
5.3.6 Age groups of the chain dances.....	182
5.3.7 From oro to kolo - a new term for modern era chain dances .....	183
5.4 Conservative elements and models for dance change .....	184
5.4.1 Particularly conservative elements of dances.....	185
5.4.2 Models for the spread of languages and language change .....	187
5.4.3 Models for the spread of dances and dance change .....	190

5.5 Relationships - dance families and new patterns .....	192
5.5.1 Dance families.....	192
5.5.2 Creation of new patterns.....	195
5.5.3 A family tree of Pontic dances .....	204
5.6 The preferred direction for chain dances.....	208
5.6.1 The direction of movement of today's chain dances .....	209
5.6.2 Iconographic analyses and other indications for the preferred direction in historical and prehistoric times .....	211
5.6.3 Attempts to explain the different preferred directions in chain dances in Europe	215
5.7 Relationships of the chain dances in different areas .....	219
6. Literature .....	224

# 1. Introduction

Explanations about dance history usually begin with the Middle Ages. There is very little known about the time before that and if, it is about dances of the high society of ancient civilizations described. Anything about other regions or dances of the people is usually very vague and general. Representations of the origin and development of folk dances are almost completely missing.

Therefore, the main aim of this dissertation is to make a contribution to research into the origin, distribution and development of folk dance types in Europe. The focus is particularly on chain dances, a rather ancient group of folk dances that is now in decline. Based on this objective, three key questions can be formulated, each with derived research questions.

The first central question aims at the time (era) of the chain dances and the place of their origin (genesis), whether they were created unique<sup>1</sup> or in a multiregional manner<sup>2</sup> and which factors were decisive for their occurrence.

The second question focuses on the spread and distribution of chain dances. Were they spread through a certain process and over which areas were they distributed in prehistoric times? The areas in which there were chain dances up to the Middle Ages and which factors are responsible for their disappearance in Central and Western Europe in modern times is also covered. What are the conditions which ensured that the various relic areas were preserved to this day and how can modern developments be characterized for these relic areas?

The change of external features and the modification of the step material form the center of the third key question. Can statements be made about the development of step patterns and other characteristics in the period from the creation of the chain dances up to the Middle Ages? How and by which controlling factors have the step patterns and other characteristics of the chain dances of Southeast Europe changed from the Middle Ages to the present day and how can peculiarities in the geographical distribution of certain step patterns of our time be explained?

The so far only incomplete scientific processing of dance history, especially early dance history, also results from a sparse amount of sources.

When analyzing written sources, the problem arises that the oldest written documents in Europe come from ancient Greece. For Central and Western Europe there are no essential sources of information about dance before the Middle Ages. Therefore the researchable time depth with regard to written sources is limited.

The analysis of much older iconographic material, for example in the form of dance images drawn on rock or ceramics, allows a deeper look into the past.

Another approach is the etymological analysis of dance terms. Names for certain things change over time just as many things change. And especially in dance, written history is closely linked to factual history (Aeppli 1925, p. VII). In this sense, for example, when dance

---

<sup>1</sup> "Unique" is used here in the temporal and spatial sense.

<sup>2</sup> "Multiregional" refers to the place, but consequently also means several times, whereby "several times" can be at the same time or at different times.

terms disappear or the use of the corresponding word changes, conclusions can be drawn about changes in the dance.

When drawing conclusions from analysis of the contemporary<sup>3</sup>, it is assumed that today's dances have developed on the basis of earlier ones. In this respect, today's dance events are related to earlier ones through a historical development. This enables conclusions to be drawn about dance history through an analysis of today's dances.

To answer the central and research questions formulated above, the work begins with the analysis of the folk dances of our time. It is determined which different folk dance forms can today<sup>4</sup> be found in Europe. These are characterized and categorized using essential form elements. Then their respective geographical distribution is described (Chapter 3).

On the question of the genesis and spread of the chain dances (Chapter 4), two contradicting hypotheses (Chapter 4.3) are put forward. The multiregional hypothesis assumes that chain dances have arisen several times independently of one another and that their distribution is a consequence of this multiple origin. In the case of a one-time occurrence, it is assumed that chain dances only emerged once and then spread.<sup>5</sup> Both hypotheses are checked to determine whether they can explain the spread of chain dances, especially the three-measure dances, in the Middle Ages and today and whether they are in accordance with the results of the analysis of dance depictions from the 8th to 4th centuries BC from the Middle East and Southeast Europe, which were found as a result of archaeological excavations. The spread of terms for chain dance is documented (Section 4.7), the etymology of the words is presented and discussed and, on the basis of the findings presented, a new perspective on the word history of the word families 'chor' and 'bal' is presented (Section 4.8).

In a further step, the main features of the development of folk dance types in the period from the Middle Ages to the present day are traced, as far as this is possible, based on the sources (Section 4.9). The main focus is on the chain dances. A comparison of the current situation and the spread of chain dances in the Middle Ages shows the decline of this type of dance in large areas of Europe. In the following, causes and reasons are discussed that could have caused the disappearance of chain dances in Central and Western Europe on the one hand and the preservation of this dance form in Southeastern Europe and other relic areas to this day (Section 4.9).

---

<sup>3</sup> The term "contemporary" is a little more generous at this point and means the time from World War II to the present day.

<sup>4</sup> The term "today" is not to be taken literally and in this context means the period after World War II until today. It should be noted here that, for example, developments in urban areas are different than in rural areas.<sup>5</sup> In addition to the above hypotheses, a "universal hypothesis" in the sense of a "Homo in circulo saltans" would be another conceivable one. By this is meant that the knowledge and execution of chain dances are a fundamental property of the people and thus universally spread. But since it is in large parts of the world, e.g. in sub-Saharan Africa, in North America, in large parts of South America and in East Asia there are no chain dances, this hypothesis is not addressed.

<sup>5</sup> In addition to the above hypotheses, a "universal hypothesis" in the sense of a "Homo in circulo saltans" would be another conceivable one. By this is meant that the knowledge and execution of chain dances are a fundamental property of the people and thus universally spread. But since it is in large parts of the world, e.g. in sub-Saharan Africa, in North America, in large parts of South America and in East Asia there are no chain dances, this hypothesis is not addressed.

In a final step, further peculiarities in the geographical distribution of step patterns of the chain dances in south-eastern Europe are determined and assumptions are made for their causes over the course of time from the Middle Ages to the present day (Chapter 5).

## 2. Fundamentals and references

### 2.1 State of research

#### 2.1.1 Works on dance history

It is no coincidence that all treatises on dance history related to Central and Western Europe only begin with the Middle Ages. Because for the time before the 11th century, apart from a few church dance bans, almost no written evidence on the subject of dance can be found. For the following period from the 11th to the 14th century, there are at least a few lyrics, poems or church and urban dancing ban that provide a first picture of the dances of this time. The oldest relevant literature on dance in the sense of a dance description comes from the 15th century.<sup>6</sup> In all sources of this time it is almost exclusively about dances of the nobility. About dances of the common people there are hardly any written documents even at later times.

With such a situation of sparse sources, most authors are primarily concerned with providing evidence of dance forms in general. For the chain dances, Franz M. Böhme suspects in 'Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland' (1886, p. 8) that there was a chain dance among the Germanic peoples, although "there is no explicit evidence of Germanic antiquity". The work, published in 1886, is considered a classic, at least for the Central European region. His overview of the dance history of Central Europe begins in the 8th century and is documented by many passages in the text.

In 1933 Curt Sachs published 'Eine Weltgeschichte des Tanzes', probably the most important overview work on dance history. This classic, "which combines an immense encyclopedic breadth with astonishing detailed information" (Saftien 1994, p. 8), is still of central importance today. In particular because of the great amount of detail there is hardly an essay on dance in which Sachs is not quoted. In his historical part (pp. 141-301) he describes the history of dance in Europe since antiquity, whereby in the ancient period only the development in Greece and Rome is discussed, since written sources are only available from this area. From the Middle Ages onwards, the course of dance history became clearer and documented with many quotations. The viewpoint is directed in this part of Central and Western Europe and it is the development of the dances of the upper class that are in the foreground. For the prehistoric phase, the presumed time of the origin of the chain dances, Sachs looks at cultures that still exist today and deduces from these observations about

---

<sup>6</sup> The dance writing by G. Ebrero da Pesaro (1416 in Schneider, Tanzlexikon 1985, p. 526) is currently the oldest literature on dance with a certain date of origin. It describes dance forms of the knightly social culture of the Middle Ages. This and other dance teaching books emerged as dancing, as an integral part of courtly ceremony was mandatory at that time. In return, each court had not only court musicians but also a dance teacher who had to teach the courtiers the art of dancing. The dance teachers made this work easier for themselves by writing down the dances.



prehistoric developments in Europe. He assumes that a fixed sequence of cultural stages also took place in prehistoric Europe.

The work that followed in the period after Sachs is primarily based on the evaluation of written sources. In their synopsis, they offer an overview of key developments in the history of dance in Central, Western and Southern Europe from the Middle Ages to the present day. They also provide some information about dance in ancient high cultures, especially about Greece, Rome and Egypt. They provide almost nothing about areas and time periods for which there is little written evidence. These are, for example, (eg) Ancient Western, Central and Northern Europe or medieval and modern Eastern Europe. Overall, they provide information about dance history since antiquity, which explains many aspects of today's dance scene. The resulting insights are the basis and starting point for a step further into the past, which is to be taken in this work. The works also show the spatial and temporal limits of an approach that is primarily based on written sources. To overcome these "limits", additional methods are required, which are presented below.

### **2.1.2 Works on dance terms and their etymology and theoretical basics for the analysis of word meaning and word history**

The history of dance, or rather of dance forms, can also be reflected in the associated words. For example, a newly created dance form is usually given its own name, which spreads along with this dance form. In the case of "extinct" dances, their names also disappear. Other terms experience a change in meaning that is not independent of the change in the associated dance. This connection between thing and word is particularly close in dance, as Aeppli (1925, p. VII) states.

There are basically different possibilities for the origin of a word. New words either come as loan words from another language or are formed from existing words and change over time. Sometimes completely new entities also develop (Seebold in Cruse et al. 2005, p. 1297). From this point of view, words are subject to a historical development and this word history in turn has to do with the development of the thing that it names.

How does one proceed in etymological research and what does that mean for dance terms? In today's etymological investigation, the first step is to take stock of the word field in the source language, but also in dialects or related languages (Seebold in Cruse et al. 2005, p. 1299). The problem arises that dance terms such as "Reien, Carole, Laikan, Horos and Ballos" all appear to originate from a time when in some regions of Europe there was no or at least very little written down. Such a word field analysis is therefore usually not possible at all. This can lead to the fact that the word history can only be inadequately explained and associated hypotheses are poorly substantiated. It can lead to misinterpretations, since the origin and first mention of the text are chronologically linked, which is, however, often linked in the etymology (Seebold in Cruse et al. 2005, p. 1301). So it was, for example, in the word 'danser' in French literature in 1170 in Chrétien, Erec and Yvain' long considered the oldest evidence of this word. For this reason, the origin of the term 'dance' was placed in the language layer of old French. Harding's research (1973, p. 263), however, established earlier evidence in today's areas of western Germany and thus opened up other interpretations of origin.

If the current and past words have been recorded in the etymological procedure, a basic word must be determined using the phonetic laws. However, there is the fundamental problem that the correctness of the phonetic comparison is regarded as a criterion for the correctness of the etymology. However, there are demonstrable discrepancies in the sound development that have not proven to be regular (Seebold in Cruse et al. 2005, p. 1303). A suitable phonological derivation is also valued higher than content-related aspects because linguists do not always have sufficient knowledge of the objects, in the present case dance. Conversely, of course, dance experts tend to evaluate semantic aspects more strongly, because they are more familiar with these than with the application of the laws of sound shifts.

In this sense, some treatises on dance history try to make their own contribution on the level of meaning for the verbal history of dance words (e.g. Sachs 1933, p. 180f; Böhme 1886, p. 5; Salmen 1999, pp. 112-114, 138 f).

The mosaic from linguistic points of view, from the source situation and factual knowledge leads to hypotheses about the origin and history of the examined words. On the basis of the above considerations, not only linguistic aspects are taken into account in etymological analysis in the present work, but other aspects such as the area of distribution are also taken into account. In case of doubt, semantic aspects are rated higher than phonological ones and the adoption of a dance term as a loan word in the event that the words denote existing dance forms is assumed to be unlikely.

The previous contributions to the etymology of dance words provide a good starting point for further considerations and investigations. Since Harding (1973), there have been new perspectives on the origin and use of words for 'dance' and 'reigen' (round dance). These are used to further clarify the history of dance.

No new approaches can be found for the terms 'Horos' and 'Bal'. As already mentioned, the presumed date of origin lies in a time having few or no written sources. In addition, both terms have a very wide geographical distribution today and also occur in very different languages. A procedure as suggested in linguistics is impossible for these concepts. In order to further investigate the origin of these words, other methods must be chosen. These are discussed in Chap. 4.8 and described in more detail.

### **2.1.3 Treatises with an analysis and interpretation of dance images (iconography)**

For reasons of the limited time available for written evidence, it is helpful to use images on rocks, stones, ceramics and other surfaces as a source of information for historical dance analysis. Such iconographic sources have been used in some studies for historical analysis. In summary, most of these works provide an insight into the dance scene of the ancient high cultures of Egypt and Greece. The form analyzes carried out in some of the works provide initial information on the form elements of the dances, especially the round dances (chain dances). This enables a comparison with today's chain dance forms. As a restriction, it must also be taken into account that it is predominantly, if not exclusively, depictions of people from the upper class, as Kleine (2005, p. 18) notes for the Greek dance images she analyzed.

"Dancing at the dawn of agriculture (2003)" by Yosef Garfinkel is of particular relevance to the present work. In it, Garfinkel collects and analyzes around 400 representations of dance scenes from the early village communities from the 8th to 4th millennium BC from 170 archaeological sites thus offering a unique view of prehistoric dance activities of the people of the Middle East and SE Europe. In addition to a structure and function analysis of the dance, a "cognitive analysis" of the dance scenes was made. A first attempt at linguistic references to Semitic words for 'circle', 'going in a circle', 'mourn' in connection with dance terms is being carried out, although this has no relevance for the present work, but is of fundamental importance because it is the first attempt to establish an etymological reference to dance words outside the Indo-European languages. Because of the great importance of the publication for prehistoric developments in dance, aspects of Garfinkel's work will repeatedly be thematized and discussed in the further course of the present work.

#### Basic aspects to be taken into account when creating images

*The problem of the representation of three-dimensional structures on a two-dimensional medium.*

*The problem of representing dynamic movements in a static medium.*

*The problem of the limited n area for a representation.*

*The conveyed message.*

*Individual skills and abilities of the craftsman.*

*Used Material and applied technology.*

*The time style.*

*State of preservation of the finds.*

The completeness of illustrations or the lack of parts have a self-explanatory influence on the possibilities for interpretation.

Taking into account the above-mentioned aspects, the iconographic analysis of dance images is a valuable method for dance analysis, which is used more and more for historical and prehistoric times. With their help, information on external formal elements such as formation, gender participation, dance type, dance direction, hand position and dynamics can be derived. With a sufficiently large database, statistical evaluations can even be carried out, for example the determination of the respective proportion of the dance types. However, there is the restriction that the calculated proportions do not have to correspond to the real proportions. Possibly they are more an indication of the importance of these examined parameters. One crucial caveat remains. With all the knowledge gained through the analysis of iconographic material, it is hardly possible to obtain information on steps or step patterns. If that is possible at all, methods with a different, indirect approach are required.

#### **2.1.4 Work that draws conclusions from today's dances and the associated analysis methods**

In order to be able to draw conclusions about dance history from today's dances, these and historically tangible dances must be analyzed, categorized and their geographical distribution

recorded. There are different concepts for such analyzes. In previous work, the analysis results are interpreted under two aspects:

**a) Ethnological comparisons in the context of an evolutionist view**

It is assumed that the dance behavior changes in a characteristic way over time. In the evolutionists' view, cultures develop from lower to higher, with low meaning old (Weidig 1984, p. 8). The cultures of the indigenous peoples thus appear as a preliminary stage to the European one (Weidig 1980, p. 9). Your dance behavior can therefore be transferred to the corresponding conditions of European prehistory and early history. Curt Sachs (1933) followed this view with his work "A World History of Dance". In it he collected an abundance of dances from different regions of the world. Under the impression of the first prehistoric finds in Europe, he writes: "We would have to be content with an all too blurry image of the early dance if we did not have the rich, almost overabundant complement of the dance of today's indigenous people. Because the individual cultures of prehistoric European times have their exact counterparts among today's primitive peoples. [...] Excavations in many other places confirm and round out the picture of a certain culture. But the ethnologist for his part found exactly the same picture, regardless of all prehistory, for example with Southeast Australians and other indigenous peoples of a lower level, the same cultural heritage, [...] we almost always find their reflection in the culture of one or the other indigenous people, not that has been able to overcome a millennia - or decades - old state The ethnologist can almost always put an "is" at the side of the prehistoric's "has been". What died in Europe and sank into the ground layer after layer, that lives, lifted out of time, outside of our continent. In this way, the juxtaposition of peoples leads to a succession, and ethnology becomes history " (Sachs 1933, pp. 141f.).

A unilinear and universal developmental sequence of culture, as Sachs assumes, is now considered to be refuted.

**b) Structural analysis - and categorization concepts and geographic distribution of dance types and dance patterns**

The structure of a dance includes characteristics of the external form such as the position of the participants, the setting, gender participation, step patterns, the arrangement of the dance parts and similar features. Franz M. Böhme (1886, p. 3f) provides usable criteria for differentiating dances and thus a good basis for characterizing and categorizing folk dances, even from today's point of view. They form the basis for the characterization of European folk dances made in the present dissertation. In „Die Branles von Arbeau und die osteuropäischen Kettentänze“ ('The Branles of Arbeau and the Eastern European Chain Dances'), György Martin (1973) compares various characteristics such as the type of naming, gender participation and direction of movement. He also performs a step pattern analysis, which is recorded in Lab annotation, and compares the "basic motifs" of both groups. In this work, a comparison of step patterns is made for the first time. Its summary is almost an invitation for the present work. "The parallel traits in the French Branles of the 16th century and in today's Eastern European chain dances draw attention to the not yet sufficiently explored possibility

of the common material of the dance-historical and folkloristic sources, to their often mutually explanatory evaluation, the historical as well as dance folklore research can give new impetus and a new direction. The temporally and geographically distant, yet consistent parallels indicate that the development of the common roots of the national folkloric dances could contribute significantly to the solution of the questions of the universal European dance history” (Martin 1973, p. 127).

Twelve years earlier, György Martin and Ernő Pesovar (Budapest 1961) had made a first proposal for the structural analysis of folk dances in 'A Structural Analysis of Hungarian Folk Dance - A Morphological Sketsch'. 'Determination of Motive Types in Dance Folklore' followed two years later (Martin and Pesovar 1963). Shortly before, in 1962, the group 'Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology within the IFMC' was founded with their participation. This association of dance scholars from socialist countries tried to put the present approaches to a form analysis and classification on a broader, as well as generally applicable basis. The preliminary result in the form of a report from the 10th workshop from 13th to 18th September 1976 is recorded as 'Analyse und Klassifikation von Volkstänzen' (the 'Analysis and Classification of Folk Dances') (Petermann 1983). This summarizes the basics of the structure and form analysis of folk dance by Kurt Petermann (1983, pp. 9 - 31). The main focus is on the internal structure of the form elements and described by different hierarchical levels. The element (E) is the smallest movement phase. It is represented graphically by the Greek letters  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , for example steps or arm swing. Cell (C) is a simple configuration of dance moves. It is denoted by small striken through Latin letters  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{b}$ , and so on for example. a double step. The motif (M) is the smallest compositional unit of the dance in which kinetic elements come together vividly, rhythmically and dynamically in a certain form. It consists of several non-equivalent force impulses. It is denoted by small Latin letters a, b, c, etc. The phrase (F) is the simplest organizational-compositional unit of dance, which reflects its fundamental ideas in terms of content and form. It is represented by capital letters A, B, C, etc. in Latin. The section (S) is the next larger structural unit after the phrase, which results from the connection of two or more phrases. Sections are labeled S1, S2, and so on. The part (P) is the highest structure of the dance. It consists of different or repetitive sections or phrases. Parts are covered with Roman numerals I, II, etc. The top level is the dance (T), which summarizes all other levels.

In a further level, further features of the movement sequence and other additions are then added in verbal form, also with graphic characters. With this analysis concept, in 'Analysis and Classification of Folk Dances' (Petermann 1983), some nation-specific attempts to analyze and classify folk dances are carried out. A more far-reaching agreement on a transnational, uniform analysis and systematisation concept did not come about because the financial support for such projects declined after the fall of the Wall and the former ideologically justified interest in the people and their culture was no longer present. It is also possible that the concept, which was conceived as a universal tool, was too complicated and too time-consuming to be widely used in practice. For this reason, it is not used in this work either.

Richard Wolfram (1986) provides a large collection of information on chain dances in 'Dance History Study V' published by the German Dance Association with the title 'Reigen- und Kettentanzformen in Europa'. In addition to historical evidence of the chain dances, he reports on the tradition of singing dances, sword and maturation dances, preferred dance styles and

the customs associated with chain dances. As a proven folk dance expert for Central, Western and Northern Europe, the information on these areas is very dense, but that from the Eastern European regions is rather sparse. Regarding the widespread use of the three-bar pattern in chain dances from the Faroe Islands to Asia Minor, he remarks on p. 26: "You can of course count on an independent creation, especially if the form is obvious. It could just as well be an old European type of movement that has persisted in various peripheral areas of our continent, which often show themselves as areas of retreat. Like Martin, Wolfram sees the common features of the chain dances as a key to Europe's early dance history.

Lisbet Torp takes a clear step towards a systematic evaluation of European chain dances in her dissertation 'Chain and Round Dance Pattern - A Method for Structural Analysis and Its Application to European Material' from 1990.

Based on the ornamentation of the step pattern, seven main patterns are characterized with the letters A to G (Torp 1990, Part I, pp. 69-72). The main patterns are made up of sub-elements that are, for example, moving or lingering. The main pattern 'B' corresponds to the basic form of the three-bar dances described in Chapter 4.1.3 and consists of one moving and two lingering elements. To further differentiate, the following sub-categories are formed (Torp 1990, Part I, pp. 72-75): Augmentation (enlargement, double the length of the step), Expansion (expansion, doubling of the step pattern), Modification (change through contraction or extension), reversion (Inversion) and Retrograde (withdrawal). The step pattern system from Torp is particularly well suited to describe the ornamentation of the motif sequence of a pattern - also independently of clock systems - but is less suitable for the present work because the pattern length, the binary character and also symmetrical properties are one in the analysis, playing a big role. The basic insight - "It is interesting to note, that this variety of dances can be reduced to a small number of widely distributed basic patterns. It is possible that it is the universal character of these patterns which caused them to have been adopted and passed down by the various ethnic groups within Europe as an integral part of their cultural heritage" (Torp 1990, p. 70) - is of remarkable importance for the present work, because here it is already pointed out that the step patterns are related as a common cultural heritage of Europe. Her basic explanations about chain dances in Europe are also helpful. Robert Leibman (1992) proposes a further analysis concept in 'Dancing Bears and Purple Transformations: The Structure of Dance in the Balkans'. His results are similar to those of Torp (1980), even though he used a completely different analytical concept. In his opinion, most of the dances from the central Balkans are only derived from a small number of underlying structures (1992, p. 10). These patterns essentially consist of a sequence of movements with and movements without shifting weight (1992, p. 1; p. 250). Variations are possible and actually exist within the pattern. They must conform to the following considerations: A variation in any part of the dance must end in such a way that it is possible for the performer, at the end of the variation, to continue with the regular step pattern (p. 258). In other words, the corresponding dancer performing a variation must have his weight on the same foot as the other dancers after the action. This focuses on weight shifts and non-weight shift movements within a section of the dance. Leibman chooses a measure for such a section. Whether two or four steps (weight shifts) take place during a cycle leads to the same result, namely to the same mainstay as at the beginning of the cycle. The same applies to an uneven number of weight shifts that lead to a change of leg at the end of the cycle. For the result, it

does not matter whether you perform one or three or even five steps in the same time unit - at the end of the bar you stand on the other foot.

As a result of this finding, Leibman introduces a binary code. By this he understands the following: If you carry out an even number of shifts in weight within a bar, the result is 0. The weight is carried by the same foot as at the end of the previous bar. If you do an odd number of weight shifts in one bar, there is a 1. The weight is on the other foot compared to the previous bar. The analysis of the “underlying structure” leads to a sequence of 0 and 1. The “basic pattern” of a dance is thus a description of the sequences of weight shifts and actions without weight shifting (p. 296).

The pattern does not describe certain steps, but describes the dance on a more abstract level (p. 295). This enables the chain dances to be divided into families according to the structural features of the step pattern. It also allows the detection of a phase-shifted ("shifted") pattern. These are assigned to the music in different ways, but have the same basic pattern.

This analysis concept is not suitable for dances with several structural levels, for example dances that have several parts. So Leibman used for more spacious built dances like ‘Seljančica’ names like phrase and subphrase (1992, p 281) coming close to the shape analysis concept in Petermann et al.

Leibman's analysis concept is well suited for short sequences of steps, which are typical for most chain dances, and is therefore also suitable for the procedure in this work. It is based on the observation that in chain dances, variations of the steps are possible and are also carried out in practice by individual dancers, but that variations must always be this way and can also be observed in such a way that they then return to the uniform step pattern and the next weight shift can be made with the “right” foot. Both the variants and the basic structure are described by the same binary code. Due to the sensible and well thought-out simplification, the underlying structure is immediately visible. In a further step, dances that are completely different in style, tempo or dynamics can still be assigned to the same basic structure. This allows dances to be grouped into families with the same binary code. Furthermore, symmetrical structures can be distinguished from asymmetrical ones and the pattern length can be seen directly. Phase-shifted patterns can also be recognized and assigned to the associated basic pattern. For the reasons given, this analysis concept is also the basis of the present work.

## **2.2 Empirical and Theory**

Different methods are used to clarify the central questions in connection with the origin and development (genealogy) of chain dances. In addition to the analysis of written and pictorial sources and knowledge of the verbal history of dance terms, reference is made to the information content of today's inventory and the spread of folk dances. This approach is based on the assumption that today's picture was created on the basis of earlier conditions and the associated historical processes.

To characterize today's image of folk dances, certain folk dance types and variants are recorded in their current and former geographical distribution. Typical distribution patterns, but also comparisons between medieval and contemporary dance forms and their respective distribution, allow further conclusions to be drawn about the history of folk dances in Europe.

### **2.2.1 Characterization of today's types of folk dance forms in Europe**

In order to be able to create distribution patterns and to be able to compare them with one another, today's types of folk dance forms must be characterized and distinguished from one another. Only a reference system for classifying folk dances, created using comprehensible features of the system, provides a framework for temporal or geographical comparisons and also for iconographic interpretations. The established system forms the basis for the categorization of the dances in the data part of the dissertation (data part II). Comprehensible features must meet two requirements. They are empirically derived from the existing folk dance forms and the resulting system of order must not contradict the origins and development of the individual dance types presented in this work.

### **2.2.2 Creation of the database and its analysis under structural criteria - empiricism and methodology**

#### **A) Country dossiers**

Although the nation-states had no more than 150 to 200 years of influence on the development of folk dances, today's folk dances are related to nation-states.<sup>7</sup> For this reason, country dossiers (data part II.A) were created as a database for all important nation states in Europe and neighboring areas, all of which are structured according to a basic scheme. The three important dance types: chain dances, couple dances and other dances are listed with the respective subgroups. The first goal is to record whether these types of dances exist in the respective country, if possible the next step is to use "semi-quantitative"<sup>8</sup> categories to record how often this type of dance occurs. For the chain dances, a distinction is made as to whether there are also snake dances, whether there are still three-bar dances and in which direction the chain dances are preferred. Relics or historical evidence were also collected. In addition, special features of the music, dance words or the history of this region can be recorded. With such a heterogeneously compiled volume of data, the question of validity arises. Are the data even representative of the question at hand? Can't the selection of the data lead to random shifts that are actually not representative? A measure of the validity would be a comparison with existing data collections, for example with the collection of 1,285 chain dances by Lisbet Torp (1990). Such a comparison is particularly useful and necessary when it comes to a quantitative analysis of the data. Therefore, the quantitative analysis of the step patterns

---

<sup>7</sup> This does not make sense in relation to the relationships between the dances, but it cannot be changed. The nation-states have also had very different influences on national folk dances since their formation. The folk dances of the socialist states of the last century were promoted by the state and thus significantly influenced and shaped, folk dances of the western nations developed largely independently of national influence.

<sup>8</sup> Semi-quantitative categories are understood to mean "many", "some" and "few". They are more precisely defined in the data section.



related to certain countries was carried out both with my data set and with that of Torp and other authors and compared with one another.

### **B) Collections of written and iconographic sources on specific topics**

The written evidence available in various literature has been compiled (data part II.B) for the dissemination of the peasants' closed couple dance and for the dissemination of the chain dances in the Middle Ages, so that their overall view can serve as a clear basis for mapping and further analyzes.

### **C) Iconographic evidence**

In the available literature on dance and dance history, there are many dance illustrations that have not yet been collected and classified according to categories. The sources for these illustrations were collected, sorted and analyzed in Part II.C, in particular with regard to the types of dance shown, the dance direction and gender participation. The methodological aspects are discussed in Chap. 3 listed and illuminated. Collections that have already been subjected to an investigation by the respective authors are checked again using the specifications of this work.

### **D) Terms for dance**

In order to get an international overview of dance words, terms for dance and for chain dance were arranged by country (Part II.E.1). The information for this comes from specialist literature, dictionaries and dance experts.

### **E) Step pattern analysis**

In order to be able to compare certain regions with one another with regard to the composition of their dance patterns, dance lists were created for each country (Part II.E.2). The step patterns of the respective dances were characterized with the binary code according to Leibman (1992).

### **F) Questionnaires**

Two questionnaires were created to interview experts.

## **(2.2.3 Genesis, genealogy and the theory of the civilization process)**

### **2.2.4 Ethnographic references**

If one wants to make statements about past groups of people with regard to their culture, religion or their forms of community, it makes sense to examine these aspects in comparable groups of people who are still alive. This idea is not entirely new and, as already mentioned,

has already been applied in evolutionist considerations. The result was a unilinear cultural layer model that has been rightly criticized for a long time. The evolutionists had misunderstood the Darwinist theory to the effect that development takes place in fixed paths along its step model. In addition, nowadays it is taken into account that the specific psychogenesis of currently living people certainly does not correspond in all respects to that of people of the past. On the other hand, despite this limitation, it can be assumed that some aspects of feeling and behavior are similar now and then. Because our behavior is also determined by genetic dispositions and these have very probably changed little in the last 10,000 years.

The justified rejection of the evolutionist step model meant that “ethnographic comparisons” were no longer justified. European hunters and gatherers of the Paleolithic Era simply could not be compared to African hunters. Each group had its own specific and incomparable sociogenesis. As a result, Garfinkel (2003, p. 13 and p. 73), for example, speaks of “ethnographic observations”. This is an ethnographic comparison quasi “through the back door” without using this term. It is a basic insight from evolutionary theory that the same product cannot develop with different starting points. But it is also a biological fact that very similar structures develop under similar environmental conditions, despite different starting positions. This phenomenon is called analogy or convergence in biology and shows impressively how sustainably environmental factors control the development of living beings. And Hengst (2003, p. 72) probably argues in this sense when he writes: “But the assumption is justified that hunter cultures have structural relationships in their religious designs due to a common basis of life and experience in the act of hunting and killing . ” To rely solely on ethnographic observations when interpreting prehistoric developments would in fact not be enough. However, using them as explanatory notes in addition to other evidence is definitely justifiable in this sense and is also carried out in this way in the present work.

### **2.2.5 Interpretation of the results of the structural analyses**

The analysis concept proposed by Robert Leibman (1992) to describe step patterns of chain dances by a binary code seems to be particularly helpful for clarifying the origin and development of the chain dances in Europe. This is because the basic pattern of a dance can be captured in an abstract formula, regardless of stylistic features or decorations. If the dances are characterized by a binary code, national dance lists can be checked for the presence of certain patterns and certain patterns can be recorded in their geographical distribution. Regional or national dance collections can be examined for differences in the qualitative (which pattern) and quantitative (how common are certain patterns) composition of the respective pattern forms. If the evaluations are available, different explanatory hypotheses are formulated. Individual alternative hypotheses are falsified through evidence or further considerations. The remaining one will be pursued as a working hypothesis with regard to the origin and development of European folk dance forms.

### 3. Forms (types of forms) and classification of European folk dances

The current appearance of European folk dances is very heterogeneous. Here we can find forms from very different ages and development processes at the same time (Hoerburger 1961, p. 17). Over time, new types of dance emerged in many areas, but some of the old ones remained. In addition, other shapes were created by mixing new and old elements. Therefore there are several age groups and different mixed forms. This does not make a clear division easy, as there are always dances that have mixed characteristics. Nevertheless, it is necessary to divide the existing dances into categories according to a few essential characteristics in order to obtain precise instruments for analysis and assignment processes.

#### 3.1 What is folk dance anyway?

The first "difficulties" begin with the exact meaning of the term "Volkstanz/folk dance", which historically has not existed for very long. It was only formed in Central Europe after the emergence of two other dance genres, the court dances and the stage or art dances. When the nobility began to develop their own courtly dances in the Middle Ages, this demarcation became necessary. Stage dance and later ballet developed from these court dances. Before that time, all dances were folk dances and there was no need to have a separate name. So it was not until the 18th century (Schneider 1985, p. 577) that the term 'Volkstanz/folk dance' came into being. This meant dances that were not danced on stage by the nobility or the newly emerging bourgeoisie (noble society) and also not by paid performers. They were the dance forms of the farmers and craftsmen. According to Petermann (1985, p. 49), the general introduction of this term did not take place until the beginning of the 19th century.

Petermann (1985, p. 49) only counts those traditionally handed down forms of folk dances that have fixed functions in custom and tradition, in popular belief as well as for conviviality and tradition within the respective group belonging to the working people. For the folk dance expert Felix Hoerburger (1961, p. 26), the unbroken tradition is an important characteristic of folk dances and so he defines it by four characteristics: "Dance is folk dance only insofar as it is part of an anonymous basic class of the people through direct tradition, having grown without the intervention of an organizer and in functional connection with the traditional life of the people." As recently as 2009, Horst Koegler defined in his „Small Dictionary of Dance“ (p. 144): "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 take into account the fact that in the past three centuries there has been a constant and lively exchange between the dances of the farmers and craftsmen and the noble society and a precise demarcation between folk dances and social dances is hardly possible, at least in Europe. An unbroken cultivation of folk dances in the last few decades can only be found in a few regions of Central Europe, for example in isolated areas of Bavaria.<sup>9</sup> The definitions given are historically and traditionally

---

<sup>9</sup> In many regions of the Balkans, especially rural ones, this definition of folk dance still applies.

focused and neglect the folk dance scene that has developed since the end of the 19th century (Walsdorf 2013). In many areas, for example in almost all of Central, Western and Northern Europe, folk dances were already extinct by the end of the 19th century. Around 1900 some collectors<sup>10</sup> began to record the last remnants of the dances<sup>11</sup>, and some of these dances were then revived and spread rapidly within the Youth Movement before World War I (Klotzsche 1994, p. 22). After the First World War, new creations, so-called youth dances, were added (Klotzsche 1994, p. 24). Dance forms from this period are still in use today.

There is no uninterrupted tradition for such forms. For some of these dances, however, a functional connection to the traditional life of the people developed very quickly. Since they are danced today on certain occasions with a certain tradition, they meet this most important condition for folk dances and are therefore also known as folk dances.

For folk dances in this sense, three criteria must be met: They must be danced on certain occasions with a tradition, even for a shorter time, and they must not belong to stage or ballroom dancing.<sup>12</sup>

But even in the Balkans, the traditional is giving way to the modern way of life. Customs change or disappear entirely. Nevertheless, some of these dances are still danced in a different context. If a new tradition arises, the term folk dance is still appropriate.

If these dances are mainly shown on stage or if a group meets because it is simply fun for the members to dance these dances under the guidance of a teacher, the term 'Folklore/folklore' is increasingly used. This term contains the English words 'folk' ('people') and 'lore' ('tradition'). This term is only clearly defined in the field of music. There one understands by 'Folk' a contemporary expanded folk music, which is made popular with modern instrumentation and appropriate arrangement. Analogous to this, folklore dances are forms derived from former folk dances, which are no longer part of the direct tradition of the people, but are performed in different contexts.<sup>13</sup> Such references are e.g. having fun doing Greek dances in a folklore group or performing lightly choreographed folk dances on stage at a festival, etc.

In addition to a change in the references to meaning, the term folklore makes it clear that tradition is still an important criterion and that folklore dances have the same external structural features and consist of the same step material as traditional folk dances. In this respect, the term 'folklore dances' better expresses that, on the one hand, it is a question of folk tradition and, on the other hand, it also takes account of changed contexts.

Based on Hoerburger (1961, p. 24), *social folk dance cultivation* is about new forms of community experience. Their followers dance only for the sake of conviviality, although it may not even matter to them to continue the tradition 'faithfully' (Hoerburger 1961, p. 24). Most folklore groups<sup>14</sup> or visitors to dance houses or Bal-Folk events<sup>15</sup> belong in this

---

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Anna Helms, Prof. Stahl, Prof. Kück, Marie Peters, Cecil Sharp (Koegler 2009, p. 144, Wolfgang Schlüter, mail from 13.6.14)

<sup>11</sup> The last remnants, at least as far as the north of Germany is concerned, are more likely to be dance forms of the bourgeoisie from the 19th century (Wolfgang Schlüter, mail of June 18, 2014). Because even the rural population learned English bourgeois dances as early as 1780 from a dance teacher from Schleswig, as an old manuscript shows (Schlüter mail of June 18, 2014).

<sup>12</sup> The further use of the word folk dance in this work relates to this definition.

<sup>13</sup> Lièvre (2008, p. 45) remarks on this: The process of folklorization leads to a deformation of the actual content, since traditional music and dances are performed outside of their usual temporal and spatial framework.

<sup>14</sup> This refers to groups that dance folk dances for fun, not folklore demonstration groups.

<sup>15</sup> This is understood to mean folklore dance balls where the associated music is played live.

direction. A *museum folklore dance*, on the other hand, seeks the greatest possible 'loyalty to the work'. Its aim is to preserve what could have been forgotten or has already been forgotten (Hoerburger 1961, p. 24). As a result, dances become dead material, they no longer have any relation to a current function in people's lives. *Theatrical folklore* takes tradition to a whole new level. The sense of dancing is related to performance for the audience and is thus possibly filled with new content (Hoerburger 1961, p. 25). The dance elements are newly combined, the movement technique is varied and changed, the costume becomes the costume. This development can be seen in a very extreme form among folklore groups in 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.

In all three directions it is about folklore, because true folk dances in the real sense no longer seem to exist at least in western, central and northern Europe. They were a symbol and a form of identification of the community, especially village community. And these original village communities have increasingly dissolved in the course of industrialization and urbanization. Even the emergence of couple dances was a development against the forms that were originally based entirely on community, since the couple dances are primarily about the relationship between man and woman.<sup>16</sup>

For the database of the present work dances are used that can be classified as actual folk dances or original<sup>17</sup> folklore dances. Since external structural features and step patterns are in the foreground for the analysis and classification of these folk dances, forms presented on the stage are also used as a database if they remain unchanged in the step pattern for the respective performance.

### 3.2 Requirements for an order system for European folk dances

„Jede Analyse der menschlichen Bewegung ist abhängig vom Analyseinteresse/Every analysis of human movement depends on the interest in analysis” (Göhner 1979, p. 12). The division of folk dances is also tied to certain intentions and interests, which are superimposed on the fundamental goal of a comprehensible and logical order. For Torp (1990, p. 14) a classification system should make it possible to recognize universals and details of a regional dance culture and for Petermann (1983, p. 9) it should allow comparisons between different areas. For the objectives of the present work, a classification system should also enable comparisons between various time periods. Since folk dances have arisen differently and have developed over a long period of time, an order system would also have to take into account this history of origin and development, which has resulted in today's manifestations of folk dances, because assigning dances with a common history of origin to different categories would be part of this work running counter to underlying historical perspective.

---

<sup>16</sup> Möglicherweise liegt darin der Grund, dass in der Volkstanzpflege die Paartänze zunehmend in einer uniformen Abfolge getanzt wurden, um den Gemeinschaftsaspekt wieder mehr zu betonen.

<sup>17</sup> “Originally” is understood here to mean that the external structural features and step patterns of the dances are derived from traditional folk dances.

### **(3.3 Criteria for distinguishing between Curt Sachs and Franz M. Böhme)**

### **(3.4 Criteria for differentiating and classifying folk dances)**

### **3.5 Assessment of the differentiating criteria**

Which criteria are now particularly suitable for realizing demands on a classification system? The first question that arises is what the main distinguishing feature is. In the present German-language literature on European folk dances, one can essentially distinguish between two opposing approaches. Some outlines, such as B. that made by Wolfram (1951) in "The folk dances in Austria and related dances in Europe", use the "function of dance" as the main criterion. In Wolfram this results in four categories: dance throughout the year, status and representation, dance in human life and dances of conviviality. Does this procedure of classification according to the functions lead to a logical and usable classification system?

The classification according to this criterion has the advantage that you can classify all dances, because there is a function in each case. It also has the advantage that it can explain relationships and developments relating to the function or the occasion particularly well. One disadvantage, however, is that an assignment to a specific function cannot always be clearly made. A dance can be danced at a certain time of the year and can also be used for socializing. Another disadvantage arises from the fact that, for example, similar dances in their step material have to be assigned to completely different categories. Related step patterns end up in very different groups.

In addition, there are many examples of dances that have undergone a change in content and function, while other features have remained the same.<sup>18 19</sup>As a result, the same dance has to be assigned to different categories depending on the situation and objective. For example, certain circular chain dances at certain times served to strengthen the group and integrate all the villagers, a task that they usually no longer have nowadays. Danced by modern "hobby folklorists", they provide e.g. for fun in movement or create a sense of community in the dance group. These severe limitations lead to the conclusion that the 'function of dance' is not a suitable key differentiator.

One 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. Goldschmidt (2001) went this way in "Handbuch des Deutschen Volkstanzes" or Hoerburger (1961, pp. 17 to 23) in "Volkstanzkunde 1". Goldschmidt differentiates between group dances, couple dances, trio dances and special forms.

When categorizing dances, the criteria "number of people dancing and their social relationships with one another" as the main distinguishing features enable a largely unequivocal assignment. It can be read directly whether, for example, a couple or a group of

---

<sup>18</sup> For example, Kuhlbrodt (1959, p. 12) describes a change in the ritual dances of the Wedda on Ceylon and Kubu on Sumatra, which were converted into welcoming and representation performances for white guests of the tribe.

<sup>19</sup> E.g.. Petermann (1983, p. 12): "The functional core of a dance, its content, on the other hand, undergoes faster, often multiple changes or can disappear completely".

men are dancing. Only in the case of multiple couple dances is the alternative decision group dance or couple dance. Goldschmidt does not classify the multiple couple dance forms with the couple dances, but with the group dances. This shows that there is a certain scope for interpretation even with these very clear criteria.

Another argument in favor of the criteria for the number of people and social relationships is that they have remained very stable over time and that dances with the same external structural features usually have a common history of origin. A triolet form (dance form for three people) cannot simply develop into a multi-couple dance. Such conversions are very unlikely as essential structural features would have to be completely changed. In addition, it is precisely these structural features that reflect fundamental social relationships. Because who dances with whom, has to do with social values and these rarely change quickly. The division into “group dances, couple dances and special forms” also corresponds to the historical development of dances in Europe. It has been known for a long time that group dances, especially chain dances, are culturally and historically much older than closed couple dances and also multi-couple dances. In this respect, this feature distinguishes both a conspicuous structural element and a different history of origin.

Another level, which is 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. On the other hand, a flamenco dancer has a clear scope for individual design. Whether there is even a chance for improvisation also depends on factors such as group size, formation or the dance version. Free dancing allows more improvisation than a row held by the shoulders. The smaller the group size, the looser the setting, the less fixed the formation, the more personal design is possible. The presentation situation also has a clear influence on the opportunities for improvisation. If folk dances are performed on a stage, the individual scope is restricted 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 dance for attraction between man and woman in its original form, it offered the dancers, above all, very personal design options in order to impress their respective dancers and the audience. Originally it was only danced by individual couples (Wolfram 1951, p. 189). As more and more folk dance and traditional costume preservation associations emerged in Bavaria from 1883, „platters“ became more and more a show and group dance, with a rehearsed, as synchronous as possible form being presented (Wolfram 1951, p. 191). Nowadays every platter group has its own choreography, which has to be rehearsed over a longer period of time.

In summary, it can be stated that those criteria that have to do with the “external shape” are particularly suitable as the main distinguishing features. "Internal structural features" such as distinguishable step patterns or the structure of the movement elements are used for further differentiation. Petermann (1983, p. 12) comments on this: “The shape is characterized by particular durability. It only goes through gradual evolutionary developments and changes in history. The function of a dance, on the other hand, undergoes faster, often multiple changes or can disappear entirely. The form, anchored in tradition, is filled with new ideas, and can thus retain real function and remains alive”. It was shown early on that the 'form' is the

decisive criterion and that the precise definition of the form alone leads to a systematization of folk dance forms (Petermann 1983, p. 13).

### 3.6 Systematics of European folk dances (classification)

The considerations made regarding the evaluation of the criteria lead to a multidimensional construct, the main features of which are shown in Figure 360 with three rings. The **upper groups** "SOLO DANCES, COUPLE DANCES and GROUP DANCES" in the middle ring are split into the **main groups** in the outer ring. Furthermore, for example, couple dances are subdivided into open, closed and free couple dances by different formation or setting, which are characterized as **subgroups**. In the inner ring, the dimension "degree of definition" is shown, which is superimposed on the other distinguishing features. The degree of determination increases from left to right. Part of this dimension is also the performance character, which shifts the character of a dance to the right in the system (Fig. 360).

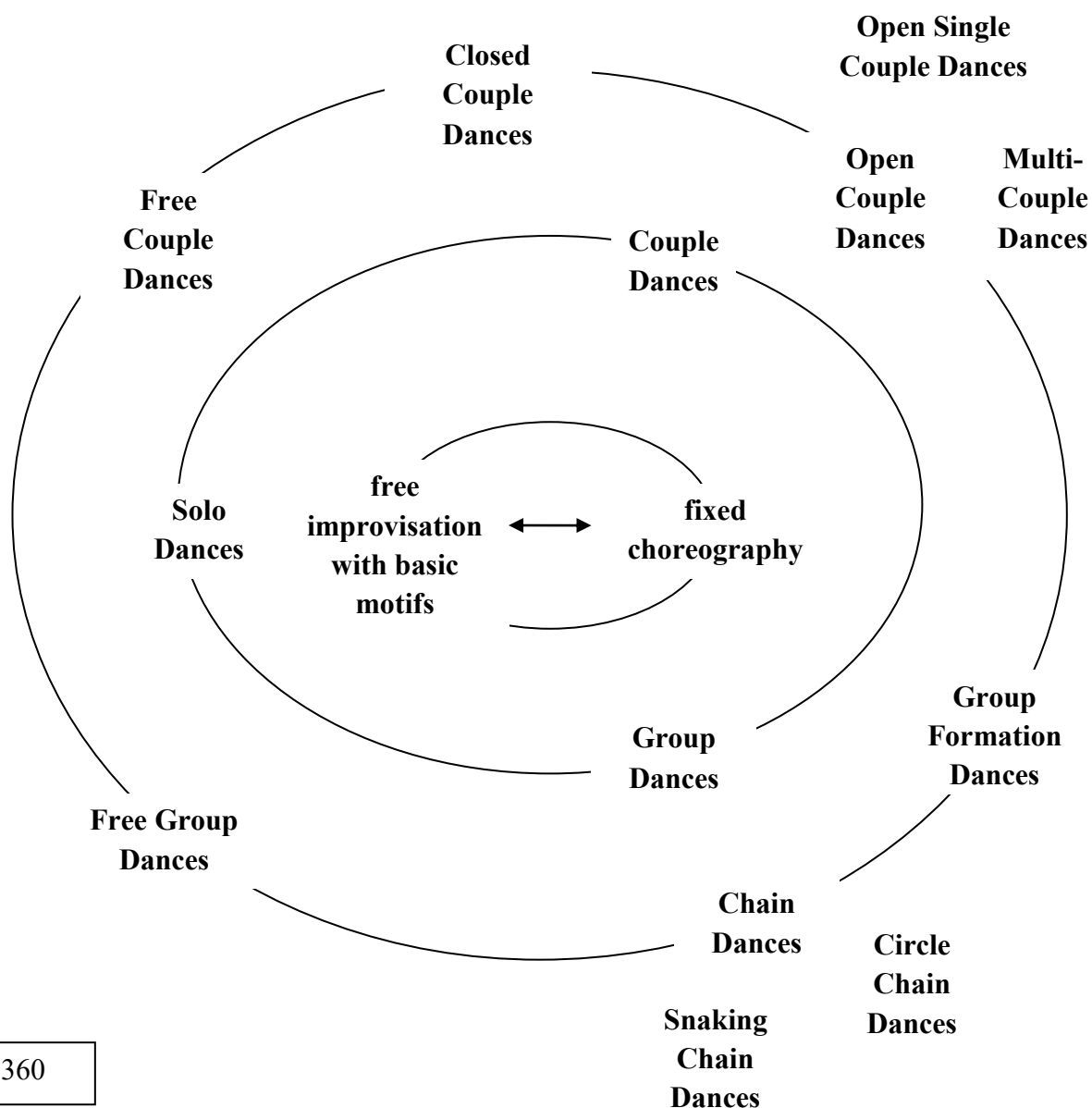


Fig. 360



Table 360: Examples of a 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 couple <sup>20</sup>	
		Multi-Couple Dances	Contra Dances Quadrilles Squares Long ways	Black Nag
Group Dances	Chain Dances	Circular 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	Antichristos, Karsilamas

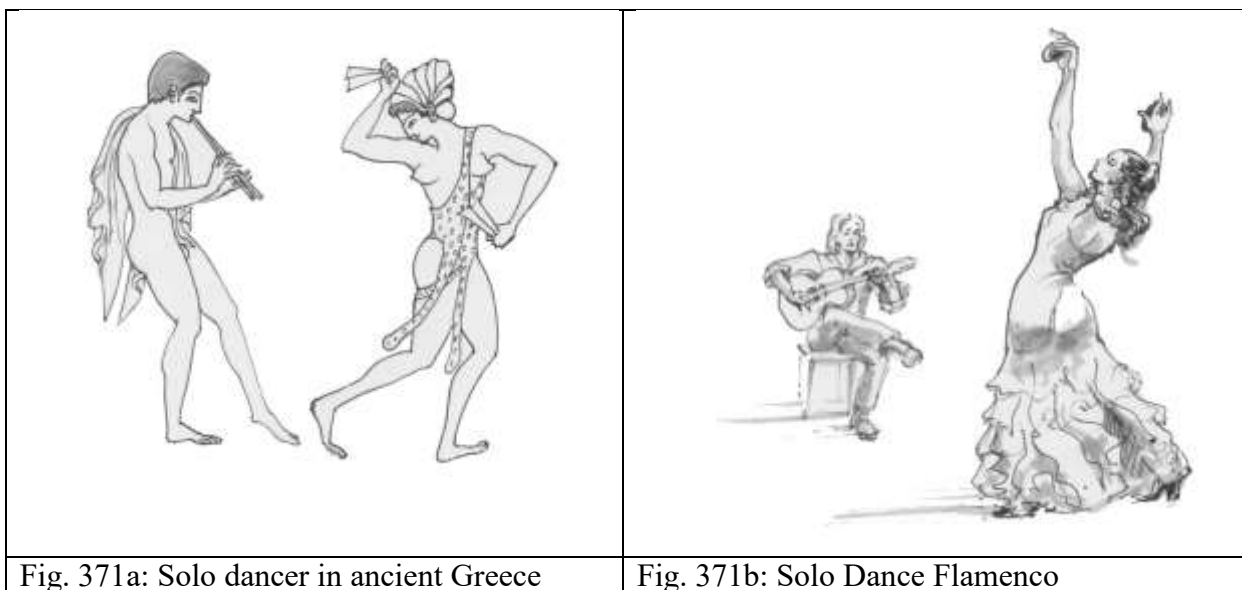
The system of classification presented here takes into account both formal and structural as well as developmental aspects. It is not universally applicable, but limited to dance forms in Europe and neighboring areas. It thus provides the basis for the analysis and categorization of current and earlier European dance forms. It is also necessary and helpful in answering the question of what types of dances there were in certain times, or whether there were types of dances 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 identified in dance representations and, on the basis of this system, dance images or dance descriptions can be assigned to specific dance types.

<sup>20</sup> Actually, this work is about folk dances, which does not include a minuet. Many dances in high society became folk dances and vice versa, which is why such a separation does not make sense and is not possible in systematic considerations.

### 3.7 Summary characterization of European folk dance types

#### 3.7.1 Solo dances (Figs. 371a and 371b)

Individual 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 a community because of its sense of dimension. That is why there are only a few dances in which an individual dances, such as e.g. the Greek 'Zeibekikos', the Spanish 'Flamenco' or the graceful-erotic solo dance of young women among the Berbers. There are also short sequences in certain dexterity or boy dances in which individual dancers show their skills. Such moments of self-portrayal by individual talent are rather untypical for the overall picture of folk dances.



#### 3.7.2 Couple Dances

The main group of couple dances is divided into the main groups of free couple dances, closed couple dances and open couple dances. Open single couple dances and multiple couple dances form subgroups of the open couple dances. There are also triolet forms, the assignment of which is discussed further below.

##### FREE COUPLE DANCE (Fig.372a)

In this form of couple dance, the partners move opposite or next to each other without touching the body. There are mostly certain standard movement patterns (basic movements), but the improvisation possibilities of the participants are considerable compared to other folk dances. Often the arms are held up when dancing. This form exists both with same-sex<sup>21</sup> 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 and

<sup>21</sup> Die strenge patriarchalisch geprägte Gesellschaft in den Verbreitungsregionen des Freien Paartanzes ließ eine gemischtgeschlechtliche Ausführung meist nicht zu. Vgl. auch Leibman 1992, S. 14, Fußnote 13.

Montenegro. But also in parts of Turkey one can find this type of couple dance under the name "Karsilamas", which means "face to face". However, in most regions of Asia Minor, as in the Balkans, the chain dances dominate the folk dancing and free couple dances are at least the exception in the country. The music to 'Karsilamas' is played in 9/8 time. It is possible that this dance was spread during the Ottoman rule in other countries such as Serbia, North Macedonia and Greece, where it can now be found alongside the chain dances. In northern Greece it is also known as 'Antikristos'. In Bulgaria this free couple dance can be observed as 'couple račenica' in the 7/8 time typical for Račenica. Another center for free couple dances is the region of the Caucasus, where this type of form provides the largest number of folk dances. Sinti and Roma also have such dances.

#### CLOSED COUPLE DANCE (Fig.372b)

Dancers take a closed dance version, continuously or in certain sections of the dance, meaning, both touch the respective partner with both hands. Usually the male dancer encircles the female dancer. Both hands of the dancer are on the back of his partner. In the dance version of modern ballroom dancing, this only applies to one side of the body. In this case, the hands are held at shoulder height on the other side.

The closed couple dance also includes forms in which both dancers release the hold on one side for a short or longer period of time and the dancer, for example, rotates under the grasped hands or swings the grasped hands back and forth, such as in an open waltz.<sup>22</sup>

The dance steps are based on the principle of "basic step and figures".<sup>23</sup> In addition, there is a "leader" and a "follower". In mixed-sex couples, at least formally, the man is in charge. The closed couple dances include folk dances such as Rhinelander, Lander, Polka, Mazurka, but also modern ballroom dances or Tango argentino. Many of the couple dances originally performed by the dancer are now also performed in fixed choreographies. The main focus of the spread of this type of dance is in southern and central Germany, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Switzerland, Slovenia, the Benelux countries and France. But there are also some closed couple dance forms in southern Scandinavia.

#### OPEN COUPLE DANCE (Fig.372c)

Each pair of dancers are held by one hand and stand next to each other, so that they are 'open as a couple'. Sometimes the setting is also completely loosened in order to perform individual circles or to dance face to face. Although this type of dance is widespread, it is only dominant in northern Italy.

#### MULTI-COUPLE DANCE (Fig.372d)

Dances in which several couples dance in pairs together and with the other couples. The dancers usually stand next to each other in an open dance version. The dance steps are simple, mostly walking steps, but the spatial patterns are complex. The process either follows a given choreography or a so-called "caller" tells the dancers the familiar figures. The

---

<sup>22</sup> Herbert Langer (in the quarterly journal for folk dance and home care "Der Fröhliche Kreis" September 1982, pp. 123-126) describes these dances as "interrupted round dances". Continuously closed dances are classified there as 'round dances'. The 'Styrian' and 'Landlerischen' with their arm figures also belong to the closed couple dances, because they have a closed round dance as the final figure.

<sup>23</sup> "Figures" here mean complicated variants of the basic step.

"ornamentation" and the "construction" are in the foreground. These include e.g. Contra dances, quadrilles, squares and similar forms.

The current focus of European distribution is in Great Britain, Ireland, Flanders and northern Germany, but in southern Scandinavia there are also many multi-couple dances in addition to closed couple dances.

There are also mixed forms such as e.g. French Bourrées, which belong to the free couple dances, but in which a fixed sequence is adhered to, and the couples remain in an alley for organizational reasons. The emergence of mixed forms has several causes. First of all, in the further development of dance forms, old elements are often retained in sections. Most north German multi-couple dances contain a circle as a starting figure. This can be interpreted symbolically as a common beginning. But it could also be a relic of a chain dance from earlier times. It is also possible that the two interpretations do not contradict each other. Second, dances are constantly being changed and varied in their further development. Newly added elements can also come from other dance categories. This creates mixed forms such as e.g. the English dance "Lucky Seven", which combines elements of the circular chain dances, multiple couple dances and the closed couple dances:

Tab. 372a: Elements of the English dance: Lucky Seven

part	description	Category of the item
1	circle left	Circular Chain Dance
2	Four step double to the center and back	Circular Chain Dance
3	long chain up to the seventh	Multi-Couple Dance
4	Swing	Closed Couple Dance



Fig. 372a: Free Couple Dance



Fig. 372b: Closed Couple Dance

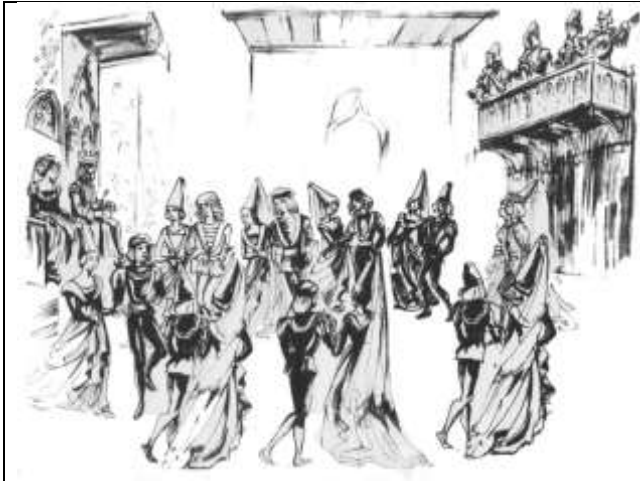


Fig. 372c: Open Couple Dance



Fig. 372d: Multi-Couple Dance

### TRIOLET SHAPES (Fig.372e)

This means mixed-sex dances for three. Most of the time, one male dancer dances with two female dancers, but the reverse is also possible, but very rare. Triolet forms thematically belong to the couple dances. They contain all the important moments of the couple dance. The dancer "flirts" alternately with one partner and the other. If there is a shortage of men, surplus women can also be included in this way ("shortage of men").

In the relevant literature, this form is overestimated in its importance and listed as a separate dance genre. From my point of view (see the list of evidence in the original work) both some text passages and images are misinterpreted. Viewed critically, there are only very few representations of true triolet forms. In my opinion, this does not justify the triolet form as an important, independent dance genre.



Fig. 372e: Triolett

### 3.7.3 Group dances

The term group dance includes all dances that are neither single nor couple dances and that are performed in a group. This includes the large group of chain dances, which can be defined by clear criteria. What then remains is a somewhat heterogeneous group in which the remaining dances can be found with quite different characteristics. In the following, they are referred to as “other group dances”, as further categorization is difficult and not necessary for the present work.

#### CHAIN DANCES (Fig.373b)

Hoerburger (1961, p. 20) uses the rather imprecise formulation “actual circle dance” for this category. Anyone who has seen these dances in the Balkans still knows what is meant. The term circle dance is broader and also includes other dance forms in the circle. Ultimately, people dance ‘in circles’ all over the world and in almost all dances. Even couple dances usually take place somehow on a circular path. As a result, when the term ‘circle dance’ is used, it is not clear what is meant. The circular movement alone does not sufficiently characterize the “actual circular dances”. The people have direct contact. They form a chain.

Richard Wolfram (1986) chose the title “Reigen- und Kettentanzformen in Europa /Round and Chain Dance Forms in Europe” for his remarks on these dances. In English, Lisbeth Torp (1990) calls it “Chain and Round Dances” and Yves Moreau, a Canadian folk dance teacher for Balkan dances, calls them “handjoined circle dances”. This attachment to one another, created by the setting, which appears in analogy to the connected links of a chain, is the second important characteristic besides that of the circle. With the corresponding formations, a distinction is often made between closed circles, open circles, semicircles or even lines. These differences arise from other aspects such as the presence of a dance leader at the beginning of the open circle.<sup>24</sup> In addition, under certain spatial conditions, a line formation is more favorable than a closed circle. Closed or open circles and lines are therefore variants and adaptations to external conditions.

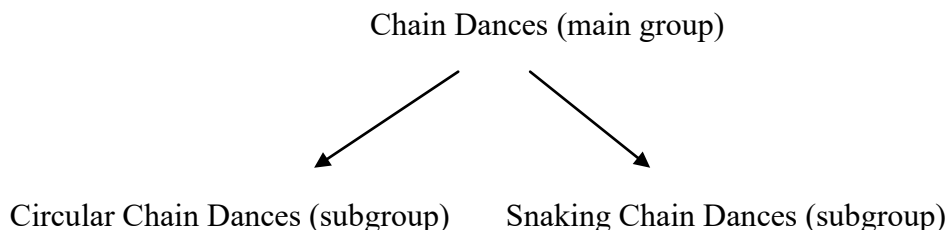
Even dances in which there is no direct contact between the individual “chain links” belong to this dance category if the chain can be clearly seen. In some dances by the Berbers of North Africa, for example, the dancers stand very close to each other without adopting a direct composure. Nevertheless, the chain formation is already evident from the shoulder contact that takes place. In sword dances, too, the swords are sometimes used to “grasp” through, which makes the links of a chain recognizable.

Characterization of the chain dances: The chain dances category includes all dances in which several performers usually form a continuous chain through closed contact. The easiest way to do this is by grasping the hands, but it can also be done in shoulder setting, belt setting or connection with rings, cloths, sticks or even swords. Simple and uniform step patterns are used.

In the main group of chain dances there are two subgroups, which differ in particular in the alignment of the body fronts of the dancers.

---

<sup>24</sup> These types of installation also depend on the social conditions in the respective region.



CIRCULAR CHAIN DANCES (Fig. 373d) are all Chain Dances that move more or less on a circular path. The main alignment of the body front is towards the center of the circle and not in the direction of movement. The movements therefore mostly go to the side. The circle can be closed, open or even broken into lines.<sup>25</sup> Uniform step patterns are danced, which go over a few bars and are then repeated. Usually these dances are instructed by a dance guide. 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 number of motifs is small.<sup>26</sup> Often the dances were only accompanied by singing.<sup>27</sup>

The Circular Chain Dances also include those dances in which the dancers are aligned to the center, but a leading dancer leads meandering/snaking movements such as e.g. in the Chain Dances of the Faroese. Such meandering/snaking lines always occur when many people dance in a narrow space and therefore not all of them have enough space on a circular path. Danced in this way, they are not Snaking Chain Dances, but Circular Chain Dances.

SNAKING CHAIN DANCES OR SNAKING DANCES (Fig. 373e) are chain dances in which the chain moves freely over the dance floor, forming spirals or gates.

A snaking dance therefore always starts with a lead dancer and a line of dancers that follows to the end of the tail. The front of the body points in the direction of movement, the movements themselves go forward. Normal walking or running steps or a step pattern in the rhythm of short - short - long are almost always used to move. Both are pretty simple patterns. Old forms are usually only accompanied by singing.

Beyond the cited main characteristics of snaking dances, it should be noted that the essential content of these dances is not the achievement of a goal, but the continued turns, the formation of geometric shapes and thus the path itself.

FREE GROUP DANCES (Fig.373a)

There is no common choreographic concept for the free group dances. Each dancer moves individually and freely. The proportion of improvisation is high. Many forms of folklore today have a common basic step. The dancers keep in touch with each other. Most of the time, gender does not matter. Only men or only women or mixed groups can be observed. However, if only couples dance together, this form is included in the group of free couple dances (see Section 3.7.2).

<sup>25</sup> Whether a circle is danced openly or closed also depends on the social structures. In those parts of the Balkans where the closed circle predominates, there are structures with members who are more socially equal. See also Leibman 1992, p. 179.

<sup>26</sup> Martin (1973, p. 102) and Torp (1990, p. 27) refer to the small number of motifs.

<sup>27</sup> See also Martin 1973, p. 102 for the definition.



Fig. 373a Individuals dancing (free group dance)

#### OTHER GROUP DANCES (Fig.373c)

In addition to the 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 there are mixed forms of other types. Some of them have performing or even pantomime elements, others are danced with utensils such as sticks, swords, hoops, ribbons, masks or the like.

The heterogeneous group of other group dances includes group formations from southwest 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 a few more.

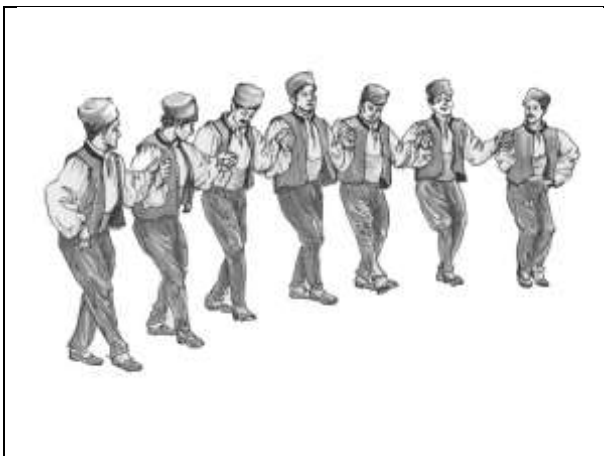


Abb. 373b: Chain Dance



Abb. 373c: Other Group Dance (Ribbon Dance)



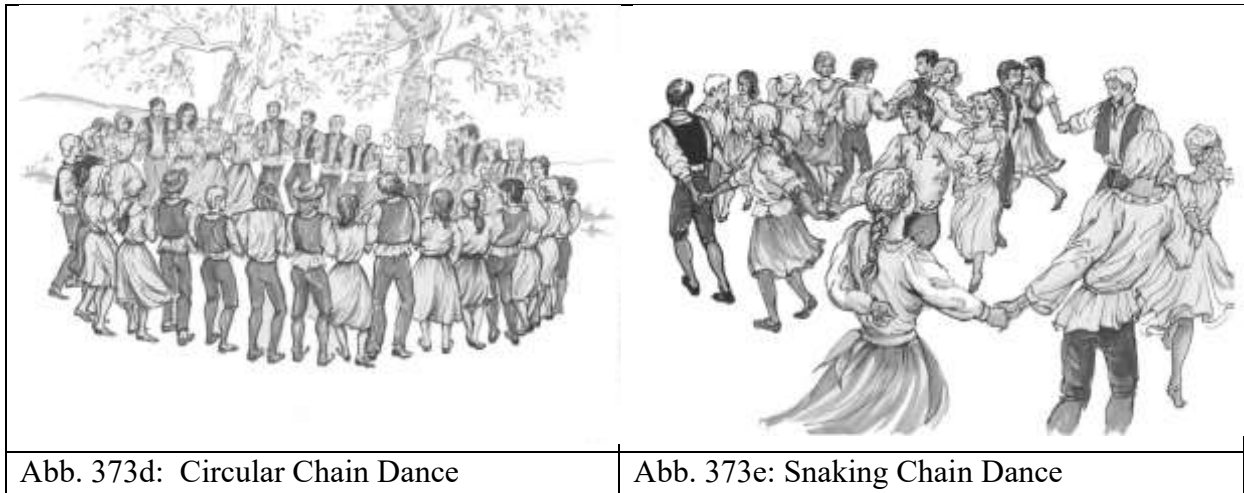


Abb. 373d: Circular Chain Dance

Abb. 373e: Snaking Chain Dance

### 3.8 Today's distribution of folk dance types

In Europe there are large regions in which one or the other upper group is or was predominant.

In this sense, Felix Hoerburger (1961, p. 19f) describes “large folk dance spaces” which, so to speak, overlay the small national spaces. Fig. 380 shows the dominant types of folk dance based on the database of this work.

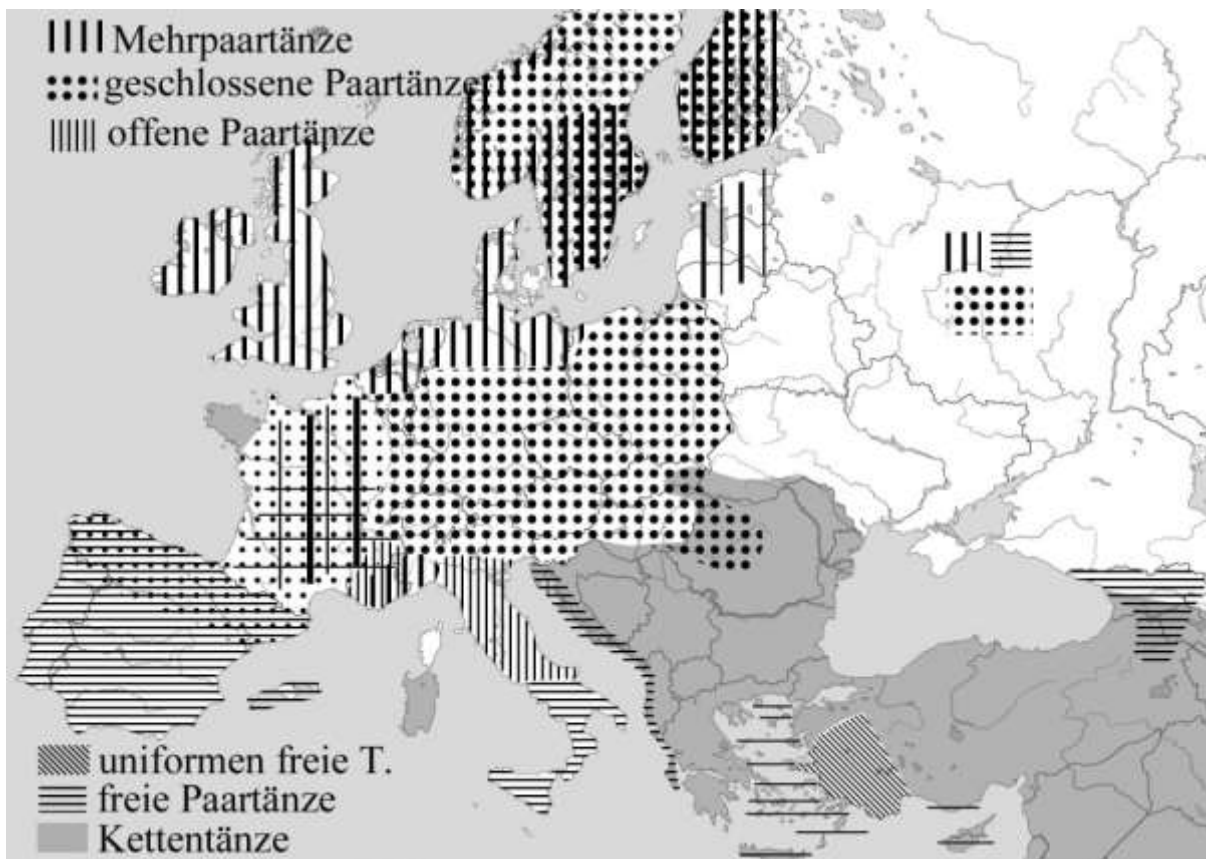


Fig. 380: Distribution of the main groups in Europe and the Middle East (the map is based on the corresponding data in the country dossiers, data sections A.1 and A.2)

## **4. Origin, spread and distribution of the chain dances with special consideration of the three-measure dances**

If a new type of dance emerges somewhere, possibly in connection with significant changes in the network of relationships within society, there is a developmental sequence from its genesis to the subsequent expansion to the present-day distribution. In the historical analysis process of this work, this sequence is now practically followed backwards. First, the current distribution is determined, then the distribution in the Middle Ages and from the comparison of the findings, further conclusions are drawn about the origin and spread.

### **4.1 Chain Dances today**

Chain Dances are among the oldest European folk dances. They are depicted on early ceramics, pre-ceramic stone carvings and rock carvings. Only some of today's mask dances may still have an older origin.<sup>28</sup>

In the chain dances, the performers are usually connected to a chain by closed contact and perform simple step patterns. In today's areas of distribution of the chain dances, the subgroup of the Circular Chain Dances dominates, which are characterized by the fact that the front of the body is oriented towards the middle. In contrast, there are very few Snaking Dances in today's areas of distribution, for example the Greek Tsakonikos. Where chain dances still occur today as folk dances in a village context, they are danced on certain occasions. At the same time, they are now also part of the repertoire of folk dancers and are part of folk ballet performances.

#### **4.1.1 Occasions where chain dances are still danced today and the motives associated with them**

Very different occasions today offer the opportunity to dance dances with a chain setting. On the one hand, there are original opportunities that are still embedded in customs and rituals.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, there are more modern occasions such as hobbies, demonstrations or therapy.

---

<sup>28</sup> Dance figures with masks can already be found on paleolithic cave paintings. Whether today's mask dances go back to this old root, however, can hardly be clarified.

<sup>29</sup> This summary is based on Torp (1990, pp. 29-65), Salmen (1999, pp. 43-55), Leibman (1992, pp. 80-112), Werner (1997, p. 18) and our own observations.

### a) Special occasions, embedded in customs and rites

#### a1) Events in the seasonal cycle of nature

Orientation towards the seasonal course is vital, especially for original agricultural communities. The better the time of sowing is chosen in relation to the warmth of spring, the last days of frost or sufficient rainfall, the better the harvest and thus the survivability of the community. This resulted in a system of distinctive days or times, which were integrated into a magical-religious complex. Even today, these days and times are often tied to fixed or flexible religious holidays in which dance was and is one of the most important components (Torp 1990, p. 33).

Obviously important times are the carnival as a winter drive away, spring as the time of planting (fertility), the solstice celebration, summer, the harvest time and other dates, depending on the climate or region.

Many of these rites linked to such times still obviously contain pre-Christian elements.<sup>30</sup> So e.g. the “good spirit of the field” can be carried over to the next year by dancing around the last sheaves (Torp 1990, p. 37).

#### a2) Important points in time in a person's life

A second complex of important occasions is directly related to a person's life. The wedding as the most important event comes first. For the bride in particular, the associated change represents a deep turning point in her life. She has to leave her family, at least in most social forms, and switch to that of the groom. Such situations of transition and change represent critical or even dangerous periods in which rituals and associated dances help to cope with these cuts or periods. The dance becomes a public demonstration of community support, both physically and mentally (Torp 1990, p. 32).

Other important occasions are funerals, births or dance festivals where young, unmarried people get to know each other. The construction of a new house can also be associated with such dance rituals.

Dances that are danced for a specific occasion are called ritual dances. Other elements such as the design of the situation, the exact point in time or the associated song are ritualized.

However, the step patterns that are used in ritual dances are not only danced on these occasions, but are simple and common step patterns that can also be found on other occasions. The ritual character arises from the context of the events (Torp 1990, p. 47; Lièvre 2008, p. 36-37, own analysis in data part II.E under ritual dances).

For various reasons, the aspects mentioned so far are less and less a reason to dance. They are out of style. On the other hand, other, new motives can be identified.

### b) Dancing chain dances as a symbol of belonging to an ethnic group

Regardless of ancient customs, certain ethnic groups identify with certain dances. A striking example is the Catalan 'Sardana', which is danced to certain music on Catalan fairgrounds.

---

<sup>30</sup>See Torp 1990, pp. 34, 36, 37, Leibman 1992, p. 106, Dimopoulos (2009) and own observations.

Every Sunday morning in Barcelona dance circles form in front of the large cathedral, arms stretched up, the neighbors firmly under control and the handbags safely kept in the center of the circle. Although the step pattern is not that difficult, but it is done very specifically and so strangers are barely able to participate. Only “real Catalans” belong to it.

#### c) Socializing and community at celebrations

In many areas of the Balkans, but also in Brittany and Sardinia, chain dances are danced at large feasts. The religiously embedded customs have been lost, the dances serve sociability and community. It is noteworthy that many new forms of these chain dances, which were danced collectively, arose in the kibbuzen of the early Israeli settlers. In contrast, the choreographies of Israeli dance masters of today are characterized by a block-shaped arrangement without a chain setting, which can be interpreted as an obvious expression of individualization in Israeli urban culture.

#### d) Dancing chain dances as a demonstration to entertain the audience

Many chain dances have been brought to the stage in the past few decades. In doing so, the character changed. The execution of movements became larger, the steps more varied and the patterns more symmetrical.

#### e) Hobby, therapy, education or the like

Dancing chain dances has become a hobby for some modern people. Fun and a sense of community are in the foreground and also lead to success in dance therapy.

Despite newly added motifs, chain dances are disappearing more and more from the dance floors. Their extinction may only be a matter of time. What are the reasons for the decline in this dance form? Chain dances are a typical expression of the village community. With advancing industrialization and motorization, the need for collaborative work is disappearing. Village structures are dissolving. The advancing individualization intensifies this development. Modern times have developed other forms of dancing. Only the future can show whether modern amateur folk dancers, motivated by their search for community experiences, can make a contribution to maintaining these dances.

But there are still some areas and regions where chain dances can be found on everyday occasions.

### **4.1.2 Today's distribution of chain dances in Europe and Western Asia**

Chain dances are found in high density in the Balkans<sup>31</sup> and the Middle East. In the rest of Europe there are small distribution areas on the Faroe Islands, in Brittany, in Catalonia, in the Basque Country and in southern Provence, in northern and southern Hungary (girls 'chain

---

<sup>31</sup> This refers to an extended area up to Croatia.

dance), Slovakia (girls' chain dance), and in small remaining areas in Poland. There are individual chain dances in South Holland and North Belgium (Cramignon), in France (various), in French-speaking Switzerland (Choraula), in Piedmont (Sbrando), in southern Italy (circular tarantella), in Latvia (Iz Mamenu Gotus Goju), in Russia and the other Russian-speaking areas (mainly girls chain dances).

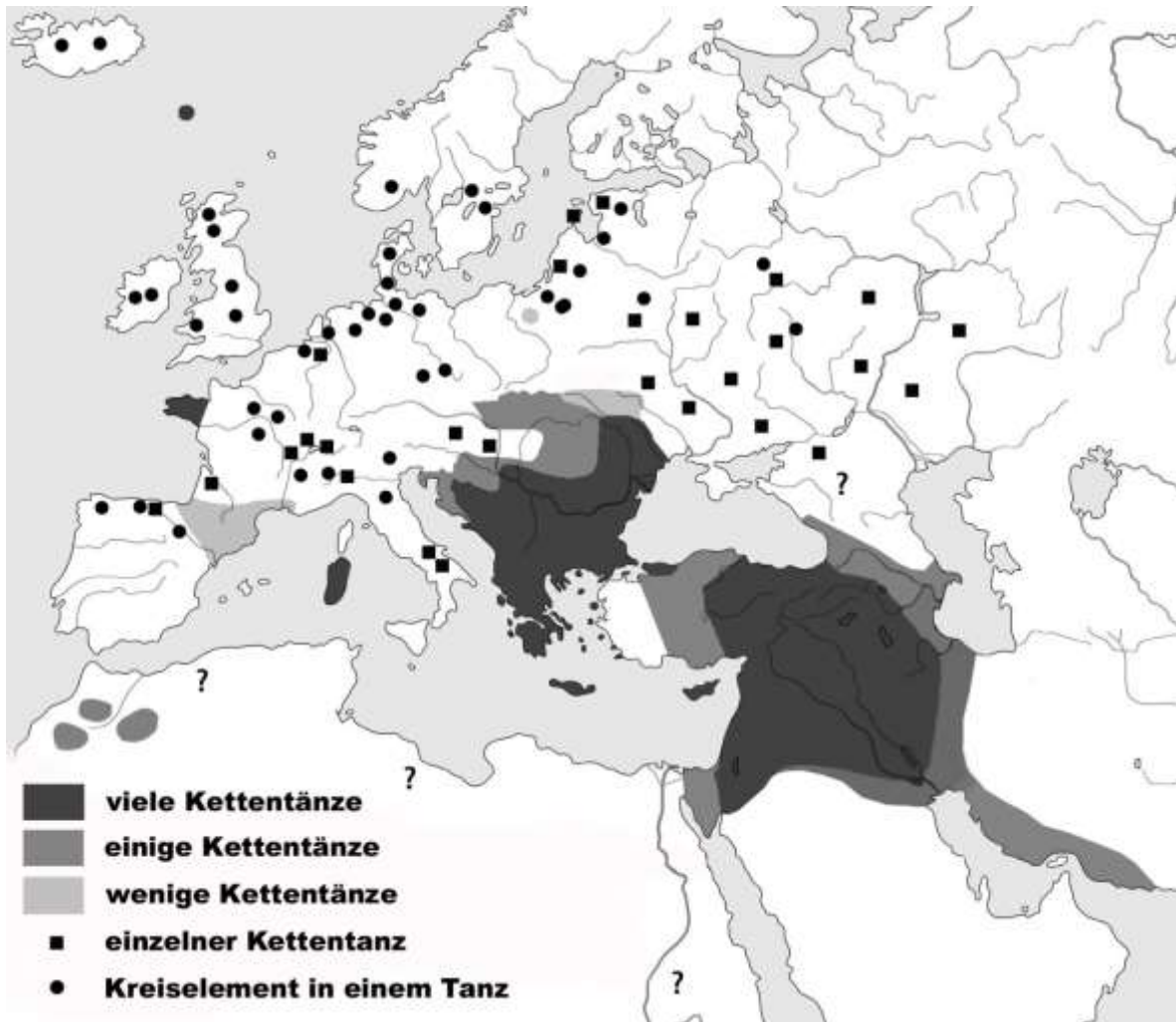


Fig. 412: Today's distribution of chain dances in Europe and neighboring areas. The database for this map is in the data section for the individual countries (data section A). The individual categories are characterized as follows:

Viele Kettentänze/Many chain dances: chain dances are the dominant form with a share of 50 - 100%.

Einige Kettentänze/Some chain dances: Chain dances are a dance form with a share of about 20 - 50% in addition to other forms, for example the couple dances.

Wenige Kettentänze/Few chain dances: In this region other dance forms dominate, chain dances 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 common locally or regionally.

Kreiselement in einem Tanz/ Circle element in a dance.

In addition, many open couple dance forms and multi-coupledances contain circular elements that can be interpreted as a relic of the chain dances. For example, many English or north German multi-couple dances begin with a circular figure. These “district relics” are only taken into account as examples in the distribution map, but also indicate that chain dances were earlier, presumably until the late Middle Ages, across Europe. But also the bordering areas of Southwest Asia up to a border line that runs through the middle of Iran are part of today's distribution area of the chain dances.

#### **4.1.3 Three-measure dances (as a marker for chain dances)**

Three-measure dances are characterized by a typical step pattern that extends over three bars and is then repeated over and over again. They belong to the main group of chain dances. The most important feature of the chain dances is a connection between the individual dancers through physical contact, which creates a chain. If the question of the origin of the chain dances is based on today's as well as historical distribution area, it must first be clarified whether all these chain dances in Europe and in the adjacent areas have a single origin, i.e. represent a monophyletic group<sup>32</sup>, or whether they are multiregional and independently originated from each other.

This question can be broadened geographically because there are other areas around the world where chain dances occur. For example, the Buryats, a Mongolian ethnic group on Lake Baikal, danced circular chain dances in their villages until the 1990s. Even among ethnic groups of China in the province of Yunnan, Tibet and Taiwan there are still chain dances today. But this type of dance is not found in all parts of the world. In North Africa it is only found very rarely among the Berbers and Nubians, in the tradition of Black Africa and the Aborigines of Australia it does not exist at all. North America also has no chain dances and there is only very little evidence for South America, for which it has yet to be clarified whether they can be traced back to European tradition or whether they come from indigenous groups.<sup>33</sup>

So chain dances - seen around the world - may have arisen several times independently of one another. But since all over the world - with or without joining hands - people prefer to dance on a circular orbit, a development towards a chain frame is not a revolutionary leap. It makes sense while standing in a circle to hold hands and dance. To designate the feature holding hands as an original one in the sense of a "feature that has once arisen" is daring, a one-off emergence from this consideration is rather improbable. For this reason it is not obvious at first glance to assume a single origin for the chain dances of Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, or even to trace back other Asian and South American forms to it. The

---

<sup>32</sup> The term monophyletic group is used in biological systematics, which in turn classifies living things based on their ancestry. A monophyletic group is characterized by a common stem form. No distinction is made here between mono- and paraphyletic groups. A polyphyletic group, on the other hand, has common characteristics, but no common stem form (<http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kladistik#Verwandtschaftsverh.C3.A4ltnisse> from November 29, 2013).

<sup>33</sup> A more detailed investigation of the situation in South America is not possible within the scope of this work.

transition seems too easy to go from people not holding hands dancing in a circle to circle dances holding hands.<sup>34</sup>

If you analyze the dances in detail, you get a larger number of different step patterns and the “three-bar pattern” is particularly noticeable, as it is very common throughout Europe and as far as the Middle East. This does not apply to any other step pattern, does not seem to be accidental and highlights three-bar dances from the variety of chain dances. There are also other features correlated with the three-measure dances: they are often accompanied by singing and the formal elements of the songs sung are surprisingly similar across the entire distribution area. In this sense, three-bar dances are a specific marker in the heterogeneous ensemble of chain dances, with which the questions raised about the origin and spread of chain dances can be better clarified. The following chapters deal with the characterization of these three-measure dances.

#### 4.1.3.1 The step pattern of the three-measure dances - basic form and variants

The step pattern of the three-bar dances goes over three bars, consists of four steps and is asymmetrical: two steps go in one direction, followed by a single-step pendulum movement in one direction, then in the other. The dancers do not stay in place, but continue to move on the circular path. There is “progress”, as it is called in dance language. The associated melody phrase is sometimes three or six bars according to the dance form, but mostly eight bars and then not congruent with the dance phrase.

In German-language literature, this step pattern is known as the ballad step<sup>35</sup> and forms the main pattern of the singing dances on the Faroe Islands. The lead dancer starts with the narrative part of each stanza, the others join in immediately with the last note and sing the refrain. The content is about old legends, e.g. from Siegfried, the dragon slayer, to spontaneously composed stanzas (Wolfram 1986, p. 14). 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 Southeast 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 form of ballads in the Faroe Islands and at the opposite end of Europe, with the Pontic Greeks from northern Turkey. Songs with verses and refrains are sung, and the same step pattern is danced. The Pontos Greeks call the dance 'Omal', while the Faroese call it 'Langisandur', for example.<sup>36</sup> Even in Germany there was this form of dance, which in the Allgäu (South Germany) was called 'Roie' or 'Roien' and, according to K. Reiser (1895, p. 425), continued in Missen, Wiederhofen, Wilhams, Börlas, Sibratshofen and Weitnau and were danced in the summer time. This is also confirmed by Alfred Quellmalz:<sup>37</sup> “It [the Roie] was therefore in use in Bolsterlang and the Weitnau area until 1905/06. Its execution agrees in all essential points

<sup>34</sup> The reverse transition has recently been observed in many Israeli folklore dances, in which the circular version is being abandoned more and more.

<sup>35</sup> See, inter alia, Wolfram 1986, p. 14; or Martin 1973, p. 115.

<sup>36</sup> Only in the dance direction do the dances differ. On the Faroe Islands it goes to the left, with the Greeks to the right.

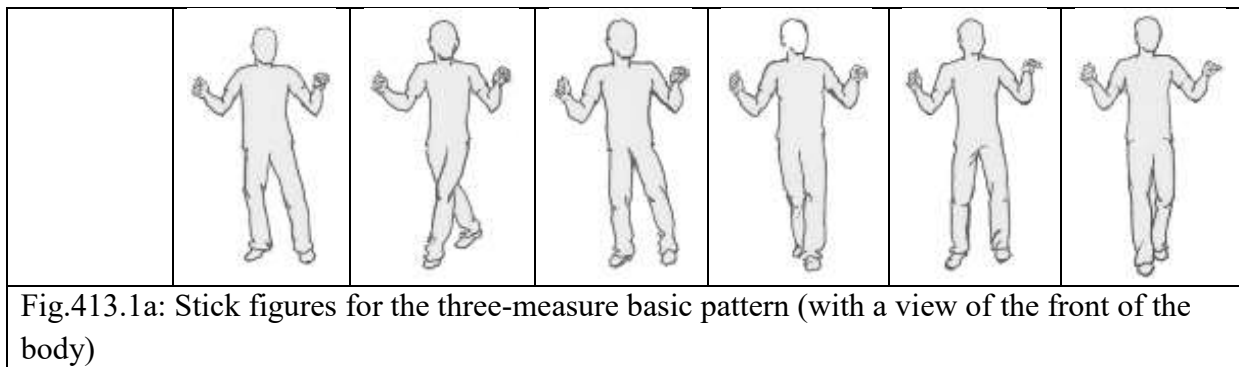
<sup>37</sup> In „Die 7 Schwaben“, 1952 Heft 3, S.113-114.

with the dances in the Faroe Islands: A closed circle with clasped hands starts a song and begins to 'roie'. The movement is, like everything primitive, simple: two lateral readjustment steps, after the second step cross the right leg over the left one, so it floats in the air. At the next cycle time, step to the right, then cross the left leg over the right and continue to take a step to the left [...]. The arms with the clasped hands swing back and forth to the rhythm. The circle turns, interrupted by the short movements to the right, slowly clockwise to the left. [...] The 'Roie' was usually danced on Sundays after the afternoon church service, at weddings and other occasions. "

Some older evidence is also available for France, because as early as 1588 Thoinot Arbeau described the 'Branle simple' or 'simple Branle' with exactly the same step pattern: "Open left foot - approach right foot - open left foot - connect right foot - Open right foot - connect left foot "(Arbeau 1588, p. 88). Arbeau further reports (1588, pp. 103-104) 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 bars in the first part. The respective versions differ only slightly and are referred to below as the basic form.

### Basic form

The step pattern of the basic form is shown in different ways below. Corresponding stick figures are shown above the verbal description. The step pattern is described in the direction of the circle to the right. As noted above, it is danced to the left in many regions.



Tab.413.1a: Description of the basic step pattern (to the right)

Counting time	1	2	3	4	5	6
bar 2/4	1	und	2	und	3	und
feet	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	front	side	tap	side	tap
Code <sup>38</sup>	0		1		1	

<sup>38</sup> The binary coding is described in Chap. 2.1.4b.



**Variants of the basic form**

Depending on the mood, dynamics or age of the dancers, certain elements can be varied in some basic forms. For example, the second step can be crossed at the front or back (B '). The provision without weight in beats 4 and 6 can also be expanded into overshooting the free leg with a hop (B ''). In the "triple form (B''')", the "step up" in beats 3 and 4 (also in 5 and 6) becomes a "step, step, step" in the rhythm of short, short, long, which in technical terms known as "pas des basques". One step becomes three steps in the same time available. The principle of these simple variants is always: The basic pattern remains, but individual elements can be varied to a certain extent.

Zigzag shapes (e.g. in Sardinian 'Passu Torrau' and Northern Greek 'Bogdanos')

If the second step is crossed in front of or behind the supporting leg (variation B ' ) and if the direction that is slightly different from the circular path is retained in the third step, the last step is reset to the circular path.

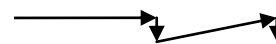
A small zigzag pattern is created (see Fig .: 413.1c).

Fig. 413.1c



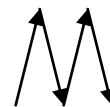
In other dances like the Bulgarian 'Pravo horo', the pattern is often executed the other way around. (see fig. 413.1d)

Fig. 413.1d



In the double variant (L), the step pattern is danced forward to the center of the circle, with another step pattern you dance backwards again to the circular path, but slightly offset so that a zig zag pattern is created (e.g. in the Bulgarian 'Trakijsko horo' or in the northern Greek 'Zonaradikos').

Fig. 413.1e



The extended version (XL) is interesting. The individual elements (a, b1 and b2) are retained, but are expanded in terms of time and rhythm. Instead of two measures, they now consist of e.g. from four or more beats, often in a time signature such as 9/8 or 11/16 that is unusual for Western European musical experience. The expansion of the steps goes hand in hand with an expansion of the time signature. The basic structure can still be clearly recognized over three bars. The first bar provides (as with the basic form) for the progress on the circular path (e.g. to the right), in the second and third bars it goes back and forth. The original pendulum movement is therefore still retained. There are very many such extended variants in northern Greece, Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey.

or

2/4	♪♪	♪♪	♪♪
becomes 9/8	♪♪♪♪.	♪♪♪♪.	♪♪♪♪.

2/4	♪♪	♪♪	♪♪
becomes 4/4	♪♪♪♪	♪♪♪♪	♪♪♪♪

Fig. 413.1f: Examples of bar extension

Table 413.1b: Overview of variants of the three-measure pattern

		figure	Characteristic feature	example
B	basic	413.1a	Pendulum with tap	Omal
B'	cross		Second step crosses behind or in front	Hasapo servikos
B''	swing		Free leg swings over when commuting	Hasapo servikos, Roien
B trip	triple		„pas des basques“	Variante von Hasapo servikos
Bzz	zigzag	413.1c und d	zigzag	Bogdanos
D	double-variant	413.1e	two patterns in zigzag	Zonaradikos
XL	Erweiterte Variante	413.1f	more beats	Gankino horo
Bq	„Quickstep-pattern“		here the steps are carried out forwards (and not sideways) in the sense of the basic pattern	Solopaar-Menuett, Boleros (Mallorka)

### The Arabic form (Debke)

In addition to the three-measure pattern (011) described in the previous sections, there is another form over three bars in Arab countries that at first glance seems to have the code (000). So that would be a different step pattern. However, there is a "transitional form" in the Middle East, which shows that the Arabic form with double stamping probably also emerged from the basic pattern with the code 011 through a phase shift. Viewed in this way, both the transitional form and the Arabic form belong to the same structural family as the three-bar dances of Europe.

When using variants to modify the basic form, neither elements are added nor subtracted. This would lead to a different step pattern. In the case of the variants, the structure of the pattern is retained, the individual elements are expanded or varied internally, as it were. The basic structure of the step pattern is retained and is therefore the most conservative element of these dances.

#### 4.1.3.2 Effect and symbolic content of the three-measure dances

The following considerations relate to the basic version of the three-measure pattern. Many of these simple three-bar dance forms are still danced today. However, the different occasions and opportunities have different effects on the sensations when dancing. That makes a general interpretation difficult. The "basic mood" conveyed by three-bar dances becomes clear when one considers the effect of this dance form on hobby folklore dancers of our time. There are no additional levels of meaning here, only the dance itself has an effect on them.

Since the step pattern is quite simple and the movements are neither difficult nor fast, anyone can join in.<sup>39</sup> Old and young, talented and untalented dance side by side. Hardly any time is needed to learn. Actually, everyone can stand up and dance along. On the other hand, the step pattern is not completely monotonous, as it is e.g. a procession step, but it goes two bars in one direction and one in the other. After a short period of acclimatization, it is no longer necessary to think about the step. The movement runs automatically in the meter of the melody. The dancers sink into movement and music, just hang on to their thoughts. You can even close your eyes and still remain an active member of the circle. This has characteristics of meditation, which is not brought about in a targeted manner, but simply comes about. The music plays an important role in this. This effect is intensified by yourself singing, as it is in ballad forms<sup>40</sup> and elsewhere in Europe.

It is also noteworthy that the steps going to the side and the front of the body are aligned to the center. This leads to the question of whether the steps are going to the side because the front is facing the center or whether the body front is facing the center because the steps are being taken to the side? The alignment towards the center is probably more important and primary. Perhaps a sacred act was performed in the middle, or the shaman or a sanctuary was located there. In later times one also danced around trees or the musicians played from the center so that they could be seen and heard well by everyone. Most of the essays on hand-held circular dances cite such or similar reasons as the cause of facing towards the center.<sup>41</sup>

However, the following aspect seems more important to me, although it is seldom mentioned: it is for the same reason why we form a circle of chairs for a good conversation today. In this form we can speak better to one another. The formation of a circle means that there is no polarity between the speaker and the audience. All parties involved are both and they have equal rights. All others can be seen from every position. The aspects of equality and general awareness also seem important to me for this type of dance. There is a particularly intense sense of community in the group, the feeling of being 'one'.<sup>42</sup> Everyone feels as a part of a larger whole, it literally demonstrates the community. This feeling is intensified by the common and equal movement to music and of course by holding hands.<sup>43</sup> Everyone belongs together.<sup>44</sup>

In authentic dance situations, other levels of meaning are superimposed on each other by the occasion, the situation, the clothing or special rituals.

It can only be speculated upon whether this dance pattern also contains such well-considered, desired symbolism. Some of these possible interpretations are given below.

---

<sup>39</sup> Martin 1973, p. 22 says: "It is not the varied steps that are essential, but the successive sequence of the numerous song verses."

<sup>40</sup> see Wolfram 1986, p. 14-16

<sup>41</sup> see Sachs 1933, p. 100 or Dance studies Vol 20, p. 26 or Busch-Hofer, 1987, p. 13 and many others. However, it cannot be confirmed in early illustrations that there is a central object danced around in the center (e.g. Lawler 1964, p. 32, early dance representations in Garfinkel 2003). Only with later illustrations, e.g. in the dance of Palaikastro, there is a lyre player in the middle of the circle.

<sup>42</sup> Horas have a social function, namely: unification of the participant and formation of a group unit, but also occur in connection with rituals (Giurchescu 1983, p. 167).

<sup>43</sup> "Circle version is a sign of community spirit, readiness to help each other in need, community and strength through standing together" (Donkov 1997, p. 46/47).

<sup>44</sup> The strong emphasis on togetherness does not mean that all dancers are equal. An open circle enables hierarchical gradations through the different positions.

In principle, there are two possible interpretations. First there is the number three in these three-measure dances. The structure of the motif of movement extends over three bars. And on the other hand, the three is a sum of “two and one”: two bars in place and one farther on the circular path or two in one direction and one in the other.

Regarding the number three: In many cultures, including ours, the number three is viewed as a divine number.<sup>45</sup> Even in the imagination of the Ice Age hunters and gatherers there was a trinity from the world of the spirits and the dead, the world of the living and the world of the divine beings (Haarmann 2006, pp. 18-19).<sup>46</sup> The idea that three-bar dances came about because of this symbolism is very speculative. However, for many of these three-bar dances one can say that they are or have been danced in a religious context.<sup>47</sup> There are also many examples from other cultures where for example the number of laps, steps or song repetitions can be determined by sacred numbers. In California all dances of the Maidu, Yuki, Hupa and Mohave tribes are based on the sacred number four (Sachs 1933, p. 103).

The scheme two and one is sometimes interpreted to mean that the dancer moves two bars forward in one direction and then back one. Perhaps he'll go back out of caution so as not to venture too far forward? The scheme of the pilgrim's step<sup>48</sup> is also interpreted in this way. Rudolf Sonner (1930)<sup>49</sup> envisages the two steps as a victory in summer, the step back as defending oneself against the loss of one's rule. Laura Shannon sees the step pattern as a symbol of the tree of life<sup>50</sup> and also as a symbol for lingering.<sup>51</sup>

The principle of two and one can also be seen the other way around. Two steps are shuttled back and forth across the square. In order not to remain in place, you take two steps 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 side<sup>52</sup> in order to move farther on the circular path. It was only when folk dances came on stage relatively recently that symmetrical elements were preferred. Because on stage it is unpleasant to keep turning your back to the audience. With symmetrical elements, you always stay right in front of the audience. For this reason e.g. in Greek folk dances recently more and more symmetrical elements have found their way into folk dances as variants.

---

<sup>45</sup> There is a trinity in Christianity, the holy family consists of three persons, the holy kings of the east were three of them and the resurrection of Christ was on the third day.

<sup>46</sup> See also Müssig 2010, p. 207; see also Clottes 1996, p. 29.

<sup>47</sup> Lecture by Konstantinos Dimopoulos at the CID conference (Conseil International de la Danse) in Malaga in July 2009: The end of a ritual or the beginning of new social structures? The case of Bright Tuesday in the community of Lazarina, Karditsa, Thessaly.

<sup>48</sup> See C. Sachs, 1933, p. 119; Böhme 1886, p. 158.

<sup>49</sup> In Junk 1948/1990, p. 99.

<sup>50</sup> Laura Shannon (2003): The three-bar dance pattern is a coded representation of the tree of life: In its usual form, the tree of life is represented as a central trunk with two symmetrical branches on the sides. Our three-bar dance pattern moves in one direction in the first bar (like the growing trunk) and then repeats something to either side in bars two and three (like the symmetrical branches). The tree of life, in turn, can be a symbol for male as well as female sexual reproductive power, because the motif has an obvious connection to anatomy. "A large one in the middle and two small ones on either side can also serve as a rough description of the male and female reproductive organs." in complete equilibrium, without preferring one side or the other. "

<sup>51</sup> Laura Shannon. Women's Ritual Dances, p. 151 in *Dancing on the earth 2010*: "The three-bar pattern contains an automatic lingering: the step back [...] results in a pause in the forward movement, which we can experience as a time for reflection and renewal in the progressive movement. It's like a peaceful winter after the activities of spring, summer and autumn [...] a night's sleep after a hard day's work [...] These moments of rest are necessary for our health. "

<sup>52</sup> E.g. in the Breton An Dro, etc.

#### 4.1.3.3 Today's distribution and relics of the three-measure dances

The three-bar pattern is by far the most common step pattern of the circular chain dances in Europe, which is also the most widespread. Three-bar dances are particularly common in parts of the Balkans and the Middle East: in Moldova, Romania (in the Moldau region, Wallachia and Dobruja), in Bulgaria, in southern Serbia, in Kosovo, in North Macedonia, in Greece, in Albania, in Turkey (except in western Asia Minor), in Palestine, in Syria, in Jordan and in Lebanon. There are also many dances with a three-bar structure on the Faroe Islands, Brittany and Sardinia.

Some variants can be found in parts of Hungary, in Romanian Transylvania, in Croatia, in Serbia, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Montenegro, in Iraq, in Iran (in the north, in the west and along the Gulf coast), in Azerbaijan, in Armenia and in Caucasus. This dance pattern may also be found further east in Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. However, it has not yet been possible for me to clearly prove this.<sup>53</sup> There is also no evidence in North Africa, although the dances of the Berber and Nubians are evidently related to European circular chain dances.

In large areas of today's Europe, however, there are no longer any three-bar dances because there are no more circular chain dances. On the other hand, there is written historical evidence for many regions that such dances used to take place there. In addition, many couple dances have a basic step in a three-bar pattern. The many documents (see data part II A) and the considerations in Chap. 4.9 on the origin of couple dances indicate that the corresponding step patterns were taken over from the older chain dances. Basic steps of couple dances in a three-bar pattern are therefore called relics. There are some such relics in couples dancing in addition to historical evidence throughout Europe. The historical evidence is particularly dense in Central Europe. This is probably due to the fact that the sources for this area are more accessible and therefore more evidence has come together. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to find proof of a three-measure pattern for Russia.

For Great Britain there is at least the assumption that island Celts who immigrated to Brittany in the 5th to 7th centuries<sup>54</sup>, these dances, which they still dance today, come from Great Britain together with the Celtic language (Schrijver 2004, p. 6). Otherwise, there is only one remaining record for Great Britain so far. There is also no evidence for Italy, because a single remaining evidence from the Reizjatal, which is in Italy, probably goes back to Slovenian origins.

---

<sup>53</sup> Some dance experts I interviewed (for example Stephen Kotansky USA) are of the opinion that there are also three-bar dances there. I haven't found a receipt yet.

<sup>54</sup> See [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bretagne#Bretonische\\_Einwanderung](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bretagne#Bretonische_Einwanderung), 10/30/2013.

In the map Fig. 413.3, both today's evidence of three-bar dances and historical evidence are included. The following distinctions are made:

*Comprehensive, many variants (viele Varianten):* In these regions there are many local variants of three-bar dances everywhere. For example, there are hundreds of these 'sta tria' variants in Greece.

*Comprehensive, some variants (einige Varianten):* In these regions there are some local variants across the board.

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

*Element in a dance (Element eines Tanzes):* With these documents, the whole dance does not consist of the three-bar pattern, but only a part. In the West Bohemian Žinkovske kolečko, for example, the girls dance the three-bar pattern in the first part of the dance.

*Historical evidence (historischer Beleg):* This is a form that is no longer danced today, but is documented in literature. For example, 'Branle simple' mentioned in Arbeau (1588).

*Relic in couple dance (Relikt im Paartanz):* Individual figures or even all movements of couple dances are performed with a three-bar pattern. This is the case with the "Boleros" on Mallorca, for example.

?: Too little data is available on this area.

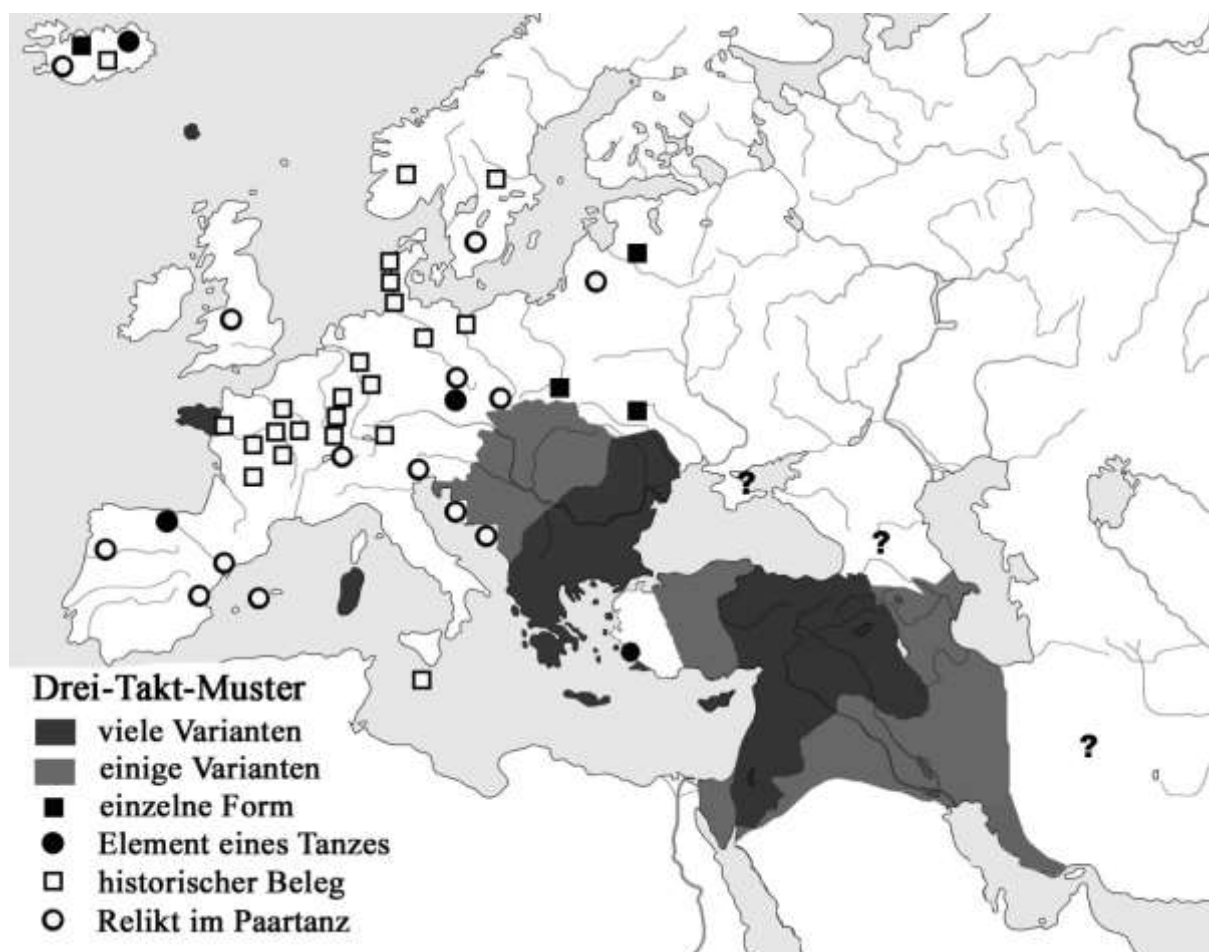


Fig. 413.3: Today's distribution of the three-bar dances and relics. The database for this map can be found in the data section for the individual countries (II.A).

The main focus of today's distribution of the three-bar dances, as well as the chain dances, is in Southeast Europe and the Middle East. Adjacent evidence is thinned out. In a first attempt at an explanation, one could assume that the center of origin is somewhere in the focus area. Thereafter, further expansion took place from the center, which led to a thinning in the adjacent areas. However, this view does not explain the concentrated occurrences in Sardinia, Brittany and the Faroe Islands. Nor does it explain the lack of the three-bar pattern in western Turkey, which correlates with the lack of chain dances in this region. Historical evidence and relics cannot be explained with it either. Therefore this interpretation is not very convincing. All the facts suggest that three-bar dances used to be widespread throughout Europe, as can be shown for chain dances in general in the following chapter.

## 4.2 Spread of chain dances up to the Middle Ages

In order to be able to make statements about the spread of chain dances in the Middle Ages and the time before, one can refer to written and secondly to iconographic sources.

### 4.2.1 Written sources

For the period before the 11th century, there are a few church dance bans in Western Europe<sup>55</sup> in which there is almost nothing about the characteristics of the dances themselves. From the 11th to the 14th centuries<sup>56</sup>, some song texts, poems or church and city dance bans have come down to us. However, the search for descriptions of concrete steps is in vain. The oldest literature on this topic comes from the 15th century.<sup>57</sup> It describes dance steps and dances of court society. Even in later centuries there is no information about the dance patterns of the common people.<sup>58</sup>

All authors who deal with folk dances and their history are nevertheless in agreement that the chain dance represented the predominant dance form of the Middle Ages<sup>59</sup> and that this dance form was widespread throughout Europe<sup>60</sup> and can be found in all layers of medieval dance culture (Martin 1973, p. 102). For most of the areas where there are no more chain dances today, there is written evidence of their medieval existence. For those regions in which there are still chain dances today, the assumption is obvious that they also shaped the dance scene

---

<sup>55</sup> This led to the view that round dances only existed in Germany since the Middle Ages, as they have only been mentioned in written sources since that time. Similar false conclusions have been drawn from the lack of specific references to dance in ancient (Irish) literature and led to the view that dance was unknown in ancient Ireland (Breathnach 1971, p. 35).

<sup>56</sup> Salmen (1999) begins with his study: "Dance and Dancing from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance", due to a lack of sources, therefore not until the 11th century.

<sup>57</sup> The dance book by G. Ebrero da Pesaro (1416, cf. Schneider 1985, p. 526) is currently the oldest literature on dance with a certain date of origin. It describes dance forms of the knightly social culture of the Middle Ages. This and other dance textbooks were created because dancing was an essential part of social ceremonies at this time. In return, each court had not only court musicians but also a dance teacher who had to teach the courtiers the art of dancing. The dance teachers made this work easier for themselves by writing down the dances.

<sup>58</sup> The descriptions of the mayor of Gdańsk Georg Schröder in his diary from the years 1665-1675 are among the oldest evidence of folk dances; in Oetke 1982, p. 27 & p. 98.

<sup>59</sup> See Wolfram 1986, p. 57; Czerwinski 1878, p. 4; Oetke 1982, p. 26; Goldschmidt 5th edition 1989, p. 44; Böhme 1886, p. 147; Martin 1973, p. 102.

<sup>60</sup> Giurchescu 1983, S. 164; Martin 1983, S. 147; Martin 1973, S. 102.

in the Middle Ages and in the time before. Therefore, the relevant experts agree that chain dances were widespread throughout Europe in the Middle Ages.

From ancient Greece there are some references that deal with dancing.<sup>61</sup> These clearly show that chain dances were already taking place in Greece at that time.

In addition, archaeological finds of dance performances indicate that chain dances were also common in other regions well before the Middle Ages.



Fig. 421: Distribution of the circular chain dances in the Middle Ages (marked with gray color). The database for this map is in the data section for the individual countries (II.A) and a compilation of the documents for the period before the Middle Ages in data section II.B.4.

#### 4.2.2 Pictorial and figurative (iconographic) representations

The oldest iconographic find in Europe comes from Romania. Whether the "Hora de la Frumușica" (Fig. 422a) from the 4th millennium BC. (Garfinkel 2003, p. 209) is really about a Hora, also depends on the interpretation of the viewer. However, this assumption is understandable when viewed together with other dance images from this time.<sup>62</sup>

The five dancers from Sassari (Fig. 422b) and the "Minoan Round Dance" (Fig. 422c) can be recognized without a doubt as a chain formation. From the 9th century BC there are

<sup>61</sup> The passage from Homer's Iliad is frequently cited in which he describes Achilles' shield: "Blooming youths there and celebrated virgins danced the ring dance, holding each other by the hand." From Boehn 1925, p. 37. In a second passage from the Iliad says: "... he (the boy) also sang the Linos gracefully, with a loud voice, and the others danced all around him, accompanied by singing and cheering with hopping feet." From Weege 1976, p. 32. In a passage by Lucian von Samosta, the Hormos described in which young men and virgins danced alternately in a row (Boehn 1925, p. 139).

<sup>62</sup> In Garfinkel 2003, pp. 209-210, 8 more of these bowls with dance figures are listed.



illustrations of round dancing on vases and buildings in Greece, Cyprus and Italy. Some rock carvings supplement the findings mentioned so far. Worth mentioning are the Bronze Age rock drawings with circular chains (Fig. 422d) in Sweden, which show an open dance circle. A representation on a larger stone from the Val Camonica (Fig. 422e) in the Italian Alps shows several lines of people who were engraved into the rock in a dancing manner in shoulder setting. Also in West Asia, there are rock art depictions of chain dances.




	
<p>Fig. 422a: Hora de la Frumușica, Archaeological Museum Bucharest, 4th millennium BC.</p>	<p>Fig. 422b: Line of five dancers, incised into a bowl from Sassari, Sardinia from the 4th millennium BC.</p>
	
	<p>Fig. 422d: Detail from a Bronze Age rock carving in Sweden</p>



Fig. 422c: Minoan dance, Heraklion  
Archaeo-logical Museum, around 17th  
century BC



Fig. 422e: Detail from a stone engraving  
from Val Camonica

The cited iconographic findings do not cover the whole area, but they show impressively that in many regions of Europe and neighboring areas circular chain dances were common well before the Middle Ages.



Fig. 422f: Mixed chain dance with musician on a silver disc brooch from the early 13th century. Find from the Kornhaus Tübingen.

The synopsis of all the different types of findings cited up to this point leads to the result that chain dances were widespread across Europe until the end of the Middle Ages. Before couple dances appeared, they were the dominant form of dance in Western Eurasia.

From this statement, the question arises of how and where they originated and how their dissemination took place.

But can one even assume that these dances, having appeared once, that they will spread out afterwards? That people join together in a dance group is a simple and obvious matter. It could have happened anywhere and often. In every village, the residents would have come to dance on certain occasions and formed a circle. Each of these small communities would then have invented their own step pattern and developed a village tradition from them.

These opposing ideas are reflected in the following questions: Do chain dances have a single origin from which they then spread? Or have they been created and developed several times independently of one another? The answer cannot be clarified on the basis of the findings given so far. This requires further investigations and considerations, in which the three-bar dances will play a central role.

### 4.3 Hypotheses and evidence on the origin and spread of chain dances - carried out at the marker three-bar dances

The three-bar pattern is a relatively simple but clearly understandable dance pattern. It can be clearly distinguished from other patterns and can be found today almost everywhere where there are still chain dances. The distribution area extends from Iceland to Iran. Based on historical evidence and relics in couple dances, it is reasonable to assume that the three-bar dances were widespread throughout Europe and the Middle East in the Middle Ages and before.

In principle, two opposing processes are conceivable for the development of such a widespread dance pattern.

The three-bar dances could have originated independently of one another in many regions. Based on the theory of descent, this is referred to as "polyphyletic origin". This is hereafter referred to as

hypothesis 1 - Multiple and Independent Origin.

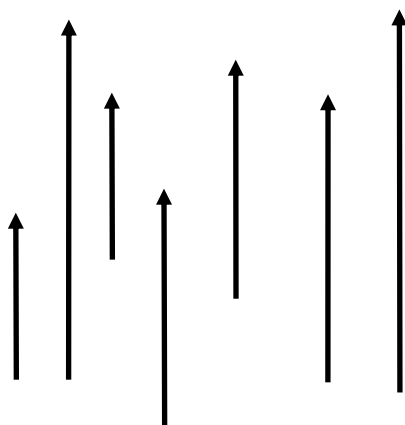


Fig. 430a: Multiple origins  
(monophyletic)

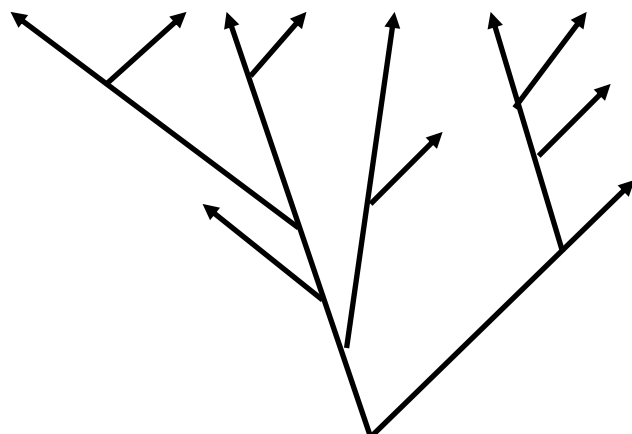


Fig. 430b: One-time creation  
(polyphyletic)

On the other hand, this dance pattern could have originated a long time ago and spread from a development center. Based on the theory of descent, this is a "monophyletic origin". This is under hypothesis 2 – a one-time creation with subsequent spread - In addition, combinations of both processes are also conceivable.

Finally, a hypothesis 3 - universal distribution - could also be imagined. Three-bar dances would belong to the elementary dance movements of humans in the sense of a "Homo in circulo saltans". Then three-bar dances and the associated chain dances would have to be found all over the world, which is not the case. Neither in sub-Saharan Africa, nor in North America or Australia, nor in large areas of Asia (e.g. Southeast Asia, Japan, North Asia) are there chain dances. This clearly speaks against this hypothesis. It will therefore not be discussed further in the following.

#### **4.3.1 Hypothesis 1: Multiple and independent origin of the three-bar dances**

The step pattern of the three-bar dances developed independently of one another in many places. Which arguments speak for and which against this hypothesis?

##### Pros:

Executing a three-bar pattern is not a very difficult and complex proposition. It lies in the "creativity area" of all dancing persons. The hypothesis of multiple genesis seems obvious: Any person gifted in dance could have invented such a sequence of steps.

Cons: If the three-measure pattern had arisen spontaneously several times in different places, this process would not have led to widespread dissemination, because it is difficult to imagine and statistically also improbable that the present area-wide and even dissemination was caused by multiple spontaneous occurrences. Such a development process should rather lead to an uneven and non-area-wide distribution. Furthermore, other comparably simple patterns such as the 'Syrtos' pattern (= "sta dio" = "on two") have a similar distribution. 'Syrtos' pattern and 'sta dio' are always used synonymously in the following, even if this is perhaps not entirely correct!

The "Syrtos" step with its specific rhythm occurs in many Greek and southern Albanian dances. In this area, this special two-measure pattern has roughly the same frequency as the three-measure pattern and can be found in all regions (see Fig. 431). The 'sta dio' is particularly famous for the Greek national dance "Kalamatianos", which consists of a small variation of this pattern. In addition, this step pattern still occurs in the Macedonian part of Bulgaria and in parts of the Republic of North Macedonia. Outside of this range, however, there are only two references (Torp 1990, p. 94). In summary, it can be stated that 'sta dio' is only widespread regionally and is completely absent in other areas of Europe.<sup>63</sup> There are also other examples of a regionally limited spread of simple dance patterns.<sup>64</sup> A multiple and independent emergence of special dance patterns is therefore generally not verifiable.

---

<sup>63</sup> In Turkey, it occurs in a simplified form in Thrace and Pontus, which can be easily explained by the Greek influence. The rhythmic pattern, without the specific step expression, can also be found in northeastern Turkey (Kars, Aseri) and among the Kurds and Georgians.

<sup>64</sup> One such example is the "Alunelul pattern", which is widespread in an area from southern Romania to Greek Thrace (see Section 5.5.1).

Another argument against this hypothesis is that with the immeasurable variety of existing chain dances in Europe, the number of distinguishable dance patterns<sup>65</sup> is relatively small (Torp 1990, p. 27, p. 70). In the case of multiple and random occurrences, there should be a greater diversity for statistical reasons, but this cannot be determined.

The real present distributions of step patterns contradict theoretical considerations about a multiple and independent emergence of European dance patterns. This leads to hypothesis 2, which is discussed in the following chapter.



Fig 431 Distribution of the Syrtos pattern - "sta dio" (marked with gray color)

#### 4.3.2 Hypothesis 2: One-time creation with subsequent spread of the three-measure dances

A unique creation would also explain the other, consistently common features such as dancing accompanied by singing, led by a first dancer. But how could the three-measure pattern be spread across the board at all? Two opposing processes are also conceivable in the case of monophyletic development. Either the people of Europe have always danced like this, they brought these dances with them when Europe was settled in the Paleolithic Age. Or the three-measure dances came into fashion later, when they spread across Europe as part of a new culture and thus reached all regions.

<sup>65</sup> In her investigation, Torp (1990) came up with 7 fundamentally distinguishable patterns.

Hypothesis 2a: Three-bar dances (as a marker for chain dances) are an old European dance form that has always been danced by European people.

Pros:

This interpretation is supported by the fact that this type of dance is spread all over Europe. If the modern people already had three-bar dances in their repertoire when they first settled in Europe, that would explain their widespread use.

Cons:

However, there is no evidence of chain dances from the younger Paleolithic.<sup>66</sup> After the colonization of Europe, our ancestors were hunters and gatherers. Many dance scenes in caves or on rocks show people dancing individually, mostly wearing animal masks.<sup>67</sup> Ethnographic parallels, such as, for example, the dance among the San Bushmen in southern Africa<sup>68</sup> or the dances of the Eskimo tribes in North America or the dances of the Indian hunter-gatherer communities in North America clearly show that these societies do not have any chain dances. They dance individually or together, also in a circle, but always without composure and never in such a synchronous execution as is the case with chain dances. Both arguments speak against the creation of the chain dances in the Paleolithic.

Hypothesis 2b: A new culture that spread across Europe brings the three-bar dances to all regions. Such a process could also explain the widespread use of this dance pattern. But what are the possible events for such a revolutionary change? With the current state of research, there are two historical processes to choose from. On the one hand the spread of the Indo-Europeans over almost all of Europe and on the other hand the spread of early agriculture (Neolithic Revolution). For some researchers, however, these two processes are one and the same. Therefore I will only go into early agriculture in the following and discuss the possible role of the Indo-Europeans in a later chapter. At least two plausible indications speak in favor of spread through early agriculture.

Pro:

Firstly, the new way of acquiring food and the associated settled existence are creating small settlements, which, compared to the conditions of hunters and gatherers, offer larger groups a livelihood. The changes in the provision of food and the social structures also bring about new forms of coexistence, which is reflected in a new form of dance. Second, the distribution area of the three-bar dances before the appearance of the couple dances in Europe corresponds very well to the distribution area of early agriculture.

Cons:

From my point of view, there are no counter-arguments.

---

<sup>66</sup> The younger Paleolithic begins with the colonization of Europe by modern people (homo sapiens).

<sup>67</sup> See the mask dancers in the cave "Les Trois Frères" in France; the bullman in the cave of Gabillou in F; the mask dancer from Teyjat F; the stone engravings from the Addaura Cave in Sicily. There are also the uniformly depicted female bodies from Gönnersdorf or scenes with free dancing from Spain (Section 4.4).

<sup>68</sup> See Garfinkel 2003, p. 69 and 73.

Among the hypotheses cited, the best arguments for the pros and in particular for the hypothesis of a single origin and subsequent spreading with early agriculture can be cited. According to this hypothesis, the three-bar dances would have originated in the origin of early agriculture in the Middle East and would have spread across Europe with this new culture.

If this hypothesis makes sense for three-bar dances, it may also hold true for chain dances in general. For what reasons should other forms of chain dances have formed in other regions or for other reasons? This makes it more likely that the chain dance developed as a new type of dance in the development phase of the new Neolithic culture and that it may have existed in some different step patterns even before it spread. Among these initial variants there was certainly the three-bar pattern, which has a high density<sup>69</sup> and widespread distribution as no other, at least in Europe and the Middle East, but which cannot be proven today in a few areas in which there are still chain dances.<sup>70</sup> The fact that the distribution areas of the three-bar dances (Fig. 413.3) and that of the chain dances (Fig. 412) are almost congruent, at least for Europe and the Middle East, also speaks in favor of expanding the origin hypothesis to include chain dances in general.

In conclusion, with this hypothesis it seems likely that the chain dances originated in connection with the formation of the Neolithic culture of the Middle East. The further spread of this type of dance then took place as part of this culture. In this sense, chain dances<sup>71</sup> are a related group with a common origin.

In the following chapter it is shown in more detail that there were no chain dances before the spread of the Neolithic shepherds and farmers in Europe.

---

<sup>69</sup> For example, Leibman (1992, p. 109) observed in Peštani (North Macedonia) that on the Friday after Easter, 17 out of 20 dances sung and danced had a three-bar pattern. Leibman (1992, p. 124; pp. 260-261) reports elsewhere that 50% of the dances danced in North Macedonia today have the three-bar pattern.

<sup>70</sup> In Provence and Catalonia there are still chain dances, but none with a three-bar pattern. Even with the chain dances of the Berbers in North Africa or the tribal dances in India, I have not yet been able to determine this pattern.

<sup>71</sup> Strictly speaking, one can only assume a kinship group of the circular chain dances. Whether snaking chain dances also belong to this family or have another origin cannot be clearly clarified with the present argument, because three-bar dances are circular chain dances and not snaking chain dances. On the other hand, prehistoric images of dance situations from the Middle East show that there might have been snaking dances in the early days (see Chapter 4.5.2).

#### 4.4 No chain dances among the hunters and gatherers of the upper Palaeolithic and Middle Stone Age in Europe

Modern people (*homo sapiens*) settled in Europe around 40,000 years ago (Bräuer 2006, pp. 179 - 181). If these old Europeans already had chain dances and also those in the three-bar pattern in their repertoire, that would explain their spread across Europe. But both archaeological findings and ethnological comparisons in connection with the way of life of today's hunter-gatherer societies speak against the spread of the chain dances by the old Europeans. The people of this time lived from hunting. In addition, they systematically gathered plant food (Archäologisches Landesmuseum BW, p. 161). In order to use the various resources in different areas and at different times of the year, they had to constantly move around and relocate their camps (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, p. 14).

For such a mobile and receptive form of subsistence there seems to be an optimal group size, which is between 10 and 60 individuals. Their religious ideas are composed of a large work of images from cosmology, mythology and the symbols and rituals associated with them (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003 p. 29). Müssig (2010, pp. 120-124) deduces real magic, symbolic magic and totemism from the cave paintings of the younger Paleolithic Age. Magicians and healers, often singing and dancing, are in dialogue with the powers of the world of gods and spirits, the ancestors and heroes (Salmen 1983, p. 23).

Musical instruments have been proven from very early on. 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 in Southwest Germany (Archäologisches Landesmuseum BW p. 317 - 321).

Melodies with a pentatonic scale can be played on them. Even today, much of the original folk music is based on this tone system. It is easy to imagine that these flutes were also used to accompany dances. What might the dances of the upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic hunters and gatherers of Europe have looked like? There are two sources of knowledge for this: archaeological finds with dance representations and ethnographic comparisons.

The present dance images<sup>72</sup> can be divided into three groups based on their features:

- a) single dancers with masks or hybrid beings,
- b) group dancing, possibly aiming at ecstasy and
- c) female bodies lined up one behind the other.

The first group includes some of the Upper Paleolithic cave paintings from France, which show individually depicted dancers with animal heads. Müssig (2010 p. 206) sees in them most likely mask dancers and portrayed hunting dances<sup>73</sup> asking for luck in the hunt or to mime a successful hunt. Clottes and Lewis-Williams (1996, p. 92) interpret these hybrid creatures of animals and humans as magicians or shamans and relate the images to different stages of trance (1996, p. 92). With other figures like the lying or dead bird man from Lascaux or the "Dieu cornu" from Les Trois Frères, Müssig (2010, p. 372) also assumes shaman images. Such shaman dances in connection with trance still exist in some cultures





---

<sup>72</sup> Mainly rock paintings and carvings

<sup>73</sup> or example the mask dancers in the cave "Les Trois Frères"; the bullman in Gabillou's cave; the mask dancers of Teyjat (see Fig.440a - d)



today (Miller in Kasten 2009, p. 114; Hengst 2003, p. 98f). Animal and ghost masks also play a major role in many ritual dances of today's "primitive peoples" (Müssig 2010, p. 301).

	
<p>Fig. 440a: Mask dancers from the Gabillous cave</p>	<p>Fig. 440b: Mask dancers from the Les Trois Frères cave</p>
	
<p>Fig. 440b: Mask dancers from the Les Trois Frères cave</p>	<p>Fig. 440b: Mask dancers from the Les Trois Frères cave<sup>74</sup></p>

<sup>74</sup> Fig. 440b: Mask dancers from the Les Trois Frères cave

A second dance motif can be seen in the cave of Barranco de los Grajos (Fig. 443e). An entire group of women and men dancing is depicted on the rocks. They stand in a semicircle or in a group and some stretch their arms upwards or to the side in wild contortions. This type of movement seems to have something to do with ecstasy and trance. An analysis of the rock art of the San Bushmen, hunters and gatherers in southern Africa up to the present day, leads to similar conclusions. The dance figures do not show any group uniformity. A large number of the scenes are related to the activity of the shaman (Garfinkel 2003, p. 73). The shamans act as mediators and border crossers between the worlds (Junk 1948/1990 p. 124). The trance dance is still widespread in the life of the San today and is used by them for various magical purposes, for example to change the weather, to heal the sick or to attract game. It is performed in a group of some specially trained trance dancers (Hengst 2003, p. 36ff).



Fig. 440e: Group dance from Barranco\_de\_Los\_Grajos (excerpt)

The third group consists of female figures<sup>75</sup> from Gönnersdorf (Rhineland) and strikingly similar images from Lalinde (France), which are depicted in a row without a head, but with a swinging movement. For Garfinkel, both features are an indication of dance (2010, p. 207). The emphasis on the rounded buttocks and breasts also allows other interpretations (Müssig 2010, p. 159). Therefore doubts are justified that these representations are dance scenes at all. This classification is also not obvious for the women's bodies<sup>76</sup> engraved in juxtaposition in Gönnersdorf, which Garfinkel (2010, p. 209) classifies as possible depictions of a couple dance, as two unclothed women's bodies are shown without a head. In summary, the following characteristics can be recorded as typical for these hunter-gatherer societies - as far as they can still be observed today or up until recently. The dances are almost always performed in a loose circle (Sachs 1933, p.143) or in a throng without touching.<sup>77</sup> The movements are often aimed at ecstasy, also under the influence of intoxicants, and are in a magical-religious context. Usually only men dance in public (Max von Boehn 1925, p. 24; Kuhlbrodt 1959, p. 222).

<sup>75</sup> See Fig. 440f.

<sup>76</sup> See Fig. 440g.

<sup>77</sup> This is the result of Kuhlbrodt's analysis of the form of the hunter's dances (1959, p. 301ff). When analyzing the dances of 11 different hunter populations, he finds very few dances with composure.

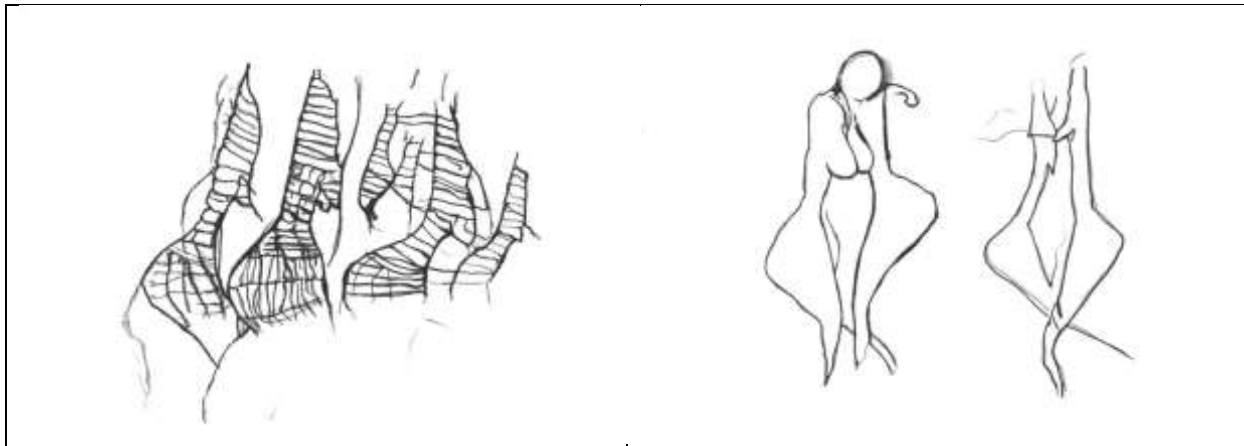


Fig. 440f: Rock engravings of women's bodies in a row from Gönnersdorf (late Magdalenien)

Fig. 440g: Rock engravings with two women facing each other from Gönnerdorf

In the following, distinguishable dance content by different authors is summarized thematically:

Hunting dances, weapon dances, weather changes, fertility and eroticism, Totem dances, initiation dances, worship dances.

It is possible that today's mask dances go back to these ancient roots,<sup>78</sup> but there is no evidence of a contribution made by the people of the upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic to the chain dances in Europe, in which the dancers are connected to one another through physical contact.

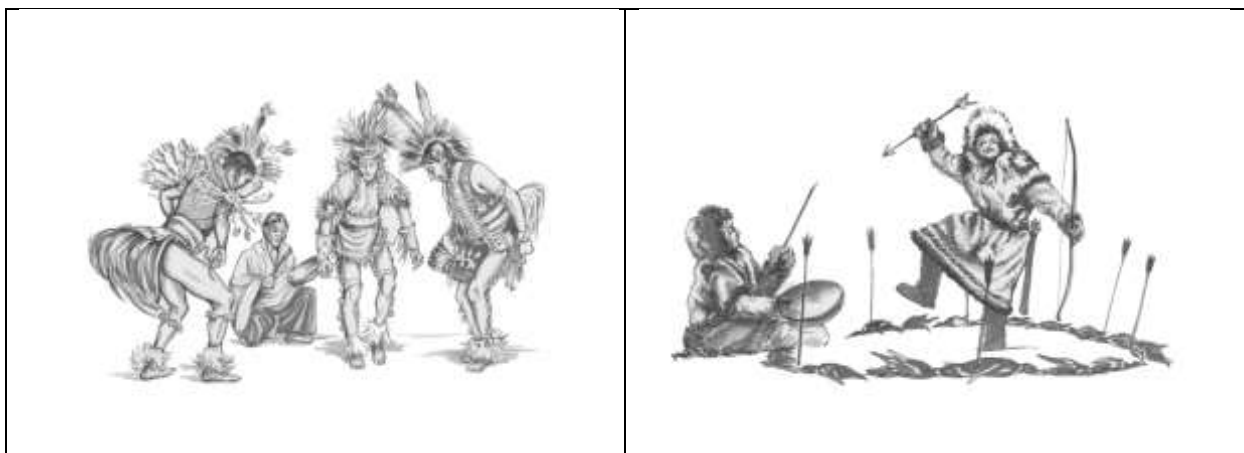


Fig.440h: Iroquois eagle dance, it serves to worship the protectors who circle high in the sky.

Fig. 440i: An Inuit's hunting dance

<sup>78</sup> Some early illustrations of chain dances also show mask dancers, e. g. Fig. 452b.

## 4.5 Origin and spread of the chain dances in connection with sedentary lifestyle and earlier agriculture

The extensive and dense spread of the three-bar dances can be explained most consistently by their spread in the course of the expansion of a new culture that reached all regions of Europe. For such a process, the emergence of early agriculture in the Middle East and its spread is most likely to come into question.

### Development of a settled existence and early agriculture:

Surprisingly, a settled existence arises even before early agriculture and may even be a prerequisite for it. The first permanent dwellings for hunters and gatherers are recorded in the Levant at the time of the Natufien (12,500 - 10,000 BC) (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, pp. 15 and 25). It is believed that the regional resources of this area were very favorable due to climate change and that game was available all year round.

In connection with another climate change ("earlier Dryas"), people in the Levant begin, around 10,000 BC, to cultivate grain and domesticate wild animals,<sup>79</sup> a process that extended until about 7500 BC. It was only at this point in time that a settled existence became generally accepted, and significant population growth took place along with population movement (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, p. 49). Village agriculture originated (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, p. 45).

### Way of life and social structures of the early shepherds and farmers:

The early village communities of this time and this area were socially organized in tribes and groups led by a chief (chiefdoms) with a simple agricultural base (Garfinkel 2003, p. 66). With the Neolithic era, the group size increased (Benz 2008, p. 101), the population density increased and a weak social and political differentiation set in (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, p. 97). For the early farmers there was more work, less leisure time, less balanced and varied food, therefore they were less healthy and had a shorter life expectancy compared to the members of the hunter-gatherer communities (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, p. 78). The early Neolithics lived in houses, produced and stored food. To maintain relationships and for other reasons, regular festivals and ceremonies were held, which gave expression to a new set of social and economic values (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, p. 97).

### New values and religious ideas:

At that time ritual and ceremony were ubiquitous. The intention of a ritual is to influence spirits and magical powers, also to give symbolic information about social order or the relationship between people (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, p. 83). Rituals express fundamental social values and behavioral norms and give the world order and meaning (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, p. 83). Obvious examples are rites of change, which mark transition points in the life of individuals such as birth, puberty, marriage and death (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, p. 83), whereby the meaningful dimension of fertility is superimposed on the other aspects. Rites convey messages and identity, group membership

---

<sup>79</sup> The Middle East was the distribution area of the wild original forms of cereals, pulses and other cultivated plants and also of sheep, goats, cattle and pigs (Uerpman 2007, p. 59). Comparative DNA studies of cattle, for example, show that they all go back to ancestors from the Near and Middle East (Bollongino et al. 2006, p. 24).

and community. Burial places near the house also indicate a stronger spiritual bond with a place (Benz 2008, p. 100).

#### General changes:

During this time, many changes took place in a comparatively short time (Garfinkel 2003, p. 66):

- There are permanently inhabited settlements.
- The population is increasing.
- Groups join together to form larger communities.
- Food is produced by an increasing number of domesticated animals and plants.
- Technical innovations come about through heating: plaster, stucco, later ceramics and even later metals.
- Social development leads to differentiation and stratification.
- Basic concepts of religion emerge.

In the late Neolithic, private property emerged (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, p. 1), as it is impossible to share with everyone in larger settlements. Sedation leads to greater emphasis on kinship ties, also to keep property and supplies in family ownership. The functional status is at least partially replaced by a genealogical status. In the long term, settling down leads to social hierarchy and socio-economic specialization (Benz 2008, p. 135). Gender and age-specific differences are increased (Benz 2008, p. 123). Social tensions increase because a specific group size is exceeded and there are no mediators (Benz 2008, p. 123). In this structure, the chain dance with its ritual, symbolic and community-building properties may have played a role.

#### **4.5.1 Reasons for the creation of the chain dances**

Dance performances are the oldest and most widely presented subject of prehistoric art in the Middle East between 8000 and 4000 BC (Garfinkel 2003, p. 3). The communal circle dance dominates (Garfinkel 2003, p. 63), whereby 93% of the dance representations can be found on round objects such as round vessels and stone seals. The illustrations are characterized by the great uniformity of the dance movements, a uniformity that cannot be found in the hunter-gatherer cave drawings.

Why does communal dancing with uniform movements suddenly play such an important role in the newly emerging Neolithic society?

#### Hypotheses in connection with the origin of communal circle dances

a) Cultivation of the "wilderness" (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, p. 87)

In the transition from a receptive to a productive form of subsistence, people try to domesticate wild animals and cultivate wild plants. They strive to take control of the environment. Rituals and symbols are helpful for this. These control efforts are reflected in the formalized and uniform dance movements.

b) Overcoming isolation and strife (Wilson 1988, p. 57; 167f in Garfinkel 2003, p. 76)

In the case of hunters and gatherers, only a very fine line separates their habitat from nature itself. House and village, on the other hand, mean a clearer separation. A physical barrier to the environment and neighbors is created in the form of the walls. This reduces annoyance and disturbance and reduces the chance of distraction. On the other hand, the ability to be considerate towards neighbors in daily life decreases. This creates privacy, the walls lead to protection and security, but also to a loss of trust and conflict between neighbors, since one is no longer fully informed about each other. The isolation and privacy of households is therefore a source of anger, stress and separation. Chain dance then has a connecting and reconciling effect.

c) Increase in social tension due to larger communities

The Neolithic settlements consist of larger groups compared to the hunters and gatherers. The size of the group alone seems to be a stress factor. Observations of the behavior of San Bushmen in the transition area from a hunter-gatherer community to sedentarism confirm that social tensions increase significantly after a certain group size has been exceeded (Benz 2008, p. 123). Dancing together and rituals reduces social tensions.

d) Dance as a means of discipline (Garfinkel 2003, pp. 79 - 80) Dance may have been a means of disciplining all members of the community. By participating in the dance, the rules of the community are symbolically accepted. This leads to an internalization of discipline in a time without police, an army or prison.

e) Symbol for group and ethnicity (Garfinkel 2003, p. 81, expanded by the author)

The tremendous energy that can arise from communal dance is a possible tool for the emergence of ethnic identification. The message of the composed circle is "group" and not "individual". The invention of agriculture has also made the work to be done bigger and heavier. All members of the village, even children, must do their utmost for mutual success. The community is symbolically bundled by the chain dance, the goals and efforts of the individuals are concentrated on common goals.

f) Reminder and synchronization of the members (Garfinkel p. 81 - 82)

Hunters and gatherers have an "ad hoc" economy with immediate results. In contrast, with agricultural communities, efforts are rewarded months later. The use must therefore be well planned seasonally, too late or too early means a bad harvest and thus famine and its consequences. Celebrations and their corresponding ceremonies are one way of conveying the relevant messages to the community and the various families. In addition, supernatural powers can be included through dance. Calendar-related rituals are characteristic of more complex social forms (Garfinkel 2003, p. 79) and primarily fulfill two tasks: They remind and synchronize the members of the village and also establish contact with the divine world. In addition, communal rituals in periods before writing, symbolized by dance, are the basic mechanism for the transmission of knowledge and tradition (Garfinkel 2003, p. 3).

The diverse sociological changes in the development of the Neolithic communities and the associated emergence of communal chain dances cannot be explained by a single hypothesis. They just illustrate different sides of the possible social functions of these dances. They point to the very special importance of dance rituals in the Neolithic, which is also reflected in the frequency of pictorial representation during this time.

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

- They serve to relieve strain. Once introduced, they save constant discussions.
- They provide security - in the process and emotionally.
- They make the conveyed message (order, community, etc.) an atmospheric experience.
- They offer structure and orientation. • They serve to stabilize a social and cultural order.
- They promote identification with the community.
- They help to design transitions.

For this era, dance and ritual cannot be separated. They belong together like two sides of the same coin. How can the dances now be characterized on the basis of the archaeological findings?

#### **4.5.2 Archaeological evidence of the origin of the chain dances**

Garfinkel (2003) provides an overview of the current finds with dance representations in the period from 8000 - 4000 BC in a distribution from West Pakistan to the Danube basin. They are the artistic expression of early village communities in these regions and predominantly show communal circle dances (Garfinkel 2003, p. 63). With the appearance of the first cities around 4000 BC other motifs such as scenes in a relaxed, festive atmosphere gain the upper hand. The dance scenes disappear.

General characteristics of the dance performances of early village communities:

- the vast majority of dance representations (93%) are shown on round objects (round vessels and stone seals) (Garfinkel 2003, p. 19), the circle plays a dominant role;<sup>80</sup>
- some figures seem to be wearing masks, with one exception, mask wearers are always men (Garfinkel 2003, p. 34);
- the dance movements are formalized and uniform (Garfinkel 2003, p. 30). Usually the same arm, foot and body positions are shown; (Garfinkel 2003, p. 34);
- the clothes, the utensils, the direction of rotation and the decoration are also the same (Garfinkel 2003, p. 57); this also applies, with restrictions, to predynastic representations of Egypt (Garfinkel 2003, p. 58);
- there are almost no musical instruments shown (Garfinkel 2003, p. 39);

---

<sup>80</sup> See also the comments by Collon (2003, p. 96): "Where Figures of Dancers Can Be Found".

- mostly the dancers are shown from the front in a circle (Garfinkel 2003, p. 42), sometimes in single file, rarely in couple dance situations, but there are also people who dance individually.
- According to Garfinkel (2003, p. 47ff), males are present in 43% of the images, females in 32% and both sexes in 25% of the images. These figures relate to those images in which the gender can be identified, because overall the gender is unclear in 56% of the cases.

Garfinkel (2003) also evaluates statistically. He interprets each according to points of view that are not always comprehensible from dance practice. For this reason I have made my own evaluations of this data for certain parameters such as dance category (Table 452a), gender and dance direction (Table 452b).

The oldest finds come from the Levant and southern Anatolia from the 8th - 7th millennium BC (Pre-Ceramic Neolithic B). Since there were no ceramics in these regions until then, there are stone carvings, stone engravings or images on plaster floors. From the 7th mill. there are also dance scenes on ceramic finds. Five of the analyzed finds represent individuals dancing singly, some of whom wear masks, a category of dance that was also depicted in Paleolithic Europe before that. Seven (54%) show a type of group dance that had never existed before: The dancers stand in a line or on a circle with the front of the body facing forward, in three scenes the hands are also held or placed on the shoulders. In another illustration, women dance in a kind of "single file" one after the other. There is no doubt that these representations are the oldest illustrations of chain dances known today. The "single file" could possibly be a kind of snaking dance.




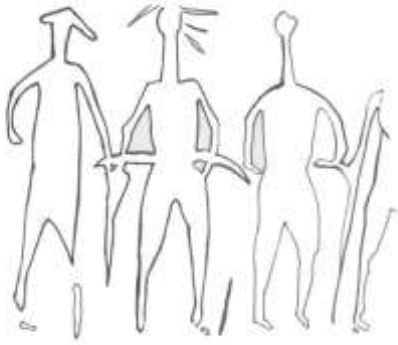



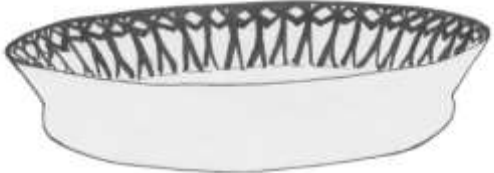
	
<p>Fig. 452a: Stone carving on a basalt slab from Dhuweila 8th millennium BC, so far the oldest representation of a chain dance (after Garfinkel 2003, Figure 7.5a)</p>	<p>Fig.452b: Sketch of the stone carving (after Garfinkel 2003, Fig.7.6a)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 452c: Shell out of limestone with engraved Chaindance from Nevali Çori 8. Mill. BC (after Garfinkel 2003, Fig. 7.2)</p>	<p>Fig. 452d: Painted plaster floor from Tell Halula with “single file dance” 8th mill. BC (After Garfinkel 2003, Fig. 7.4)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 452e: Painted ceramics from Tell Halaf, Northern Syria, 6th millennium BC, Halafian culture (after Garfinkel 2003, Fig.8.9b)</p>	<p>Fig. 452f: Painted ceramic bowl from Tell Halaf, Northern Syria, 6th mill. BC, Halafian culture (after Garfinkel 2003, image, 8.10a)</p>

Table 452a: Analysis of the dance categories of the Neolithic images, compiled in Garfinkel (2003). The analysis and assignment to a dance category is based on the characterization of the individual dance types in Chap. 3.6 and 3.7.

Region and period	number	chain dances		solo dances		couple dances
		cCD	snaking Dances (sD) and single file Dances (sfD)	single female dancer(s)	graceful-erotic female dancers	
Middle East 8.-7. Mill BC. PPNB	13	4 oH 3 wH	1 sfD	5		
		<b>54%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>
Halafian and Samarra Cultures 6. Mill. BC	108	8 oH 93 wH	2 sfD oH	5		
		<b>93%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>
Iran to Pakistan 6.-5. Mill. BC	106	16 oH 59 wH	1 sfD wH 1 sfD oH 14 MBR	15		
		<b>71%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>
SO-Europe 6.-5. Mill. BC.	56	3 oH 10 wH		33	4 + 1 erotic double figure	5
		<b>23%</b>		<b>58%</b>	<b>9%,</b>	<b>9%</b>
Predynastic Egypt 5.-4. Mill. BC	58	2 oH 17 wH		15	22	2
		<b>33%</b>		<b>26%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>3%</b>
MiddleEast 4.-3. Mill. BC.	37	15 wH 12 oH	3 sD wH 2 sfD oH 2 sfD wH	3		
		<b>73%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>

cCD= circular chain dance, MBR = multiple bodies in a row; sfD = single file Dance, sD = snaking dance, oH = without holding, wH = with holding

In the illustrations of the Halafian and Samarra cultures from the 6th millennium BC there the representations of circular chain dances dominate by 93% (own count).

The adoption of a way of life with agriculture, the associated sedentariness and the merging to form larger villages subject the people to a socio-economic process in which communal dances play an extremely important role. This is expressed in the large number of depictions of these uniform community dances. This does not necessarily mean that the quantity of the

images correlates with the quantity of the implementations. Conversely, frequently performed dance forms are not necessarily adequately represented in artistic representations.<sup>81</sup>

Table 452b: Evaluation of the Neolithic images in Garfinkel (2003) by gender (own evaluation)

Region and period	number	male	female	mixed	not clear
Middle East 8.-7. Mill BC. PPNB	13	3	4 + 3	2	1
Halafian and Samarra Cultures 6. Mill. BC	108	6	5	2	91 <sup>82</sup>
Iran to Pakistan 6.-5. Mill. BC	106	7	36	4	59
SO-Europe 6.-5. Mill. BC.	56	20	26	5	5
Predynastic Egypt 5.-4. Mill. BC	58	7	30	11	10
Middle East 4.-3. Mill. BC.	37	8	3	2	23

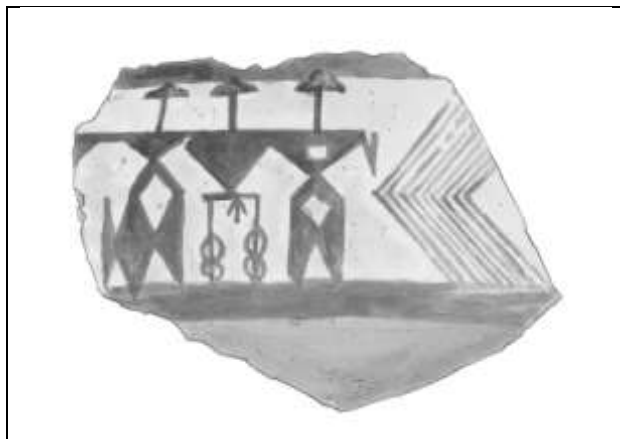


Fig. 452g: Painted ceramics from Choga Mami with a mixed dance chain, Samarra culture, 6th millennium BC (after Garfinkel 2003, image, 8.27a)

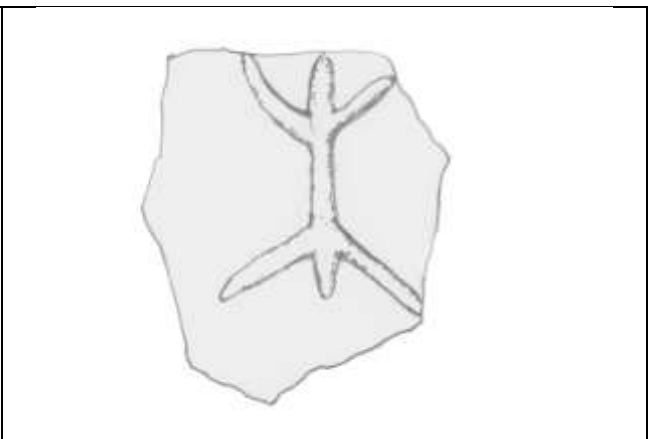


Fig. 452h: Single dancing figure from Arukhlo, Armenia, 6th millennium BC (after Garfinkel 2003, picture, 8.30f)

If one disregards the over representation of women in predynastic Egypt, both genders are shown similarly often in the figures. There are also a few mixed representations in all regions. However, it is unclear which gender is meant for the majority of the figures. This suggests

<sup>81</sup> This resulted in a count of the rock art of the San Bushmen, in which only 5% of their images are about dance (Garfinkel 2003, p. 74), but dance plays an extremely important role in everyday life.

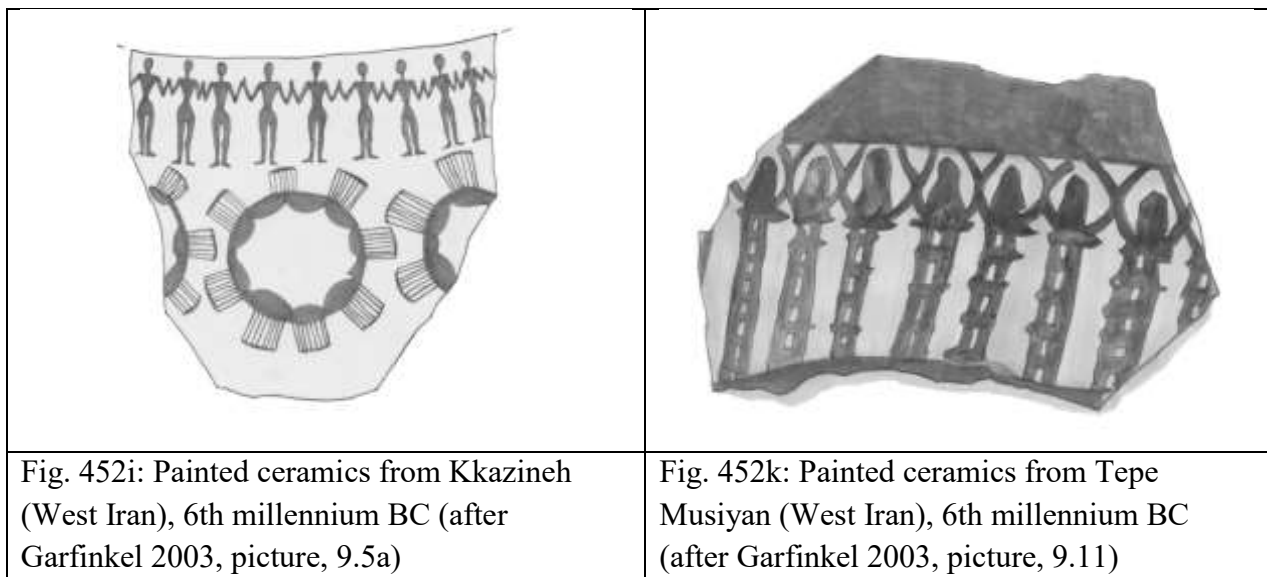
<sup>82</sup> Most representations of chain dances show stylized people to whom no gender can be assigned. This leads to the interpretation that the gender ratio could have played a subordinate role in the chain dances.

that gender does not seem to be quite as important in the dance images and when dancing as a whole. A dominance of men in the community dances of this time cannot be seen.

Similarities between today's and prehistorically depicted chain dances:

- uniform movement patterns are performed in dance
- dancing people are often dressed in the same way and wear the same utensils
- Dancers stand on a circle or a line, their body front is usually directed towards the middle
- today's "archaic" forms are always accompanied by singing, instrumental accompaniment only emerged in Western Europe in the late Middle Ages, in the Balkans even later. There are no musical instruments<sup>83</sup> at all on the images of the Neolithic period, which also speaks in favor of exclusively vocal accompanying music
- on many of the pictures you can find a lead dancer in a leadership role. This is also mentioned in some medieval literature<sup>84</sup> and can still be observed in the Balkans and MiddleEast today
- a common utensil of the first dancer is a stick<sup>85</sup> or "leading stick"<sup>86</sup>

All of these similarities support the assumption that today's European chain dances have their origins in the communal dances of the early Neolithic village communities of the Middle East.



<sup>83</sup> An exception to this are a few images from predynastic Egypt (see the following section: Other dance forms a) solo dancers).

<sup>84</sup> The dance leader (Choraula) went in the middle and demonstrated the movements for them, trampled with his feet and shouted with his mouth and threw up a stick on which he had hung his gloves and caught it again with his hands. "(Böhme 1886, p. 20)

<sup>85</sup> See Harding 1973, p. 158, p. 45, p. 135, p. 136; see Otterbach 1992, p. 49.

<sup>86</sup> Possibly this leading stick is derived from the stick of a shepherd, as well as the "virga pastoralis" of a bishop or the staff in the coat of arms of the pharaohs.

Other dance forms:

a) Solo dancers: As in the Upper Paleolithic rock art, there are dance scenes with individual dancers. They are mostly related to a ritual-religious context and often wear masks. Another form of solo dance has been handed down from predynastic Egypt. Almost 40% of these pictures show female dancers who gracefully raise their arms up in a round shape. In addition, there are often one or two men who do not dance but stand by and in some cases hold objects similar to musical instruments in their hands (Fig. 4521). These could be castanets, drums or other striking mechanisms. The dancer is usually shown individually and stands on a stage or a ship. These images are reminiscent of a similar dance among the Berbers, in which a young woman presents her graceful movements and the erotic charisma of her body to the rhythmic clapping and shouting of the men watching.<sup>87</sup> There is no graphic evidence for these graceful-erotic show dances in the Near and Middle East (0%), a few from Southeastern Europe (9%) and very many from Egypt (38%).<sup>88</sup>

b) Free couple dances:

Remarkably, there are already depictions of free couple dances from this early period, in which a woman and a man dance without touching one another. These couple dance scenes from Egypt (3%) and Southeast Europe (9%).



Fig. 4521: Painted ceramic vase from El'Amrah (Egypt) with a graceful-erotic dancer, 5th - 4th millennium BC (after Garfinkel 2003, picture 11.11)



Fig. 452m: Painted ceramics, 5th - 4th millennium BC with couple dance (after Garfinkel 2003, Fig. 11.3e)

After a very long dominance in the traditional representations, dance motifs at the end of the 4th millennium BC, in the Levant not until the 3rd millennium BC, became much rarer. This development coincides with the emergence of the first cities in these regions. Art is no longer influenced by villages, but is thematically taken over by the leading class of the cities, is used to support their authority and creates propaganda for them. The new overarching themes are "camaraderie, amusement and a relaxed atmosphere". They are an expression of the "upper

<sup>87</sup> Cf. the film by Jean Leherisseg: "Dances of the Berbers" distributed by the IWF Göttingen, after Lievre the dance is called "Guedra" (2008, p. 115).

<sup>88</sup> See Tab. 452a.

class" that is becoming more and more established in a clearly stratified society (Garfinkel 2003, pp. 82-83). The chain dances as a symbol of the village community have had their day in the new structures of the cities. However, the dances themselves do not disappear from the dance floor. The end of their dominant role will only be heralded by other developments around 4,000 to 5,000 years later.

Future research may show that the dance images can still be found in village communities. Because the focus of the excavations has so far been on the then newly created larger centers. Small settlements from the period after 4000 BC have hardly been investigated until now.<sup>89</sup>

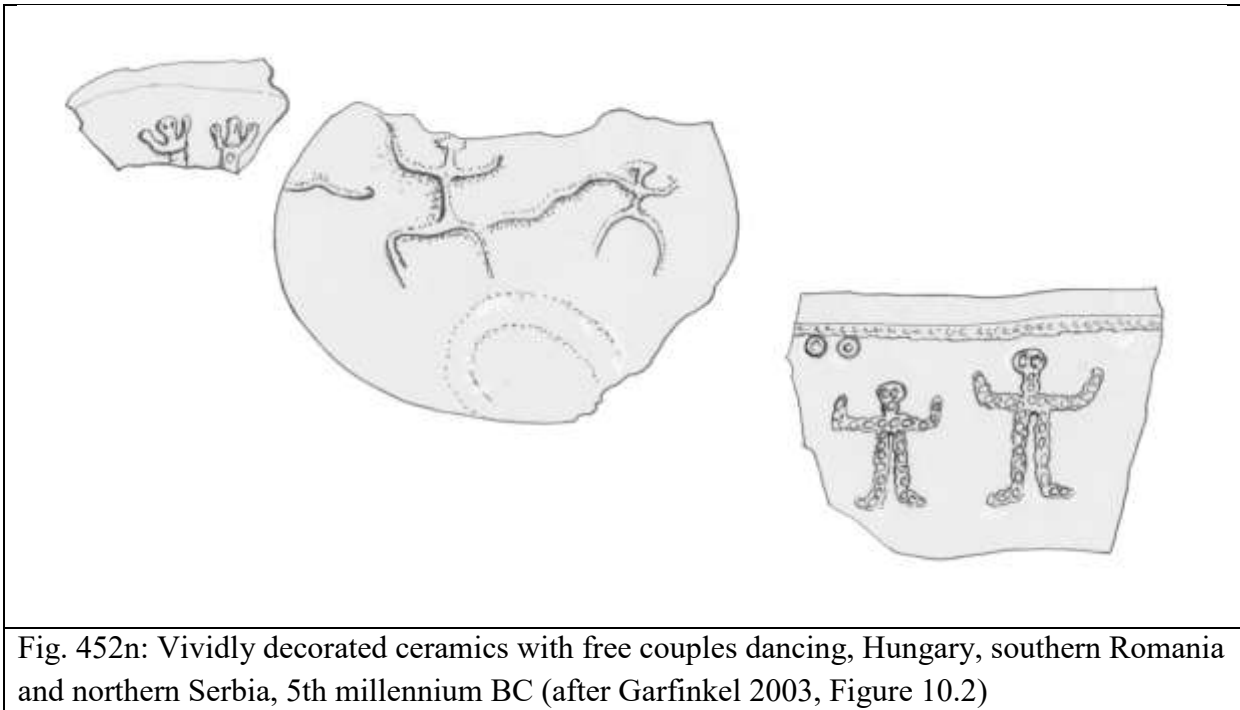


Fig. 452n: Vividly decorated ceramics with free couples dancing, Hungary, southern Romania and northern Serbia, 5th millennium BC (after Garfinkel 2003, Figure 10.2)

<sup>89</sup> Lecture by Prof. Dr. Glenn Schwarz, Johns Hopkins University Baltimore, on December 15, 2011 with the subject: Raqa'i Revisted: Investigating Rural Life in Early Urban Mesopotamia. "We know little about the rural population of that time, which was probably in the majority."

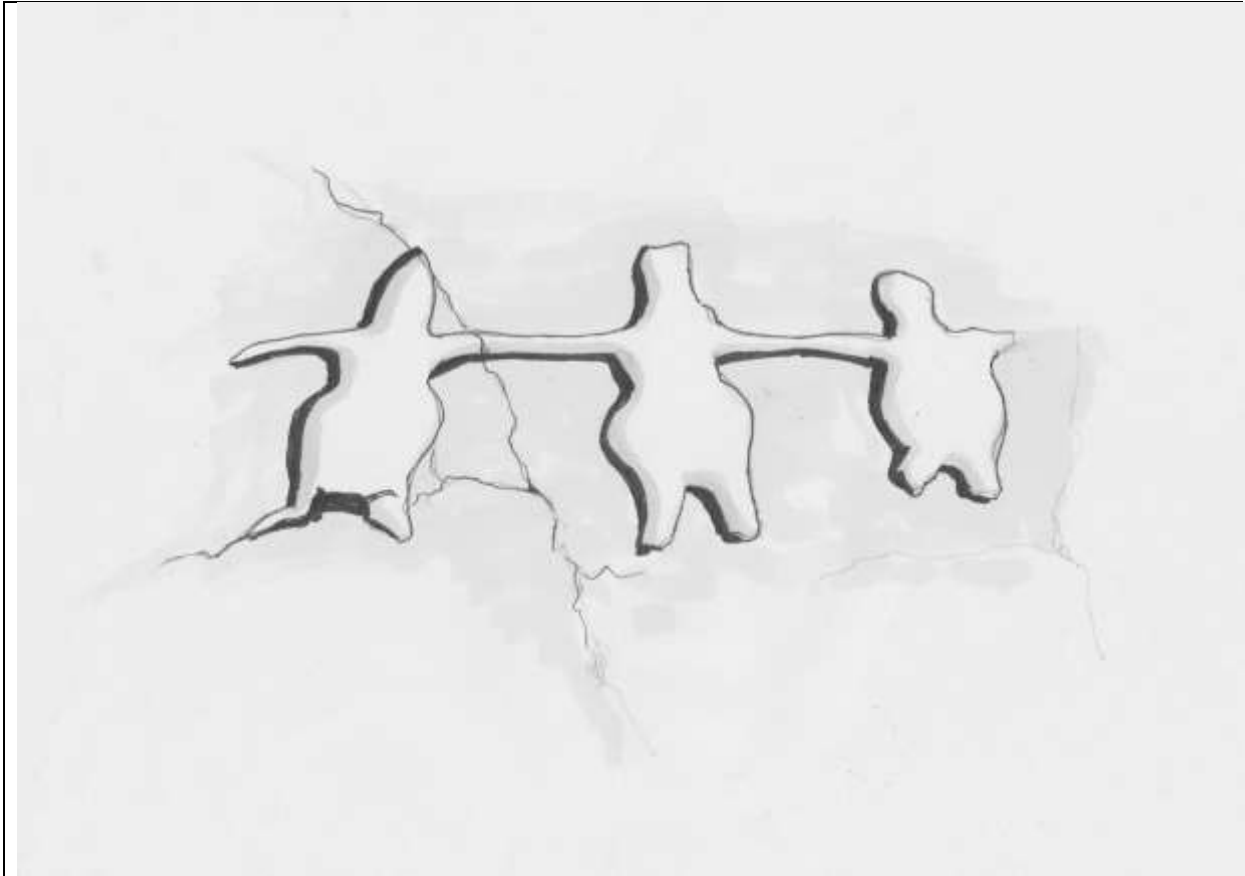


Fig. 452o: Detail from a vase from the 6th millennium BC, which was found in Köşk Höyük (Turkey). It shows a chain dance sculpture on an outer side (Badisches Landesmuseum, p. 348). On the shoulder of the vase three people can be seen, on the back two people in chain dance mode. It is possible that both groups were connected to one another by other figures.

#### 4.5.3 Development of the external structural features of the chain dances

The spread of the dance patterns of today's chain dances and the evaluation of Upper Palaeolithic and Neolithic dance illustrations suggest that the genesis of the chain dances occurred in connection with the emergence of the Neolithic culture of the Middle East. The dances of the Upper Paleolithic hunters and gatherers of this region and Europe had different external structural features. From the few dance illustrations it can be concluded that they danced without joining hands, i.e. did not know any chain dances. As with groups of hunters still alive today, their dances were probably performed in a circle or in loose groups and had hardly any uniform movement patterns, but were usually performed with a common basic step. There was individual movement for the individual and some dances may have aimed at reaching ecstasy.<sup>90</sup>

Social upheavals related to the emergence of early agriculture occurred a few times in different regions of the world (Diamond & Bellwood 2003), but chain dances only emerged in the Middle East. The emergence of a completely new type of dance may have taken place in connection with significant changes in the network of relationships within this society. The

<sup>90</sup> Kuhlbrodt (1959) evaluates the dances of eleven different groups of hunters.

hunter-gatherer society was based on mobile and receptive subsistence, its structures were egalitarian to mildly patriarchal and their groups consisted of around 30 people. The transition to a productive form of subsistence with the domestication of animals and the cultivation of plants also resulted in a change in other parameters. In connection with sedentarism, the first houses were built, the groups became significantly larger and the improved food supply increased the population density many times over (Garfinkel 2003, p. 66).

The increase in group size led to greater competition within a group and increased social tension. Here the chain dance, with its very limited individual freedom due to holding hands, was possibly a means to discipline all members of the community, as Garfinkel (2003, pp. 79-80) suggests. The rules of the community are symbolically accepted through the execution of the specified step pattern as a "link" in the chain. This leads to an internalization of discipline and a channeling of social tensions.

However, the increase in population also meant that significantly more groups were settled in the same area compared to the hunters and gatherers. This also increased competition between the groups. If the collective dancing already served the group identification with the hunters and gatherers, this dimension of meaning was emphasized even more strongly by the hand-holding and the alignment of the front of the body to the center of the circle. In such a constellation, everyone can be seen from any 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 composed circle is "group" and not "individual". This message is aimed externally, but also internally. Because in the course of agriculture, the work to be done increased. All the members of the village, even children, had to make a big contribution to common success. The community was symbolically strengthened by the chain dance, the goals and efforts of the individuals were concentrated on common goals. The increased identification with the group and the integration of the individual in the community led to a change in the external structural characteristics. 'Circles without holding hands or group dances' become the 'hand-held and mostly center-aligned chain dances'.

Another change in the transformation from the hunter dances to the chain dances occurred in the functions and the integration into the seasonal sequence. According to Kuhlbrodt, the dance events of hunters and gatherers are on the one hand linked to important transitional situations such as a wedding, on the other hand there are more situational opportunities such as hunting or rain dances (Kuhlbrodt p. 315). For the early farmers and shepherds there were also occasions linked to important transitional situations, but other occasions were often linked to certain seasons and possibly served to remind and synchronize the members of the community of important activities in the peasant annual rhythm. Because a productive form of subsistence requires actions, the result of which is only visible much later.

In the Middle East, the change from a hunting society to a sedentary early peasant culture led to new external structural features of the dances. A new type of dance emerged with the chain dances. Whether the associated changes in social structures also had an impact on the psychogenesis of those involved in the sense of greater discipline and unconditional commitment to the community cannot be proven, since no written sources are available from this period. However, since the early farming society was even more dependent on the cooperation of its members than the previous hunter culture, it is conceivable that more self-control was demanded from its members as a result. In this respect, in the sense of the civilization theory according to Elias (1939/1969), the emergence of the chain dances could



be understood as a contribution to the “civilization” of the members of the early peasant and pastoral culture.

#### 4.5.4 Archaeological evidence of the spread of the chain dances in connection with the Neolithic era

The first images of communal chain dances are from the 8th millennium BC passed down from the north of the Levant and from southern Anatolia. Starting from this core area, they seem to have spread continuously to neighboring regions. To the east, they appear in the 6th millennium BC in Mesopotamia and reach in the late 6th and 5th millennium BC Persia and Pakistan. In south-eastern Europe they occur from the 6th millennium BC, a little later also in Egypt (Garfinkel 2003, p. 25). There is a chronological continuity here (Garfinkel 2003, p. 25), which can be easily explained by spreading from a core zone.

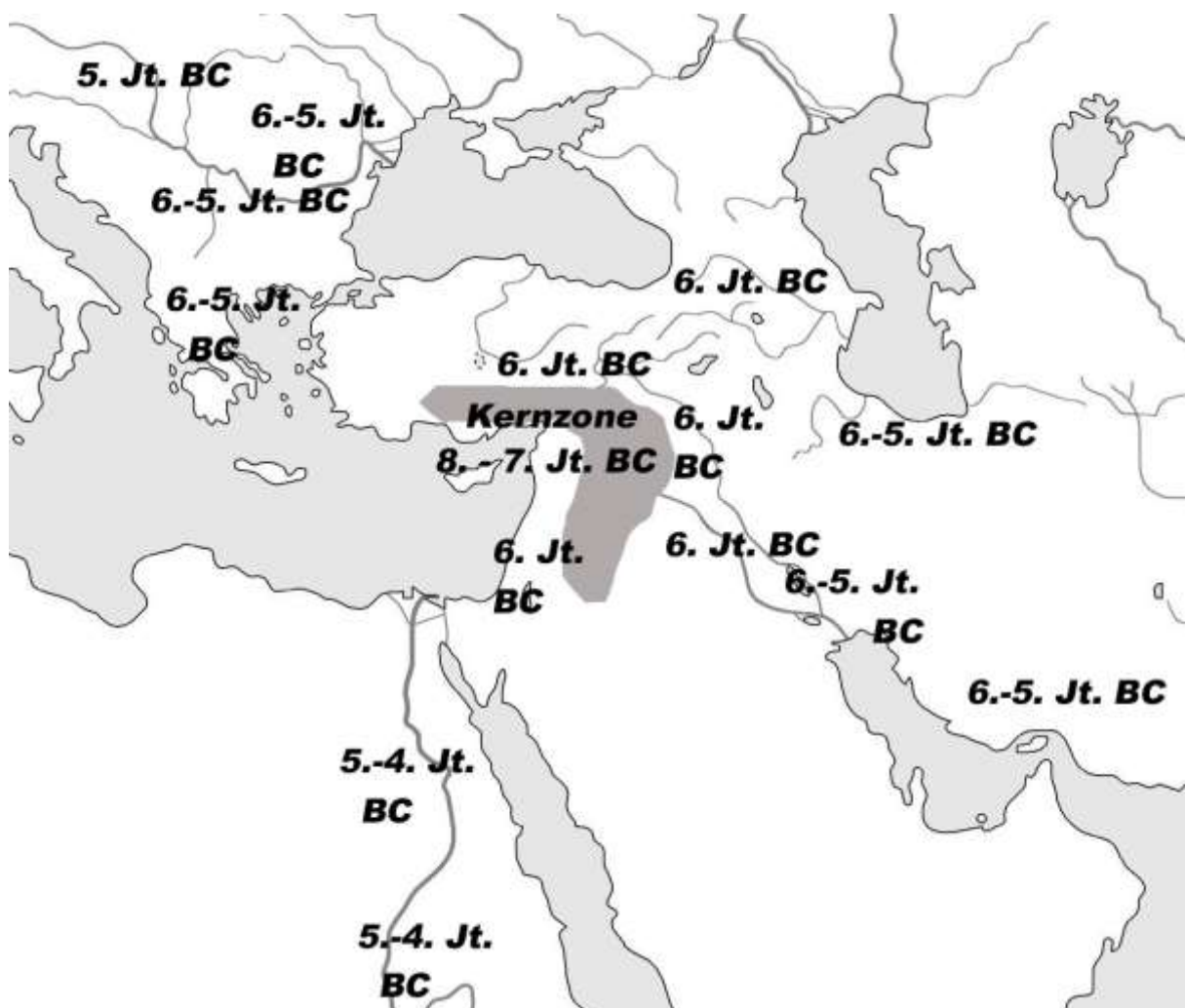


Figure 454a: Spread of dance images in the Neolithic period (data from Garfinkel 2003). Jt. means millenium.

This spread is obviously related to the emergence and expansion of early agriculture. This process of "Neolithization" dragged on for several millennia in the Levant, in the Middle Euphrates Valley and in Southeast Anatolia. During this time, people began to cultivate some of the wild plants found there, such as Einkorn, Emmer, peas, lentils and flax (Gronenborn 2007, p. 33). They also made their first attempts to domesticate sheep, goats, cattle and pigs (Uerpmann 2007, p. 59). All of these domestic animal species are descended from wild forms that were found in these areas at the time. Comparative genetic studies have also shown that all current forms of these domestic animals are descended from the wild forms of the Middle East. The earliest expansion of this new economy took place around 8500 BC. To Cyprus and Cappadocia. "Above all, the colonization of Cyprus shows that this expansion was also driven by migration, because hunters and gatherers had long since left the island before the farmers arrived" (Gronenborn 2007, p. 32).<sup>91</sup> Archaeological evidence shows that all of the groups that spread out from the Middle East already carried with them all of the major achievements of early agriculture, because all later cultivated plants and domestic animals can be detected in every direction of spread. In this context, we speak of the "neolithic package", which comprises a sum of features that are regularly found in the Neolithic finds of SW Asia, Anatolia and SE Europe (Çilingiroğlu 2005, p. 3).<sup>92</sup> In addition to the listed cultivated plants and pets, we obviously have to add another essential component to the concept of this package:<sup>93</sup> The most important dance form of the early village communities - the chain dance, which was performed at social and ritual-religious festivals - appears to to have been part of this expansion process.

The chain dances, along with early agriculture, spread to Europe in at least two different ways. But the early settlers also brought their new dance form to North Africa, across the Caucasus further north and in the Middle East possibly to India and western China (see Fig. 454c-d). The chronological spread of the dance images (Fig. 454a) shows a remarkable correspondence with the spread of early agriculture (Fig. 454b).

---

<sup>91</sup> Whether the spread of early agriculture can be traced back to migration or culture shift is a long-running discussion. Cavalli-Sforza concludes from studies on genes and the associated proteins that many European genes can be traced back to the migration of early farmers (Cavalli-Sforza 1996, p. 128). The early farmers would have actually migrated. Bryan Sykes (2001, p. 164) interprets the results of the analysis of mitochondrial DNA to the effect that around 80% of current Europeans are descended from the Paleolithic hunters and gatherers. According to these figures, there would not have been a large wave of immigration. The hunters and gatherers living in Europe would have adopted the agricultural way of life through cultural change. The genetic contribution from the Near East would be rather small. Recently, contributions from archaeogenetics and population genetics that assume actual immigration have increased again. For example Fu, Rudan, Pääbo, Krause (2012): "Complete Mitochondrial Genomes Reveal Neolithic Expansion into Europe."

<sup>92</sup> The idea of the "Neolithic Package" makes it clear that all components were in place before the first migrants left the area of origin. But it is certainly not correct that these were always groups of the same kind with a similar structure and economy. Depending on the type of environmental conditions, crops, domestic animals or hunting were of different importance. The respective ecological conditions dictated whether the early Neolithic people specialized as farmers or as pastoral nomads. Reichholf (2008, p. 259ff) also explains in a comprehensible way that the grain in the initial phase of the Neolithic could hardly feed people, but was possibly used to make beer. For a long time there was also no precise definition of the term "Neolithic package", despite its frequent use. This is done by Çilingiroğlu (2005), albeit with a focus on certain lime, stone and bone objects, in "The concept of Neolithic package": considering its meaning and applicability".

<sup>93</sup> Garfinkel (2010, p. 212) and Hepp (2010, p. 8) establish this expansion of the Neolithic package to include chain dances at the same time and independently of one another, also justified by different approaches.

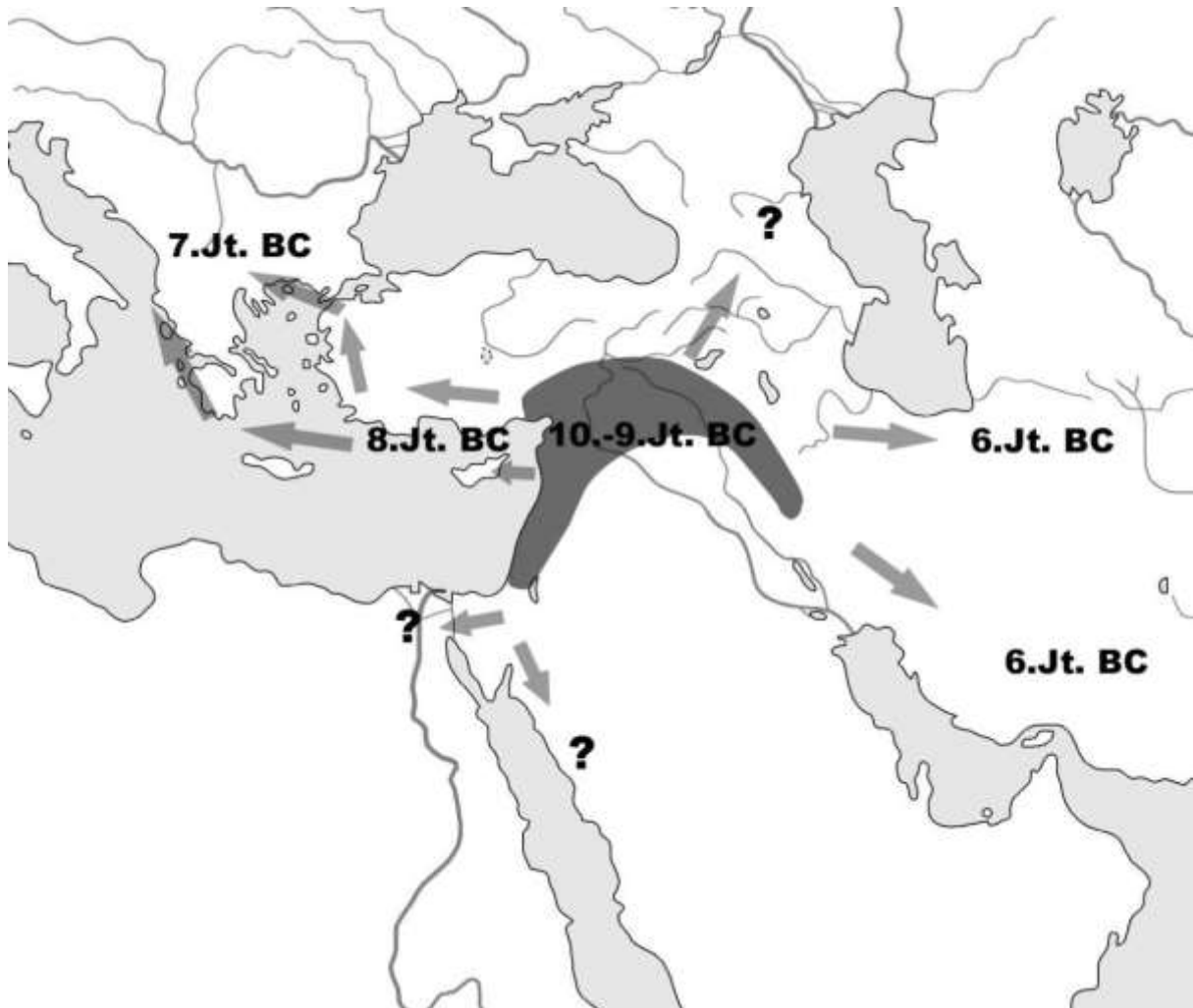
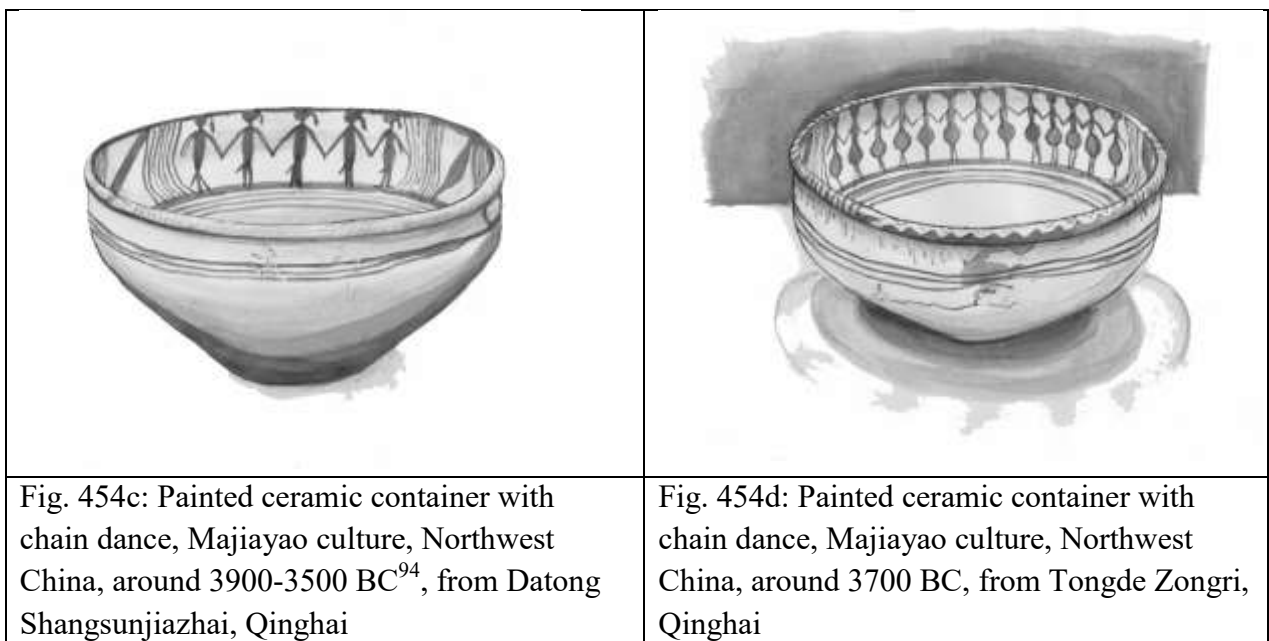


Figure 454b: Expansion of early agriculture (based on Gronenborn 2007, p. 31 and Schnurbein 2009, pp. 60 - 61).



<sup>94</sup> Dates from Katheryn M. Linduff and Yan Sun 2004. *Gender and Chinese Archaeology*. Alta Mira Press. USA

#### 4.5.5 Summary - The emergence of today's chain dances from the dance forms of the Neolithic of the Middle East

The emergence of the European chain dances probably occurred in the 10th to 8th millennium BC in the region of the fertile crescent moon and southern Anatolia. They were an essential element and part of the new Neolithic culture of the Middle East. This is supported by two very different arguments.

On the one hand, the oldest representations of chain dances come from this area (Fig. 452a-d). In contrast to this, no chain dances are detectable in older depictions of European hunter and gatherer cultures. The reasons for their emergence in the economically and sociologically new situation of the Neolithic communities are also easy to understand. Because with their simple, uniform movements and their connection to a coherent chain, embedded in rituals, they are a powerful symbol for the group identity, which includes all members, reduces social tensions and synchronizes the members in their agricultural annual rhythm.

On the other hand, the spread of today's chain dances, especially the three-measure dances, suggests that this type of dance only emerged once in today's Western Eurasia and thus has a singular and common origin. This is supported by many common features of today's chain dances - their very similar and limited pattern composition in the whole area of distribution, their accompaniment by singing and their leadership by a dancer (often with a leading stick).<sup>95</sup> Chain dances are therefore of a considerable age and it is not surprising that they are still practiced in connection with pre-Christian rituals even today, where they still exist in an original context (Leibman, 1992, p. 19; Dimopoulos 2009, Salmen 1999, P. 141).

Expansion of the chain dances occurred in the wake of the expansion of the Neolithic culture of the Middle East. This is supported by the chronology of the spread of the chain dance representations of the 8th to 4th millennium BC, which correlates impressively with the Neolithic migration. This is also supported by the structural features of today's chain dances that correspond to the representations on Neolithic finds and the above-mentioned many common features of today's chain dances, which characterize them as a monophyletic group. In the course of the spread, the chain dances spread across Europe as an expression of the village community and were the dominant form of dance until the Middle Ages.

Why they disappeared in large parts of Europe in modern times, but remained in others, is explained in Chap. 4.9 and 4.10. Chain dances with the same, specific structural features do not only exist in Europe, they can also be found in Asia in the Near and Middle East and as far as West China and occasionally in North Africa.

---

<sup>95</sup> When comparing the Branles described by Arbeau with Eastern European chain dances, Martin (1973) comes to the same conclusion.

## 4.6 Chain dances in Asia and Africa

### 4.6.1 Asia

As shown in Fig. 412, with the exception of the Arabian Peninsula, there are still many chain dances in SW Asia, the origin of which can be explained with the emergence and spread of this type of dance in connection with the Neolithic culture.

To the east of a border that runs roughly through the middle of Iran, there are still regional occurrences, but these are separated from the western Eurasian area by areas without chain dances. The largest in terms of both the number of dancers and the area is north and central India. Many of the local "tribes" (original tribes) perform traditional dance forms that are astonishingly similar to the circular chain dances of Europe and show all the structural features of this type of dance. The step patterns are also similar, but the composition is simpler. The Sanskrit word for dance is 'kurdanam'. There are several petroglyphs from the Bhimbetka area with circular chain dances (see Fig. 461), which show that this dance form has existed here for a very long time. Unfortunately, no exact dates are available for the rock paintings.

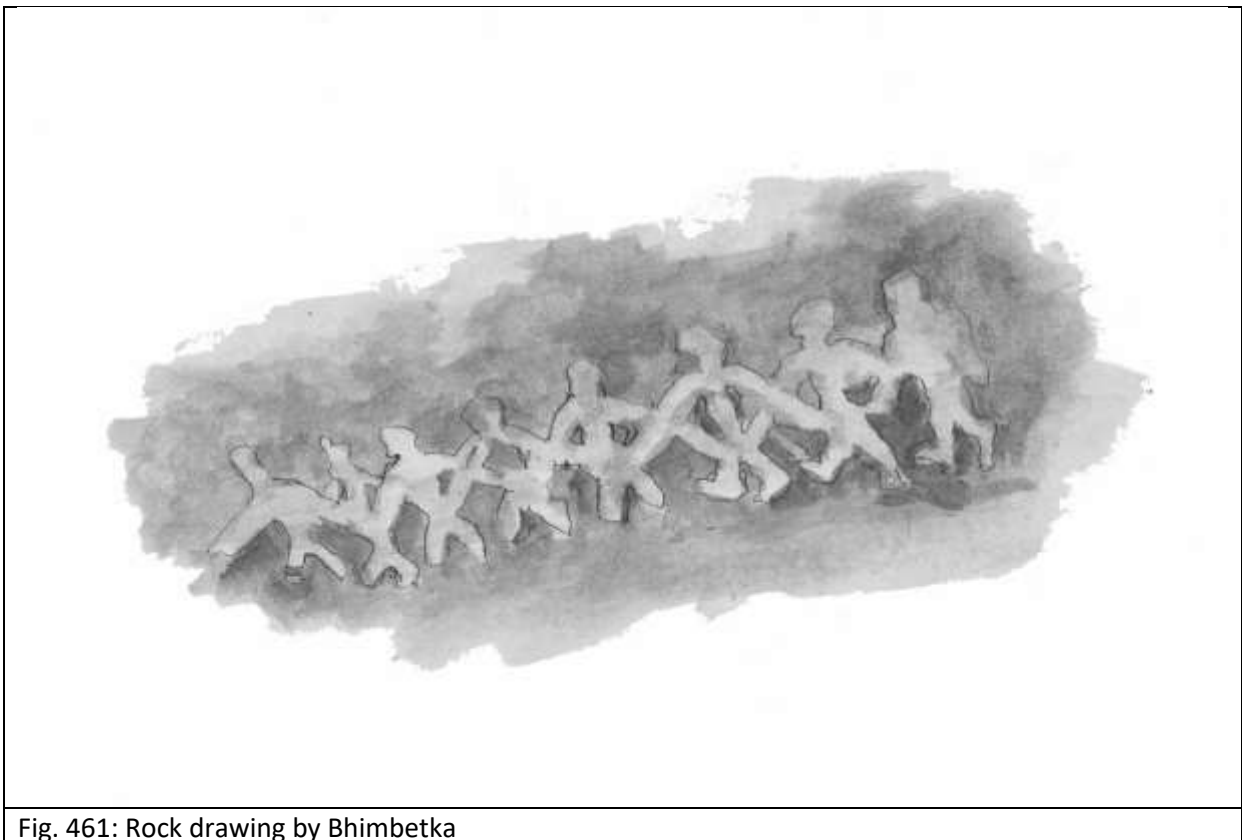


Fig. 461: Rock drawing by Bhimbetka

'Guoxie' is the name of a group of Tibetan dances, which can be found with hand holding and singing accompaniment in village areas, so it has 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 joining hands. The words 'Khor ro ro' for 'to dance in a circle' and 'gnas-skor' for 'to go around a holy place' are used as dance terms.

In the Himalayan region of Mustang in Nepal, circle chain dances are danced at weddings, at planting time and on Thanksgiving. The name there is 'Shhapro'. The Yi people in the Chinese province of Yunnan also have chain dances, often with four-bar patterns, called 'Qie' (pronunciation: tʃeə [r] like chair). The Yis are shepherds of sheep, goats and cattle and the people are said to come from southeast Tibet. In addition to the Yis, other ethnic minorities in Yunnan Province such as the Nu, Pumi, Mosuo, Tibetans, Naxi, Bai, Hani and Lisu have chain dances. The Naxi call their dances 'wu chuo', the Lisu call them 'woa ki'.

Most of Taiwan's minority ethnic groups, e. g. the Amis have chain dances. These ethnic groups are referred to as "indigenous people" of Taiwan and it can be assumed that their dances are also very old.

The 'Jochar dances' of the Buryats west of Lake Baikal are remarkable in many ways.

Linguistically, the Buryats belong to the Mongols, but unlike the other Mongolian populations, they are not horse herders, but tend goats and sheep. They came under the rule of Genghis Khan and his Mongolian horsemen in the 13th century. Jochar dances are archaic circular chain dances with simple step patterns (mostly two or four measure patterns), which are accompanied by singing. The dance move goes sideways to the left.<sup>96</sup> They have all the characteristics of the European circular chain dances.

There are also circular chain dances with the Yakuts of Sakha.<sup>97</sup> Today's Yakut language is counted among the Turkic languages. Archaeological finds show great similarities with the Buryats. The Yakuts of Sakha may be a population from the region east of Lake Baikal who were displaced to the north. Crate (2006) describes the 'Ohuokhai' of the Sakha as a dance that is an important part of the Yhyakh festival from May to June. The gods of the sky are worshiped for sun, rain, fertility, enough food, animals and food for the animals (Crate 2006, p. 163). In a closed circle with the front of the body toward the middle, a two-beat pattern of simple steps is performed. A lead singer sings seven-syllable traditional standard stanzas or invents new verses, the group repeats these in the form of alternating chants (Crate 2006, p. 163f). The circle moves to the left in the direction of the sun's path (Crate 2006, p. 165). The gender participation was not always the same. According to a description by Yakov Lindenau, the Ohuokhai was danced in a mixed circle around 1733. According to S. Shukin, 1833 (in Crate 2006, p. 165), only women danced it and for the present time a relatively recent photo by Crate (2006, p. 163) again shows a mixed composition. The context, external structural features and step pattern are the same as in the European circular chain dances.

Another illustration with a circular chain dance from Siberia shows a shaman's drum made by the Kharkasses<sup>98</sup> (Kasten 2009, Shamans of Siberia, p. 156). This discovery would have to be examined more closely to enable an interpretation.

---

<sup>96</sup> Jan Knoppers, a dance teacher from the Netherlands specializing in Asia, learned these dances in the early 1990s from 'Dandar Badluew', who is now the director of the national ensemble. Unfortunately, this tradition has now been lost.

<sup>97</sup> When I visited the exhibition "Shamans of Siberia" on June 21, 2009 in the Linden Museum Stuttgart, a group of Yakut women from Sakha was on display. The dance direction and the hooked version reminded me of the Breton dance 'Hanter Dro'.

<sup>98</sup> The Kharkasses are a people who were Turkicized in the 17th - 19th centuries and also live from sheep breeding.

#### 4.6.2 Africa

From the pre-dynastic time of Egypt around the 5th millennium BC there are ceramic finds with dance representations, of which a third shows chain dances - a small proportion compared to the images from the Near and Middle East. The remaining two thirds (apart from 3% couple dance) show dancers dancing individually, of which more than half are "graceful-erotic" dancers. The latter category in particular is missing in the regions of SW Asia and SE Europe, at least for this period. The representation of "graceful-erotic" dancers seems to be a special development in Egypt, which is probably due to special regional (African) influences. In today's Egypt, the chain dances can no longer be found. In North Africa there are only two "relic areas" with this Neolithic dance form, which cannot be detected in sub-Saharan Africa. On the one hand, the Berbers in the Atlas Mountains still have circular chain dances in which all the important features of this dance form are present. The "Ahidous" is a mixed circular chain dance of the Amazigh Berbers from the Middle Atlas (Lièvre 2008, p. 62). It is danced on the occasion of agricultural festivals (Lièvre 2008, p. 63), with the participants moving very close, shoulder to shoulder, with the front of the body towards the center, sometimes facing each other in two lines. The corresponding songs are sung alternately by the men and women (Lièvre 2008, p. 64). The corresponding dance type of the Chleuh-Berbers from the High Atlas is called "Ahouach" (pronounced Achwuasch) and has the same external structural features. The aAhouach is also accompanied by an alternation of singers and choir or men and women based on the pentatonic scale (Lièvre 2008, p. 66f).

On the other hand, in Sudan and Ethiopia, the Nubian ethnic group has dances that have some, but not all, characteristics of chain dances.<sup>99</sup> Remarkably, in the highlands of Ethiopia, the Amharic language contains the word 'Chifera' (pronounced tsifera), which could be related to the dance words of the Middle East.

---

<sup>99</sup> These are usually danced without joined hands, but side by side.



Fig. 462: Ahouach the Berber in the cedar forest of the Atlas Mountains



## 4.7 Etymological consideration of names for chain dance and other types of folk dance: meanings of terms, spreading, transformations

Dance terms have undergone certain changes in the course of history, as far as this can be traced from written sources. The meaning of some terms changed, other terms disappeared entirely or new ones appeared.

The oldest evidence of dance terms that exist in the Germanic language area can be found in the translations of Latin Bible texts into Gothic. There the Latin 'saltare' is not translated as 'dance', but as 'plinsjan'.<sup>100</sup> In another place 'laiks'<sup>101</sup> is used. The word 'dance' didn't exist at that time. In contrast, it can now be found in all European languages and even in Turkish. Changes in the use of dance terms have different reasons. They can, for example, be due to a change in the dance itself or e.g. through modernization in linguistic usage. The term 'Reigen' only appeared in the 12th century<sup>102</sup>, although this type of dance has been around for a much longer time.

The change in the dance itself has probably had the most lasting influence on the use of certain names. In this sense, knowledge of the verbal history of dance terms can expand and improve the understanding of dance history. The reverse is also possible. Improved knowledge of developments in dance history may offer a better view of changes in the use or meaning of dance terms.<sup>103</sup>

The history of a term's word also includes the geographical extent of its use, which has hardly been taken into account in previous etymological analyzes. Some names for chain dance are regionally widespread, others are used supraregionally, such as the term 'Reihen', which occurs in German as well as in some Slavic languages.

### 4.7.1 Reihen and Reigen

The terms "Reigen", "Chorreigen", "Reihen" and "Reie" have mostly been used synonymously in the last two centuries. Before that there was only the term 'Rei (h) en'. The form 'Reigen', which is still more in use today, was first introduced into gymnastics language by Jahn as a term for a rhythmic row dance.<sup>104</sup> However, Luther also used the expression "Reigen" in his translation of the Bible.<sup>105</sup> In our current sense of language, we perceive these words as outdated, they are only used in connection with old forms.

The dance form of the Reigen is not clearly defined in either Sachs or Böhme. Sometimes Reigen' is used as a universal word for dance forms,<sup>106</sup> elsewhere it is specified more precisely according to today's perspective: "The Reigen as a form can be clearly defined: a chain of dancers who work hand in hand, be it in an open or closed circle or move it in a solid

---

<sup>100</sup> E.g. Matthäus 11, Vers 17.

<sup>101</sup> Lukas 15, Vers 25.

<sup>102</sup> See Cap. 4.7.1.

<sup>103</sup> See Cap. 2.1.2.

<sup>104</sup> See Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, Berlin 2002, S. 754.

<sup>105</sup> Deutsches Wörterbuch der Gebrüder Grimm 1893, 8. Band, S. 642f.

<sup>106</sup> Sachs (1933, pp. 98 - 120) counts many other things, even quadrilles, among the Reigentänze in addition to front round dance and snaking dance. This is too broad a conception of the term 'chorreigen', almost in the modern sense of dance, which therefore confuses rather than clarifies.

line” (Sachs 1933, p. 183). The sex of the dancers was at least insignificant for the execution. The sexes never danced together since the introduction of Christianity<sup>107</sup> (around the 8th century) to the time of ‘Minnesang’ in the middle of the 12th century (Böhme 1886, p. 16). A regulation that until recently still applied to many chain dances in south-eastern European regions.<sup>108</sup> It is not known whether the Germans and Celts danced mixed before Christianization. Since the High Middle Ages, round dance in Central Europe has mainly been danced as a "Bunte Reihe". Men and women were mixed and alternated. The lead dancer, often also the lead singer, was mostly a man. This person carried the leaders stick (Harding 1973, p. 158).

The old forms always featured singing. No dance without song, and no song without song and dance (Böhme 1886, p. 13). Often a verse was sung by a lead dancer and the refrain by everyone.<sup>109</sup> The position of the lead dancer was a prominent and special one. This is clear from the fact that in early Christianity the bishop or priest was the leader of the dance on religious occasions (Böhme 1886, p. 15).

The etymological origin of the word 'reihen' is not clear for linguists. According to Harding (1973, pp. 155-156), two derivations should be emphasized. In the first, it is traced back to an Old French word 'raie'<sup>110</sup> because it can be documented in writing for the first time in Old French literature. Corresponding to the word 'Tanz', 'Reihen' emerged as a courtly fashionable word at the beginning of the 13th century, borrowed from the old French 'raie' (itself of controversial origin). Shortly afterwards there is the synonymous picardial 'rèy' and Middle Dutch 'rei', around 1400 also the English 'ray' meaning: a “kind of dance”<sup>111</sup>. 'Raie' with the meaning 'furrow, stripe, row' is derived from the Gallic 'rīca'.<sup>112</sup> The word meaning 'Reigen' is very dubious for the old French 'raie'. This doubt is reinforced by the fact that in old French texts for this type of dancing, terms such as 'carole', 'charole', 'quarole' or similar forms are used. In English texts, too, there is usually 'carole', 'reien' is the exception there (Salmen 1980, p. 15). A lot of written evidence for this word exists from the 13th century for southern Germany, Austria and German-speaking Switzerland,<sup>113</sup> which is why a second derivation from a word of Germanic origin is being discussed. However, the word 'reien' or a corresponding original word in Old High German cannot be proven, at least in the written sources. Due to the fact that some minstrels did not use this word, Harding (1973, p. 157) suspects a southern German dialect word. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the Franconian aristocracy in northern France brings in 'reie' as well as the word 'danse' as a new buzzword of Franconian or southern German-Austrian origin. Because in the Celtic-Romanesque areas the word 'carole' (from Celtic 'Karoll') dominates with the general meaning 'dance' or the special 'chain dance accompanied by singing', both before and after the appearance of 'reie' '. In the south of the German-speaking area, the word suddenly appears in

<sup>107</sup> Voss (1868) on p. 75: “During the service the men and women sat separately, the latter on the balcony which had bars. They also performed their festival dances separate from one another. These dances were, as already mentioned, were respectable, decent, full of discipline and order. It took a lot of effort for the new converts to get used to this great severity of morals, which is why the pagans also called the feasts of Christians 'funerals'. ”

<sup>108</sup> From this, however, it cannot be concluded that this was also the case throughout prehistory and early history.

<sup>109</sup> Love and advertising songs, ballads, heroic songs, contemporary historical songs as well as mocking verses were sung for the dance (Salmen 1980, p. 16).

<sup>110</sup> See e.g. Duden, das Herkunftswörterbuch, Mannheim 2007, S. 664.

<sup>111</sup> See Kluge-Götze, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, Berlin 1951, S. 608 und 2002, S. 754.

<sup>112</sup> See Tobler-Lommatzsch, Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch, Wiesbaden 1971, S. 1406.

<sup>113</sup> See. Dance ban from Brugg (1448), Will (1583) and Bern (1587) in Data part XX.

several written sources, which suggests the assumption that it was already in use in this area (Harding 1973, p. 157).

Possible source words of Germanic origin are difficult to identify. Perhaps this is due to the great similarity between the words 'reien' and 'Reihe', which according to the etymological dictionaries have different origins, because reien is mostly traced back to the old French word 'raie'.<sup>114</sup> There may be formal linguistic reasons for this. If you look at the matter in itself, it is incomprehensible. The meaning of the word "Reihe" is described as "the regular side-by-side or one behind the other of several people [...]"<sup>115</sup>. This description fits exactly to the appearance of the dance form "Reihen". 'Reihe' goes back to the Middle High German 'rīhe' with the meaning 'row, line', which in turn comes from the old high German 'riga', 'line', which, like the Gallic 'rīca', which can be traced back the Indo-European root 'rei' or 'reikh'.<sup>116</sup> At the verb level, in Middle High German you can find 'rīhen' (from Old High German 'rīhan') with the meaning "move on a thread, attach in rows"<sup>117</sup>. In some dialects, such as Swabian, this verb has been used as 'roiə'<sup>118</sup> or 'reiə' for a long time. The 'Roie'<sup>119</sup> was danced as a Reigen in the Allgäu at least until 1860. The same applies to the Franconian 'Räje'<sup>120</sup>. All of this tends to suggest that the words 'Reihe' and 'Reihen' have a common origin.

As already indicated, the word 'reien' seems to be restricted to southern Germany, Austria and Switzerland. It is not found in Nordic dictionaries, even in the "Chronik des Landes Dithmarschen"<sup>121</sup> of 1590 chain dances are referred to as "lang Dantz", as is still common in Scandinavia today. In Low German they are called 'Choordanz'<sup>122</sup> and in the ancient ballad dances in the Faroe Islands there is no 'reien' or something similar in any name.<sup>123</sup> It is possible that 'reien' can be traced back to the influence of the formerly Celtic population (stratum) in the southern Germanic region. The evidence for this is, however, very sparse. However, the spread of this word in medieval texts coincides with the area of spread of Germanized Celts (see Fig. 471).

<sup>114</sup> See Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, 2002, S. 754.

<sup>115</sup> See Pfeiffer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen, 1993, S. 1106.

<sup>116</sup> See Pokorny, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, Berlin 1927, S. 343f.

<sup>117</sup> See Pfeiffer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen, 1993, S. 1106.

<sup>118</sup> See Cap. 4.1.3.1.

<sup>119</sup> In Swabian, 'roi' means "to line up".

<sup>120</sup> Au, H.v.d. 1939, Das Volksgut im Rheinfränkischen, S. 22.

<sup>121</sup> See Böhme 1886, S. 49.

<sup>122</sup> See Buurmann, Hochdeutsch-plattdeutsches Wörterbuch Band 9, 1971, S. 663.

<sup>123</sup> Liliencron also writes of the "lang dantz" in Harding in Low German (1973, p. 125).

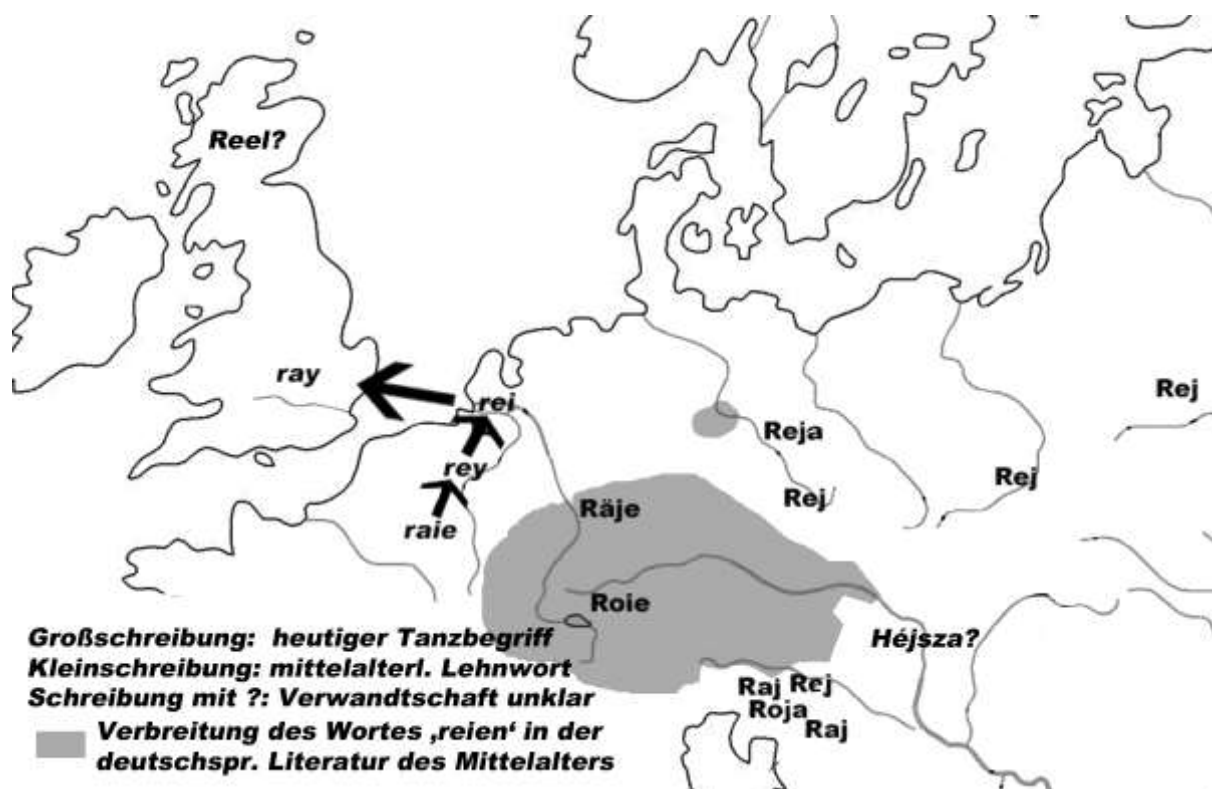


Fig. 471: Distribution of the word 'reie' in medieval literature and today's evidence (the map was created on the basis of the data in data part II.D)

Capitalized: today's term of dance

Lower case: medieval loan word

Writing with a question mark: Relationship unclear

Grey region: Spread of the word 'reien' in German-language literature of the Middle Ages

This fits in with the fact that 'reie' can also be found in some neighboring Slavic languages. In Sorbian one finds 'reja' (dance, chain dance)<sup>124</sup>, 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 ahead of) and in Slovenian 'raj' (chain dance)<sup>125</sup>. These areas were also Celtic-speaking in the past. Either it is a Celtic substratum word in these areas, which was adopted by the Slavs, or the word "reien" came together with the word "dance" as a loan word in these languages. It is unclear whether Reel and Héjsza also belong to this relationship. In some cases it may also have the meaning of dances in sequence in the sense of a suite, e.g. at the "Egerländer Reja".

<sup>124</sup> See Jannasch, Wörterbuch Deutsch – Niedersorbisch, Bautzen 1990, S. 1210.

<sup>125</sup> Further examples: A Bohemian dance "Rejdovak" (Czerwinski 1878, p. 5); "Prvi raj" first dance in the linden dance of the Gailtaler copper engravers in the 'windisch' part (R. Wolfram 1951, p. 63); In a description from 1813, the linden dance is also called "visoki raj" (high dance). (R. Wolfram 1951, p. 63); in the Egerland dances there are so-called "Roja dances"; "Roja" is used here as an umbrella term and synonym for "dance".

### 4.7.2 Laikan and langer Dantz

In German sources before 1000, no other dance word<sup>126</sup> apart from 'laikan' is mentioned (Harding 1973, p. 15). It can be found in the oldest Germanic version of the Bible by the monk Wulfila (in Böhme 1886, p. 5) as the word for dance. In Gothic, 'leika' means moving, dancing, playing, having fun.<sup>127</sup> In the biblical passage mentioned (Lukas 15.25) a folk dance, probably a chain dance, is meant. In German, however, the term 'leich' no longer came with the meaning of 'dance', but as a special form of song poetry (Harding 1973, p. 134).<sup>128</sup> This process corresponds to a common pattern that of the originally double meaning of a word for the dance as well as for the associated song, only the song meaning remains. This also applies, for example, to the term 'ballad', to the English 'carole', to 'carranda' in Catalan or probably also to the Spanish song words 'corrillos' and 'corrios'.

In Scandinavia and the Faroe Islands, this word is still in use, as 'leik' it is used to refer to chain dances. The Transylvanian Saxons still know the 'Leich'. The "Laich" is not an ordinary folk dance, but a solemn act. ... .. There are no 'spectators', only people who sharing the experience. Participants are tolerated outside of the circle, yes, they are even desired, provided they form a fence that prevents disturbances and creates a festive atmosphere" (Schuster 1981, p. 226).

The etymological relationship between the Estonian word 'Leigarid' (traveling entertainer, juggler) and the Finnish 'leikkia' (play, joke) to laikan has yet to be clarified. The basic meaning of all three words is "game, play". As a chain dance term, leik can be found today in Scandinavia, Iceland and the Faroe Islands.

In the Chronicle of the Land of Dithmarschen<sup>129</sup> from 1590, chain dances are referred to as "long Dantz" (accompanied by longer songs with epic-dramatic content and led by a lead dancer). 'Laich' had already been lost or had never been sustainably established. Even in Sweden you can still find the name 'Långdans' today. In many northern countries the word 'ringdans' or 'rindance' is also used for chain dance.

### 4.7.3 Carole<sup>130</sup>

Today the word 'Carole', in contrast to old French scripts, is rarely used. In terms of content, it is described as follows: "As numerous passages prove, the carole was a dance in which knights and ladies or even ladies alone closed a round and performed certain movements in a circle."<sup>131</sup>

<sup>126</sup> At least none that goes back to Germanic roots.

<sup>127</sup> See Baetke, W., Wörterbuch zur altnordischen Prosaliteratur, digital, Greifswald 2006.

<sup>128</sup> The Strasbourg Chronicle tells of "Geißlern" of the year 1349. These were led by two or four people who sang to a "leich" a pair of rhymes that were repeated by everyone. At that time, a 'leich' was a processional song (C. Petzsch, Nachrichten aus Städtchroniken p. 123 in: W. Suppan (ed.), Historische Volksmusikforschung 1977, Graz 1978.

<sup>129</sup> In W. Wittrock 1969 in Jahrbuch der Volksliedforschung p. 53.

<sup>130</sup> Also querole, charoles, kerolle, corolle, queroiles, karolles (Tobler-Lommatzsch, Old French Dictionary 1971, Volume 8, pp. 47-48), also choraula / coraula (Welsche Schweiz), carolau (Wales).

<sup>131</sup> Schultz, Oscar (1887), Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie. Nr. 10, p. 446, footnote.

For 'Carole' there is a similar demarcation to 'danse', as can be found for 'Reigen': "Li uns dance, l'autre querole" (Dolop. 98).<sup>132</sup> The term 'Carole' can be found in the Romanesque-Celtic and Celtic areas (France, French-speaking Switzerland, Northern Italy, Spain, Portugal, Great Britain). It corresponds to the word 'Reigen' in the Germanic-Celtic areas (South and Central Germany, Switzerland, Austria, South Tyrol). There are many interpretations of the etymology of the word Carole, almost all of which have phonological and especially semantic inconsistencies.

In another interpretation,<sup>133</sup> 'Carole' is traced back to the Celtic word 'karoll' (dance).

Although this explanation is seldom cited in the literature, the following points speak in favor of this view:

- There are no phonetic discrepancies, the words are the same.
- The meaning of the words carole (a type of dance) and karoll (generic term for dance) is almost the same. At that time carole was probably more of a generic term, as there were hardly any other types of dance.
- The distribution area of the word corresponds to areas that were originally Celtic.
- This word can still be traced in the remaining Celtic areas of today.<sup>134</sup>
- Due to the very late introduction of written Celtic, there are no written sources.
- The adoption of a loan word as a designation for an already existing dance form is incomprehensible (see Chapter 2.1.2b).

This leads to the assumption that the term was not first introduced in court society, but already existed as a Celtic word for 'chain dance with song' in the Romanized Celts. However, there is no direct evidence of this. In Baltimore, Ireland, as early as 1413, reports were made of "carolling, a processional combination of singing and dancing".<sup>135</sup>

When the instrumental accompaniment replaced the singing at court (Martin 1973, p. 103, p. 117), these dances were performed in a courtly manner and set up with a regular alternation of male dancer and female dancer (Brunner 1983, p. 13), and called 'Branles'.

#### 4.7.4 Horos

'Horos' and similar words are still the most important names for chain dance in Asia Minor, Eastern and Southeastern Europe (see Table 474). But also in the rest of Europe there are similar names such as, for example, 'Choir' or 'Choral'. The word came into Old High German in the 9th century, borrowed from the Latin 'chorus', which in turn is derived from the Greek 'choros' (horos) (Kluge 2011, p. 172; Pfeifer 1993, p. 194; Duden 2007, p. 126).

This common etymological explanation, which can be found in almost every dictionary, assumes that all of these words go back to 'Horos' (Χορός), which had several levels of

<sup>132</sup> In Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* 1971, Band 8, p. 47-48.

<sup>133</sup> E.g. *Dictionnaire d'Ancien Français*, Librairie Larousse, Paris 1947, p. 102.

<sup>134</sup> Welsh carol, carolau (*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* 1950, p. 430), Breton Koroll, Karoll in Breton = dance (Gérard Cornillet. *Breton-German dictionary*. Mouladurioù Hor Yezh 2000); Gallisch coroli (archive for the study of modern languages and literatures. Ludwig Herrig. Braunschweig 1874, digitally on the Internet); Scottish Gaelic coiriol (*Etymolog. Dictionary of Romance Languages*, Adolph Marcus, Bonn 1870, and 296 *Historia da poesia*).

<sup>135</sup> B. Breathnach, *Dancing in Ireland* 1983 in P. Murphy, *Toss the feathers* 1995, S. 18.

meaning in ancient Greece (Frick 1970, p. 1112; Kluge 2011 , P. 172; Pfeifer 1993, p. 194; Duden 2007, p. 126):

- a) Circular dance (cult dance) and crowd of dancers
- b) Round song (cult song) and choir
- c) dance floor/place

Not all levels of meaning have survived to this day in any case. Some of the derived words experienced a reduced change in meaning over time. In our German word 'Chor/choir' for the group of singers, the level of the square and the dance has been lost, whereas the 'choir' in the church only means the choir as a part of the church. Since it cannot be determined with certainty which of the three levels is the original level of meaning of Χορος, all explanations for a further derivation must be considered hypothetical<sup>136</sup> (Frick 1970, p. 1112).<sup>137</sup>

Perhaps there is no "one-dimensional" original meaning<sup>138</sup> of Χορος, because observations at festivals show that the old chain dances, integrated into a ritual context, are always accompanied by singing and danced in a certain place. The polysemy of the word horos (chain dance, dance song, dance floor) suggests that these things were one, that is, they were always performed together and at the same time. In the Romanian "Hora" and the Macedoromanian "Corlu"<sup>139</sup> there is also the meaning "dance feast", possibly another original level of meaning of the underlying word. The Irish word 'Céilí' also has the basic meaning of dance feast.<sup>140</sup>

Words that are still used today in the sense of chain dance are listed in Table 474.

Tabelle 474:<sup>141</sup> Words meaning Kettentanz in Asia minor, Southern and Southeast Europe.

Horos	Greece
Ora	North Macedonia
Ora	S-Serbia
Cor, Corlu	Macedoromanian
Horo	Bulgaria
Hora	Romania
Chorovod	Russia
Karagod	S-Russia
korohodzić	Belarus
korovod	Kleinrussisch (Ukraine)
korovid, korohid	Ukraine

<sup>136</sup> It should be noted here that all of these derivations are hypothetical.

<sup>137</sup> Some etymological dictionaries place Χορος with an original meaning "enclosed dance floor" to the Indo-European root "ǵher-" "to grab, enclose" (Pokorny 1959, p. 442; Duden 2007, p. 126).

<sup>138</sup> Etymological analyses assume that the words had a basic meaning and that more were added over time: "New meanings are lexical semantic innovations that have arisen by creating an associative relation to an older meaning of the word in question." does not necessarily die out, it happens that "most of the words in our language have more than one meaning" (Blank 2005, p. 1329).

<sup>139</sup> Hora is the Romanian name for a large number of chain dances, Corlu is the name used by the Vlach people. Vlachs belong to a Romance-speaking ethnic group outside of Romania.

<sup>140</sup> The terms Hora, Corlu and Céilí belong to the root word "chor", see Chap. 4.8.1.

<sup>141</sup> Whether the Hungarian term 'Karikázó' (round dance, girl dance) and the corresponding Slovak term 'Karička' are also derived from 'Horos', I have not yet been able to clarify.

Korowod	Poland
Chorovody	Slovakia
Hora, Horon	Turkey
Horoni, Chorumi	Georgia
Kereoni	Laz

All words in Table 474 are generally interpreted as borrowed words that go back to the Greek "Horos". In Chapter 4.8.1, a completely different hypothesis about the origin of these words is presented on the basis of further findings and considerations.

#### 4.7.5 Kolo

The word Kolo is common in the southwest of the Slavic language area<sup>142</sup> as a name for chain dances. The original meaning is "wheel, circle, carriage" (Miklosich 1886, p. 124). Even in Old Church Slavonic texts it is only used in this sense (Sadnik 1955, p. 46). Only in Berneker (1913, p. 548) does the meaning of chain dance appear for the Serbo-Croat, Czech and Minor Russian language areas, but not in Russian, Bulgarian or Polish. For the word Kolo, chain dance is therefore an additional meaning that can only have arisen 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 as a name for chain dance, as is still the case today in southern Serbia and North Macedonia. It was not until 1515 that 'Kolo' appeared for the first time in writing in Dubrovnik (Mladenović 1969, p. 481). In Vienna it was used by Vuk Karadžić in his work *Srpski rječnik* in 1818<sup>143</sup>. However, until around 1900 the term 'Oro' was found more frequently than 'Kolo' in publications, but with the 'Collections of Dances and Music for Kolos' published by M. Miličević in 1876 and 1884, the new word became more and more popular.<sup>144</sup>

This evidence raises two questions: Why was the old word 'Oro' replaced by 'Kolo' at all and why did this change only occur in the southwest of the Slavic-speaking area?

According to oral statements by S. Kotansky<sup>145</sup> and V. Tanasijevic<sup>146</sup>, the term Kolo was introduced to mean circle dance for the so-called "ballroom dances". These dances differ significantly from the original and historically older 'Oros'. Their step patterns are usually eight measures and symmetrical and the dances have two or three parts. It is possible that they were first danced only by the more elegant and urban sections of the population, which suggests their designation as "ballroom dances". So together with the word Kolo, a form of chain dance having some new features spread.

<sup>142</sup> In Serbia (excluding southern Serbia), Croatia, Slovenia, Little Russia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

<sup>143</sup> Message in the mail of January 20th, 2012 from Ibrahim Rizevski (specialist in South Serbian dances).

<sup>144</sup> Email contact from December 8th and 9th, 2011 with Elsie Ivancich Dunin, dance ethnologist at the University of Los Angeles.

<sup>145</sup> Folklore dance teacher and hobby dance ethnologist from New York.

<sup>146</sup> Specialist in Serbian dances from Beograd.



This replacement process essentially took place in the 19th<sup>147</sup> century under Western influence. This is supported by the first evidence from Vienna and Dubrovnik, because Vienna belonged to Austria-Hungary and the Dalmatian coast remained largely under the influence of Venice even during the Ottoman rule. This means that this region was still turned towards the West and open to its influences. The hinterland was occupied by the Turks, which blocked Western influence during this time. Only after the Turks had withdrawn did Serbia open up to the west again. Before that, Croatia had come under Austro-Hungarian authority. The longer occupation of southern Serbia or northern North Macedonia by the Turks and the greater distance to the west prevented the change from Oro to Kolo there.

#### 4.7.6 Ples und Plinsjan

The Slavic word 'plinsjan' is used for the artistic dance of Herod's daughter (Markus 6.22) in the Gothic Bible from the 4th century.<sup>148</sup> The word 'ples' still means 'dance' in some Slavic languages. When a couple or a few people in Russia break out of the circle and dance separately and improvising without joining hands, this is called 'plyas' or 'plyaska' (Prokhorov 2002, pp. 61-62). With 'Plyas', as with Herod's daughter, the demonstrating character of the dance performance is decisive for the choice of words.

Terms of this word family always refer to those dances in which the performance character and personal presentation, (theatrical) playful aspects and improvisation are in the foreground. There are also words derived from 'ples' in Slovenian (ples), Polish (plasać), Old Bulgarian (plésati), Czech (plesati), Slovak (plesat) and Serbo-Croatian (plèsati),<sup>149</sup> whereby the word parts –ać and - ati are verbal suffixes.

#### 4.7.7 Ballare und Ballatio

Many dance terms in the Mediterranean region belong to the root word 'ball', as it is called by Aepli (1925, p. 14). In Spanish and Portuguese, 'dancing' still means 'bailar', in French 'baller' and in Provençal 'balar' are no longer used, whereas 'ballare' is still used in Italian today. In Albania, a lot of folk dances are called 'Valle' and on the Greek islands with a focus 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. The German vocabulary also has vocabulary that belong to this word family. The term 'ball' (dance feast) is a borrowed word that emerged from the French 'bal' in the 17th century, which in turn belongs to an old French verb 'baller', which is no longer used, meaning to dance and to the synonymous late Latin 'ballare' (Duden 2007, p. 66). Likewise, 'ballet' was borrowed from the Italian 'balletto' in the 17th century, which in turn is also traced back to 'ballare' (Duden 2007, p. 66). The epic-dramatic poem form 'Ballade' comes from the French 'ballade' meaning 'dance song', which also has its origin in 'ballare'. 'Ballare' seems to be the starting word for all of the derivatives mentioned.

<sup>147</sup> Independent oral testimony by S. Kotansky and V. Tanasijevic. This is also supported by the fact that Kolo meaning level circle dance does not yet appear in Miklosich 1886 (p. 124), but in Berneker 1915 (p. 548) for the south-western linguistic area.

<sup>148</sup> The Gothic word plinsjan has an Old Slavic root (Böhme 1886, p. 5).

<sup>149</sup> See Vasmer 1955, Russisch Etymologisches Wörterbuch 2. Bd. S. 379.

'Ballare' (to dance) and also 'ballatio' (dance) appear in the written sources in late Latin and vulgar Latin. A first proof can be found in Augustinus (Aeppli 1925, p. 11). Both terms are derived from the Greek word 'ballizein' (throwing your feet, dancing), which is common in Sicily and southern Italy, which in turn comes from 'ballein, βάλλω' (throwing, moving) (Aeppli 1925, p. 11; Meyer 1901, P. 135).<sup>150</sup>

To characterize the content, there is a written description of an Italian 'Ballo' in Sachs (1933, p. 187): "Women turned to their partners, and while they were moving around daintily holding the tips of their skirts, the men, with raised arms, danced the pantomime, den Ballo." And Brunner (1983, p. 14) states: "The so-called 'Ballo' was the favorite child of the Italian dance masters: a dance with free choreography, the (often pantomime) composition of which the imagination had no limits." 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 courting (between the sexes) in its different types: [...]" (from Reclam's Ballet Lexicon, 1984 in Schoch 1998, p. 38).

This is also reinforced by the fact that in church dance bans and medieval literature 'ballatio' is repeatedly delimited from other dance words.<sup>151</sup> It is therefore neither 'choreis', 'carole' or 'reien', nor 'Tanz/dance' or 'danser', nor 'spryngen' or 'espriguer' - these terms stand for dances with other characteristics.

The specific quality of 'ballatio' or 'ballo' is and was the mimic and pantomimic character. It was more likely to be performed by individuals or a few dancers. The name applied to both professional<sup>152</sup> and popular dance<sup>153</sup>. The dances solemnly performed in the church were also called 'ballationes' (Salmen 1999, p. 24; Voß 1868<sup>154</sup>). Dance floors covered with tarpaulins, which were set up near the churches in the early days of Christianity, were called 'Ballatoria' (Böhme 1886, p. 18). These dances were probably put on display. Our modern word 'ballet' fits this very well both in terms of language and content, because dance choreographies are also presented on stage with a lot of expression and design.

#### 4.7.8 Spryngen

'Spryngen' or 'Spil' was an acrobatic dance that was used to entertain the audience (Salmen p. 214; 1999, p. 139; 1997 p. 4-5). The Latin 'salire' and 'saltare' have the same meaning (Harding 1973, p. 20ff), but 'saltare' was also used in Latin as a generic term for dancing.

<sup>150</sup> The older view that this word also has something to do with the origin of ball, ball games, has been refuted (Aeppli 1925, p. 13).

<sup>151</sup> Many examples of such delimitations can be found in Aeppli 1925, p. 69, footnote 151 and in Salmen 1980, p. 15.

<sup>152</sup> The documents 'ballator and ballatrix' refer to the individual and professional dance (Aeppli, 1925, p. 11). There is also evidence in Old French that the word was used as a name for the individual dance of jugglers and tightrope walkers (Aeppli 1925, p. 21).

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Aeppli 1925, p. 22. This also fits the quote from Sachs (1933, p. 182), where he quotes a "Caro" in 1626: "Bailes are show dances by Gaditan girls, Danza, on the other hand, the honorable dance, la honesta saltacion, including the Corpus Christi dances." In Italy too (Aeppli 1925, pp. 14-15), "ball" has remained the more popular word compared to "dans". Dancing in the pub is called 'ballare', the dance of the finer and urban society is called 'danzare', which can be easily explained by the origin of the two words.

<sup>154</sup> Voß (1868): Church assembly in Aachen: "One began again as before in the churches or around them to hold the banquets and dance games, one even finds statutes in which dances, which one called ballationes, were prescribed as a special, solemn ceremony of the day, after which e.g. a cantor with a staff in hand and in church clothes had to hold a dance publicly in the church. In order to be protected from the heat of the sun and rain storms, and to make it more leisurely, canvas tents were pitched near the churches or in the adjacent churchyards. These tents were called Ballatoria (dance floors) or Chorearia (dance halls); [...]."

## 4.8 Dance words - an old language layer?

Many dance terms have a wide, supra-regional presence. This applies, for example, to the word 'dance', which was spread as a loan word with a new way of dancing across Europe and beyond. Other dance expressions such as those of the word family<sup>155</sup> 'bal' (northern Mediterranean region) also have an occurrence that goes far beyond the scope of a single language. The root word 'chor', which can be found in most European countries, is particularly widespread. But not only there, also in Tibet with 'khor' (Tibetan-Burmese language family), in Buryatia with 'Jochar' (Mongolian language, Altaic language family), in Turkey with 'Halay' (Turkic language, Altaic language family), among the Lasen in Turkey with 'Kereoni' (Caucasian language family) and already in Palestine of the Old Testament with 'chul' (old Hebrew, Afro-Asian language family), terms with this root and the same meaning can be found.

According to E. Seebald, there are three possible explanations for words with similar meanings and sounds in neighboring languages (2005, p. 1299):

- a) They are related hereditary words with a common origin. For example, the German 'Wasser', the English 'water' and the Swedish 'vatten' go back to the Indo-European 'uédōr' (Duden 2007, p. 916).
- b) The words are borrowed, such as the term 'dance'.
- c) The terms happen to be similar.

The large number of words and the almost widespread occurrence of the word stems 'chor' and 'bal', each with the same meaning and phonetic similarity, speak against a coincidence. There remains the possibility of explaining a common hereditary word or that of a borrowing. In the case of the much more recent term 'dance', for example, one assumes a loan. For a long time, this word had an old French origin. A more recent study by Harding (1973) shows a borrowing from the Rhine Franconian language.

Even with the word history of the word families 'chor' and 'bal', the present interpretations are based on a borrowing. If you list all the evidence and arguments, in particular the large and area-wide distribution areas of the word families 'chor' and 'bal', and if you consider the findings presented in this work about the origin and spread of chain dances and free couple dances, the explanatory hypothesis of borrowing is losing ground and the new insights into dance history allow a different view of the word stories of 'chor' and 'bal'.

### Method

After a brief presentation of the currently recognized etymology of the words 'chor' and 'bal', phonetic and other inconsistencies are cited for the respective explanations. The dance terms collected for both word families (cf. data part II.D) are characterized by a high level of agreement in terms of content and a high level of phonetic similarity to the assumed root words or word roots. The root, in this case 'chor' or 'bal', is the remainder of a word form from which all inflectional and derivative morphemes have been subtracted (Rix 2005, p. 1334). These relationships have been well investigated, especially for the Indo-European languages.

---

<sup>155</sup> The term word family is used here to refer to a group of words that have the same root word (etymological root).

In the following, the idea of the word root will also be applied to non-Indo-European words. According to Rix (2001, p. 5), a root must consist of at least two consonantic radicals and an intervening ablaut vowel, which applies to both 'chor' and 'bal'. Since there is hardly any etymological information about some terms from other language families, a linguistic determination of a root with the procedure required in linguistics is often not possible. For words from other language families, it is assumed that 'chor' (or 'bal') or a phonetic similar part of the word is the root and that the other parts of the word are prefixes or suffixes.

#### 4.8.1 The relationship of words with the stem 'chor'

##### 4.8.1.1 Currently valid etymology for 'chor'

The word 'chor' used in German goes back to the Greek word 'Horos' (Χορός) and there it means: chain dance, dance floor, dancers, choir.<sup>156</sup> It can no longer be determined which of these meanings is the original. For this reason, all further explanations are hypothetical. Therefore it is difficult to assign an Indo-European initial form. It is possible that 'Horos' goes back to ,ǵher‘with the meaning of 'grab, hold of',<sup>157</sup> which also includes 'ghoros', fenced-in place.<sup>158</sup> In the course of Christianization by the Catholic Church, the Latin 'chorus' was used as a loan word in the Romance and Germanic languages.<sup>159</sup> It came into the Slavic languages directly from the Greek through the Orthodox Church. In summary, the etymology represented in the dictionaries is based on a Greek-Latin loan word in the case of 'chor', which, like other words, was borrowed by other languages during the course of Christianization (Duden 2007, p. 128). A typical sound conversion was carried out for the respective language.

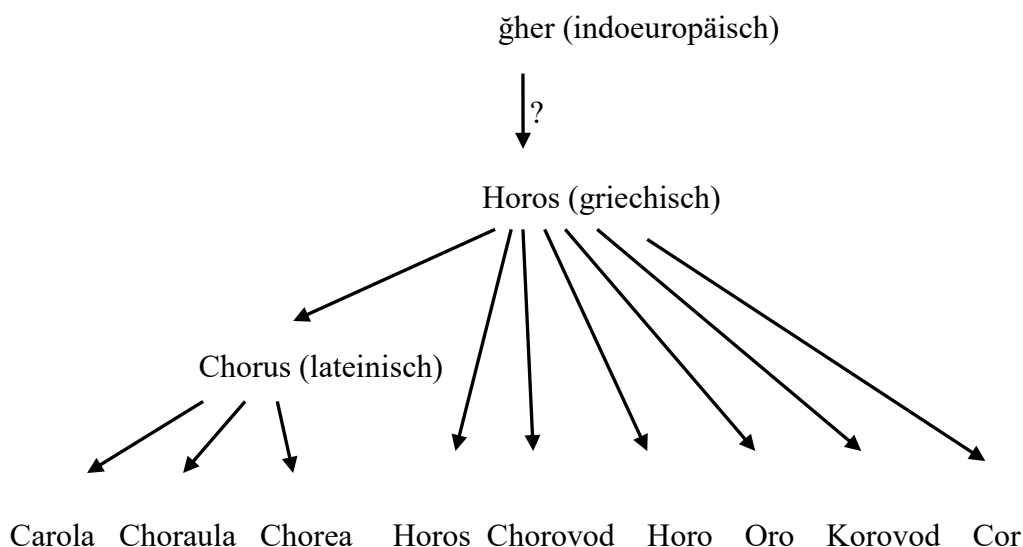


Fig. 481a: View of the origin of dance terms related to the word 'chor' as given in the etymological dictionaries. The line of development for Carola is shown in a simplified form.

<sup>156</sup> See Duden, Das Herkunftswörterbuch 2007, p. 126.

<sup>157</sup> See H. Frisk, Griechisch Etymologisches Wörterbuch 1970, p. 1112.

<sup>158</sup> See Pokorny, Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch 1959, p. 442.

<sup>159</sup> In the Baltic languages, in Estonian and Finnish, this word is not detectable today, at least as a dance word.

An overall view of the collected evidence and arguments, however, reveals inconsistencies and contradictions to this point of view, which are summarized below.

#### **4.8.1.2 Inconsistencies and contradictions in the loan word hypothesis**

##### Phonetic inconsistencies

In the southern Russian dialect the word for chain dance is called 'Karagod or Korogod', in Ukraine Korovod, in Belarus Korohod, which does not correspond to the sound shift laws and therefore cannot be explained in this way. Vasmer (1958, p. 630) writes: "One does not want to separate the word from Chorovod 'Reigen', which seems to belong to the Greek Horos [...], but in this case the k and g remain puzzling. Therefore, some scholars consider the Korogod form to be the older, [...]. "

##### Dance term as a loan word

Considering the factual history, concerns about the content of the loan word hypothesis weigh much more heavily than these verbal and formal objections. 'Chorovod' and related words are terms for the 'dance of the peasants'. Chain dances are an expression of the village community and serve the group identity. They have therefore proven to be very conservative in the course of history and are hardly susceptible to external influences. This is especially true for the step pattern of the dances. It is hardly evident that this "temporal stability" should not also apply to the designations. Because why should a Russian farmer 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 that a Greek word therefore had to be adopted. A loanword adoption is hardly understandable in this context.

The chain dance terms used in the immediate vicinity of Greece: 'Oro' (southern Serbia, North Macedonia, formerly throughout Serbia), 'Horo' (Bulgaria), 'Hora' (Romania, Moldova) and 'Cor' (Macedo-Romanian) are used because of the great phonetic agreement traced back to the Greek. But here, too, the argument of group identification speaks against the loan word hypothesis. Why should Serbs, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Romanians or Vlachsians adopt a loan word for their also very old chain dances?

The same objections also speak against Aepplis' view (1925, p. 6), according to which the Romans adopted 'chorea' from the Greeks as a word for community dance in the absence of a word of their own. Here, too, it is difficult to understand that the Roman population is said to have had community dances on the one hand, but on the other hand did not have their own word for it.

The assumption is very speculative, but not ruled out, that the Roman word for community dance 'chorea' was so similar to the Greek 'Horos' that it was later taken to be a Greek loan word.

In Europe, Greek words have long been documented in writing. Old words in other languages are beyond our knowledge. The lack of knowledge of these ancient words does not justify favoring a loanword explanation, just because the corresponding Greek word is first documented in writing.

### Words that cannot be borrowed from Greek or Latin

There are many words in the 'chor' family that lie outside the Greco-Roman sphere of influence in terms of time or geography.

In the Old Testament it says in Exodus 15, 20 (2. Book Mose): "Watikach Mirjam hanbiah achoth Aharon äthatoph bjarah watizän kolhanischim acharäha btuphim ubim**ch**oloth." (And Miriam, the prophetess, Aaron's sister, had a kettledrum in her hand, and everyone followed her with kettledrums in a chain dance.) The Greek translation reads 'Χορός' at this point and Luther then translates 'Reigen'. The underlying verb means 'חָלַל **chul** bedeutet - 'to move in a circle, to turn', which suggests a round dance.<sup>160</sup> In New Hebrew, the word was expanded with a prefix to 'lecholel' - 'dance'.

A second word used in the Old Testament, 'כָּרַר **karar**' - 'to be round, to turn, to turn back and forth' becomes 'Kirkor', meaning dance, but also 'Kor', meaning 'round', posed.<sup>161</sup> These words also have the root 'chor'. This could of course be a coincidence, because there are coincidental similarities between different languages and Hebrew belongs to the Semitic languages and thus to a completely different family of languages than Greek, which belongs to Indo-European. But it would be quite a coincidence with such an obvious phonetic and semantic correspondence.

In Arabic, which is related to Hebrew, the word 'حَال - **Hāla**' still exists today, meaning 'to move in a circle, to turn' or 'Hal (k) a', 'circle'. The presumed original meaning 'to dance' is now filled with the words 'Raqs' or 'Debke'.

The 'araas' 'dance, rhythm' or 'jarras' 'dance'<sup>162</sup> used by Berbers in the Middle Atlas still have this original meaning.

In a large area from Central to Eastern Anatolia and neighboring areas, the word 'Halay' is used to denote circular chain dances by different ethnic groups such as Turks<sup>163</sup>, Kurds<sup>164</sup> and Assyrians. In Azerbaijan it is called 'Yalli', in Syria 'Hegga' and among the Assyrians 'Khigga'. Halay and its modifications occur nationwide among very different ethnic groups. In Sanskrit there is a '**kurdanam**' with the meaning 'to dance', whereby the root for 'kurd' is assumed to be not Indo-European.<sup>165</sup>

In Tibet, circle dance means '**Khor** ro ro' and 'gnas-**skor**' means: 'going around a holy place'. The Buryats west of Lake Baikal, who speak a Mongolian dialect, refer to their circle dances as '**Jochar**'.

The circular chain dances common in the Himalayan region of Mustang in Nepal are called '**Shhapro**'.<sup>166</sup>

The Yi people in the Chinese province of Yunnan also have chain dances called 'Qie' (pronunciation: tʃeə [r] like chair).<sup>167</sup>

<sup>160</sup> See W. Gesenius, Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament 1962, S. 217-218

<sup>161</sup> See W. Gesenius, Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament 1962, S. 364.

<sup>162</sup> Junk 1948, S. 132.

<sup>163</sup> In Turkish, 'alay' means 'many people', which is very probably one of the folk etymological interpretations.

<sup>164</sup> In addition to Halay, the Kurds also use the song designation 'Hore', probably the oldest form of Kurdish music. It can be accompanied by musical instruments or played without instruments. It is sung by one or more singers. Hore is particularly widespread in the Hawraman area, a region in the Iranian-Iraqi border area.

<sup>165</sup> Turner, A comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan-Language suspects a loan word from the Dravidian language.

<sup>166</sup> Rinjing Gurung, email contact from April 22nd, 2012, the name has been translated into English letters.

<sup>167</sup> Personal email contact from December 2nd, 2012 with Prof. Stevan Harrell, Prof. for Anthropology for China and Taiwan at the University of Washington.

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. Taking into account the explanations given here, it is not possible to assume a borrowing from the Greek for these words. Also among the dance and song names are some words that can hardly be traced back to a Greek or Latin borrowing, such as B. the Kurdish 'hore'.

Other words have questionable etymology.

Some chain dances are still called, **Choraula**, in French-speaking Switzerland. This form is derived from the Greek χοραυλης '(choraule), choir flutist'.<sup>168</sup> What speaks against this interpretation is that popular chain dances up to the Middle Ages were always accompanied with singing, never with instruments. Even at court, singing was still used until the 15th century, and only then did the playing of instruments replace singing. Additional, non-verifiable assumptions must also be made for the linguistic derivation.<sup>169</sup> The fact that 'choraula' goes back to 'choir flutist' is hardly understandable from a semantic point of view.<sup>170</sup> The same counter-arguments exist against the derivation of the old French carole, as in Chap. 4.7.3 already shown.

The Basques call their chain dances 'dantsa-**korda**'. 'Korda' is derived from the Romanesque term 'Khorda = rope'. The Basques, who still attach great importance to their ethnic identity and demarcation, would not have adopted a Romance loanword for their old chain dances, which symbolize group identity like hardly anything else. Based on the considerations formulated above, this is hardly conceivable.<sup>171</sup>

In Georgian, circular chain dance is called 'Perkhuli', which is derived from the old Georgian term 'perch = foot'. Overall, it seems more plausible to see a coincidental resemblance to 'perch' in 'perk' and to place 'khuli' as a close relationship with choir.

On the coasts of the Black Sea, which were colonized by Greeks in historical times, words from the 'chor' relationship can be found among very different ethnic groups: '**Hora**' (western Turkey), '**Horon**' (northern Turkey), '**Horoni**' (southwest Georgia), '**Chorum**' (Western Georgia) and '**Kereoni**' or '**Chereoni**' (Lasen). A derivation of the words from the Greek cannot be ruled out in these cases.

---

<sup>168</sup> See Zeitschrift für Romanische Philosophie 1912, XXXVI. Band, p. 309.

<sup>169</sup> Diez (in Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 1912, Volume XXXVI, p. 309) assumes that the Italian carola was formed from a hypothetical choraulare.

<sup>170</sup> See the remarks on carole in chap. 4.7.3.

<sup>171</sup> On the other hand, 'dantsa' (dance) is a loan word that has spread with a new way of dancing (see Chapter 4.9.3a).





#### 4.8.1.3 Summary of the facts and arguments

- Terms related to 'chor', which mostly stand for chain dance, can be found in a large area between Ireland and Central Siberia.
- The spread of the words coincides with the spread of chain dances.
- The words often come from Indo-European languages, but also occur in Semitic, Turkish, Caucasian, Tibetan and Mongolian languages.
- Popular, especially village dance, is an extremely important tool of group identity. A loanword adoption is therefore rather unlikely.
- A derivation of the Slavic chain dance words from the Greek is at least doubtful.
- There are doubts about the etymological interpretation of some words in the 'chor' family. Some of them seem to be folk etymologies.
- There are some "chor" words that can hardly be traced back to a Greek-Latin borrowing. The overall distribution of this word stem cannot be explained by Greco-Latin influence.

The sum of the facts and arguments speaks against interpreting the 'chor' as Greek-Latin loanwords. Possibly in individual cases. For example, the classification of the German word 'chor' as a Latin loan word is correct and understandable, but this explanation cannot apply to the majority of the words.

The great semantic correspondence with the meaning of chain dance (and its secondary meanings "associated song" or "dance feast") and the terms with the root "chor", which correlate with the spread of chain dances, suggest that this term can be used together with the dances, from Originating in the Middle East, connected with the Neolithic expansion, as another element of the "Neolithic package". It can therefore be assumed that the words of the 'chor' word family are related hereditary words that go back to a common origin. Despite having changed languages several times, the word 'chor' appears in many languages of our time with comparatively little phonetic variance as a term for chain dance or, more rarely, as an umbrella term for dance. It probably belongs to a very old language class that has survived into our time. Not only the widespread use is remarkable, but also the low variance of the terms based on a period of almost 10,000 years - for the original word an incredibly low "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 leader can bring about a change in language. In such a case, the previously widespread indigenous language is replaced by a new one (superstrat). This replacement process, in which a typical sound shift can occur, does not take place one hundred percent, but a few words from the indigenous language are retained, mostly from typical areas such as house and yard or names for site-specific events (see 5.4.2). These substrate words are therefore retained by the people in use and pronunciation and therefore hardly changed. So there is no sound shift either. Several causes are conceivable for the addition of prefixes and suffixes, such as a different grammar in the ,superstrat' language. This relationship is shown in Fig. 481c.

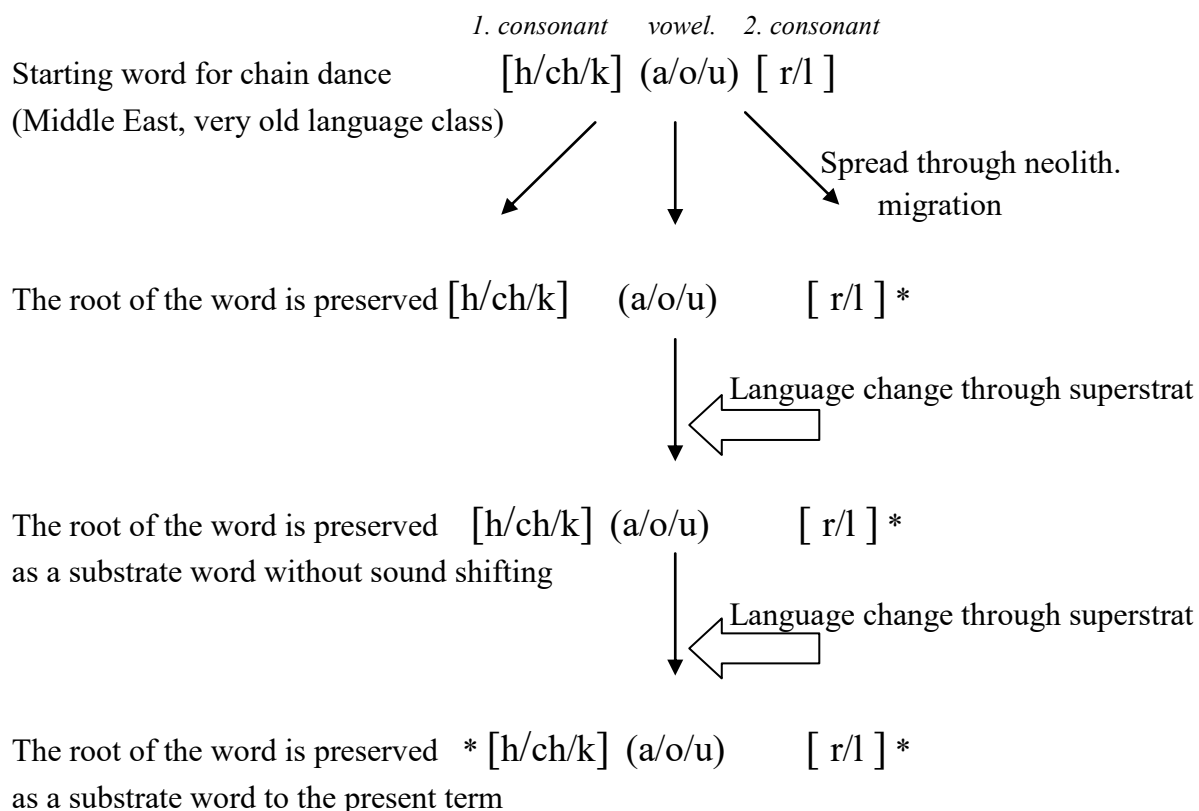


Fig. 481c: 'chor' as a conserved substrate word with multiple language changes.

First square bracket = 1st consonant; round bracket = vowel; second square bracket = 2nd consonant; \* = Suffix (back) or prefix (front).

Against the background of the arguments cited, the return of 'chor' to the Indo-European root 'ġher' with the meaning of 'grasp, (enclose)' (Frisk, 1970, p. 1112) and the extension 'ghortos' 'fenced in place' appears (Pokorny, Indo-European Etymological Dictionary 1959, p. 442) as unlikely, because why should the meaning of 'fenced place' be the basic one? At the beginning of the Neolithic expansion, chain dance was associated with singing and religious feasts, and the "chors" were probably also performed in a certain place, at least that is still the case today in original village communities in the Balkans. So all levels of meaning were relevant and present from the start, they belong together, they are different aspects of the same thing.<sup>172</sup>

#### Areas without 'chorus' derivatives

There is no indigenous "chor" dance word to be found in the Germanic and Baltic language areas. In central and southern Germany, in Austria and Switzerland it is 'Reihen', in northern Germany 'Chordantz'<sup>173</sup> or 'lange Dantz' and in Scandinavia 'Leik' or 'Långdans'. Why are there no 'chor' words preserved in these areas there are no indications for this yet.

<sup>172</sup> This view fits the fact that there are separate words for "fenced place" in many Indo-European languages such as, for example, "garden" in German, "hortos" (enclosure, courtyard, pasture place) in Greek (Frisk 1970, p. 1113) or "okol" (fenced place) in the Slavic languages (Miklosich 1886, p. 124). If "fenced place" were the basic meaning of "horos", there would probably be no need for another word with this meaning.

<sup>173</sup> Chordantz does contain the root chor. In German, however, this part of the word is interpreted as a Latin loan word in a comprehensible manner.

Almost all of the cited terms of the 'choir' tribe are names for chain dance or mean dance in general, especially when there are hardly any other dance forms in addition to chain dance. In Anatolia and the Middle East, there are now two more dance terms, 'Halay' and 'Kochari', which stand for subgroups of chain dances. Halay means slower forms, mostly with a three-measure pattern, and Kochari stands for a certain chain dance family whose steps are mostly fast and whose patterns today usually extend over three or four measures

#### 4.8.1.5 The relationship between the words 'kochari'

Dances called Kotchari can be found from the southeastern Black Sea coast to the north of Iraq and Iran. These are regions whose speakers, at least today, have very different linguistic affiliations. Usually the dance has a three- or four-measure pattern and is danced faster and livelier compared to the also common halay.



Fig. 481d: The relationship between the words 'kochari'

The meaning of the word Kochari is explained very differently in the individual languages: In Kurdish, 'Koçer' means 'nomad'. In Armenian, 'Koch' means 'knee' and 'ari' means 'to come', but according to T. van Geel, 'Koch' means 'horn' in Armenian. In the Pontic-Greek dialect, 'Kots' means 'heel' and 'Kotso' means 'limbs'. According to Dora Stratu, the word is "elbow" and according to D. Charalamides, "Kotsari" means "sexually aroused sheep". In Turkish, 'Köçeri' is a proper name that means 'a child born during the migration'. Also among the Lasen there are dances called köçari and also among the Assyrian folk dances there is Kochari. All explanations seem to have little agreement and a common sense of the word next to the name for a family of chain dances does not emerge from this.

The evidence of the word in very different languages, even language families (Indo-European, Caucasian and Turkish), can be explained by a purely coincidental similarity, either by a common hereditary word that was already in use as a substrate word in this region before the respective language change or it is a loan word that was adopted from another language. The disagreement in the meaning of the word rather suggests that it is an old substratum word. In this interpretation, the actual meaning would be a name for a chain dance family and the individual word meanings would be coincidental similarities of the dance name with a word of the respective new language. The great similarity to the root 'chor' speaks in favor of

placing the word 'Ko-char-i' and its derivatives in relation to the 'chor' relationship, for which the substrate hypothesis is also favored.

#### 4.8.2 Further terms for chain dance

##### 4.8.2.1 Word relationship ,chobi' and ,debke'

In the word family 'chor' mentioned above, only those terms for chain dance, song types or circle were taken that match the presumed root in both the first and second consonants or are at least very similar acoustically. In the Near and Middle East in particular, there are other names for chain dance or for certain chain dance families such as 'Cobie', where the consonants of the corresponding words differ from the presumed initial form. Words like chobi occur in some regions and languages. The Kurdish (both northern Iraq and northern Iran) Chobi, sometimes also Chopi, describes chain dances, usually with a three-measure structure. The same goes for the western Iranian Chobi and the Iraqi Chobi, Chobo or Chubie.

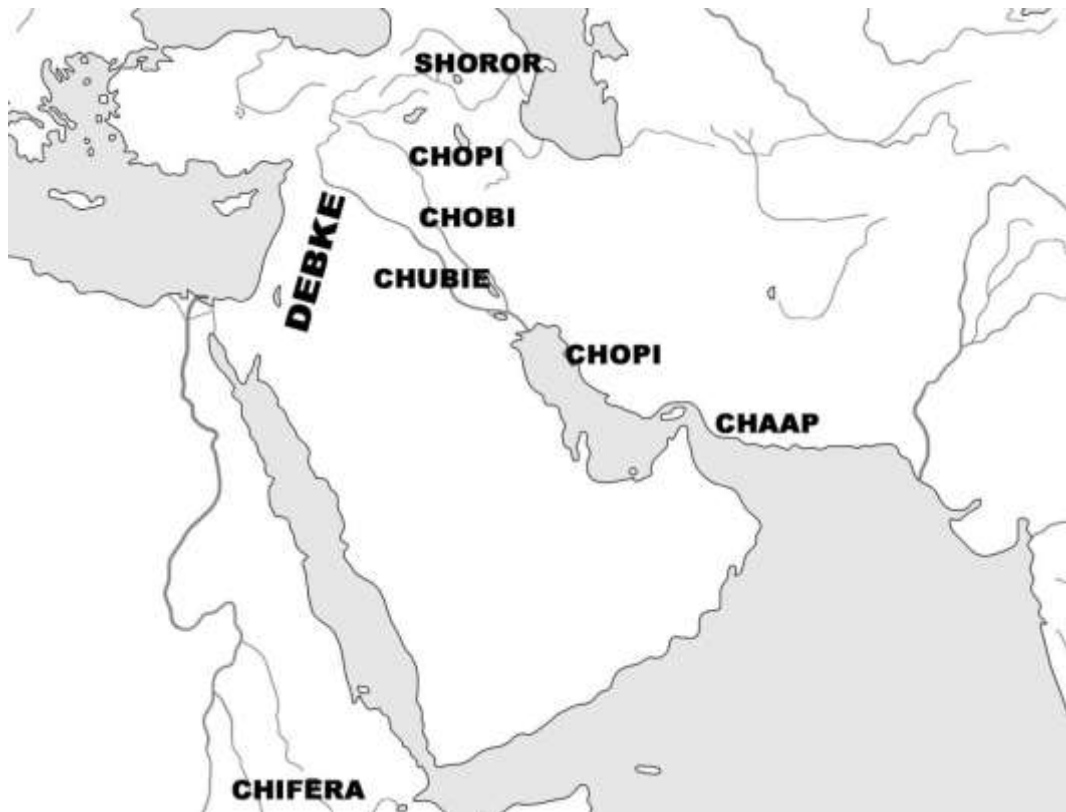


Fig. 482a: The relationship of the words 'chobie' and 'debke'

In the Kurdish language, 'Chobi' has no other meaning besides the name for certain dances, in Persian it should come from 'čube' = long, straight wooden stick. However, these dances are almost always performed without a stick, which contradicts this explanation. I do not have a meaning of the word in the corresponding Iraqi dialect.

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 when dancing and therefore it is not possible to hold hands. But apart from the

missing hand grip, all external structural features of the chain dances are present. In Balochistan, the Chaap dances are also danced in a circle, but are not clearly part of the chain dances, but are a mixture of chain dance with Central Asian forms of folk dance because of their different structural features.<sup>174</sup> The Ethiopian word 'chifera' (tsifera) with the meaning 'dance to sing' could also belong to the word family 'chobi'.

Whether 'Shoror' (to weigh back and forth in Armenian) belongs to this family, or rather belongs to the closer 'chor' relationship, cannot be clarified without further considerations. In any case, in the case of 'chobi' there is a very similar word with the same meaning for at least four very different languages, which indicates a common origin and a substrate or loan word. On the whole, further arguments in analogy to the word 'chor' indicate a substrate word. Debke, also Dabke, Dabka, Dabki, or Dabkeh is a name for circular chain dances in Palestine, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Iraq. Often times these debkes have a three-measure structure. 'Debka' means 'stamping' in Arabic. At the moment I do not have enough evidence for an etymological assessment of the word. Although the dances are very old in their form, the word seems to be younger or to have been at least more recently modified. . Perhaps it was spread over this area with the expansion of the Arab world and with the standardization of the Arabic language. This is supported by the observation that the term 'Dabke' exists in Iraq, but that it is called 'Chubie' in the regional dialect. It cannot be ruled out that the original meaning "chain dance" has coincided with the Arabic meaning "stamp" and that the sound form has then adapted to the assumed content.

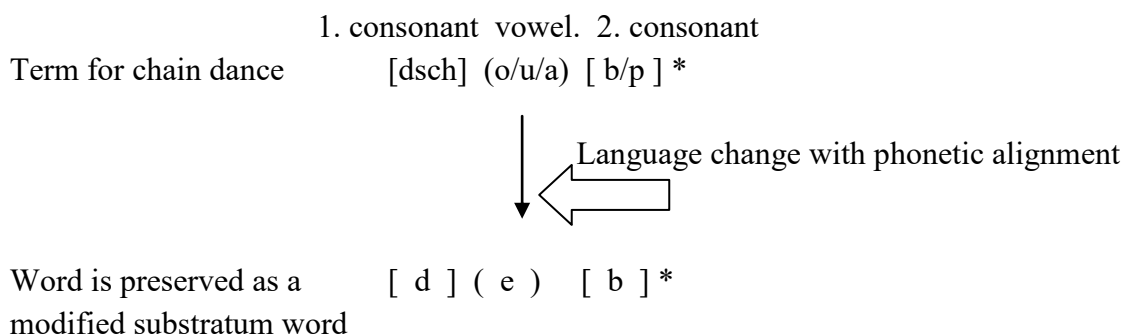


Fig. 482b: 'debke' as a modified substrate word after a language change. First square bracket = 1st consonant; round bracket = vowel; second square bracket = 2nd consonant; \* = Suffix

<sup>174</sup> Synchronous movements are carried out on the circular path, but without a mount, which would also be difficult to achieve with many individual rotations. The latter two features (without setting, many twists) correspond more to Central Asian forms of folk dance. With all reservations, this can be interpreted in such a way that a mixed form of dance types has arisen here, which is still provided with an old name.

#### 4.8.2.2 Possible connection between the word families 'chor', 'kotchari' and 'chobi'

The words of the word families 'chor', 'kochari' and 'chobi' are terms for chain dances in different areas. All three groups are names for dances that have the same structural features and are part of the kinship group of the chain dances. This fact and the obvious similarity in the morphology and in the sounds of the words lead to the assumption that all three terms have a common word history, although there are phonetic reservations, because the transition from [r] (Kochari) to [b] (Chobie) is unusual.

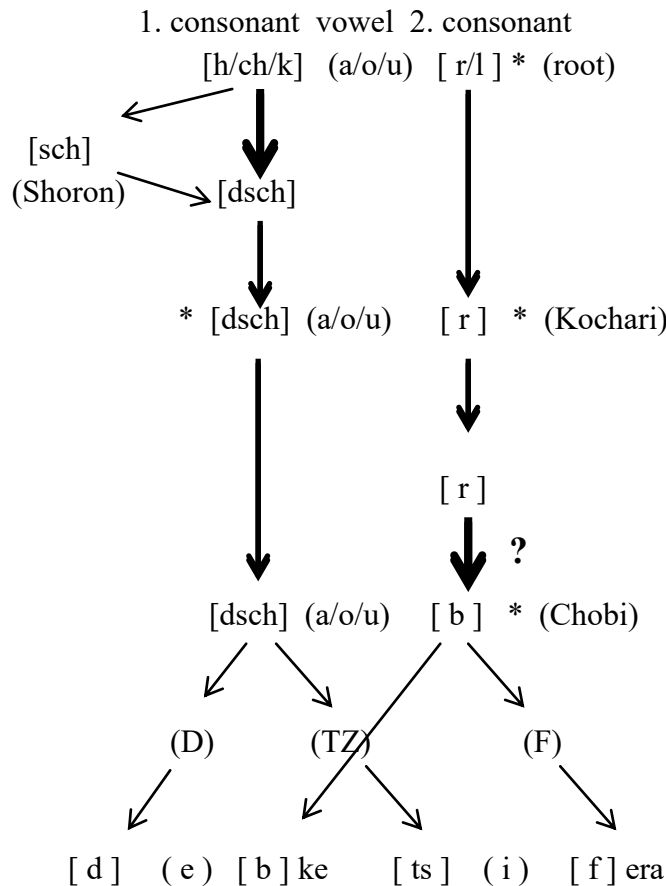


Fig. 482c: Family tree of the word families 'chor', 'chobi' and 'kochari'. First square bracket = 1st consonant; round bracket = vowel; second square bracket = 2nd consonant; \* = Suffix (back) or prefix (front)

A conceivable family tree for the terms mentioned is sketched in Figure 482c. The arrows each stand for a small modification or for an unchanged takeover. The arrow with a question mark indicates the very unusual change from [r] to [b].

After that, the root 'dschar' would have developed from the 'basic root' 'chor', which was then modified to 'dschob'. From 'dschob' developed on the one hand 'deb' and on the other hand 'tsif'. From a linguistic point of view, most variations are conceivable, only the transition from [r] to [b] is unusual and therefore marked with a question mark. Despite this restriction, due to the high semantic correspondence of the terms and the similarity in morphology and in the sounds of the words, it seems justified to combine the word families 'chor', 'kochari' and 'chobie' into an extended word relationship 'chor'.

### 4.8.2.3 Further terms for chain dance or dance

In the outer regions of distribution of the chain dances there are other names that do not belong to the word family 'chor', as their presumed root does not match 'chor' (see Tab. 482).

Tab. 482: Further term for chain dance

Territory, ethnicity	Term, meaning
Tibet	<b>G</b> uoxie
in Rajasthan, India	<b>g</b> hoomar (chain dance)
in Punjab, India	Gidda
in Kerala, India	<b>K</b> aikottikali
Nordthailand, Lisu	woa <b>k</b> ia (chain dance)
Yakuten from Sakha	<b>O</b> huok <b>h</b> ai (einzigiger Kettentanz)
Amazigh-Berber, middle atlas	<b>A</b> hidous (a main chain dance)
Chleuh-Berber, high atlas	<b>A</b> houach (a main chain dance)

It is noteworthy, however, that all these terms<sup>175</sup> for chain dance (Tab. 482) contain the first consonant of the putative word root 'chor' (marked in bold in Table 482) and that there are astonishing similarities between some terms such as woa kia and Ohuokhai, which come from very different regions and language families.

In addition to the chain dance names of the word family 'chor', there are also dance terms related to 'bal', which are also very widespread.

<sup>175</sup> So far I have not found any name for chain dance that does not match 'chorus' at all.

### 4.8.3 The relationship between the words 'bal'

#### 4.8.3.1 Currently valid etymology for 'bal'<sup>176</sup>

As with 'Horos', 'ballare' and its relatives assume a Greek root word 'βάλλω' (ballein - to throw, to move). The Latin "ballare" developed from the Greek word "ballizein", which is common in Sicily and southern Italy and means: throw your feet, dance (Aeppli 1925, p. 11). Via Latin, the word came into other Romance languages with the exception of Romanian and Graubünden (Aeppli 1925, p. 13). This statement is correct for Romanian, but in Graubünden Romansh, besides 'saltar', 'ballar' is also used as a verb with the meaning 'dance' and 'bal' as 'dance, dance festival'.<sup>177</sup>



Fig.483a: Mediterranean distribution of the word family 'bal' (based on the data in Part II.D)

**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

In terms of content, dances with the root 'bal' are differentiated from the uniform community dance 'chor' by a mimic to pantomime character: it is usually performed by an individual or a

<sup>176</sup> For the content-related delimitation of 'dance' and 'choir / horo' see chap. 4.7.7.

<sup>177</sup> This is documented in the following dictionaries: Vieli 1962, p. 46; Lia Rumantscha Langenscheidt 1993, pp. 45f; and also for the "Ladin" Peer 1962, p. 47. Emilia Zangger, folk dancer in the Upper Engadin, also confirms the above finding in a personal email dated December 9, 2012.



few people or couples.<sup>178</sup> In some regions (Sardinia, Armenia, Albania) it became the generic term for couple and community forms.

The Greco-Latin origin of the word family is clearly reflected in the Greco-Romance-influenced Mediterranean distribution area of southern Europe (Fig. 483a), but there are some arguments that speak against the interpretation of the origin from the Greek.

#### 4.8.3.2 Arguments against a Greco-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. This dance term does not exist on the mainland and in settlement areas of the Greeks in Asia Minor. This is a notable limitation on the assumption that 'bal' is derived from the Greek. According to this interpretation, the word, regionally, should have been formed in southern Italy.

2. Further words with clear phonetic and semantic similarity can be found outside the Greco-Latin sphere of influence. In eastern Anatolia the term 'bar' and in eastern Armenia 'par' is an umbrella term for folk dances. In Iran there is 'bazi' (the z is pronounced as a voiced s) which means dance, play. Free dances in the bigger cities are called that. The connection between the dance term 'Kumbhar',<sup>179</sup> which occurs in Pakistan, needs to be examined more closely. In Saudi Arabia the sword dances there are called 'Mo-barasa', whereby 'Mo' is a nominal suffix and 'barasa' is neither a literal translation for sword nor for dance or fight. This also applies to the knife dances in Oman called 'Baraa', which are called 'Bara' in Yemen. Sword and knife dances are forms in which the character of representation and presentation is in the foreground. Folkloric solo dances performed by women are called 'Balady' in Egypt, while 'Balady' is now translated as "popular" (Elkholy 1999, p. 32). Whether this translation meets the original meaning of the word remains to be seen, because in essence it is a dance in which presentation is in the foreground and that fits very well with the use of the other 'bal' words.

3. The derivation of the content from 'ballein' in the basic meaning 'toss' via 'tossing your feet back and forth' to 'dancing' is not convincing. This interpretation indirectly assumes that there was no suitable word for 'dance' in Greek at that time and that a new one was therefore generated - or that an old term was replaced by a new one. There are no plausible reasons for either of these assumptions.

4. The transition from the southern Italian word 'ballizein' to the Latin 'ballare' does not comply with the rules, since derivatives of '-izein' usually appear in Latin words as '-izare' (Aeppli 1925, p. 11).

5. Neither in Spanish nor in Portuguese can the phonetic form of 'bailar' be traced back to 'ballare' without further ado, because an "intervocal double-l literally does not become -il-, but in Spanish -ll-, developed to -l- in Portuguese, [...]" (Aeppli 1925, p. 15, footnote 109). In view of these phonetic concerns, Aeppli suggests against a direct derivation from 'ballare', the

<sup>178</sup> In Cape. 4.7.7, the content dimension of 'bal' is discussed in detail. In this sense, the 'Spanish Bolero' (in ¾-time), which developed from the southern Spanish free couple dance Sevillana, is nothing more than a consistent further development in the direction of short dance drama. The bolero common in modern ballroom dancing goes back to the Cuban bolero in 4/4 time and at least as far as the dance movements are concerned, it has different roots. Whether the word has a common origin cannot be clarified at the moment.

<sup>179</sup> Kumbhar is a minor variant of the Attan (name of the dances there) in the Quetta style of the Hazara and Haripur tribes of central northern Pakistan.

origin of span.-port. 'Bailar' "to look elsewhere at all, or at least a formal i.e. to assume a phonetic effect of contamination with a different root" (Aeppli 1925, p. 16).

6. Furthermore, there are fundamental concerns 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 a new dance fashion that originated in Greece at that time is also not known.

Based on these arguments, the origin of the 'bal' words from Greek does not seem convincing. In the following, a view is presented that is compatible with the arguments cited against a Greco-Latin origin of the word family. However, the suggested interpretation is not based on a common approach in linguistics. Such a procedure is not possible for the present situation either. The reasons for this are given in Chap. 2.1.2 listed. The following hypothesis is based on substantive and factual arguments.

#### **4.8.3.3 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 found their way into Greek and Latin as "substrate words".

This hypothesis explains some of the inconsistencies of the "ballizein hypothesis".

1. The verbs 'ballizein' and 'ballare' arose from existing local words, whereby 'ball' was provided with the respective verbal suffix - in Greek with -izein, in Latin with -are - because this explanation does not give rise to any phonological problems and the verb forms result directly.
2. Spreading of the words beyond the Greco-Romanesque area can be explained by an older process. The word denotes a certain type of dance in all areas.
3. The "loanword assumption", which is not very convincing from a dance-ethnological point of view, is not required for this argumentation.
4. A word of the 'bal' family does not exist in Romania because this dance form is not to be found there. Chain dances dominate, and with it their name 'Hora'. The word is proven for the Bündnerischen. According to this interpretation, Portuguese, Spanish, Provençal and French 'bal' words would also be old substratum words that ended up in the corresponding languages in this way.

According to this interpretation, the Albanian 'Valle'<sup>180</sup> would also be an old substratum word and not a Romance or Greek loan word. It cannot be said whether the 'balun', a couple dance in Istria, is an Italian loan or a regional substratum. The style of the dance speaks more for an Italian origin. In general, of course, it cannot be ruled out that individual words from the 'bal' family ended up as loan words in other languages.

---

<sup>180</sup> In Albanian dictionaries it is traced back to the Italian Ballo. According to the point of view represented here, Ballos and Valle have a common but older root. Valle is the generic term for folk dances in southern and central Albania.

#### 4.8.3.4 Extended word family 'bal'

In the Slavic, Baltic and East Germanic language areas there was or is another family of words that are very similar to the 'bal' family in terms of both content and sound. In all Slavic languages there are words like 'ples', 'plesem' or 'plesati'. Remarkably, according to Vasmer (1958, p. 379) another relationship of ples / pljes is uncertain. These are mostly old terms for dances that are no longer used today, and they always refer to more free, pantomime dancing. 'Plyas' or 'Plyaska' in Russian still refers to a dance form that is performed with greater individual freedom by a single or few dancers or by couples (Prokhorov 2002, p. 62 and other oral sources). It shows the same features that characterize the dances of the Mediterranean 'bal' family. The 'plinsjan'<sup>181</sup> used in the Gothic translation of the Bible also stands for the performance dance performed by Herod's daughter. There is also evidence in Old Lithuanian of "plenšti" in the sense of "dancing, rejoicing" (Vasmer 1955, p. 379). The semantic correspondence is very clear.

As in Chap. 4.8, the assessment of whether a word belongs to the 'bal' family is carried out on the basis of the idea of a word root. Certain rules and restrictions apply to the sound structure of the Urindo-European verb or noun root (Rix 2001, p. 5). It consists of at least two consonant radicals and an (ablaut) vowel. A comparison of the 'ples' and the 'bal' families is shown in Table 483.

Table 483: Comparison of the roots of the 'bal' and 'ples' families:

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

The only difference with the first consonant radical is the harshness of the pronunciation. The second radical consists of the consonants r or l, between which in many languages it is impossible to distinguish between them. However, there is an essential difference in the absence of the (ablaut) vowel in 'ples'. Because of the great agreement in the semantic core as well as a remarkable agreement in the morpho structure, it seems justified to add the 'ples' family to an extended 'bal' family.

<sup>181</sup> 'Plinsjan' is interpreted as a Slavic loan word (Böhme 1886, p. 5, footnote 2) because it is widespread in Slavic languages. In the view presented here, however, it is interpreted as an old, common hereditary word.



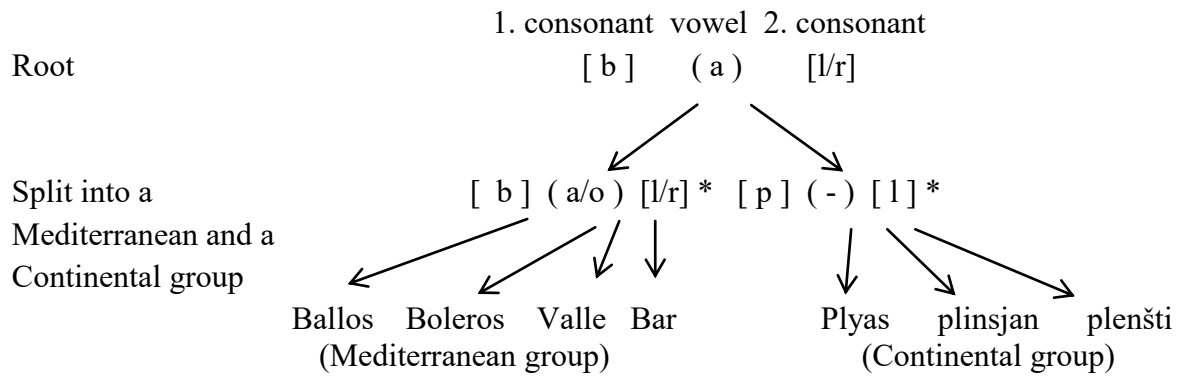


Abb. 483c: Possible word development within the "extended word family 'bal'". First square bracket = 1st consonant; round bracket = (ablaut) vowel; second square bracket = 2nd consonant; \* = Suffix

#### 4.8.3.5 Other dance terms with greater similarity to 'bal'

Other terms that are very similar to the root 'bal' in semantics and morphology are 'Plattler', 'Balz' and 'Walzer'.

'Plattler' is derived from 'plätteln' which means: playing with flat-like objects (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 1983: Wörterbuch der Bairischen Mundarten in Österreich, p. 304). This interpretation refers to the fact that the Schuhplattler is hitting, using the flat of his hand, his legs and shoes. However, except for the Schuhplattler, striking with the flat of the hand is never referred to as platteln, so that a certain doubt is justified in this interpretation. Horak (1974 p. 3) writes about the Upper Bavarian and Tyrolean Schuhplattler: "But only in a small part of the country can he (the Schuplattler) depend on old tradition when there is nomaintenance of tradition. It was an advertising dance in which the boy occasionally circled his dance partner and thereby demonstrated his skill and strength through improvised Plattler figures. (Wolfram 1951, p. 176). Plattler are special forms of the old advertising dances which are, basically, spread over both South and Southwest Germany including Alsace Lorraine as well as Switzerland, which radiated from Upper Bavaria. The movements were standardized and the Schuhplattler changed from an advertising dance to a male dance and a show dance" (Horak 1974, p. 3).

In terms of content, 'platteln' would definitely fit 'ples', because the words 'ples' or 'plinsjan' describe dances in which the performance in front of spectators or advertising between man and woman is in the foreground, and that is the archetype in the case of the Schuhplattler.

There is also a phonetic similarity between 'plat' and 'ples'.<sup>182</sup>

This courtship by males for females is known in the animal kingdom as 'Balz' and takes place before the mating season. The males try to impress the females as well as their competitors. For some bird species, such as the black grouse, the exhibition fights are held in certain places. The roosters show the full splendor of their plumage, take threatening poses, utter strange calls and strut up and down the courtship area. The movements and sounds remind the human observer very much of dance rituals, for example a wedding dance in the Hotzenwald that Wolfram cited (1951, p. 176f): "Read the description of the wedding dance of the Hotzen

<sup>182</sup> Platteln would therefore be a term that could be assigned to the continental route of expansion of the Neolithic.

in E. H. Meyer, 'Badisches Volksleben' (1900, p. 302f). First we have to walk through the hall, similar to the Styrian wedding dance forms. Then the boy turns the () girl with one finger of his raised hand, they spi around, and then the boy lets go. He now follows the girl who continues to dance backwards in a 'free dance' and using all sorts of tricks, in which he unfolds all his strength and dexterity. 'He cheers, sings, claps his hands, alternately slaps his knees and hands, makes all kinds of jumps, does a sommersault, etc., always staying close to the female dancer '.... Finally, the hotz dance comes to an end.'"

From a linguistic point of view, Balz is a word that, in the Germanic language area is only used in Upper German and its origin is completely unknown (Duden 2007, p. 66). The word documented from the 14th century (Kluge 2011, p. 86) was in use until the 19th century with the different initials b- / f- / pf-, which made it difficult to clarify the origin. A tracing back to the Indo-European 'bheld-' in the sense of "thumping, hitting", as suggested in Pfeifer (1993, p. 93), is hardly conceivable for reasons of content. A derivation from the Middle Latin 'ballatio' with the meaning 'dance' can be understood both aurally and semantically, as Vennemann (2001, p. 429) explains. The reason for borrowing a Latin word is less clear. Did the High German speaking residents of central and southern Germany, Switzerland and Austria not have their own word for Balz? Did you have to use a Latin dance word for this? Or do both 'ballatio' and 'Balz' go back to the much older word 'bal'? Then 'Balz' could be interpreted as the nominalization of 'bal' or in the case of bal-zen, -zen would be a verbal suffix that is quite common in German. Given the available sources, there will probably not be a definitive answer to this question.

The content of the 'Waltz' is also related to the 'Plattler' and the 'Balz'. "The dance itself, however, is nothing more than the detached final figure of the 'Ländler', in which the boy and girl after all the turning, looking and turning of the advertising dance finally find each other in a closed version of a round dance " (Wolfram 1951, p. 146). The Ländler, in turn, is the continuation of the advertising dances that are widespread in southern Germany and the Alps. In Vienna, in the 19th century, the leisurely country pace accelerated to a quick, refined waltz (Wolfram 1951, p. 146).

According to Duden (2007, pp. 909 and 914), Walzer is derived from the verb 'walzen', which was used at the end of the 18th century in the sense of rotating dancing. This in turn is assigned to the Indo-European root \* uel <turn, wind, roll>. A phonologically as well as semantically illuminating derivation, because the characteristic thing about the waltz is precisely the turning movement.

In connection with the genesis of the waltz, a second derivation also seems possible, because, as explained above, many of the names for pantomime forms and advertising dances have the root 'bal'. This also applies to the waltz and its older name 'Weller'.<sup>183</sup> The latter is mentioned in writing as early as the 16th century, i.e. 200 years earlier than the derivation of the verb 'walzen' proposed in the Duden in the 18th century.

It does happen that a word allows two morphological analyses and in both cases the assumed change in meaning is plausible. In such cases, a clear decision is not possible (Rix 2005, p. 1337). Based on the considerations presented, the terms Platteln, Balz and Walzer are drawn in Fig. 483b as "words of uncertain origin".

---

<sup>183</sup> The Nuremberg master-singer Kunz Has complained in 1525: " Ytzund tantzt man den wüsten weller, den spinner oder wie sies nennen" (in Sachs 1933, pp. 256 - 257).

#### 4.8.4 Summary for the affinities 'chor' and 'bal'

Both dance terms of the 'chor' family and the 'bal' family are widely used in Western Eurasia. They denote different types of dancing. The 'chor group' stands for uniformly performed chain dance with hand grip or body contact. The 'bal' group characterizes more individually shaped and freer dancing in small groups, individually or in couples. The arms are almost always held up and the joy of dancing and presenting are in the foreground.

Words of the 'chor' family have a range from Ireland to Lake Baikal. In terms of content, they mainly stand for chain dance and the associated songs, very rarely they are also the umbrella term for various forms of dance. This widespread distribution can hardly be explained by borrowing 'chorus' from any language. The words probably spread with the chain dance itself, that is, this dance form was spread through the expansion of the Neolithic shepherds and farmers of the Middle East into the named areas. In addition to the dances themselves, their names are also an essential element of the “Neolithic package”.

When a new elite later changed the language, the dance names were retained as “substrate words” by the local population, who continued to practice their chain dances. The characteristic spread of the 'chorus' terms, which is almost identical to the spread of the chain dances, is a further indication of the unique origin of this type of dance and also speaks for its classification as a monophyletic group.

There is only one exception at the word level. In the Germanic-Baltic area there are no dance terms of the “chor” family<sup>184</sup>, although there are still chain dances in relict areas and these were widespread in these areas until the advent of couple dances. There is currently no explanation for this.

In addition to the high semantic correspondence of the chain dance names, there is an astonishingly large phonetic and certain morphological similarities between the individual names. This is a further indication of the correctness of the assignment of the words to an old substrate layer, because such words are not subject to the otherwise applicable phonetic shifts, as they are retained in the accustomed pronunciation by a new elite of people when the language changes. Why, however, of all places in the Middle East, the presumed area of origin of the dances and words, the corresponding names are comparatively heavily modified, remains a remarkable and unresolved question. In the long period after the genesis of the dances and their names, there may have been more frequent language changes in this area than in the rest of the distribution area.

The word family 'bal' is also spread far beyond the Mediterranean region. You can still find it in Eastern Anatolia, Armenia, Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran and Pakistan and, if those in Chap. 4.8.3 are understandable for the Slavs, Baltic and Eastern Germanic people. The actual 'bal' family can be found in southern Mediterranean Europe via France to southern Germany, which corresponds to the Mediterranean expansion route of the early shepherds and farmers. The 'ples' family, on the other hand, marks the northern, continental European expansion route of the Neolithic immigrants. Both routes met and crossed in southern Germany. 'Bal' denotes freer, more individual and enjoyable dances, and the term can be found in those regions where

---

<sup>184</sup> At least none that are not classified as a Greco-Latin loan word.

there is still a significant proportion of individual dance forms today. “Free couple dances” shape the image of folk dances on the Iberian Peninsula, in southern Italy and on the Mediterranean islands. In Russia, too, individual and improvised execution was a very important part of folk dances. Against this background, it is understandable that in some of these countries a term from this family of words became the generic term for folk dances. This interpretation is also supported by the evaluation of early dance illustrations (8th to 3rd millennium BC) (Fig. 452h, m, n). The proportion of people dancing freely with their arms raised<sup>185</sup> is significantly lower in Mesopotamia (5%), Iran and Pakistan (14%) and in the late Middle East (8%) than in Southeastern Europe (76%).<sup>186</sup> In the north-westerly direction of expansion, freer dancing was already much more popular back then. It may be a coincidence, but it does not contradict the previous statements that all three dance images found in Armenia (Arukhio, Imiris Gora) and date to the 6th millennium BC (Garfinkel (2003, p. 159) represent individuals dancing individually. In this region there are still a striking number of free couple dances.

Overall, the similarity in terms of content and sound is not as clear in the 'bal' family as in the 'chor' family.

The distribution area of the 'bal' words also coincides with the distribution area of the early shepherds and farmers. Therefore, one must also start from an old substratum that spread during the Neolithic expansion together with the associated dance form. However, the current distribution is not even, but there are focal points in southern Mediterranean Europe, in Egypt and on the Arabian Peninsula.

Remarkably, chain dances and associated names no longer exist in the latter area (today).

Criticism of the current etymological interpretations of the 'chor' and 'bal' words and the wide distribution of their respective roots, which correlates with the spread of the Neolithic in the Middle East, lead to new hypotheses about the origin of these important dance terms. The considerations made are primarily not based on linguistic findings, because there are no such findings, given the lack of evidence, given the presumed age of these words. They result from similarity considerations and new insights into the emergence and spread of the associated dance forms. In particular, the linguistic aspect of sound similarity and the geographical origin are included. First and foremost, the meaning of the words plays a very important role in the present interpretations. Seen in this way, the hypotheses about the history of dance terms cannot be seen as evident on their own, but in connection with hypotheses about the origin of the chain dances and with iconographic findings they form a further "piece of the mosaic" for an overall picture of the genesis and genealogy of European and Southwest Asian Folk dance forms.

---

<sup>185</sup> The dances with arms raised could also include dances aimed at ecstasy. Such forms can hardly be distinguished in the pictures from forms "danced for the fun of joy". However, today there are hardly any traces of ecstatic dance forms in the neolithic area of the Middle East. Dances aimed at ecstasy belong more in the context of the hunter-gatherer cultures. The early pictures of the Neolithic do indeed show a ritual reference with the depiction of masks, but through their dominance of uniform and community-oriented movements express an opposing dimension of meaning. There are no signs of ecstatic dancing in the pictures.

<sup>186</sup> The proportion of the representations does not necessarily have to correspond to the real proportion, but is possibly an extent of the importance.



## 4.9 Couple dances replace the chain dances

Couple dances shape the appearance of today's folk dances in large parts of Europe. Since the various forms of couple dances do not match in their essential characteristics, a distinction is made between closed couple dances, open couple dances and free couple dances.<sup>187</sup> The closed couple dances dominate in southern and central Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Slovenia, Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary. They can also be found in France and the Benelux countries. Free couple dances are mainly found in the southern parts of Spain, Portugal and Italy, but also on many Mediterranean islands and along the east coast of the Adriatic. In contrast, in Flemish, the Netherlands, Northern Germany, Great Britain, Scandinavia and, occasionally, in the Baltic States and Russia, the multi-couple dances<sup>188</sup> are particularly popular. The open single couple dances do not have such a clear regional reference, but are common in northern Italy and rather sporadically in other areas. This characteristic distribution is a result of historical development (Hoerburger 1961, p. 19f). In the Balkans and the Middle East, the "old" chain dances have survived to this day. In Brittany, Sardinia, the Faroe Islands, southern France and northern Spain, the last relic areas can be found in the "couple dance area", although this type of community dance was the predominant form of dance in all of Europe until the Middle Ages. From the 12th century onwards, the couple dances increasingly replaced the chain dances.

Since social structures are also reflected in the dance forms and in the relationship between the dancers, the question arises as to the sociological requirements for couple dances in contrast to the old chain dances. Chain dances are shaped by the group relationship. All dance the same steps and are part of the group. Only the dance leader has a prominent position in the open circle; there are no differences in the closed circle. The circle is a symbol for the community to which everyone must integrate and subordinate themselves.

Individuality becomes more important in couples dancing. The dominance of the community relationship is waning. The couples dance, at least in the free and closed couple dances, independently of one another and thus move individually.

Another prerequisite for the creation of couple dances could be the relationship between the sexes. In couple dances, the social position of women and men must be approximately the same, because the partners dance directly with each other and even touch one another. In contrast, chain dances are possible under different gender ratios. Because an almost equal position leads to joint participation in the chain. Only with significantly different positions do the women form a separate circle or even have to dance in another place.

An "approximate equality" of the sexes as a prerequisite for couple dances was first noticeable in Central Europe in the 12th century (Sorell 1985, p. 35) and led to the open and closed couple dances. However, the free couple dances seem to be much older, because for this type of dance there are considerably older pictorial representations.

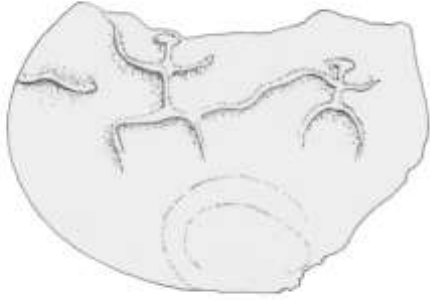
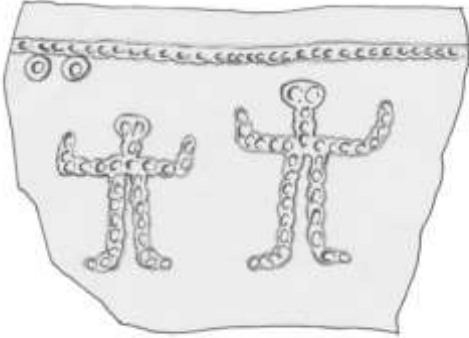




---

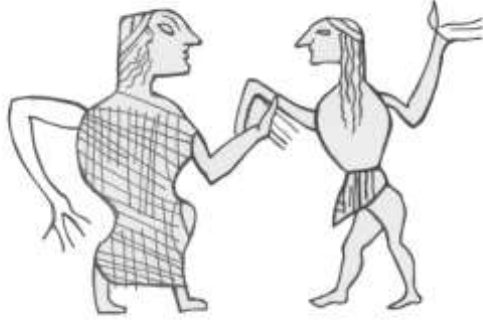





<sup>187</sup> The individual dance types are characterized in Chap. 3.7.

<sup>188</sup> The multi-couple dances are a subgroup of the open couple dances (see chapter 3.7.2)

### **4.9.1 Free couple dances**

The oldest representations of free couple dances come from the 5th millennium BC. Some ceramic finds from Southeast Europe and Egypt (see Fig. 491a to d) from this time period each show two people in a dancing posture. Typical of “free dancing” - even today - are the arms held up. Men and women differ in size or in directly recognizable gender characteristics. The next finds in chronological order are much more recent and date from around 1500 BC. From the Minoan and Mycenaean times (Fig. 491e to f). In between there is a gap of almost 3000 years for which no dance representations have been found in Europe. Further scenes from antiquity and the Middle Ages round off the iconographic material on free couple dances (Figs. 491g to m).

	
<p>Fig.491a: Pottery from the early 5th millennium BC, Gomolava (Northern Serbia)</p>	<p>Fig.491b: Pottery from the late 5th millennium BC, Gumelnița (southern Romania)</p>
	
<p>Fig.491c: Pottery from the late 5th millennium BC, Dumesti (Romania)</p>	<p>Fig. 491d: Vase from predynastic Egypt (5th - 4th millennium BC), unknown origin</p>
	
<p>Fig. 491e: Minoan signet ring impression from Vapheio (southern Peloponnese !!), 1500-1450 BC</p>	<p>Fig. 491f: Signet ring impression from Mycenae, 1400 BC</p>

	
<p>Fig. 491g: Detail from a picture on an Etruscan clay jug 7th century BC, (from Prayon, Die Etrusker 2006, p. 59)</p>	<p>Fig. 491h: Bowl from Boeotia, 570 BC, own photo, Museum Hohentübingen (detail)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 491i: Ceramic painting on an Apulian Krater, 500 BC (detail)</p>	<p>Fig.491k: Etruscan tomb paintings from Torquina, 480 BC (detail)</p>
	
<p>Fig. 491l: Bavarian beltstrap end, 9th century AD (detail)</p>	<p>Fig. 491m: Drawing in the Heidelberg Manesse manuscript, 1350 AD (detail)</p>

Even today this free couple dance can be observed on very different occasions and in different regions of Europe. When I was invited by my Greek friend Damianos Charalampides to Thessaloniki for his son's wedding in October 2009, I witnessed the following incident: after dinner, the band played dance music. The mood was good, almost exuberant. The wedding guests formed a chain around the dance floor, led by Damianos, and danced a Kalamatianos. It got very crowded on the dance floor. Some guests broke away from the chain and began to move individually to the music in the center of the circle. They raised their arms and used the same steps as the chain dancers. While dancing, they made contact with other dancers with their facial expressions and their body gestures. Often two men or two women danced together, but there were also constellations of the opposite sex.

Such or similar observations can be seen again and again in the Balkans or in the Middle East. In addition to the chain dances, free dancing is a second important element on festive occasions. Dance representations on archaeological finds also show that free dancing (without hand holding) was one of the common forms of dance even earlier - possibly with various intensity from region to region.<sup>189</sup> In this respect, the situation described above could serve as a model for the emergence of the free couple dances.



Fig. 491n: Chain and free dance with a partner.

<sup>189</sup> Images of free dances on archaeological finds are noticeably more common in Southeastern Europe, Anatolia, the Caucasus and Egypt than in Mesopotamia or the Middle East, which is clear from the analysis of the finds compiled by Garfinkel (2003) (cf. data section C.1 ).

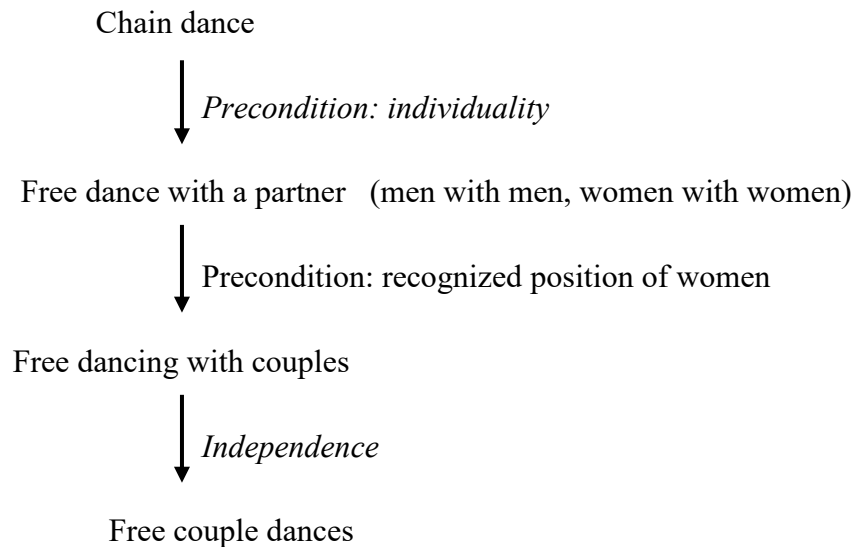


Fig. 491o: Model for the creation of the free couple dances. Free dancing with a partner develops from the chain dance. This development presupposes a certain degree of individuality within society. With a socially recognized position of women, this can result in free dancing with reference to couples and ultimately free couples dancing.

Free couple dances then developed from free dancing with reference to couples.<sup>190</sup> These independent forms are mostly based on the same step material as chain dances.<sup>191</sup> There are many examples of this, especially in the Mediterranean<sup>192</sup> area: The 'Ballos' common on many Greek islands (Cyclades and Dodecanese islands) is danced in the 'Syrtos step' ('sta thio' long, short, short); Couple forms, common in southern Albania, also have this basic step; there it is called Pogonishte. The 'Lindos' on the Dalmatian coast and the 'Boleros' on the Balearic Islands and along the north-west coast of Spain are based on the three-measure pattern. Even the classic minuet, danced at the court of Louis XIV, had this three-measure step distribution. The 'Sousta' in Crete also involves dancing in a chain, then it goes into free dancing and there are even elements of the open couple dance (one-handed version between dancer and dancer) to be observed, all in a three-measure pattern. A step of three<sup>193</sup> in 7/8 time (short, short, long) forms the basic step of the 'couple račenicis' in Bulgaria, which can also be found there in 'chain račenicis'.<sup>194</sup> There are also free forms danced in couples among the European Sinti and Roma.

<sup>190</sup> Prokhorov (2002, p. 61) also describes that free, improvised couple dance ("plyaska") arises when individual dancers leave the dance and dance in the center.

<sup>191</sup> In the film material of the Lisu dances (Yunnan Province) there is also an example of the adoption of the step pattern of a chain dance in a couple dance: On the occasion of weddings, a three-measure pattern is danced with the Lisu. The wedding couple holds both hands and dances the three-measure pattern as a couple in this version. Other couples do the same. The rest of the village community continues to dance the chain dance.

<sup>192</sup> Hoerbuerger (1961 p. 20): Strangely ancient forms, completely free in improvisation, can be found in European peripheral areas such as the Balearic Islands, Ibiza and Mallorca. "Also on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, in Montenegro, where the partners dance around each other several times with a strange wing type of flapping with their arms and then part again after a kiss on the cheek and leave and go to the next couple the next couple."

<sup>193</sup> A three step consists of three steps, but has nothing to do with the three-measure pattern!

<sup>194</sup> The 'Kasilamas', a dance in 9/8 time still common today in Greece, Turkey and the Middle East, goes back to the urban culture of the Ottoman Empire. At that time it was not a couple form, but expressed individuality when dancing (Biçer 2009, p. 123). In the south-west of Turkey these dances exist without any relation to couples. A

All of these observations suggest that free couple dances are not a monophyletic group, but have arisen several times in different regions. Your respective step material was taken from the common chain dances. They emerged from freer dance forms that were performed in connection with chain dances on festive occasions.

The terms 'Ballos' and 'Boleros' indicate that the free forms of folk dancing are associated with the term 'Bal'. The movements danced individually without a frame have a higher degree of improvisation and thus rather enable the individual expression of fun and joy. This still allows more pantomime and gestures and leads to an attracting game between the sexes in the couple dance constellation.<sup>195</sup> On the other hand, this makes them attractive to viewers and increases the character of the demonstration. In this sense, they represent a counterpoint to the uniform movement repertoire of the chain dances.

This dance-like attracting game between the sexes is also addressed in the much-cited Latin knight poem "Rudlieb"<sup>196</sup>, here in a literal translation by K. Simrock in C. Sachs (1933, p. 181):

The young man jumps up, the girl facing him.  
 He is like the falcon, and she glides like a swallow;  
 Hardly are they close, they have already shot past one another;  
 He grasps her to attract her, but you can see her fluttering away.  
 And no one who, watching them both, can  
 outdo them in dance, jump and hand gestures.

This poem is often wrongly cited as the hour of birth of the closed couple dances, but still clearly belongs to the free couple dances, as they were common in southern Germany (Böhme 1886, p. 196) and in the Alpine region of the dairy culture up to the 19th century (Wolfram 1983, pp. 186 and 199ff). Usually they were only carried out by a couple.

---

story is told through the movement. In the north-east - towards the Caucasus - there are many free couple dances with gender reference (A. Lüleci, personal information from December 30th, 2009).

<sup>195</sup> Sachs (1933, p. 181) quotes Ungarlli (Rome 1894): "In Italy: The classical dance of the country folk is performed here by two men and two women. They line up in a circle and stamp their feet, the men back and the women forwards and then vice versa. Then the women turn to their partners neatly holding the ends of their skirts, while the men dance towards them with their arms raised, as in Bavarian Schuhplattler." And Sachs (1933, p. 187) continues: "[...] the men with raised arms dance the 'pantomime', the Ballo."

<sup>196</sup> Around 1000 AD from southern Bavaria, Tegernsee. Sometimes referred to as Rudlieb.

#### 4.9.2 Closed couple dances

The starting form for the closed couple dances was very likely an attraction dance that developed from a version as described in "Rudlieb". It was later referred to as the 'Ländler', or more precisely, the Ländler form (Goldschmidt 2001, p. 97). Compared to the Ländler still preserved today, the original form was executed much more freely and improvised. However, certain stylistic elements were typical and can still be found in many of today's rural dances. Typically, only one couple danced. If several couples danced at the same time, each couple danced the sequence as they wished (Goldschmidt 2001, p. 98). Typical motifs that are mentioned again and again in old descriptions (expanded from Goldschmidt 2001, p. 98):<sup>197</sup>

- Approach and move away
- Chasing, circling and circling the fleeing girl
- Dealing in couples
- Separate turning of the girls in front of the boys
- The turning of the girls by the hand • The "lifting and throwing" the girls
- Turning around each other by means of intertwined arms
- Slipping through under the arms held
- From the lads: jumps, stomps, clapping, hitting the thighs and the soles of their shoes
- Attracting sounds, singing, cheering
- At the end, however, again and again, the crowning union of the couple in a closely held round dance, ending the whole advertising and aloofness game<sup>198</sup>,

Pesovár (1969, p. 153) describes the dramaturgy of this dance form as follows: "The larger structural units, which are constantly repeating and recurring during the dance, mean attracting, dandling, expressed through dance, whereby through the prettiness of the boys (figuration), through approach and playful rejection of the dancers the tension created is released only in the closed turns of the couple dance."

The core area of the Ländlers was southern Germany and Austria (Goldschmidt 2003, p. 97), but the mountainous areas of Switzerland (Wolfram 1983, p. 199ff) were also part of the distribution area. Weiß (1946, p. 218) sees the northern Alpine pastoral culture, which is particularly fond of dancing, as the starting point for these dances.

The image of the sexes contained therein reflects a "classic" distribution of roles: the girls turn, show themselves from all sides and are courted by the boys. The latter impress with slaps, jumps, powerful calls or other freely varied feats. The boy then leads the round dance together. The quick turns required a tight composure, which was often forbidden as lewd in the 15th and 16th centuries.

<sup>197</sup> See also Sachs (1933) pp. 65, 66, 121; Wolfram (1983) pp. 176-188; Böhme (1886) p. 196.

<sup>198</sup> Brittle play is understood to mean the female dancers' flirtatious, dismissive behavior.



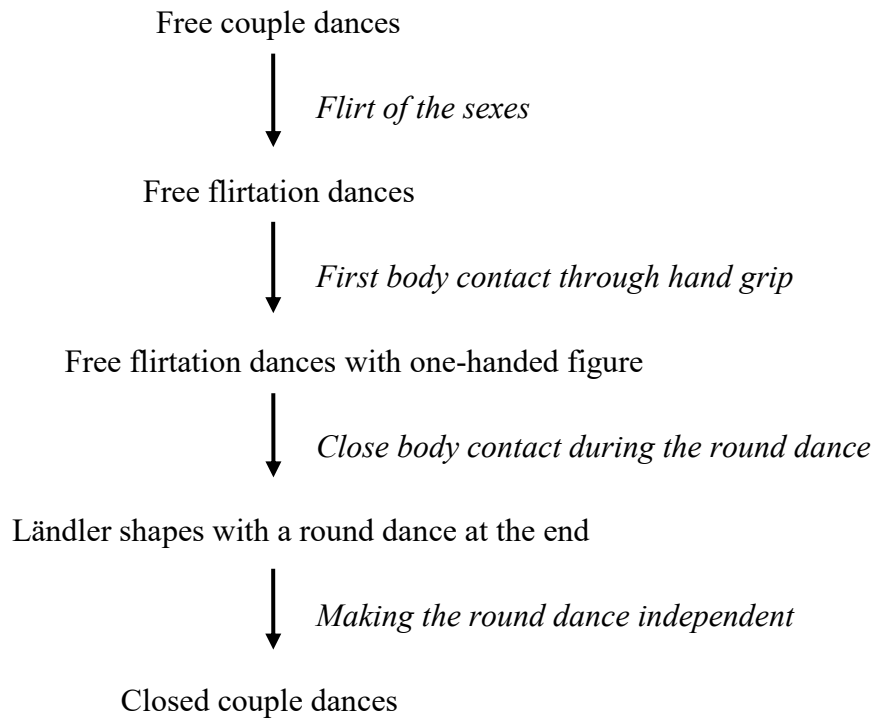


Fig. 492a: Model for the creation of the closed couple dances. The closed couple dances develop from free couple dances through increasing body contact via Ländler forms.

“When and how this form of direct contact between women and men came about while dancing, there is no evidence” (Pesovár 1969, p. 161). The main focus of the distribution of the Ländler forms speaks in favor of the northern Alps and southern Germany as the area of origin. The first historical evidence of this new dance form includes the following passage from Neidhard von Reuenthal XVI, 2 (MSH.II, 113):<sup>199</sup>

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 hopping or jumping and “recht sam si wellen vliegen” (“as if they wanted to fly”) describes the fast round dance at the end.

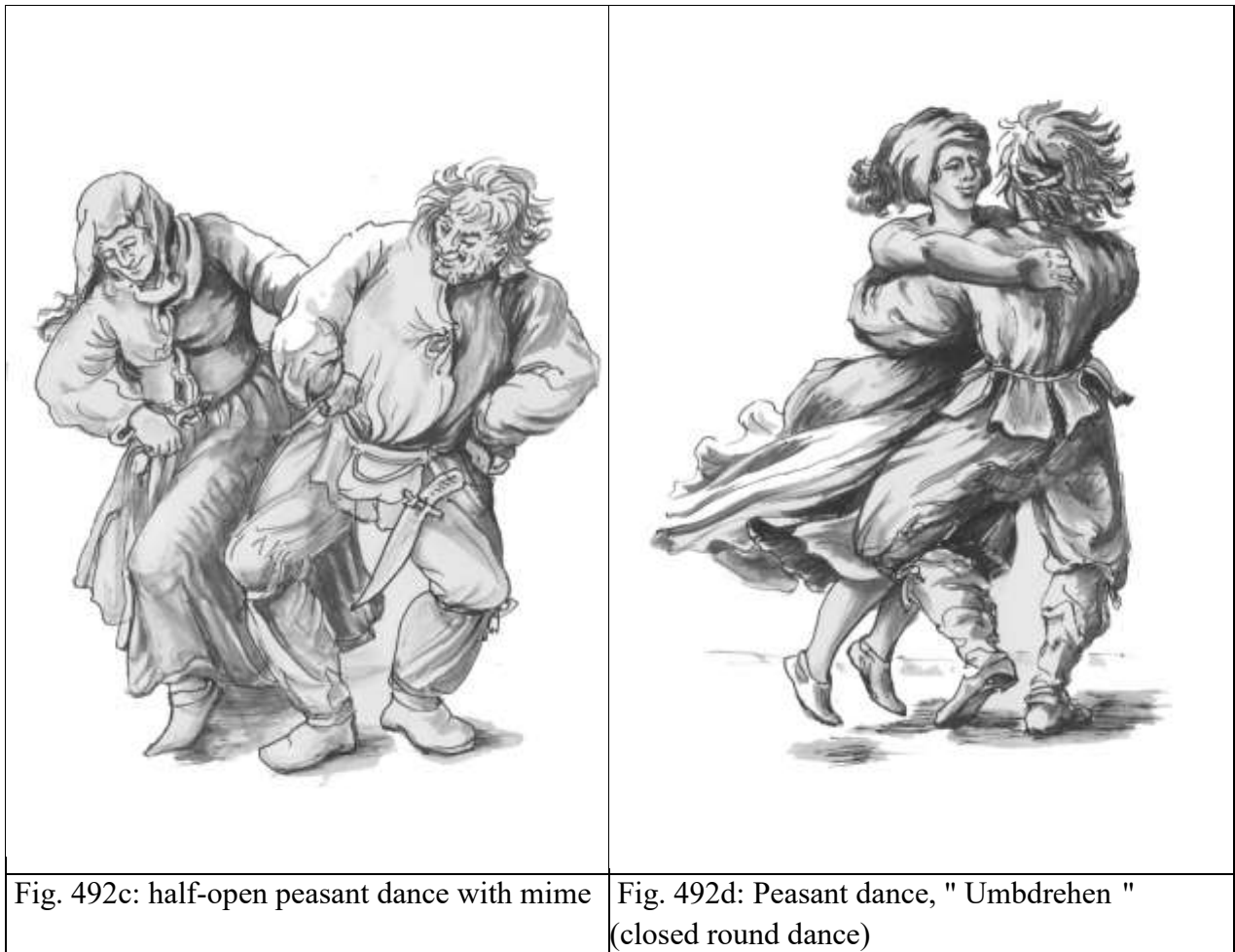
Neidhart von Reuenthal was probably born in Bavaria in 1180 and worked in the Bavarian-Salzburg region until 1247, later also west of Vienna. The oldest evidence of closed couple dances comes from the first half of the 13th century. The southern German minstrel Goeli also reports in the 13th century that the girls were thrown into the air and intentionally knocked down (Günther 1959, p. 58). The next testimony can only be found a good 100 years later, in 1406, when the couple dance was banned by the Council of Ulm

<sup>199</sup> In Böhme 1986, p. 35 or Günther 1959, p. 58.

„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 tanzten 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 MH: So the council has denied permission to the disordered dance, which has been practiced for a while, in which two and two dance together; and so it is will and decision of the advice that women and men here in Ulm will only dance with each other in the way that one has danced from time immemorial, without any ulterior motives [with regard to the opposite sex]. And the one who disregards any of the legal ordinances, regardless of whether woman or man, he shall have to pay the city five pounds hellers.)

On the basis of these findings, it can be stated that closed forms of couple dance emerged in the 11th or 12th century in the northern Alps or in the southern German or Austrian pre-Alpine region in peasant society. From there, the rural forms spread in the 15th and 16th centuries, particularly to the north, which is reflected in the many prohibitions against “unseemly twisting, swinging, turning and turning upside down” (Böhme 1986, pp. 112-120). This first wave<sup>200</sup> of spreading is shown in Fig. 492b on the basis of prohibition documents and pictorial representations of couple dances.



<sup>200</sup> The second wave of propagation is described below in this chapter



Fig. 492e: half-open peasant dance



Fig. 492f: half-open peasant dance



Fig. 492g: peasant dance, „Umschwingen“



Fig. 492h half-open peasant dance

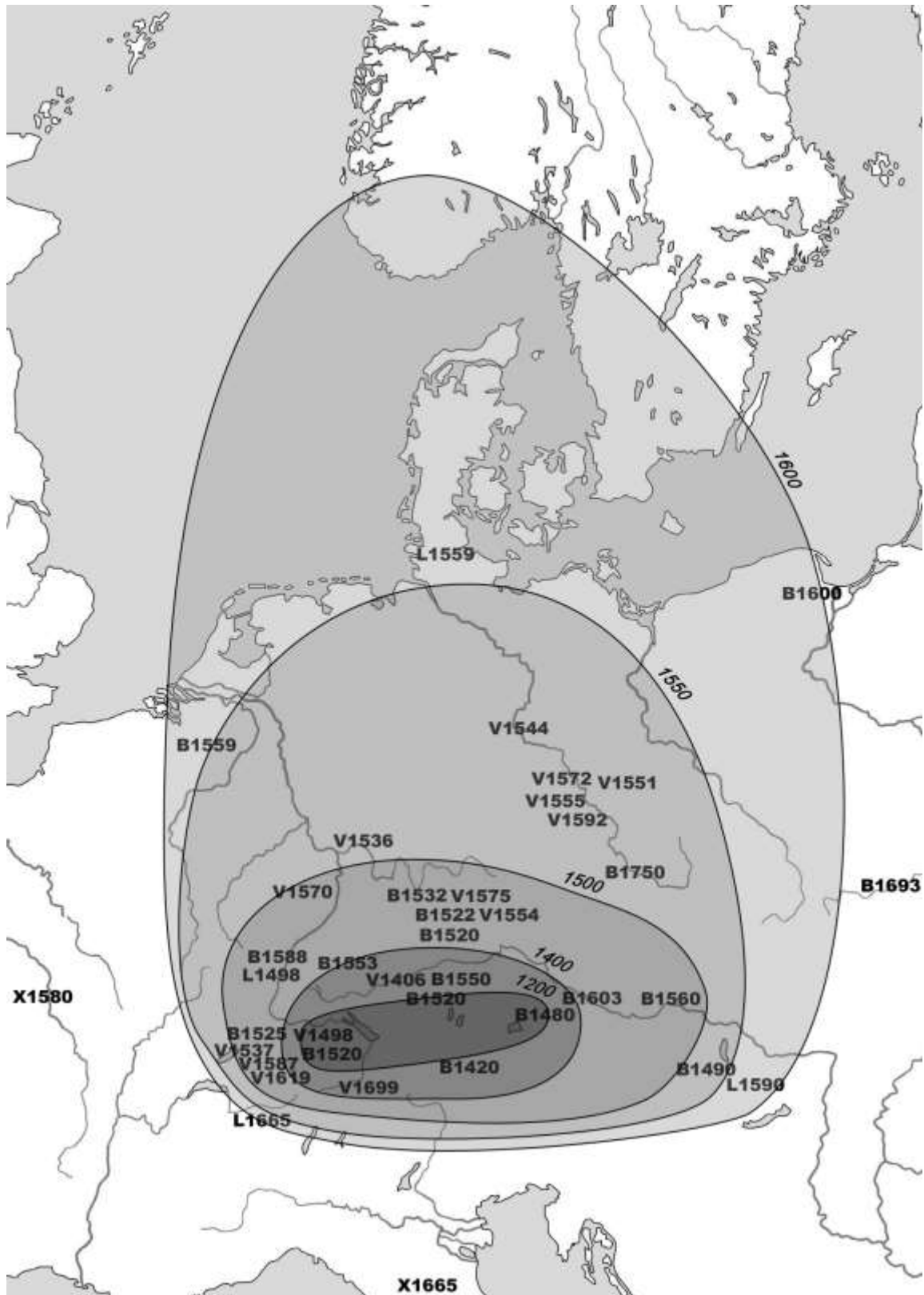


Fig. 492b: Spread of Ländler forms. The data basis for this map is the table evidence on the spread of closed couple dances (data part B.1), dance bans in Switzerland (data part B.2) and in Hungary (data part B.3) and analysis of the images with closed couple dances by farmers (data part C .3.2).

V = prohibition, B = graphic representation, L = literature reference, X = negative reference (does not occur at this time at this location)

This new fashion did not leave its mark on the European royal courts either. Tossing the girls up in the air became the main element of the volte<sup>201</sup> (16th - 17th centuries). The dancer was lifted or thrown up using a log that was fastened between the legs. The Wickler forms common in the Ländlers and Steyrers found their way into the Allemande (Taubert 1968, p. 90) of the 18th century. The Allemande also danced with the 'Tripla', a kind of polka, a final figure in a closed version - analogous to the rural template.

In today's forms of attraction dance, the free and improvising character has largely been lost. Only a few forms, such as some types of Csárdás, have retained the "love affair" to this day (Pesovar 1969, p. 153). In the Bavarian Swabia this original form still existed into the 19th century (Böhme 1886, p. 194). At the end of the 19th century (around 1880), dances like the Schuhplattler, the Ländlers or the Steyrer became group dances through the newly established folk dance and traditional costume preservation associations (Wolfram 1951, p. 189). They contain a binding and shared choreography. Their free and improvising character is lost.

The revolving dances that became independent from the final round dance dominated the dance floors from the beginning of the 19th century. Forms such as the waltz, the polka, the mazurka or the Rhinelander spread all over Europe and in this second wave also reached regions into which the rural forms had not advanced.

The step patterns are still the same. In the waltz an even step (short, short, short), in the polka an uneven step of three (short, short, long). The Swedish hambo and slang polka, the Franconian three-step turner, the Czech starodavny take place in the three-measure pattern (short, short, long, long), which is then in the foxtrot, tango, jive and, after almost a thousand years of development, based on the individual commercial dance with a final round dance, also reappears in the Discofox. Remarkably, a second development started at the same time, which led to the open couple dances in the class of society of the noble.

---

<sup>201</sup> The volte was Elizabeth I's favorite dance.

### 4.9.3 Open couple dances

The term 'Tanz/dance' seems to be directly related to the emergence of the open couple dances.

#### a) On the history of the term Tanz/dance

By 'Tanz/dance' today we mean all forms of “rhythmic body movement, mostly accompanied by music or singing.” That was not always the case. The word "Tanz" has only been in use since the Middle Ages and usually only referred to a subset of the dance forms of that time. It was only in the last few centuries that 'Tanz' developed into an umbrella term for all forms of dance in German and in most European languages. For a long time, the word 'danser, dancer' was used in French literature around 1170 in Chrétien's *Erec and Yvain*<sup>202</sup> as the oldest evidence of this word root.<sup>203</sup> The word has appeared comparatively frequently since it was first mentioned. At the beginning of the 13th century, the novel *Dolopathos* reads: "Li uns danse, l'autres querole."<sup>204</sup> At the same time, Gottfried von Neifen (Salmen 1999, p. 139) and v. Stamheim (Sachs 1933, p. 182) wrote “tanzen und reien”. This pair of words is also used in Styria for this period (Salmen 1999, p. 139). After that, in the 14th century, there is evidence from Westphalia (Salmen 1999, p. 139), and in England around 1390 one can find “carole and daunce”. In a handwritten sermon from a Walser church near Zurich from 1391 it says: “die tenzerr ziehent und tenent den tanz.”<sup>205</sup> Before the 12th century, 'dance' as a term, at least in the available sources, is not verifiable.<sup>206</sup> Even more recent editions of etymological dictionaries<sup>207</sup> see 'Tanz' as a loan word that came from the old French 'danser' via Flanders ('dansen') to Germany. The origin of 'danser, dancer' itself is rather unclear. Pfeifer (1993, p. 1412) sees the old Franconian 'dintjan' (to move back and forth), the old Franconian 'dantisōn' (to move forward) or the Latin 'rotare' (to turn around in a circle) as possible original words. Kluge (2002, p. 906) describes the early Romanesque 'de-antiare' (advance) as an appealing declaration of origin.

Harding's research (1973, p. 263) shows, however, that the words 'tanzari' and 'tanzmeister' were already documented in writing in a pre-court period between 1005 and 1022 in the Rhine-Franconian area. The Middle High German 'tanzen', which probably comes from Franconia, follows an older word 'danzon', which was borrowed from Gallo-Roman and became 'danser' there (Hoops 2005, p. 285). The further etymology of 'danzon' remains

<sup>202</sup> Chrétien de Troyes was an Old French author who lived between 1140 and 1190.

<sup>203</sup> See Duden, *Etymologie der Deutschen Sprache*, Mannheim 2006, p. 837; or Mackenstein, *Origin of Words*, Frankfurt 1988, p. 383.

<sup>204</sup> Herbert, *Li romans de Dolopathos*, ed.A. de Montaiglon, Paris 1853

<sup>205</sup> Wackernagel, *Old German Sermons* 1876, p. 259; digitized source at

<http://www.archive.org/stream/altdeutschepredi00wackuoft#page/258/mode/2up>, 10/30/2013.

<sup>206</sup> Böhme (1886, p. 5) writes: “The word dance does not seem to be old in the German language. It can only be found in the glossaries of the 12th and 13th centuries. In even older linguistic monuments, the Latin saltare is never translated by a word corresponding to the dance. ”

<sup>207</sup> See Pfeifer, W., *Etymological Dictionary of German*, 1993, p. 1412; Kluge, *Etymological Dictionary of German*, 2002, p. 906.

unclear, however, since a derivation from an Old High German word 'dansōn' or 'thansōn' (to move back and forth, dragging) does not correspond to the linguistic derivation rules.<sup>208</sup>

In the late Middle Ages, the term established itself as a fashionable word of knighthood and spread across Europe by the 16th century (Salmen 1999, p. 5). Northern France was the starting point for the expansion movement (Aeppli 1925, p. 32). Today 'Tanz' can be found as a loan word in almost all European languages (cf. Tab. 493a).

Table 493a: Languages into which 'danse' has found its way

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

There are basically two different processes that can be used for the rapid expansion of a word. First, new words from another language are included because they are more appealing and fashionable than the old words in their own language. They replace existing terms. Second, names expand with innovations that name them. In an existing language there is still no word for this innovation and the word from the language of the "inventors" is taken over as a loan word. For example, nowadays 'computers' or 'software' are inventions that, together with their name, come from North America.

Both of the above processes may have been involved in the rapid spread of 'dance'. One day a new 'kind of rhythmic movement' could have emerged that 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, or was practiced by the dominant social class. This increased the attractiveness and increased the imitation effect. But what did this new type of rhythmic movement look like and where did this term 'Tanz' come from?

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

a) *"Tanz" originally means: "Moving back and forth, moving in a row".*

Some dictionaries lead 'Tanz' back to the Gothic 'thinsan', Old High German 'dinsan, dansōn', meaning "to move fore and back, drag". Also in Old Franconian, 'dansōn' meant 'to move back and forth'. The Middle High German form was then 'dinse' or 'danse'. Böhme (1886, p. 5) also shares this opinion. "According to this, dance originally means moving, moving in a row." A paragraph from the St. Gallen town charter from around 1355 also speaks in favor of this view (Bless-Gragher 1995, p. 8):

<sup>208</sup> In the Old High German dictionary by R. Schützeichel (1969), dansōn is derived from the Old High German dinsan (to move forward, drag).

„Von den, die nahtes mit vaklen durch die stat tanzont:

Item es ist ouch ain gesetzzt: Wer nahstes durch die stat tanzot mit vaklan oder bûtzan, der gilt drige schilling zu buoss ieklicher, als vil ir ist, die ez tuont.“<sup>209</sup> (Whoever walks through the city at night with torches or in disguise, [...]).

Remarkably, in this handwritten text “stat tanzot” is crossed out and overwritten with “gassan gat”. In the newly published text from 1426 (Bless-Gragher 1995, p. 167) there is also:

„Wer nahtz mit vaklen in der statt umb goât ...“ (Who walks around town at night with torches ...)

"Tanzon" was first replaced by "gassan gat" and then by "umb goan", because "tanzon" may mean "tanzen" and no longer fit the original meaning of "to move around".

*b) Dance is different from chain dance (carole).*

The word 'dance' always appears in pairs with 'reigen' or a respective synonym. This fact is cited by the following authors:

In Sachs (1933, p. 182) and Böhme (1886, p. 24-25) we find:

Middle High German	reigen	dance
Provençal	corola	dansa
old french	carole	danse
Italian	carola	danza

Salmen (1980, p. 15):

Old French	querole	danse
Old English	carole	daunce

Salmen (1999, p. 139):

reien and dance	(Styria, 13th century)
dance and train	(Gottfried von Neifen, 13th century)
danse et querole	(France, early 13th century)
danse, carole	(France 14th century)
carole and daunce	(England 1390)

Sachs (1933, S. 182):

Puceles carolent et dancent	(Erec von Chrétien de Troyes around 1170)
tanzen unde reien	(v. Stamheim, beginning of 13. Jh.)
Li uns danse, l'autres querole	(in Dolopathos beginning 13. Jh., v. 2794)
rayen und tantzen	(Heinrich v. Neustadt <sup>210</sup> , around 1300, Wien)

Only one conclusion can be drawn from these pairs of words: dance was something different from Reigen, one was distinguished from the other. But what was meant by dance at that time? Until the 11th century, apart from a few special forms, there were only chain dances (Reigen) in Europe. Something new must have arisen that had to be conceptually

<sup>209</sup> The legal sources of the canton of St. Gallen. The legal sources of the city of St. Gallen. The city books from the 14th to the early 17th centuries. Aarau 1995, p. 8.

<sup>210</sup> Apollonius von Tyroland, 1057/8.



differentiated from Reigen. The starting point for the expansion movement was most likely northern France (Junk 1949/1990, p. 134).

Table 493b: Comparison of dance and Reigen (Böhme 1886, S. 23 – 40, S. 75 – 91)

Tanz	Reigen
A procession of dancing couples one behind the other, holding hands, the ladies on the right.	A chain of dancers who move hand in hand (in a closed or open circle or in lines) (Chortanz).
in closed rooms	mostly outdoors, in the fields, on the streets
with vocals or instrumental	with vocals
With a lead dancer (lead singer)	With a cantor, chorus from the choir
striding (kicked, immediately, with dragging foot)	striding (kicked) or jumping

What did this new dance form look like and on what background did it develop?

#### b) Emergence of the open couple dances

After the fall of the Roman Empire, the Germanic peoples became the new masters of Europe. The Germanic nobility was in no way different from the rest of the free. They were recruited from these free people (Günther 1959, p. 54). The dances of the nobles were therefore not at all different from the dances of the normal people. Essentially, it was chain dances to singing. From the 8th century a new development began in Central and Western Europe. Originally free peasants became serfs - mostly voluntarily - in order to escape the threat of military service. In return, a "warrior caste" emerged, knights of the lower nobility specialized in fighting. This new class separated from the peasants, but remained culturally connected to the peasants through the ownership of the land. In addition, there was the separation of the clergy at this time. This process was completed in the 12th century (Günther 1959, p. 55).

The nobility created their own predominantly secular culture in the 12th century. Starting from the south of France, but also from the 'Danubian Minnesong', it was the world of noble knights, troubadours and minstrels. In this, the noble lady was, at least in poetry (Bumke 1997, p. 453), a higher being in the aesthetic and moral sense. She was the epitome of beauty and moral perfection (Bumke 1997, p. 452f). The elegant woman moved more and more into the center of social events (Bumke 1997, p. 452f). This development took place first in the various classes of nobility and in knighthood. The noble lady was given a special role in tournaments and also at court festivals by handing out the prize to victorious knights. For the knights and nobles, conversation and being together with the ladies at the subsequent festivities were very important (Bumke 1997, p. 452f). In addition, it was a requirement of the time to show oneself in accordance with one's own rank. That was true for both sexes. On the female side in particular, there was also the need to present beauty in appearance and clothing.

During this time couples strode through the courtly halls. The gentlemen showed off their ladies.

It was this special position of the noble woman that made courtly couple dance possible and also shaped its outward appearance.

Even the old chain dances (Carole, Reigen) were danced in couples, as all pictures from this period show. "A long chain of ladies and knights in a colorful row (alternating sexes) followed a lead dancer" (Böhme 1986, p. 33)<sup>211</sup>. In contrast to the unbridled, wild and uncontrolled peasant dances, the court dance was controlled, reserved, gallant and posh. In the *Carmina burana* it says "stolz vnde hovisch" (no. 148a).

### **Couple dances at court**

In contrast to the Reigen, "going around dances" were created in the 11th century, probably at the Franconian courts of northern France. In connection with knight tournaments, evening parties were celebrated, at which distinguished gentlemen with distinguished ladies and with music accompanied the host family to and fro, in the form of a processional stride dance.<sup>212</sup>

The courtly couple dance emerged and this "hove danse" was accompanied by instrumental music (Mullally 2011, p. 91). The women were led to the right side of the gentleman (see Fig. 372c),<sup>213</sup> a rule that all pictorial representations show and that still applies today.

There is only speculation about the reasons, three of which are listed here:

- The right side is the genteel and privileged side. This side belonged to the noble ladies.
- Many noble people danced with swords or rapiers.<sup>214</sup> Since most of them were right-handed, this was close at hand on the left side. So only the other, the right side, remained for the lady. In most of the pictures, however, the men dance without weapons. The sword did not appear in Germany until the 16th century, too late to have any influence on the dancing environment.
- During the creation of an independent courtly dance scene, Reigen were mainly danced. You stood in couples within the chain. Since the chain went to the left and was led by a man<sup>215</sup>, a sequence of man, woman, man, woman, etc. was automatically

<sup>211</sup> This lead dancer is almost always male. An exception to this principle can be seen in the frescoes of Runkelstein Castle, where the queen leads the dance as the highest ranking.

<sup>212</sup> Dance seems to be more of a general way of dancing and not to describe a specific form of dance, rather in a form of dignified striding, like a procession (Harding 1973, p. 265). This is also supported by the fact that the first evidence in Old High German tends to be mentioned together with church choral music (Harding 1973, p. 267). Later dance is used as a general term in court dance (Harding 1973, p. 274).

<sup>213</sup> Böhme p. 31 based on a poem by Burkhard von Hohenvels: "The around going or stepped dance was usually led (as in the Reigen) by a lead singer who was also the lead dancer, followed by the couples. As a rule, women walked to the right and were led either by the hand or by the sleeve. ... It (the dance) consisted of a dragging of the feet (umbeslifen) of the dancing couples who took hold of each other's hand. The women wore a train (swanz) that they grouped together (respen). There was a smile (smieren), wink (zwinken) with the eyes and amorous, furtive glances (zwieren); even in the crowd a back, tugging and moving. If the piper was missing, a chant was started."

<sup>214</sup> The nobleman can dance them (the pavans) with sword and barrel, [...] (Arbeau 1588 p. 31).

<sup>215</sup> Leading a round dance was an honor and was filled according to the hierarchy at the court. The *Augsburger Chronik IV* of the Catholic Clemens Sender reports in: W. Suppan (ed.), *Historische Volksmusikforschung*, Congress Report Seggau 1977, therein C. Petzsch, *Nachrichten aus Städtchroniken* p. 121: "„Ende des Reichstags von 1530 (in Augsburg) tanzten die Fürsten nach dem Nachtmahl ain dantz, bei welchem jedermann

created. If such a chain broke up into couples to do a dance, the man stood on the left and the woman on the right<sup>216</sup> (see Fig. 493a).

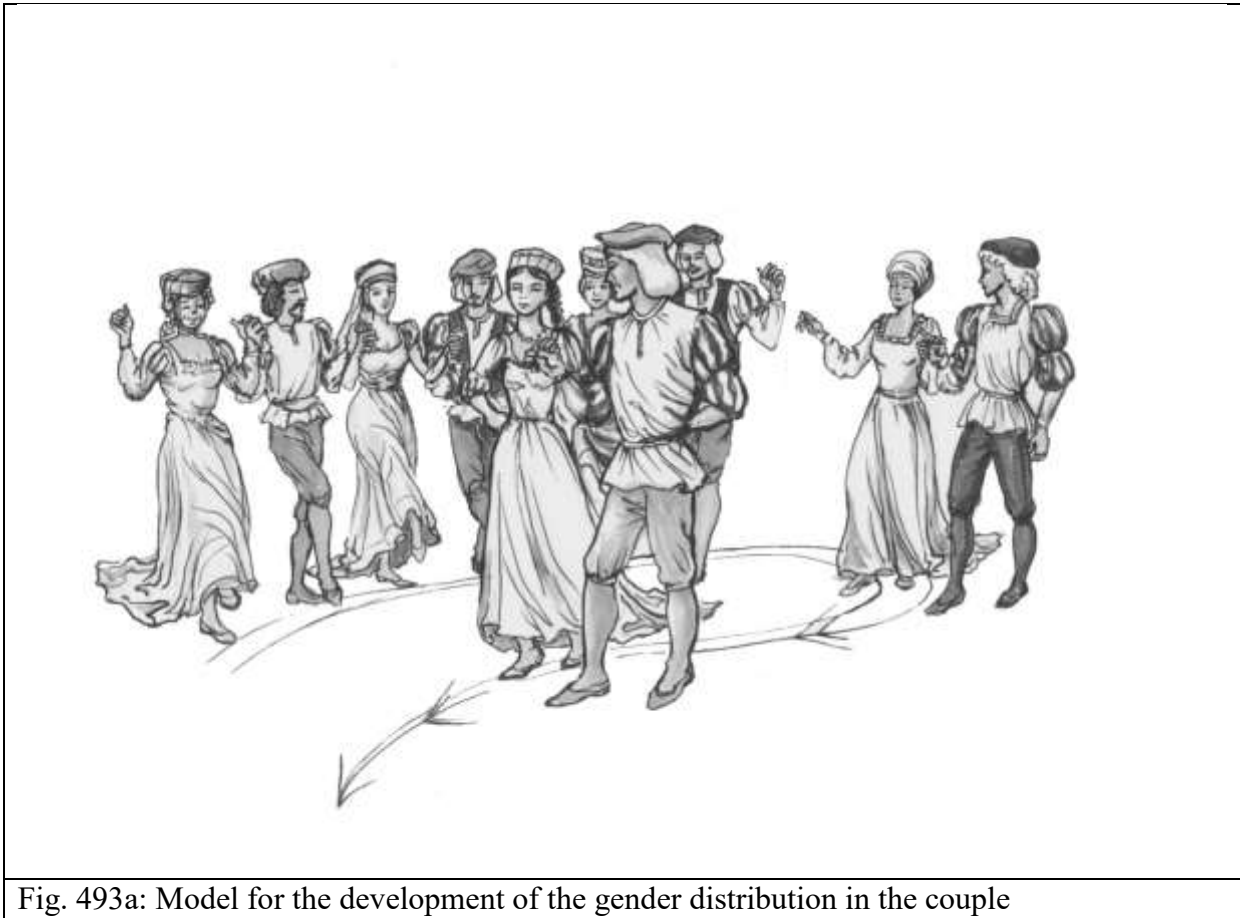


Fig. 493a: Model for the development of the gender distribution in the couple

Leading around to the music resulted in forms that are categorized here as open couple dances. They spread as the new fashion of chivalry together with the word 'Tanz', which was borrowed from the Franconian into Gallo-Romanic, across all courts in Europe.

Three factors favored the rapid spread of the open couple dances and their designation 'Tanz' in the European aristocratic class.

First, it was around this time, around the middle of the 11th century, that the first knight tournaments began somewhere in northern France. They spread throughout northern France and the adjacent areas in the following decades. In 1095 the first tournament in Flanders was mentioned. The first tournaments in Germany began in the 12th century. The first documented knight competition on German soil took place in 1127 in the Franconian town of Würzburg.

---

zuschauen konnte, den ersten reien [...] der Kaiser mit der Königin Anna [...] darnach sind die anderen fürsten all nach ordnung mit ainem reien vereert worden.“

<sup>216</sup> In Greek chain dances, the direction of movement is right. If folk dance groups mix men and women for the sake of demonstration, there is also a sequence of men, women, men, women, etc., but with opposite directions. When couples emerge from this, the man is on the right and the woman on the left. I was able to observe this again and again when performing Greek dances. That is why this interpretation is most plausible.

In the centuries that followed, the knights spread their tournaments and the associated festivals across Europe. Thus, with the new 'dansen', the word 'Tanz' also expanded.<sup>217</sup> Second, the high nobility, who are related far across Europe, favored this spread. Young aristocrats from Thuringia grew up with relatives in France, for example.<sup>218</sup> From there they brought home the new dance fashions. In addition to 'carole' or 'reien' - at least among the nobility - people could now also 'dance', walking in pairs next to each other. And third, this “new way of dancing” was fashionable and chic.

In addition to the newfangled dances, the reigen forms (caroles) were also retained for some time. The accompaniment by own singing decreased, instruments took over the musical part. With little change in the step material, the chain dances with instrumental music accompaniment were now called Branles. The circular dances developed in the 15th century to the Bassedanse<sup>219</sup>, starting from Burgundy (Saftien 1994, p. 29ff). Further influences came afterwards from Italy and Spain, from around 1550 the Pavane replaced the Bassedanse (Brunner 1983, p. 48; Saftien 1994, p. 194).

Dancing at court had a double function: on the one hand, it served for entertainment and amusement, but at the same time it was also intended to demonstrate how elegant, knowledgeable, and physically agile the performers were (Schoch 1998, p. 9; Petermann 1982, p. 9). The high society was constantly striving to stand out from the traditional and less historically dynamic lower classes (Salmen 1999, p. 164). Out of this need, the profession of dance master arose and ballroom dancing emerged (Hörburger 1960, p. 11).

Dance thus also took on a formalizing and disciplining function (Salmen 1999, p. 164), also with regard to the role behavior of the sexes. In the 15th and 16th centuries, dance became a medium to educate young aristocrats mentally, physically and morally (Krüger 2004, p. 173).

Under the influence of dance teachers and the increasing self-portrayal of the nobility, increasingly complex dances emerged, mostly performed by individual couples (e.g. minuet). Ultimately, this development ends in ballet with professional dancers who have been trained for many years.

---

<sup>217</sup> The word 'dance' was often used together with other courtly events such as 'buhurt' or other events of chivalry (Harding 1973, p. 276, p. 274).

<sup>218</sup> This is what Wolfram von Eschenbach wrote when he came to the service of Landgrave Hermann I of Thuringia: There are already new dances there in Thuringia (Parzival 639, 11-12). Hermann I. was brought up together with his older brother in France at the court of Louis VII. From there he may have brought the new dances with him.

<sup>219</sup> Prominencing to show oneself and to watch the splendid appearance of others, but also to dance together (Brunner 1983, p. 61).

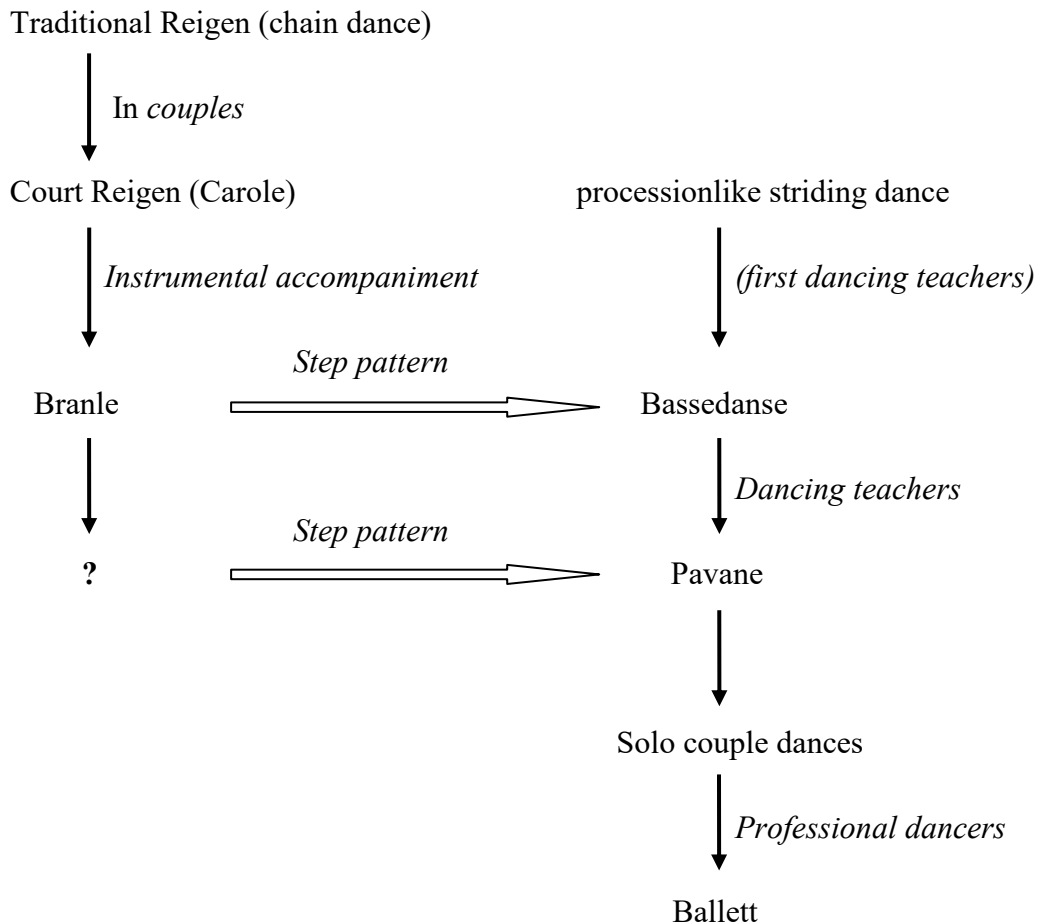


Fig. 493b: Development scheme of the court dances

There are no records whatsoever about the step material of the popular Reigen dances from the Middle Ages and the time before. But if one compares the structural patterns of the later Branles with today's chain dances of the Balkans, one finds very similar, often the same step combinations, which, as in Chap. 4.3.2 go back to a common pan-European root. Therefore, it can also be assumed that the Branles, which emerged from the popular Reigen dances, took over the step material from the peasant forms. The elements of the Bassedanse "Simple, Double, Reprise, Branle and Reverenz" (Saftien 1994, p. 29 - 38; Brunner 1983, p. 27ff) and the subsequent dances from the Renaissance and Baroque are based on the step material of the Branles and go with it back to the old chain dances.

On the continent, this development ended in complicated single couple dances and ultimately in ballet. In the British Isles it led to a completely different result, the multi-couple dances.

#### 4.9.4 Multi-couple dances

The origin of the multi-couple dances from Great Britain is undisputed. However, there are no sources about the exact origin. Wolfram (1951, p. 136) suspects that they have their origin in the 'Rounds'. "In England the Carols gave rise to the Rounds, those singing dances that have not been mentioned in England since the 15th century" (Wolfram 1951, p. 136).<sup>220</sup>

The Rounds very likely developed from the Carols, which, like on the continent, were probably danced mainly in couples. As can be deduced from the structural analysis of later rounds, further structural 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, turning, juxtaposing partners and the like.

It is not possible to clearly distinguish whether this development took place on the courts or among the farmers. Possibly it took place in close contact and constant interplay between the upper and lower classes. Because nowhere in Europe was the distance between the layers as blurred as in Great Britain. Wood (1952, p. 14) writes about the dances of the 14th century in England: "At court the noble people danced the new dances (Estampie) among themselves, but Carols, followed by Rounds, were not differentiated between noble and common, but rather according to young and old. Noble and servants danced together in the great halls of the castles and palaces. Undoubtedly, this is how ordinary people learned these dances and then brought them to the villages. That is why 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.<sup>221</sup>

At the end of the 16th century, during the reign of Elizabeth I, these 'country dances' were included in the repertoire of the English bourgeoisie and the nobility. Shortly afterwards, in 1632, King Gustav of Sweden was dancing such dances in the Fugger house in Augsburg (Wolfram 1951, p. 138).

The fact that the first edition of the English music publisher John Playford's "The English Dancing Master" from 1651 mainly contains rounds, speaks for the origin of the multi-couple dances from the rounds. In the following editions (a total of 18 editions up to 1728) the 'longways' increased more and more. The clientele for these collections of sheet music and dance descriptions were middle-class circles, in which this form of dance was very well received.

While the peasants danced in the open air in the squares and the nobility in large halls, the bourgeoisie used rooms in their houses. Due to lack of space, the circles at the rounds had to be made smaller. Rounds were created for 2, 3, 4, in exceptional cases also for 6 or 8 couples. Such shapes later developed into quadrilles or squares. Another line was formed under the influence of the country houses that were built at the beginning of the 18th century. These had an elongated room called the long gallery (Busch-Hofer 1987, p. 14). Adapted to this

---

<sup>220</sup> The English author Thomas Elyot wrote in 1531: "We have nowe base daunsis, bargettes, pavions, turgions and rundes" (quoted from Salmen 1999, p. 151).

<sup>221</sup> Salmen (1999, p. 165) lists some references, for example: 1591 was observed in Cowdray in the presence of the English Queen: "In the evening the country people presented themselves to hir Majestie in a pleasant daunce with taber and pip; and the Lord Montagu and his Lady among them, to the great pleasure of all the beholders, and the gentle applause of hir Majestie."

architecture, 'longways' were then developed, in which the couples are arranged in a long alley.

With the rise of the bourgeoisie, the multi-couple dances spread very quickly across Europe (Goldschmidt 2001, p. 58), especially in the cities. "Squares for eight or four" are mentioned for the first time in France in 1723 and in Germany in 1741 (Goldschmidt 2001, p. 72). At the end of the 18th century, the column dances (longways) also came to the continent (Goldschmidt p. 84). Cotillons, today quadrilles, have been in use since the middle of the 18th century, but did not gain acceptance until the 19th century. From 1830 the multi-couples dances disappeared from the ballrooms, the couple round dances (closed couple dances) such as the waltz began to dominate the parquet (Goldschmidt p. 64).

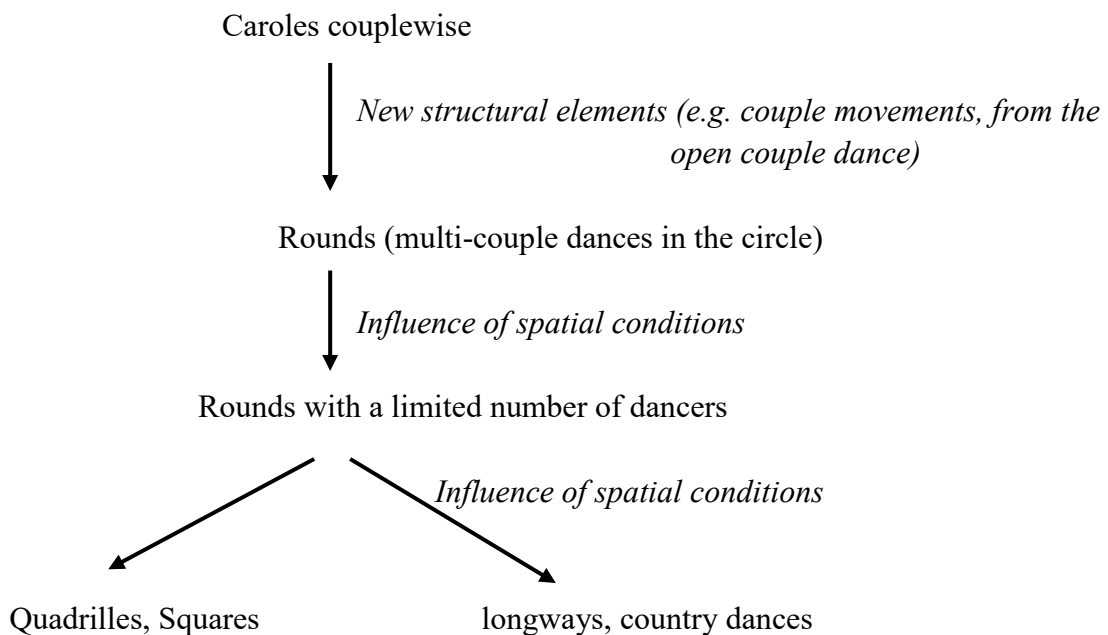


Fig. 494: Development scheme of the multi-couple dances

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 constant interaction between different dance forms and thus also between class-specific dances.

#### 4.9.5 Interactions between dance forms of different social classes

In European history after the Middle Ages, certain forms of dance are carried by certain social classes. There was a lively exchange between the specific dance forms of the different classes. Petermann (1982, p. 10) describes this phenomenon as follows: “The dance of all groups in all its manifestations is subject to a constant process of change and transformation.” 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, citizens and peasants always tried to imitate the nobility and to imitate their style of movement in the 'hovetantz'. [...] So the dances were constantly in motion, comparable to fashion, which also constantly creates new things causing astonishment and attention with“

Only the basic processes are shown in the following illustration.<sup>222</sup>

#### Interactions between dances of different social groups

- Chain dances at court adopt the step material from the forms of the common people.
- Courtly couple dances take on elements of the peasant dances such as the closed round dance as a final figure, the tossing up of the girls or winding figures.
- The noble society (nobility and bourgeoisie) adopts, with the Country Dance, the rural forms of the people. These are modified and spread in an elegant style.
- The dance teachers of the bourgeoisie repeatedly adopt elements of folk dance in order to be able to present new forms.
- The people, in turn, adopt forms of the nobility and the bourgeoisie: multiple couple dances are part of today's image of folk dances in northern Germany, Scandinavia, etc. The popular North American Square Dances also go back to forms of the bourgeoisie.
- Closed couple dances of rural origin, such as the waltz, become social dances for the bourgeoisie.

---

<sup>222</sup> Further examples can be found, for example, in Petermann (1982): Interrelationships between folk and social dance. Political processes also had an influence on dance developments: For example, in 1777 the Habsburgs passed a law for Hungary in which the teaching of chain dances in schools was forbidden (verbal communication from Prof. Katalin Szikora at the ISHPES congress in Frankfurt on August 10, 2011). This was intended to promote the couple dances that are common in Austria.



## 5. Development (genealogy) of the chain dances

Chain dances also have a history of development. Their emergence took place in the Middle East in connection with the emergence of the Neolithic culture (see Chapter 4.5). They spread as an essential element of the Neolithic package through the migration of early shepherds and farmers or through the spread of their culture. In the long time since the genesis of the chain dances, developments and changes have occurred. All of these processes that led to the appearance of these dances today are meant here by the genealogy of the chain dances.

Today's and past chain dances differ in certain features. As far as such dances still exist, each region has its own forms and variants with specific characteristics. The obvious differences are assessed differently. It happens that two dances with a very different execution in style, on the other hand with a very similar step pattern, are classified as clearly different.

The following is not about aspects of style, but about similarities or deviations in external shape features and in the step patterns, because these characteristics have proven to be extremely time-stable and conservative. If one looks at external shape features such as multipartite or symmetry, it is noticeable that these are very common in some regions, but not at all in others. Some step patterns are also very unevenly distributed over today's distribution area. Then there are whole groups of dances with a similar step pattern, which may be more closely related. Some of these "families" only occur regionally, others are spread almost everywhere. Another difference can be seen in the preferred direction of dancing. In western Europe the chain dances are danced to the left, in the east to the right. What are the reasons for these differences and what statements can be made about the development of the chain dances since their creation?

To clarify these questions, the first step is to identify and record these differences. This requires suitable analytical methods. In a second step, hypotheses are formulated about the possible causes of the respective differences.

## **5.1 Structural analysis for chain dances**

Most chain dances are one-piece and do not have a more complex degree of order. With such shapes, only the step patterns can be distinguished. But some of these dances have several parts, others are performed symmetrically. So you have another level in your structure.

### **5.1.1 Structural analysis according to the terminology of the IFMC**

Different structural levels can be well characterized by the terminology of the IFMC, which was created under the direction of Kurt Petermann (1983). The structure occurring in the chain dances is comparatively simple and can be described as two, three or four-part and symmetrical or asymmetrical. For this reason, the structural analyses carried out below do not use the comprehensive analysis concept of the IFMC and only record whether the individual dances are one-part or multi-part and whether a symmetry can be ascertained.

### **5.1.2 Structural analysis according to Leibman (1992)**

Most chain dances are only one piece and consist of a step pattern that extends over several measures. The concept of Robert Leibman (1992) is particularly suitable for describing and analyzing such forms. Step patterns consist of a series of movements with and movements without shifting your weight. A bar length serves as the time frame of reference. The number of weight shifts during this period is analyzed. If you carry out an even number of weight shifts within a bar, the result is 0. If you carry out an uneven number of weight shifts in one bar, the result is 1. This analysis is carried out 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 shifting (Leibman 1992, p. 296). This analysis leads to a sequence of 0 and 1, a binary code, which is referred to as the underlying structure. There are distinguishable variants for a certain basic pattern, which can be distinguished by the number of weight shifts per bar, the rhythmic execution and the direction of the movements. As an example, Tab. 512 describes the Serbian dance Čačak using this system.

Table 512: Čačak (Serbia) described in Leibman's binary code with a step pattern over 10 measures. The musical basis is a 2/4 time. R and L mean weight shifts to the right or left leg, o means movement without shifting weight. The varied motif in measure 8 is marked in bold letters.

Binary code (Basic pattern)	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
Weight shifts	R L	R L	R o	L o	R o	L R	L R	L o	RLR	LRL
Weight-shifts variant	R L	R L	R o	L o	R o	L R	L R	<b>LRL</b>	RLR	LRL
direction	→	→	→			←	←	←		
Beats per measure	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1&2	1&2	1&2
Bar numbering	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

A basic pattern coded in this way does not describe certain steps, but describes the dance on a more abstract level (Leibman 1992, p. 295).

Advantages and possibilities of this analysis concept:

- Dances can be compared in the structure of their basic patterns.
- Possible relationships and developments can be traced.
- Dances with the same basic pattern can be divided into families.
- Dances can be assigned to a certain pattern length, e. g. with a pattern length of 4 measures.
- Phase shifted patterns can be recognized. These are assigned to the music in different ways, but have the same basic pattern, e.g. B. 0110 equals 0011. Two types of phase shift must be distinguished. In the "whole bar" shift, the pattern is shifted by whole bars. In other words, the dance begins with a different measure of the pattern, but the order is retained. In the case of the "split-bar" shift, the pattern is not shifted by whole bars in relation to the music, but only by part of a bar, e.g. a quarter note. This can lead to a different basic pattern being used in the analysis. However, such partial clock shifts are very rare.
- Symmetrical patterns can be distinguished from asymmetrical ones.

## 5.2 Results of the qualitative and quantitative analyzes of the step patterns of different regions

For the results listed below, 999 chain dances from Croatia, Serbia, North Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece were analyzed. An analysis of Romanian folk dances is dispensed with.<sup>223</sup> The region of origin, the source and, as a result of the Leibman analysis, the pattern length and the basic pattern were assigned to the respective dances. In addition, symmetrical patterns and dances with multiple parts have been identified as such. Couple dances or other community dances were not included in the lists (see data part E).

### 5.2.1 Analysis of the pattern lengths of 999 chain dances ( my own data set)

With a step pattern, the length is characterized by the number of measures over which it extends. A measure, in turn, is determined by the number of basic beats. A 2/4 time signature contains two basic beats, each worth a quarter note. The first beat is emphasized, the second unstressed. With a 4/4 time signature, this means a sequence of a stressed, an unstressed, a slightly stressed and an unstressed quarter beat. In practice it is sometimes difficult to hear the difference between stressed and somewhat stressed and to make a clear assignment as 2/4 or 4/4 time. Since folk music is usually practiced without notes, there are also no notes to check this.. If folk music is recorded in notes, it is usually notated in 2/4 time and rarely in 4/4 time. For this reason, the basic patterns usually also refer to a 2/4 time signature. With almost all other time signatures this uncertainty does not exist.

Basically, patterns must always have an even cross-sum, because if the cross-sum is odd, the other foot then begins the step, which in turn means that the pattern is not repeated at all, as a complete pattern always has to begin with the same foot.

When analyzing the pattern lengths, step patterns from one (1MP/TM, **MP/TM** means measure pattern) to sixteen measures (16MP/TM, **MP/TM** means measures pattern) were recorded in their percentage for all countries. Since pattern lengths with more than sixteen measures are very rare, these have been combined in the category more than 16MP/TM. In addition, those dances with multi-part structures were distinguished regardless of their pattern length. The result is shown graphically in Fig. 521a.

---

<sup>223</sup> There are two reasons for this waiver. Once, large parts of Romania were under Austro-Hungarian rule for a long time and thus exposed to noticeable western influence. It can therefore be assumed that they have changed more than the dances of other Balkan countries. Second, the author's knowledge of this region is not so extensive that a reliable assessment of the development processes mentioned can be made.

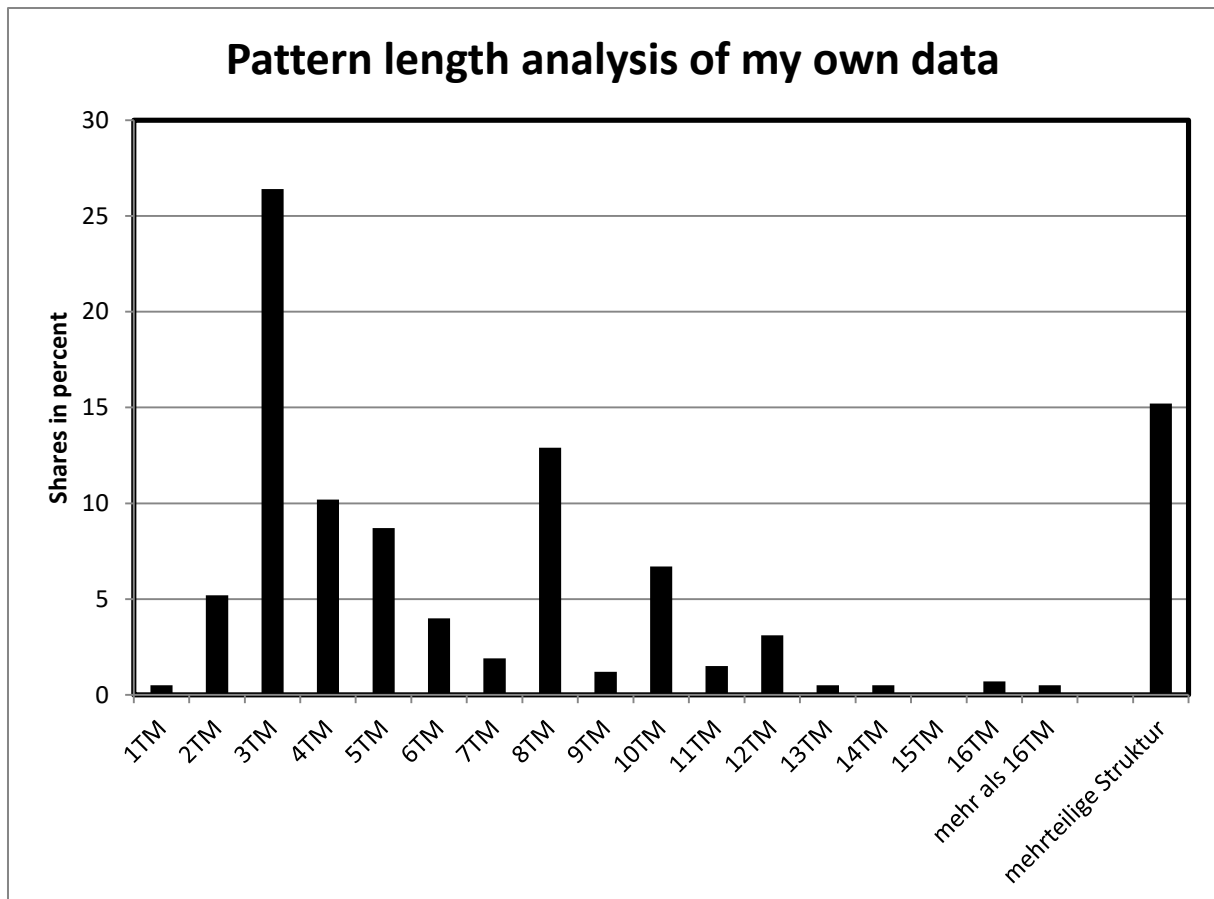


Fig. 521a: Percentage proportions of the individual step pattern lengths of 999 chain dances from Croatia, Serbia, North Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece (own data collection, data section E.1.A.1). TM = measure pattern!

What is striking is the high proportion of three-measure dances with 26.4%, which impressively emphasizes the special importance of this pattern. The values for 8TM/MP with 12.9%, for 10TM/MP with 6.7% and for 12TM/MP with 3.1% should be emphasized. If you ignore the last two groups mentioned, the result shows a left-skewed distribution with a maximum for the 3TM/MP (see Fig. 521b) of over 25%. 1TM/MP are very simple and therefore rare, 2TM/MP are more common with a 5.2% share and 4TM/MP with 10.2% and 5TM/MP with 8.7% are common. The larger the number of measures, the rarer the patterns become. In addition to the 3TM/MP, the 8TM/MP occupies an outstanding position, because in addition to the 8TM/MP dances with 12.9%, most of the multi-part structures are eight measures, which adds up to a total of 27%. The 10TM/MP and 12TM/MP also clearly stand out from a unimodal distribution.

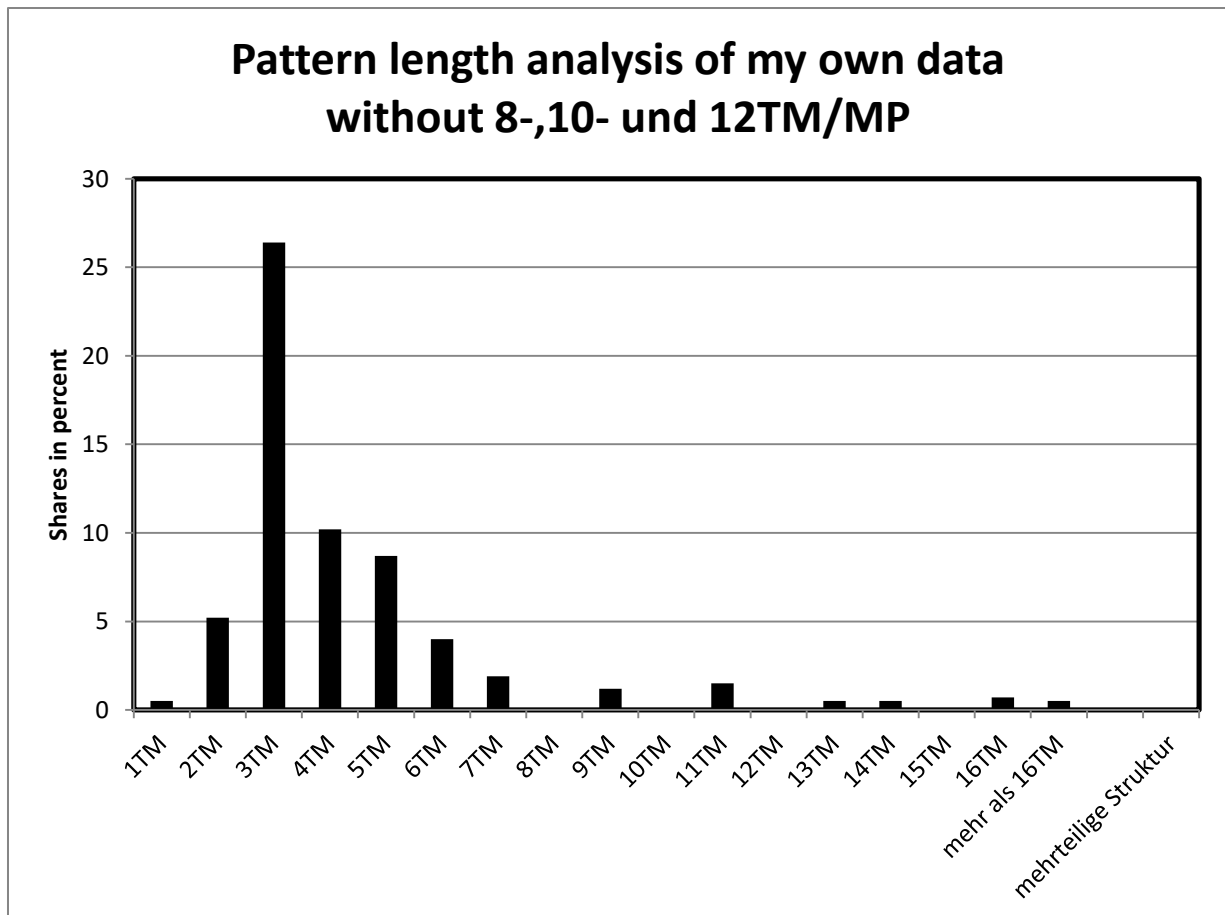


Fig.521b: Percentage proportions of the individual step pattern lengths of 999 chain dances from Croatia, Serbia, North Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece (own data collection, data part E.1.A.1) without 8TM/MP, 10TM/MP, 12TM/MP and multi-part structures (mehrtellige Strukturen)

### 5.2.2 Comparison of the results for the sample length with the analysis results of data from other authors

In order to check the results, the data from L. Torp (1990) for 847 chain dances from the whole Balkans, B. Ravnikar (1980) for 224 chain dances from the regions of the former Yugoslavia, M. Dimoski (1977) for 46 chain dances from North Macedonia, G. Pajtondžiev (1973) for 105 chain dances from North Macedonia and P. Atanasovski (video collection 2003) for 46 chain dances from North Macedonia were prepared in the same way. In total, these are 2267 analyzed chain dance forms, with a few duplications between the individual data sets. Overall, the results for the data from other authors are similar, which shows that our own data collection is a reliable basis for further interpretations.<sup>224</sup>

### 5.2.3 Regional differences in the frequency of certain pattern structures (my own data)

The percentage of each step pattern length differs from region to region and most patterns are not evenly distributed. For example, there are a lot of 8TM/MP in Serbia, most of which are

<sup>224</sup> Detailed analysis in the original work.

symmetrical, whereas in Greece there are hardly any eight-measures and almost no symmetrical forms. Since there are significant regional deviations, especially in Serbia, three regions can be distinguished for this country (the center, the west and the north of Serbia, the east and north-east of Serbia and the south and south-east of Serbia). Also for the regionally very different Greek dances, three areas are delimited from each other (the northern Greek North Macedonia, the Pontic region and the rest of Greece). In order to clearly highlight the regional differences, the results of the analysis are summarized in four categories.

- Short patterns (1TM/MP to 7TM/MP).
- Eight measure patterns (8TM/MP).
- Longer patterns (9+ TM = 9TM/MP and larger).
- Multi-part structures regardless of the pattern length.

The respective percentage is shown graphically in Fig. 523a.

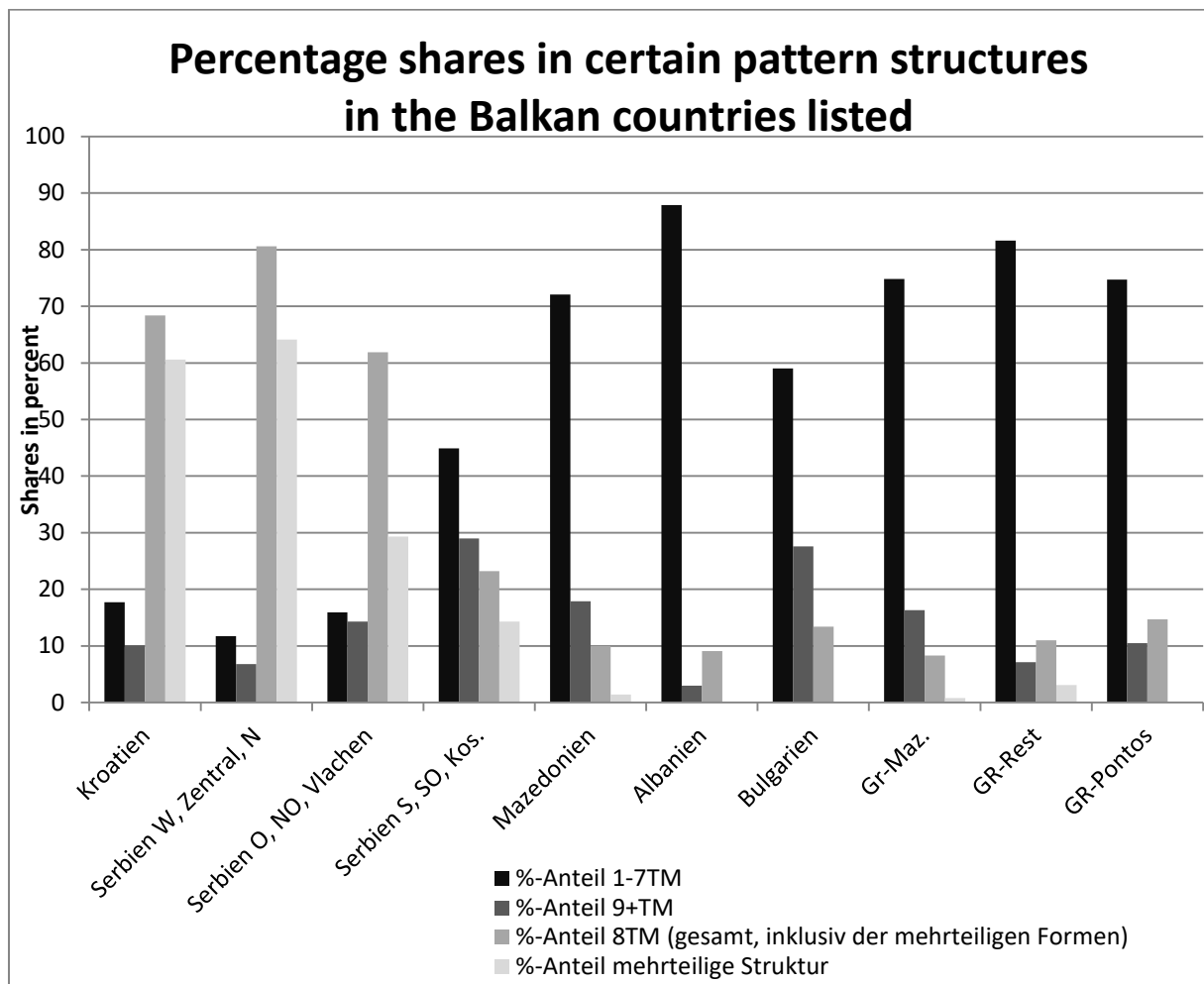


Fig. 523a: Percentage of certain categories of the pattern length in 999 chain dances (my own data set, E.1.A.2) for the countries listed.

There are different proportions for the individual categories in the Balkan countries. Short measure patterns (1TM/MP - 7TM/MP) are rather rare in the western Balkan countries of Croatia and Serbia, whereas they dominate in the southeastern area (see Fig. 523b)

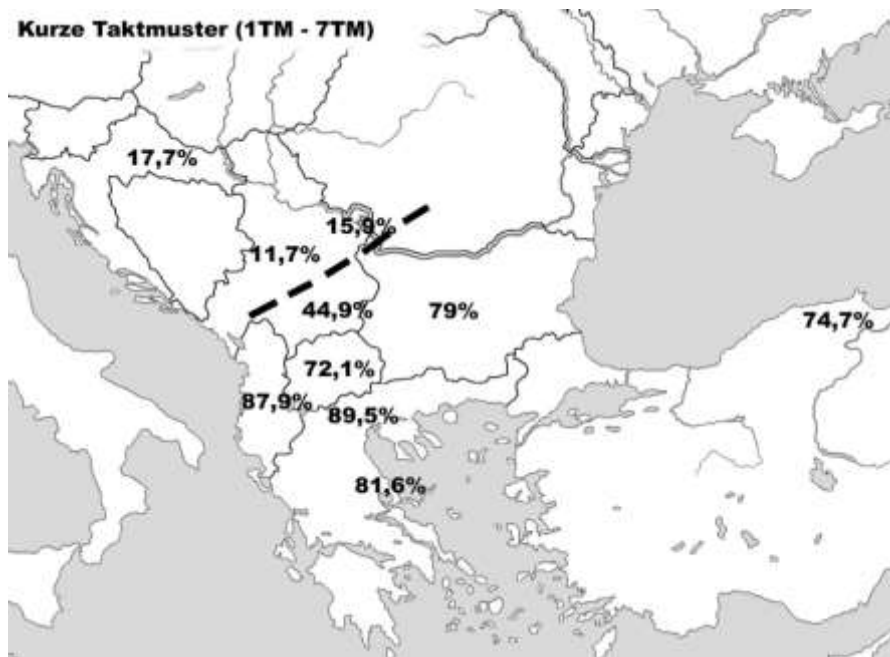


Fig. 523b: Percentages of short measure patterns (1TM/MP to 7TM/MP) in different regions of the Balkans. The database for this map is in the data section E.1.A.2.

In contrast, eight-measure pattern structures are distributed in opposite directions (see Fig. 523c), which are predominant in Croatia and Serbia, but only reach a share of around 10% in the south-eastern Balkans.

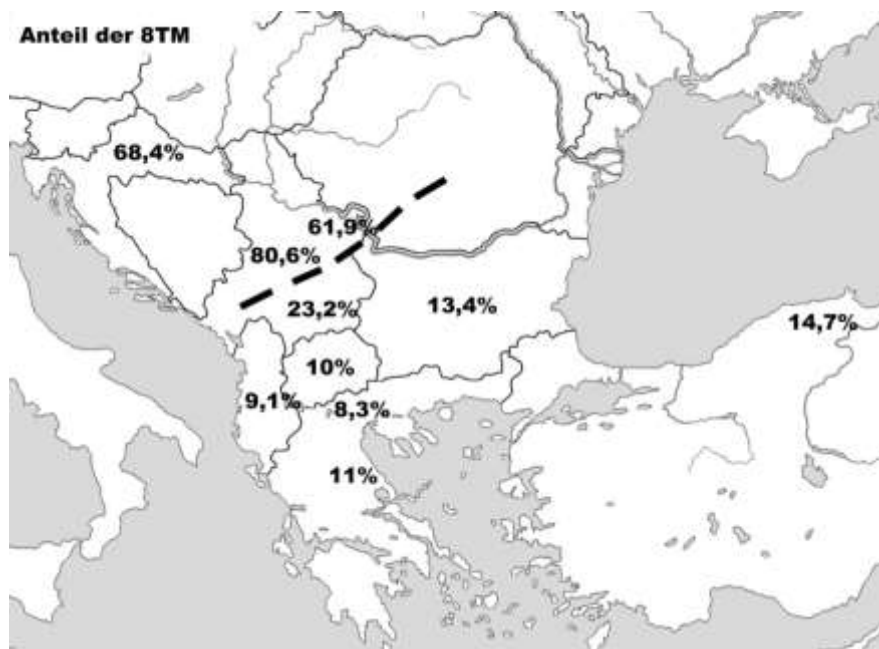


Fig. 523c: Percentage of eight-measure patterns in different regions of the Balkans. The database for this map is in the data section E.1.A.2.



Multipart (see Fig. 523d) and symmetrical structures (see Fig. 523e) are also common in the west and rather rare in the south-east.

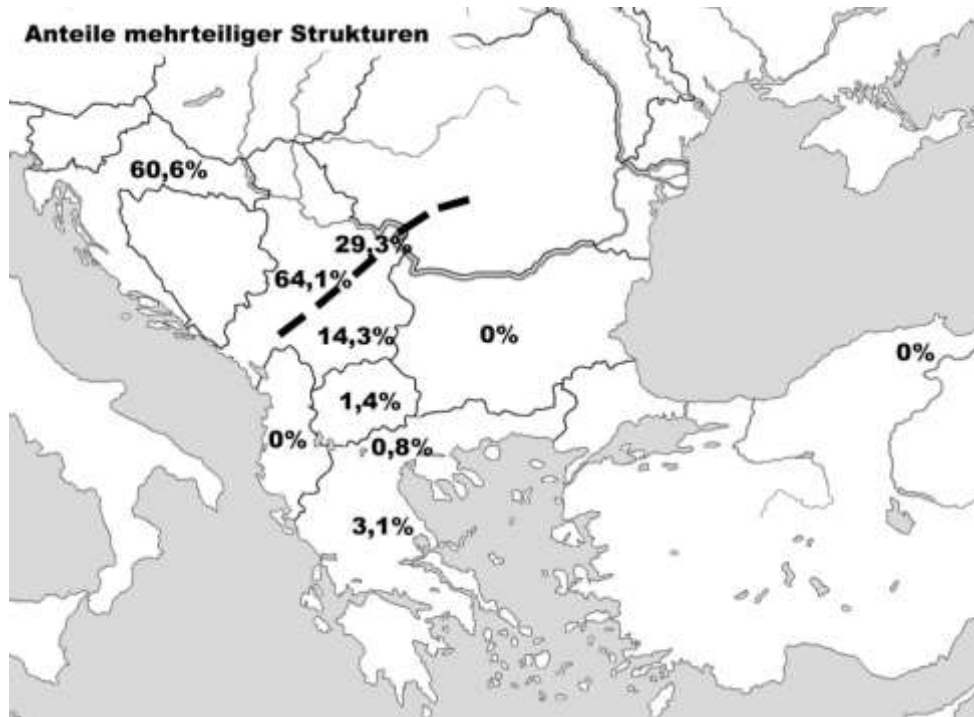


Fig. 523d: Percentage shares of multi-part structures in different regions of the Balkans. The database for this card is in the data section E.1.A.2

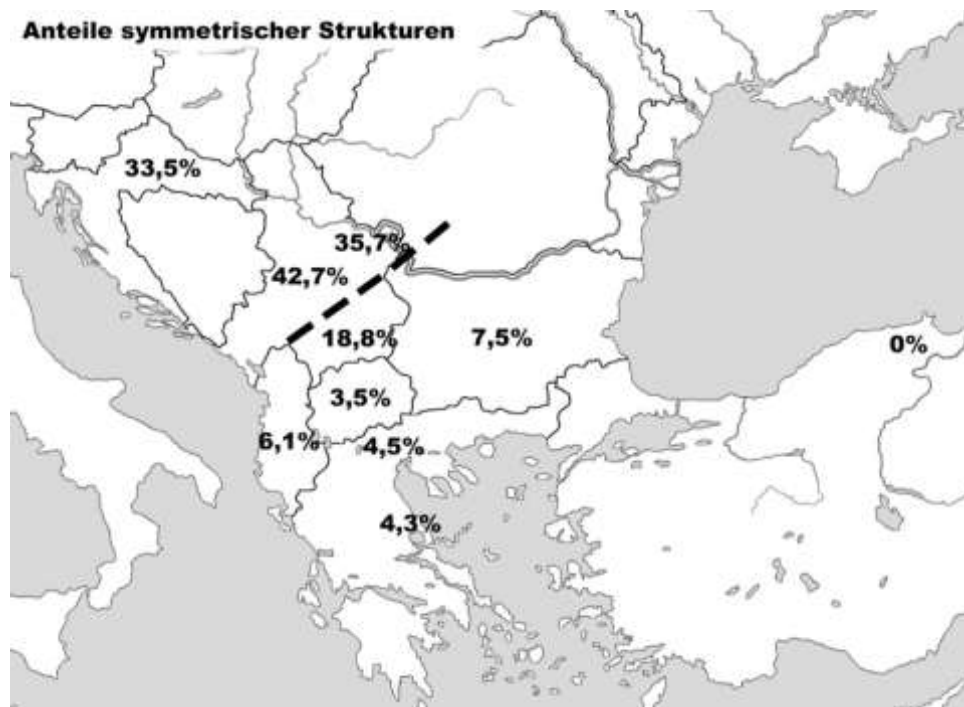


Fig. 523e: Percentages of symmetrical structural patterns in different regions of the Balkans. The database for this map is in the data section E.1.A.2.

#### 5.2.4 Comparison of the results of my own data set with the results of other authors regarding the pattern length frequency of dances from North Macedonia (see original work)

#### 5.2.5 Regional differences for the frequency of symmetrical structures

Symmetrical patterns are shapes in which patterns are repeated in the other direction with the "other feet" in each case. Both parts must have the same volume of space and intensity. Patterns that are symmetrical in principle, such as e.g. many Branles with a double step to the left and then to the right, but which are carried out in one of the two directions, are not considered symmetrical here.

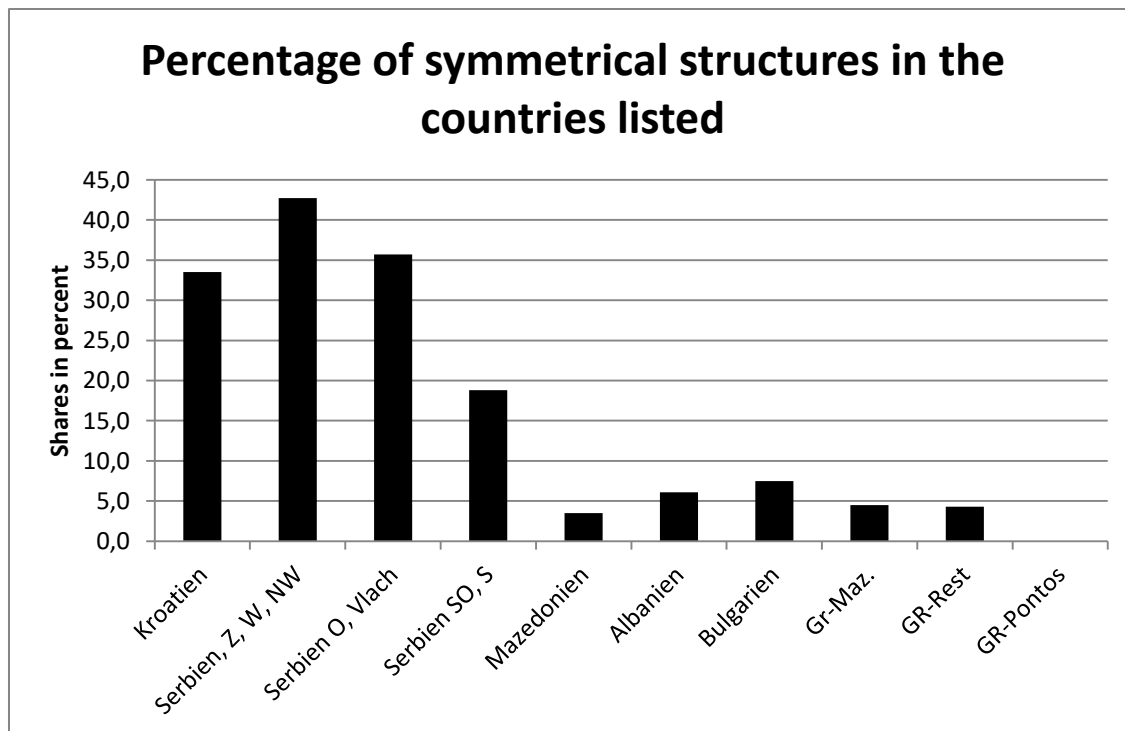


Fig. 525: Percentage of symmetrical patterns of 999 chain dances (own data, E.1.A.3) for the countries listed.

Symmetrical structures are quite common from Croatia to Eastern Serbia with 35 - 45%. With almost 19%, southern and SE Serbia represent a transition area compared to the regions to the south and east of it, which have a proportion of symmetrical structures of less than 8%, usually even less than 5%.

#### 5.2.6 Theoretically possible basic patterns and their frequency and distribution

Most chain dance forms in the Balkans have a short step pattern over a few measures. There is only one possible variant for the one-measure pattern; there is an increasing number of versions for all longer patterns. The versions belonging to a certain pattern length are referred to as the basic pattern.

The theoretically possible basic patterns for one- to six-measures patterns, i.e. versions of the respective pattern length, are shown below. For longer samples, the number of theoretical possibilities is much greater, whereas, in practice, relatively few are verified. Pattern lengths with more than 6 measures are therefore only shortened or not dealt with at all. The following statements and diagrams have been made on the basis of Table E.1.A.4 in the data section.

a) One-measure pattern (1TM/MP)

There is only one possibility for one-measure patterns. There are two (four) weight shifts per measure. This is e.g. the case with the normal walking steps of a polonaise. This pattern is very rare in the chain dances of the Balkans.

b) Two-measure pattern (2TM/MP)

Two-measure patterns can come in two forms.

b1) with code 1 1

This basic pattern over two measures, each with one or three weight shifts, is relatively common. A long step, a step-hop or a triple step can be performed in one measure. The latter is the case, for example, with the waltz, the Bulgarian Račenica or the Greek Syrtos (sta dio). Almost all two-measure dances have this basic pattern (96%).

b2) with code 0 0

Two-measure patterns, each with an even number of weight shifts, but where the first and the second measure are different, are very rare. Of the 999 chain dances examined, only two have this structure.

c) Three-measure pattern (3TM/MP)

There are also only two forms of the three-measure pattern.

c1) with code 0 1 1

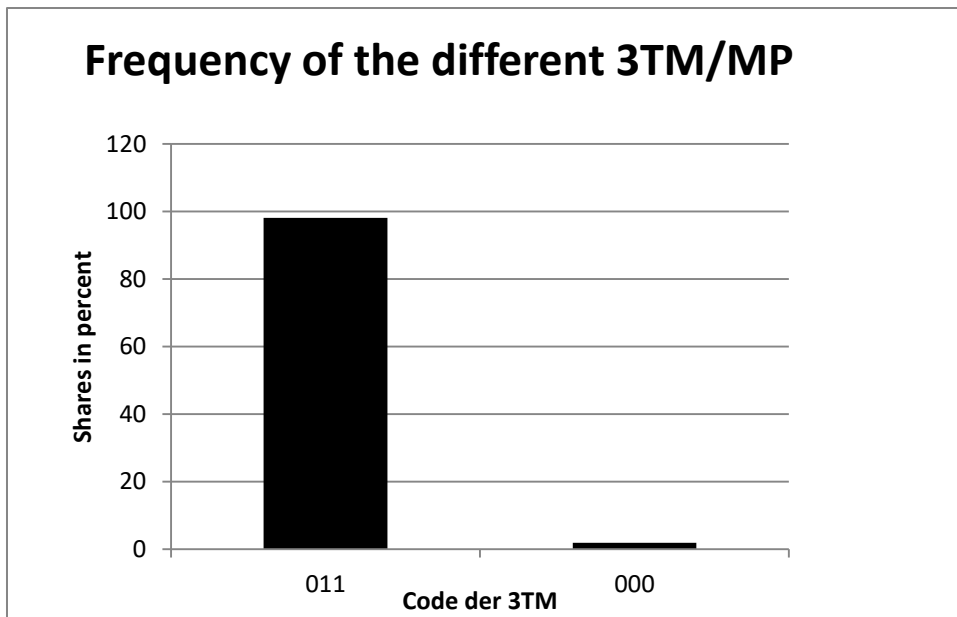
This pattern is the most common of all patterns in European folk dances and is also the most widespread. It is therefore often referred to as “the” three-measure pattern. Due to a full-measure phase shift, it is identical to 1 1 0 or 1 0 1.

c2) with code 0 0 0

The pattern of today's Arabic Debkes can be characterized in this way. Otherwise, this pattern is very, very rare.<sup>225</sup>

---

<sup>225</sup> The pattern of the Arab debkes can, however, also be described as 0 1 1 through partial phase shifts (see Section 4.1.3.1).



70 / 5000

Fig.526a: Frequency of the two possible 3TM/MP (data part E.1, A.4)

#### d) Four-measure pattern (4TM/MP)

There are 4 options for the four-measure pattern.

d1) with code 0 1 0 1

A common pattern with a 32% share of the 4TM/MP, which is also widespread in two forms: once as “double - double” and second as “step - step - two step - step - step - two step”. By phase shifting it is identical to 1 0 1 0. This pattern could be made symmetrical. In practice, however, this is extremely seldom the case, as most of the time, the steps are danced more expansive in one direction. Many French Branles and the Horas, which are very common in Romania, have this pattern as a basic step. Since both countries are not included in the statistics listed, the actual proportion of this pattern with the code 0 1 0 1 in relation to the entire distribution area is much higher.

d2) with code 1 1 1 1

This pattern has a share of 34% of the 4TM/MP. Its distribution is concentrated in Greece and Albania. It occurs in Syrtos (sta dio) or Pogonishte forms, for example in the Greek Kalamatianos.

d3) with code 0 0 0 0

With only about 7% this rather rare pattern is represented among the 4TM/MP, but has a large geographical distribution. It can be found, for example, in Arapaiki in northern Greece.

d4) with code 0 0 1 1 = 0 1 1 0 = 1 0 0 1 = 1 1 0 0

With about 26% of the total amount of four-measure dances, this pattern is concentrated in Greece.

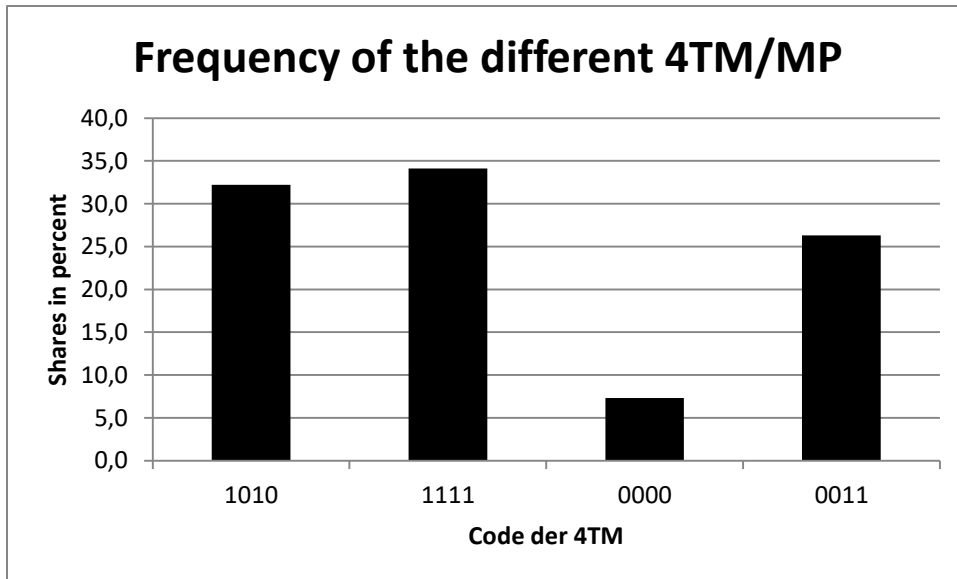


Fig. 526b: Frequency of the four possible 4TM/MP (data part E.1.A.4).

e) Five-measure pattern (5TM/MP)

The five-measure pattern has four characteristics.

e1) with code 0 1 1 1 1

By far the most common five-measure pattern has the basic pattern 01111 with a share of 86%. It is widespread over the whole of the Balkans, although certain focuses are in North Macedonia and the Black Sea Greeks. However, this pattern is also described by Arbeau (1588, p. 104) in the Branle of Malta.

e2) with code 0 1 0 1 0 = 1 0 1 0 0 = 0 0 1 0 1

This pattern has a share of 9%.

e3) with code 0 1 1 0 0 = 0 0 1 1 0 =

This pattern has a share of 3%

e4) with code 0 0 0 0 0

This pattern has a share of 1%.

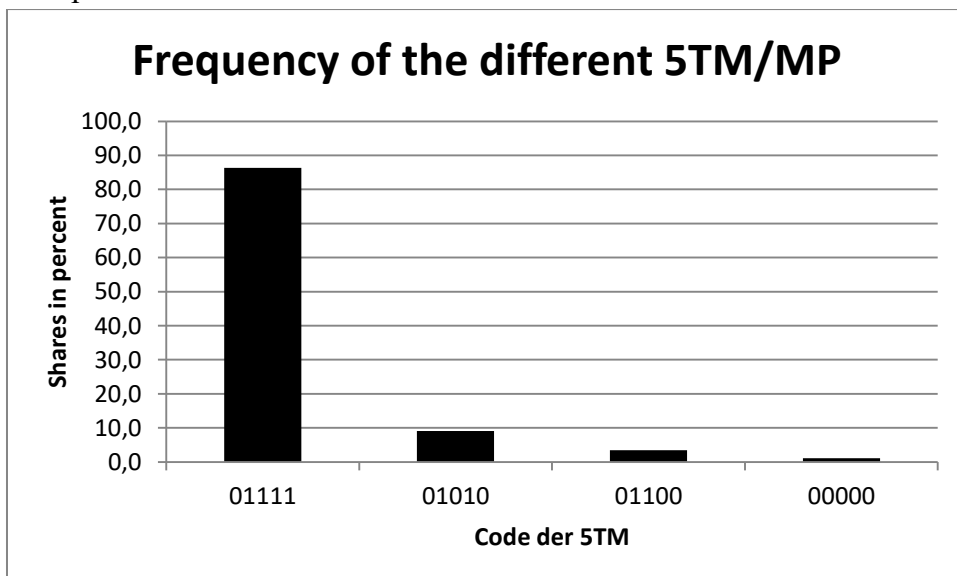


Fig. 526c: Frequency of the different 5TM/MP (data part E.1.A.4).

#### f) Six-measure pattern

Six-measure patterns come in eight different basic forms: f1: 111111; f2: 001111; f3: 010111; f4: 011011; f5: 000011; f6: 010001; f7: 001001; f8: 000000. The most common variant is f2 with a 27% share. It is noteworthy that most of these variants can be derived by widening (f2, f3, f6) or doubling (f4) the three-measure pattern 001 (see Section 5.5.2). The variant f7 can basically be carried out symmetrically, which also happens in practice.

#### g) seven-measure pattern (7TM)

At 1.9%, this pattern has a relatively small share of the total stock. There are ten variants of the seven-measure pattern, the frequency distribution of which has no special features. Two concrete examples: Tsamikos flammourou (0010001); Etere (0111100).

Apart from the eight-measure pattern and the multi-part structures, the 10TM/MP and 12TM/MP protrude beyond a unimodal distribution (see Fig. 521a). This special position becomes even clearer in Fig. 522b, in which the frequencies of the individual sample lengths of the folk dances of the former Yugoslavia according to Ravnikar (1980) are listed. This is a first indication of the main spread of dances with this pattern length in the countries of the former Yugoslavia.

### 5.2.7 Regional distribution of certain patterns

#### a) Regional distribution of the 10TM/MP

Of the 65 ten-measure dances noted, 60 of them are from Serbia, North Macedonia and Bulgaria. If you take a closer look at the respective countries, the 10TM/MP in North Macedonia are concentrated in the north and east, in Bulgaria in particular in the west, but also in the south-west and north-west and in Serbia in the south and south-east.

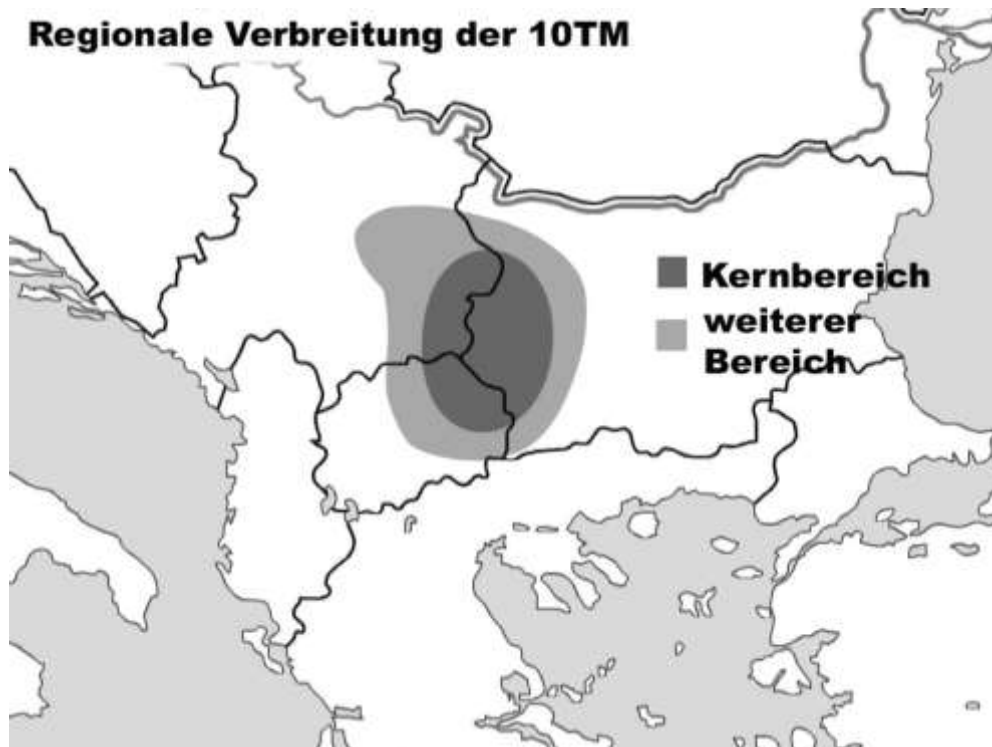


Fig. 527a: Regional distribution of the 10TM/MP (data basis see data section E.1.0).

**b) Regional distribution of the 12TM/MP**

Compared to the 10TM/MP, the 30 or more 12TM/MP forms are not so clearly regionally assigned, but there is also a focus here, because 22 of the 30 forms come from Serbia, North Macedonia and Bulgaria, in Serbia from the east and southeast and in Bulgaria from the northwest, west and southwest. For North Macedonia, no focus can be determined from the available data.

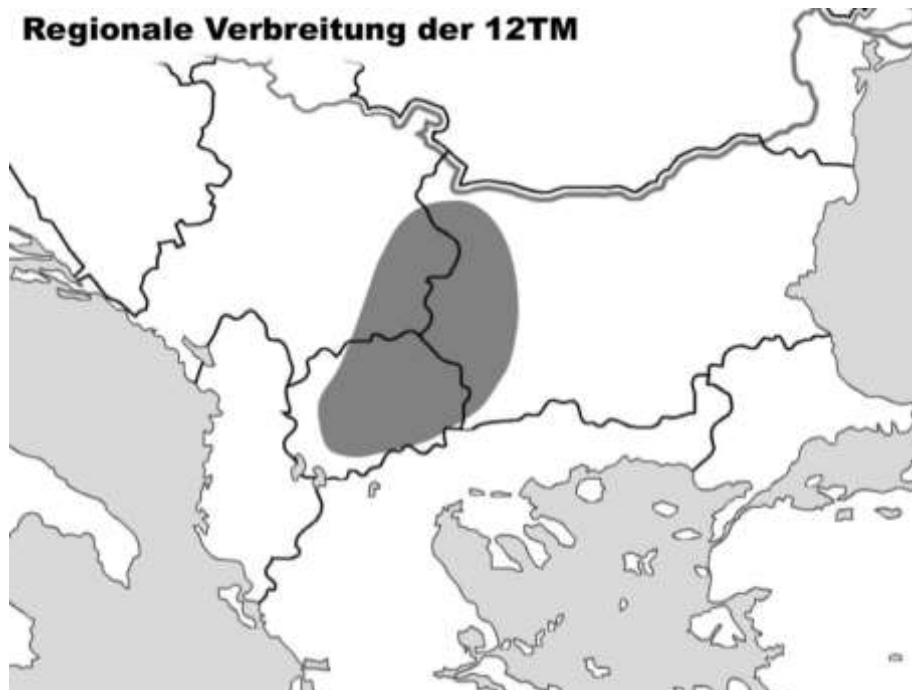


Fig. 527b: Regional distribution of the 12TM/MP (data basis see data part E.1.0).

### 5.2.8 Summary and interpretation of the results of the sample analyses

- The basic pattern lengths vary in frequency. Some basic pattern lengths of the chain dances, such as the three- and eight-measure pattern, are very common in the Balkans, others rarely or not at all. The 10TM/MP and 12TM/MP are also noticeably more common than the other longer patterns.
- The versions of the short basic patterns vary in frequency. All theoretically possible versions of the short basic patterns with a cycle length of 1 - 6 can be determined, but with a strikingly different frequency. The basic pattern with the code 011 dominates in the three-measure dances and the code 01111 in the five-measure dances. Many possible versions are missing from the longer rhythm patterns.
- Only a few of the variants of the basic pattern can be found. With the rhythmic, spatial or step variants of the individual basic patterns, only a few characteristics (variants) occur, others are not verified. This also applies to the short pattern lengths.

These unequal proportions or the lack of some patterns can be easily explained by a singular and common origin of the chain dance forms. According to this point of view, the genealogy of the chain dances shows that patterns that have arisen are spread further or are the basis for further development. In this case, not all fundamentally possible variants arise and existing forms have advantages for continued existence or as a basis for modifications.

Patterns available today and their respective frequency would thus be the result of a long-term process in which certain patterns existed at the beginning of development, which were then modified over time by specific influencing variables. Particularly noticeable is the regionally unequal distribution of the short cycle patterns (1 TM/MP - 7 TM/MP, Fig. 523b), the 8TM/MP (Fig. 523c), the multi-part (Fig. 523d) and symmetrical structures (Fig. 523e).

There are significantly different regional distributions for these pattern properties, which are separated by a border running roughly from southern to eastern Serbia (cf. Fig. 523b-e, Fig. 528 and Tab. 528).





Fig. 528: Regionally different focal points of certain pattern properties.

Mehrteilige und symmetrische Muster = the multi-part and symmetrical structures

Achttaktige Muster = 8MP; Kurze Muster = short patterns

Tab. 528: Areas with different characteristics.

	Proportion of short patterns (1-7MP)	Proportion of longer samples (9 + MP)	Proportion 8MP	Proportion of multi-part structures
Croatia, N-, W- u. Central-Serbia	10-20%	5-10%	about 70-80%	60-70%
E- u. NE-Serbia, Vlache	10-20%	10-20%	about 60%	etwa 30%
S-, SE-Serbia, Kosovo	40-50%	20-30%	20-30%	10-20%
Northmazedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece	60-85%	5-20% (except Bulgaria)	about 10%	less than 4%

To the north and west of this border there are many dances with 8TM/GM, with several parts and with symmetrical movements, to the east and south of this there are many dances with short patterns and comparatively few with eight measure and very few with multi-part or symmetrical structures.

This now raises the third key question and the required determination of the specific influencing variables and controlling factors that can explain the regional distribution of the different characteristics.

## 5.3 Influencing variables for the regionally very different frequency of short patterns, eight-measure, multi-part and symmetrical structures

### 5.3.1 The duration of the Ottoman occupation

The Ottoman occupation itself justifies the preservation of the chain dances in the remnant area of the Balkans. It is also noticeable that the length of the Ottoman occupation (Fig. 531) and the time of the liberation of the individual regions also correlate with different degrees of conservation of the chain dances. The line that separates areas with more than 400 years of occupation from regions with less than 350 years of Turkish rule proves to be particularly striking for the demarcation of the short pattern lengths from the eight-measurer and symmetrical ones.

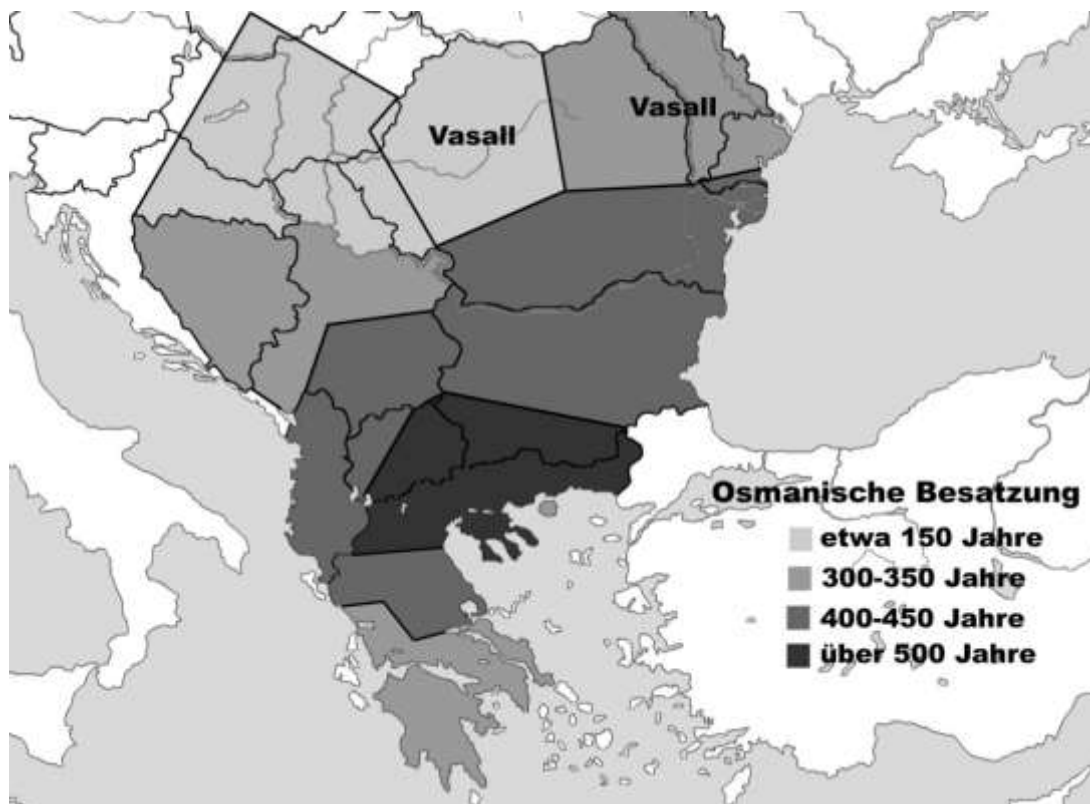


Fig. 531: Different durations of the Ottoman occupation (= osmanische Besatzung) in different regions of the Balkans.

The north of Greece, Albania, North Macedonia, the north of Montenegro and the south-east of Bulgaria were under Ottoman occupation until 1913, most of these areas for a period of over 500 years. The suzerainty of the Ottomans in Bulgaria began at the end of the 14th century and lasted until 1878, when large parts of today's Bulgaria became an autonomous province. All of these areas were under Ottoman control for over 400 years. Its chain dances are characterized by predominantly short pattern lengths and hardly any symmetrical or multi-measure structures. The same characteristics exist for central and southern Greece, although the Ottoman rule there lasted less than 400 years. Other factors may have played a role there, such as the great ethnic-national identification with old cultural assets that can still be felt

today or the greater geographical distance to the innovations that emanated from Central Europe.

Serbia came under Ottoman control around 1469, but became an autonomous principality as early as 1817, but not the southern and southeastern parts of today's Serbia, which only came to Serbia in 1878 and 1913. Central and northern regions of Romania still had a certain degree of independence under the Ottomans and were vassal states with extensive autonomy. Parts of Croatia and Hungary were only under the rule of the Turks for about 150 years. In some of these areas you can find couple dances and / or chain dances with eight-measure, multi-part and symmetrical structures.

The rule of the Ottomans had the following effects on society in the Balkan countries (see Chapter 4.10.1)

- It largely prevented modern changes in society. In particular, it stabilized and preserved village structures. “An administrative penetration of society comparable to that of the early modern European principalities and kingdoms did not take place in the Ottoman Empire. Apart from the tax payments, the villages largely regulated themselves”.
- It led to national-ethnic identification via Millet membership.

These factors not only led to the preservation of the chain dances, but also preserved them in their old form with short and simple patterns in the longer occupied areas. In the tradition of village customs, singing served as musical accompaniment and all villagers knew the associated steps. The dances of the Turkish occupiers did not affect the local chain dances. Free and rather solo dance forms only increased in urban areas.

It therefore makes sense to equate a longer occupation with a longer preservation and thus to designate a high proportion of short patterns and a low proportion of multi-part and symmetrical shapes as "old and original".

### **5.3.2 Original and modern era characteristics of the chain dances**

A longer period of occupation by the Ottomans speaks in favor of classifying short pattern lengths as original and old, multi-part and symmetrical as modern. This assumption should be checked by a comparison with the "old" dataset of the Branles at Arbeau and with the result of the analysis of allegedly original Breton and Assyrian chain dances.

#### **a) Structural analysis of the pattern lengths of the branles at Arbeau**

Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about the quality and frequency of the 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 Branles by Thoinot Arbeau from the year 1588.

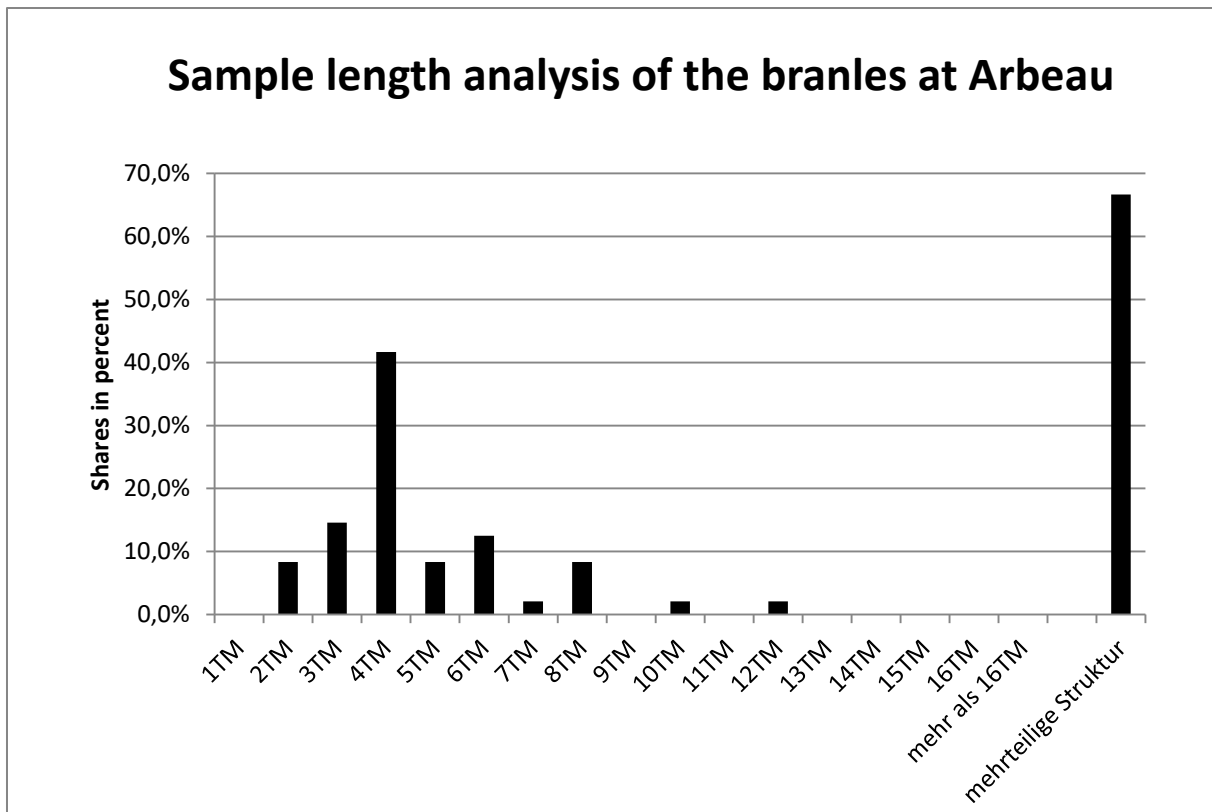


Fig. 532a: Proportions of the individual step pattern lengths of 24 branles described by Arbeau (1588). Data basis in the data section E.6.1.

With all reservations about an analysis of only 24 dances, it turns out that Arbeau's branles have predominantly short step patterns (87.5%), many multi-part (66%) and no symmetrical shapes at all. The proportion of the three-measure pattern is significantly lower compared to the Balkan countries, even if the 6TM/MP as an expanded 3TM/MP are added to the real 3TM/MP (together 27%). Four measure patterns (double left and double right) are the most common form with 42%. Apart from this small difference, the frequencies of the individual step patterns of the branles of the 16th century correspond to the analysis results of the chain dances of the southeastern Balkan countries and they fit with the statements of Martin (1973, pp. 101 to 128), proving the further similarities in the motif treasure, the type of naming, in external structural features and in the musical accompaniment.

What is astonishing, however, is the proportion of multi-part forms with 66%. The structures are short, simple and mostly only consist of two parts, so altogether a “simple” multi-part structure, but the proportion is high with two thirds of the dances and that corresponds roughly to today's values in Croatia and Serbia.

#### **b) Structural analysis of the pattern lengths of today's chain dances in Brittany**

Corina Oosterveen (1995) describes a collection of 40 Breton dances, including 25 chain dances and 15 couple dances that are still danced today.

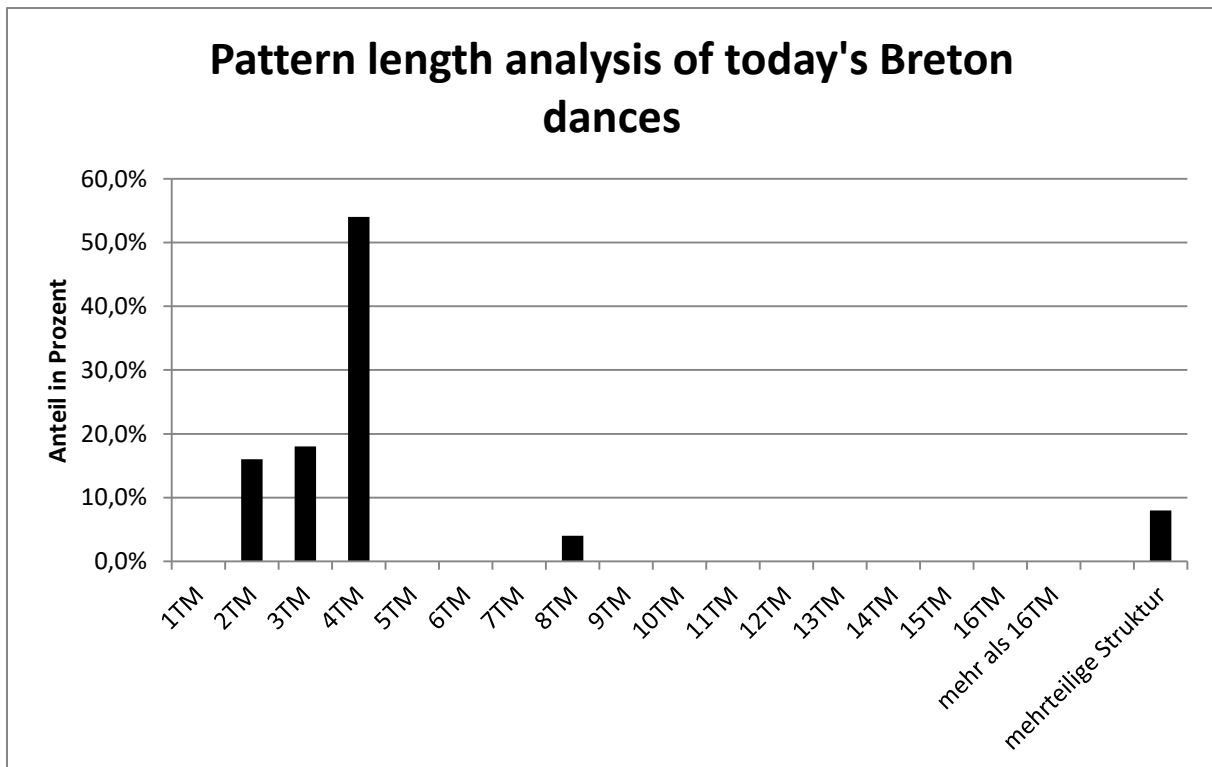


Fig. 532b: Proportions of the individual step pattern lengths of 25 Breton chain dances described by Oosterveen (1995). Data basis in the data part E.6.2.

The analysis of today's Breton chain dances also shows a very high proportion of short pattern lengths (92%) with a predominance of the 4TM, whereby 2 multi-part (8%) and no symmetrical structures were found.

### 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 old sources from the first half of the 20th century and contains authentic dances.

In terms of the frequencies of the individual pattern lengths, the short pattern lengths make up 82%, with the 3TM/MP being by far the most common. This collection does not have a multi-part structure, but a symmetrical one. The result corresponds very closely to the results for the south-eastern Balkan countries.

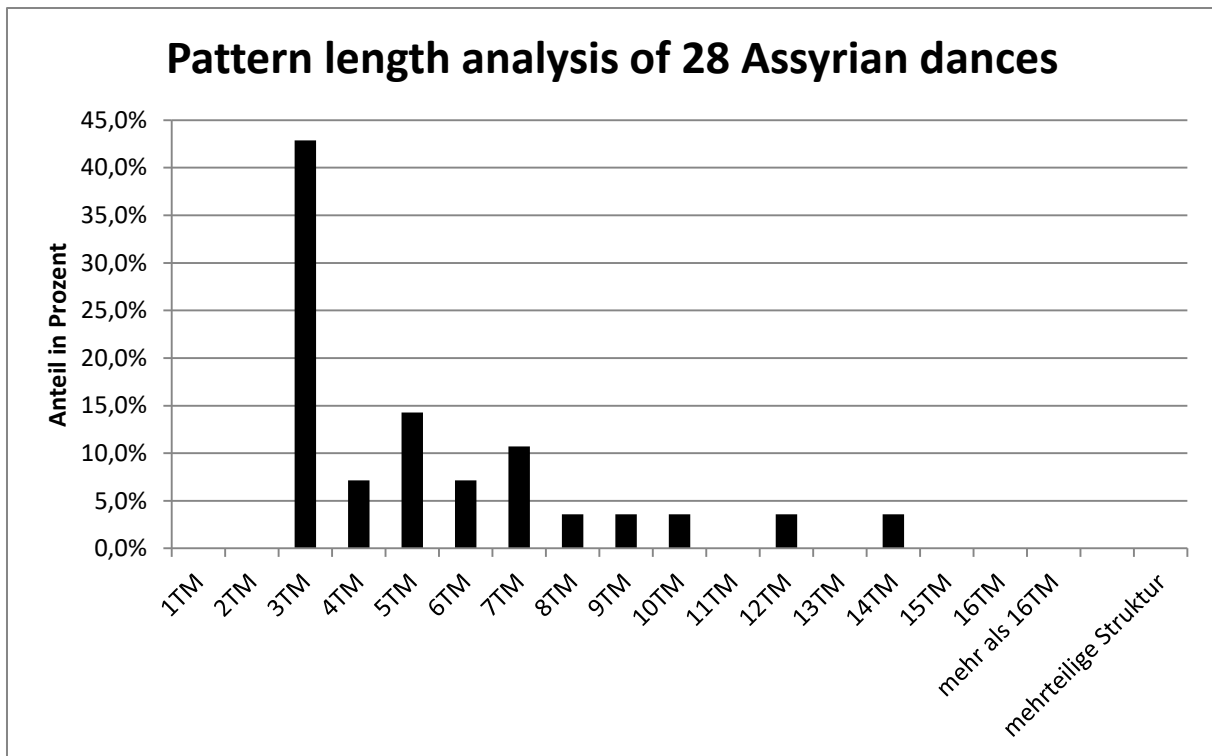


Fig. 532c: Proportions of the individual step pattern lengths of 28 Assyrian chain dances described by PetBasoo (2003). Data basis in the data part E.6.3.

The three comparative analyses cited above show that a sample composition with predominantly short samples can be classified as old. It cannot be decided in this way whether the dominance of three- or four-measure structures represents a regional difference or already reflects a further development. It is possible that further statements can be made in connection with the question of the influencing factors that could have caused a development towards eight-measure, multi-part and symmetrical patterns in the Western Balkans.

#### **d) Proportion of symmetrical and multi-part structures in the Branles in Arbeau, Breton and Assyrian chain dances**

The identification of only one symmetrical shape in the Assyrian chain dances and its total absence in the Breton and Branles in Arbeau make it clear that symmetry is not an ancient feature. The evaluation of the proportions of multi-part dance forms is not quite as clear. Although there is not a single one in the Assyrian and only two in the Breton chain dance forms, two thirds of the Branles by Arbeau are structured in several parts (see Fig. 532 a-c). This feature, which means an additional structural level for the dance process, seems to have developed in France in the 16th century and possibly reflects aspects of western music development, which developed in the direction of polyphony and highly complex structures (Finscher p. 266). The noble society at court, itself involved in the expansion of differentiated and complex structures in society and the state, was very open to such changes, as can be understood. Taking this connection into account and with a view to the small proportion of multi-part structures in the Breton and Assyrian chain dances, it makes sense to classify the feature of multi-part structure as "new". As a rule, developments go from simple to complex. The above comparisons and considerations confirm the assumption that short measure

patterns, few eight measures, hardly any multipart and symmetrical step patterns in the genealogy of chain dances represent "old" features that have been preserved through a longer period of Turkish occupation.

### e) Structural analysis of ritual dances

The analysis of ritual dances could provide a further clue to the question of which features are old and which are new. According to a definition generally made by Hirschberger (1988, p. 406), which is applied to dance, ritual dances are dances that are performed in non-everyday activities 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 and their characteristics are old.

Of 63 ritual dances (see Fig. 532e) 97% have simple patterns (1TM/MP - 7TM/MP). With the two exceptions, the 8TM/MP is very simple and the 10TM/MP is a frequently danced 'Baidushka'. There are no symmetrical or multi-part forms among ritual dances. They are mostly accompanied by singing.

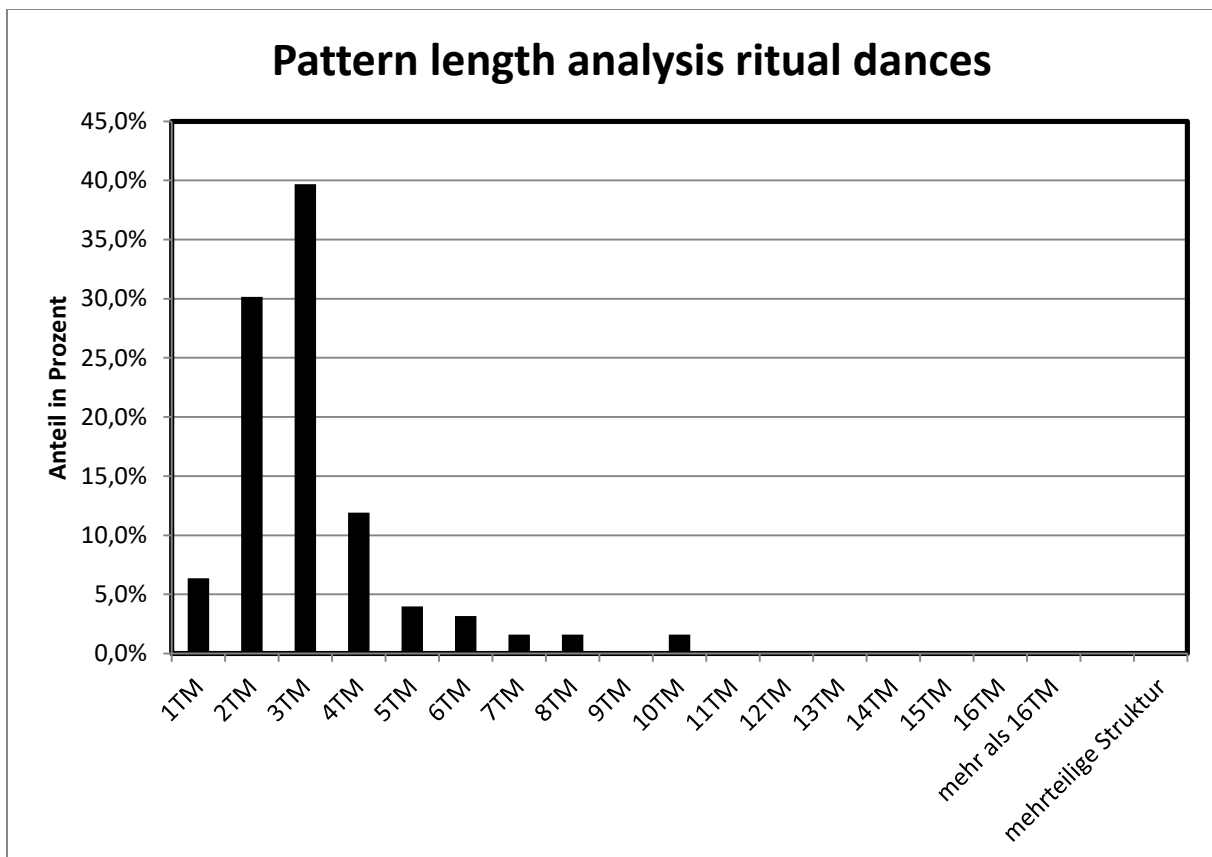


Fig. 532e: Pattern length analysis of ritual dances from the Balkans. Data basis in the data section E.6.4.

The analysis of ritual dances also indicates that simple patterns, one-part structure and asymmetry should be classified as old features. But which factors drove a development towards new eight-measure, multi-part and symmetrical forms?

### 5.3.3 Modern era developments in music

The high proportion of eight-measure, multi-part and symmetrical dance pattern structures in the western Balkan countries, especially in Croatia and Serbia, indicates, from a geographical point of view, influences that emanated from central and western Europe. But at what time did these processes take place?

The Branles of France, described by Arbeau in the 16th century, are characterized by mostly short step patterns and asymmetrical shapes due to old and original features. The large proportion of simple multi-part structures shows that a modern feature has already manifested itself here. This in turn means, for the temporal classification of the change towards new characteristics of the dance pattern, that the beginning of this development could already be felt in France in the 16th century. The appearance of the term Kolo in Serbia and Croatia in the 19th century further suggests that the changes in dance patterns there could have started about 200 years ago in connection with the change in the term for chain dances.

Which processes and events in western and central Europe caused these changes is limited in time, but not in terms of content. Much of the evidence given in the following chapters suggests changes that have taken place in the music accompanying the chain dances. These changes then had an impact on the dances themselves.

Of the many characteristics that make up music, there are only a few that can influence the structure of dances. These characteristics include, in particular, the rhythm, the tempo, the time signature and the length of the melody phrase.

#### a) Historical changes of certain musical 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 shortness of syllables was regulated by the speaking rhythm of the Greek language (Finscher MGG 1998, Sachteil 8, p. 266). A statement that probably also applies to songs in other languages. A quantity rhythm was created through regular sequences of long and short syllables (Finscher MGG 1998, Sachteil 8, p. 267). A long syllable is basically twice as long as a short one. The only exception was the irrational rhythm with a ratio of 4: 3, which still occurs today in some created musical bars in the Balkans (Finscher MGG 1998, Sachteil 8, p. 267).

In Central Europe around 800 and earlier, the performers of music in accompaniment or as singers orientated themselves 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 could not be reproduced with this system (Finscher MGG 1998, Sachteil 8, p. 270ff). The songs were shaped by the close relationship between word and melody. Up to the 13th century neumes did not contain any time signatures or metrical emphases (Giger 2009, p. 16f). The writing down served to learn liturgical melodies or to standardize.

##### Mensural notation with ternary or binary concept

From the 13th century onwards, several mensural notations developed in Central Europe, France and Italy, through which the note values, i.e. the pitch lengths, were clearly defined. Until the 14th century, the note values, corresponding to the "ars antiqua", were ternary



divided, this means that a longer note was broken down into three shorter ones (Giger 2009, p. 16). This principle is still reflected in the ternary eighth measures 6/8 and 12/8 and in the use of triplets in our time (Giger 2009, p. 17). The ternary subdivision was felt and described as “perfect” against the background of the “Trinity” as the Christian concept of God. The treatise “ars nova” by Philippe de Vitry from 1322 contrasted the ternary with a binary, “imperfect division”. Each grade consists of only two partial values. For example, a quarter note consists of two eighth notes. A composer could now divide perfectly or imperfectly (Giger 2009, p. 16f). The "binary concept" with the division into two notes was only fully developed in Western notation from around 1700, when it was already dominant from the 16th century. From around 1600 the modern notation with smaller note values, dots, ties and triplets prevailed. The bar line was introduced (Giger 2009, p. 16f).

### **Time signatures**

After the introduction of bar lines in modern notation, the accented bar became a new metric unit for the rhythmic framework of occidental art music. Bars were divided into stressed (heavy), unstressed (light) and slightly stressed (medium-heavy) time parts. The system of time signature with 2, 3, 4, 6, 9 and 12 times was created (Finscher MGG 1998, Sachteil 8, p. 287).

### **Polyphony**

From the 14th century onwards, polyphonic songs were written (Otterbach 1992, p. 58). In connection with this polyphony, a fixed pulse also solidified in music from the time of the Renaissance, because several musicians involved in the music had to be coordinated in time. The standardization of the pieces of music in the sense of clearly defined note lengths increased in the course of polyphony (Finscher MGG 1998, Sachteil 8, p. 272ff).

### **Melody 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 (Arnold Schönberg in Kemmelmeier 1997, p. 110). The melody is a self-contained and manageable sequence of tones (Noltensmeier 1996 vol. 3, p. 237), which in vocal music is underlaid with a text. Both terms in combination mean a self-contained sequence of notes of manageable length that is repeated after one pass or replaced by another melody phrase.

### **Melody phrase structure**

A melody phrase structure is created when a piece consists of several melody phrases. Then the different melody phrases in their sequence and in their respective repetitions form the melody phrase structure. It forms a further level of order for more complex pieces of music. The literature available to me does not contain any statements on the historical change in the melody phrase or the structure of the melody phrase. Therefore, the first analyses were carried out within the scope of this work.

## **b) Effects of notation and the modern era binary concept on music**

In connection with the increase in professional musicians in the courts or in the cities at the beginning of modern times, notated music became more and more established. Music composed in notes could be played from sight by musicians, newly composed music could be recorded in writing. The newly developed book printing press accelerated this development and led to the greater dissemination of notated pieces of music. Music that had been handed down orally up to that time was also notated. The notation of pieces of music led to leveling and standardization.

From the 17th century onwards, notation was carried out exclusively in the binary system, which resulted in further leveling and standardization and, in particular, had an impact on the time signature and melody phrase length.

### **b1) Effects of the binary concept on the time signature**

“The introduction of the binary principle in the notation brought more clarity, but brought about a general leveling of the applied metrics in the increasingly notated art and folk music of Europe. The originally much more complex metric structures have now been eagerly 'recomposed' into the predominant 4/4 mode. This self-limitation made a lasting contribution to the fact that a sometimes very unaesthetic separation of meter and rhythmic design set in and flattened the metrical variety and rhythmic dexterity. Five, seven and nine meters disappeared, but not their melodies and texts” (Giger 2009, p. 17).

In the dissertation “Die Quintuplicität der Rhythmik in mittelalterlichen Melodien”, Piotrowski examines strange peculiarities with regard to the division of bars into certain melodies (1910, p. 3). The bar division breaks up the melody in an unnatural way, leads to incorrect accentuation or disturbs the flow of the melody by inserting unmotivated pauses (Piotrowski 1910, p. 3f). He concludes from this that many of the traditional songs were originally sung (Piotrowski 1910, p. 8ff) in a different time signature.

provided by a passage in Neidhart (60; 29 MSH.III, 312; in Böhme 1886, p. 36): “„Da schrien sie alle zugleich nach dem Spielmann: Mach uns den krummen Reihen, den man hinken soll.”<sup>226</sup>

(They all shouted at the same time to the minstrel: Make crooked rows for us so that so we can limp.) This sounds very familiar to a folklore dancer with knowledge of Bulgarian dances. In Bulgaria dances with compound bars are called "krivo", in German "krumm/crooked". Mixed measures consist of ternary and binary elements.<sup>227</sup> An example of this is a 5/8 time signature, which is composed of two eighth notes and three eighth notes. The second clock element is one and a half times longer than the first. Moving in this rhythm creates a limping movement. From the analogy of the cited passage in Neidhart and the designation of certain

<sup>226</sup> In the original it says: `mach uns den krummen raigen, den, den man hinken soll, der gefelt uns allen wol! `so bin ichs, der Löchline, der in führen soll!“ (in Harding 1973, S. 131).

<sup>227</sup> The names and distinguishing features of different time types are not used in a completely uniform way in the literature. Often “simple time signatures” with only one accented beat (2/4, 3/4) are differentiated from “compound time signatures” (4/4, 5/8, 6/8) with several accents (Notensmeier 1996, Vol. 4, P. 461f). Bars that consist of binary and ternary elements are called "asymmetrical" by Kaufmann (1977, p. 34) and Proca (in Loneux 1995, p. 53). Loneux (1995, p. 51f) calls them "irregularly composed". I like the term “mixed composed” best, because the word mixed refers to the different proportions of binary and ternary groups and these proportions can be mixed regularly. In the Balkans they are sometimes referred to by the Turkish word “aksak”, which means “limping”.

Bulgarian folk dances it can again be concluded that such crooked, compound bars may have existed in Central Europe in the Middle Ages.<sup>228</sup> The notation of the pieces of music as part of a binary concept led to the leveling and standardization of the bars. The development of occidental music did not go in the direction of rhythmic differentiation. It narrowed to the even and odd beat because, as Finscher explains (MGG 1998, Sachteil 8, p. 265), the highly organized polyphonic music of modern times gives the ear so much to do that it does not cope with complex rhythmic proportions. But such a leveling trend can now also be observed in the Balkan countries, when songs sung in 7/8 time in the country change into 3/4 time in the city.<sup>229</sup>

## **b2) Investigations into the effects of the binary concept on the length of the melody phrases**

There are probably no treatises on the historical change in this musical characteristic.

Developments regarding the length of the melody phrases are therefore first formulated hypothetically in the following and then checked with my<sup>230</sup> own investigations.

The core of the binary concept is the division into two or the doubling. As the doubling progresses, you get the numbers 2, 4, 8, 16, etc. Today's music, whether popular, serious or folkloric, is composed almost exclusively according to this principle.

Almost all melody phrases or compositional units are 4, 8 or 16 measures long. Exceptions to this are extremely rare. This is in line with the dominance of the binary concept since the 17th century, which led to a preference for a number of measures of  $2^n$ , usually 8 measures, for melody phrases. Before that time, the melody phrases often did not have  $2^n$  measures. In support of this hypothesis, our own analyses are given below. It should be noted that the first notated musical sources were not available until the 13th century (Dahms 2001, p. 54). These are written in a different notation than is common today (see above). This requires a transfer to the modern system, which, however, has largely already been carried out in the editions of old sources available today. Such a transfer is made on the basis of various assumptions and interpretations, which do not always have to be correct. It can therefore not be ruled out that the database may contain minor errors based on the current state of musicology. These possible errors, however, probably do not play a role in the analysis carried out here, because the assigned categories do not change.

## **Music supplements on the history of dance in Germany (Böhme 1886, Volume II)**

The collection by F. Böhme is particularly suitable for analyzing the historical change in the length of melody phrases, as it contains dance music from the 13th to the 19th century. The pieces of music contained therein were analyzed with regard to their time signature and their melody phrase length (data part F1). The result for the melody phrases is shown in Tab. 533a and Fig. 533a. Pieces of music that consist of melody phrases with a length of 4, 8 or 16 measures are classified as binary.

<sup>228</sup> Further evidence, e.g. Strasbourg. Kochersdorfer Büredanz = Branle simple with uneven beat:  $2/4 + 2/4 + 3/4 + 3/4 = 10/4$  (This dance was collected around 1780 in Kochersberg, north of Strasbourg.) Evers, Frydrych, Rohling, Berlin 1989: Folk dances from Alsace.

<sup>229</sup> Stephen Kotansky mentions in his personal mail from January 26, 2014, among others "Vranjanka". There are other examples of the leveling of mixed bars that require further investigation of our own.

<sup>230</sup> This was the result of inquiries at the musicological institute in Tübingen and Basel. The respondents did not want to be named.

Tab. 533a: Proportion of pieces with binary music phrases in F. Böhme's dance music collection (1886) based on the centuries. Data basis in the data section F.1.

	Number	Number of pieces with binary musical phrases	Proportion of pieces with binary musical phrases
13. – 14. Cen.	10	1	10%
15. Cen.	11	3	27%
16. Cen.	74	29	39%
17. Cen.	82	37	45%
18. Cen.	33	27	81%

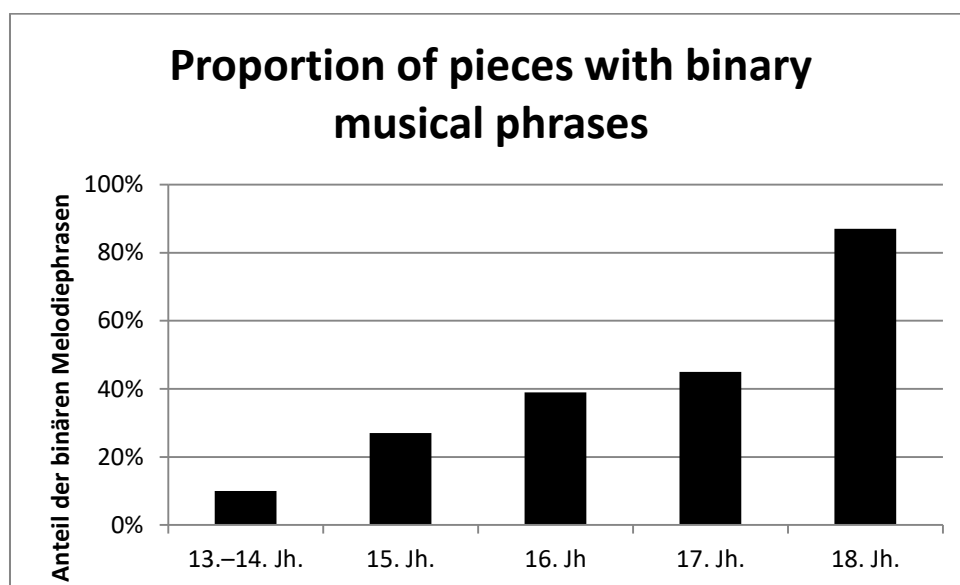


Fig. 533a: Proportion of binary melody phrases in F. Böhme's dance music collection (1886).

The result of the analysis shows that binary melody phrases were only very sparsely available in the late Middle Ages and early modern era times, but their share rose to over 80% by the 18th century. In this respect, this result confirms the hypothesis formulated above.

#### Chansons and dances by P. Attaignant (1530)

One of the oldest dance music books is "Booklet 4: Dances" by Pierre Attaignant from the "Chansons and Dances" collection from 1530. It contains a total of 31 dances, of which 24 are couple dances and 7 branles.

Table 533b: Proportion of binary melody phrases in dance music in Pierre Attaignant (1530). Data basis in the data section F.2.

	Number of pieces with binary musical phrases	Proportion
31 dances	13	42%
24 couple dances	12	50%
7 Branles	1	14%

Overall, the proportion of pieces with binary melody phrases at 42% is very similar to the corresponding value for Böhme at 39%. If you compare couple dances and branles, there is a clear difference. Couple dances already have 50% binary musical structures, whereas only one of the Branles (14%) is binary. This could have the following cause: The dance type of the Branles is much older than closed and open couple dances. Accordingly, the music accompanying the Branles is older, while the music of the couple dances is more recent. It is therefore not surprising that in Attaignant's collection, the proportion of binary music structures is much higher in couple dance music.

### **Music to the Branles at Arbeau**

In Thoinot Arbeau's orchésography (1588), he describes the dance steps of 24 Branles with accompanying music. The evaluation of the musical structures is shown in Tab. 533c.

Table 533c: Proportion of binary melody phrases of the Branles in Arbeau. Data basis in the data section F.3.

	Number of pieces with binary musical phrases	Proportion
24 Branles	9,5	40%

In comparison, the proportion of binary music phrases in Arbeau's Branles, at 40%, is almost the same as the proportions of binary music structures in Attaignant (41%) and Böhme (39%).

All three analyses of dance melodies from Central and Western Europe confirm that binary musical phrases are also a modern development in dance music, beginning in the 15th century but not dominating until the 18th century.

Only recent studies are available for the area of the Balkan countries, there are no older ones or at least they are not accessible to me.

### **Folk music of Bulgaria (Kaufmann 1977)**

In a study of folk music in Bulgaria, Kaufmann (1977, p. 6f) analyzes several layers with regard to the melody phrase:<sup>231</sup>

In the oldest layer, the melodies consist of a phrase and are monorhythmic, tone jumps have a range of seconds, and text and melody are linked by common features.

In a second layer, the melodies of songs and instrumental pieces are usually two-line (a + a'), with the two small phrases predominantly having a similar musical content. The jumps have a narrow range (third, fourth, fifth). "The connection between text and melody is particularly emphasized, which testifies to the origin of the melody on the basis of the text" (Kaufmann 1977, p. 6).

Melodies of the third layer, of which there are relatively few, are characterized by an extended range, a more developed form structure and a new timbre (Kaufmann 1977, p. 6).

<sup>231</sup> At Kaufmann, a melody can have one or more phrases.

A form of the urban song emerged from the middle of the 19th century (Kaufmann 1977, p. 6), which is quite different in its main characteristics from the typical ancient rural musical folklore.

Since the melodies are likely to have arisen in a clear dependence on the respective song texts (Kaufmann 1977, p. 6), the number and distribution of the syllables could have had an influence on the metrical structure of a melody. An eight-syllable verse is predominant in the songs of Bulgaria, but it is seldom divided symmetrically into 4 + 4, but mostly into 5 + 3 or 3 + 5. There are also 4 + 6-syllable (Western Bulgaria), 5 + 5-syllable (everywhere), less often 5 + 4-syllable or 4 + 3-syllable meter measures (Kaufmann 1977, p. 23). With two-line melody forms there are, among others, Division into 4 + 5 measures, 5 + 4 measures or 3 + 4 measures, with three-line 4 + 4 + 5, 4 + 3 + 3 or 6 + 4 + 4 measure combinations (Kaufmann 1977, p. 25).

It is noteworthy that both the single-line forms are structured asymmetrically and most multi-line combinations do not add up to 4 or 8 measures, i.e. do not follow a binary multiplication. The binary concept had no influence on the folk songs of Bulgaria in the first half of the 20th century. It is instructive to compare the results of Kaufmann with contemporary folk dance music from Bulgaria.

Since I do not have a treatise on this topic, the present work will carry out first investigations into binary or non-binary musical structures of contemporary Bulgarian folk dance music. The first question that arises is whether there is a valid data set so that the result is not influenced by the selection of the music title. In order to avoid subjective data selection on the one hand and to obtain the largest possible amount of data on the other hand, I analyzed the length of the melody phrases for the music tracks on 13 CDs, published by Belčo Stanev<sup>232</sup> and 5 CDs, published by Ives Moreau.<sup>233</sup>

### **Analysis of melody phrase length of Bulgarian folk dance music**

In order to obtain the most valid data basis possible, two existing collections of folk dance pieces were used for analysis. The total of 285 pieces of music were distinguished according to the binary or non-binary properties of the melody phrase lengths, with instrumental and sung parts being evaluated separately.

---

<sup>232</sup> Belčo Stanev is a folk dance teacher from Varna who has been teaching Bulgarian folk dances in Germany since 1980.

<sup>233</sup> Ives Moreau is a folk dance teacher from Montreal who did folk dance research in Bulgaria between 1966 and 1986 and teaches these dances in North America and Europe.

**The collections of Belčo Stanev, published 1998 - 2012 and Yves Moreau, published 1997 – 2004<sup>234</sup>**

Tab.533h: Binary portion of the melody phrases of 285 music tracks on the dance CDs by B. Stanev (1998 - 2012) and Y. Moreau (1997 - 2004). 169 of them are only instrumental, 7 only with singing (a cappella) and 109 have both instrumental and sung parts.

	number	Number of binary melody phrase lengths	Proportion of binary melody phrase lengths
Pieces with an instrumental part including pure instrumental titles	278	239	83,8%
Pieces with vocal parts including pure vocal pieces	116	59,5	51%

Tab. 533i: Proportions of 109 music tracks on the dance CDs by B. Stanev (1998 - 2012) and Y. Moreau (1997 - 2004), which have both instrumental and sung parts, differentiated according to the combination.

	number	proportion
Instrumental part binary, Singing not binary	31	28 %
Instrumental part not binary, Singing binary	4	3,6 %

In the collections of 285 music tracks on the folk dance CDs, it emerges that almost 84% of the instrumental parts are binary, while only about 50% of the vocal parts. In the instrumental parts of Bulgarian folk dance music, the binary concept has already largely established itself. This is not the case with many songs, since at least the traditional songs have fixed texts and melody phrases that come from a time when the binary concept was not yet dominant and which cannot easily be changed. This is also reflected in pieces of music 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 the instrumental part and the vocal part were created using the same concept. But the older, non-binary song verses were supplemented with binary instrumental interludes. It is also understandable that melody phrases played instrumentally can be changed more easily from non-binary to binary, especially if there is only one melody instrument and the pieces are not played in pronounced polyphony. Then only the player of this instrument has to make this change for a change to the binary. The harmonic accompaniment then depends on the melody.

<sup>234</sup> The relocation period does not mean that the corresponding titles were only added during this period. The pieces of music also include individual tracks that had already been released on records in the 30 years before. The same is true of the Moreau collection.

### b3) Effects of the binary concept on melody phrase structure

The musical phrase structure characterizes the sequence of different melody phrases and their respective repetitions. The effects of a binary concept on the musical phrase structure is understood and characterized here in such a way that the number of respective repetitions is  $2n$ , where  $2^0 = 1$  is not regarded as binary here. In principle, repetitions must be present for classification as binary. So, for example, phrase sequences of AABBC or AABBCCCC arise. A repetition of a single melody phrase (AA) is therefore not classified as binary, because such a repetition in songs results from different stanzas alone. AAB phrase sequences are also not classified as binary here because there is no consistent repetition concept and this sequence, known as bar form, can already be found in medieval songs (Finscher 1994, p. 1219) long before the binary concept emerged.

An analysis of the pieces listed in the dance music collection by F. Böhme (1886) according to these criteria comes to the conclusion that there were no binary phrase structures in the 13th - 15th centuries, in the 16th century almost 20% of dance music pieces were binary structured and in the 17th and 18th centuries this value rose to around 50% (see Fig. 533b).

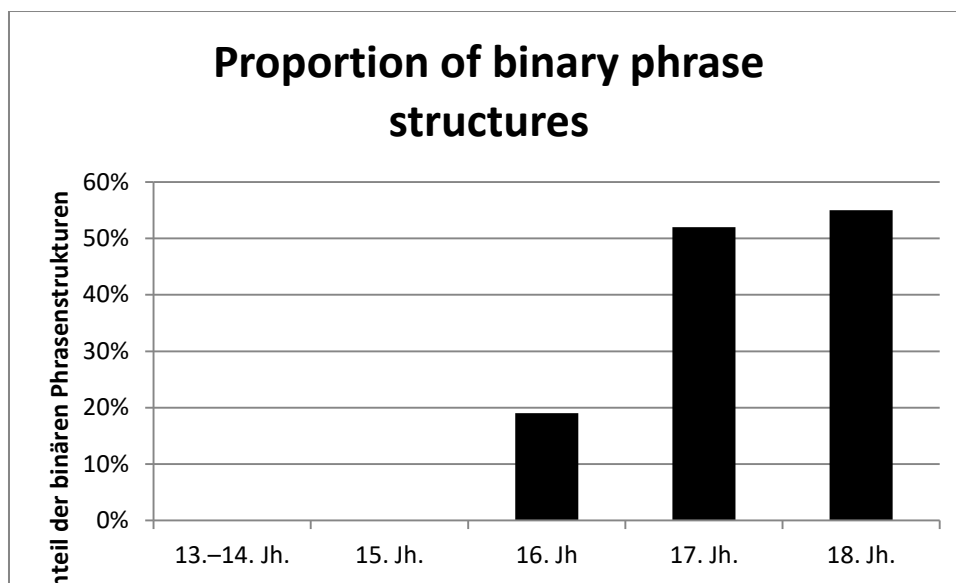


Fig. 533b: Proportion of dance music pieces with binary melody phrase structure in the collection of F. Böhme (1886) Data basis in data part F1 and F1A.

Comparing analysis values for binary phase structures from the 16th century does not result in a homogeneous picture, but the values diverge significantly between 19% for the pieces by Böhme and 61% for the pieces by Attaignant (see Tab. 533k).



Tab.533k: Proportion of binary phrase structures in various music collections from the 16th century. Data basis in the data section F.1.A, F.2.A and F.3.A.

	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 a binary phrase structure in Böhme could be that most of the melodies do not come from the courtly area and also from Germany. Possibly the development of the pieces of music towards more complex and binary conceived structures started on the one hand in France and on the other hand in the posh society there. And the leading representatives of the upscale society also had the opportunity to have new pieces created in keeping with the spirit of the times. The high proportion of binary structures in Attaignant (Tab. 533k), who was a composer, could also be understood under this aspect.

For the Bulgarian folk dance pieces, the phrase structure analysis has not been carried out for all titles. For most of the instrumentals it is binary. What is striking, however, is that 30 of the 116 vocal pieces (25.9%) have a structure that can be reproduced with ABB. In music it is called the counter bar form (Finscher 1994, p. 1220). In contrast, many older hymns in our cultural area are based on the bar form (AAB) (Finscher 1994, p. 1219). The origin of the bar form is in the Middle Ages in the song of the troubadours, the trouvères, the minstrel since the 12th century and in the master song of the 15th and 16th centuries (Noltensmeier 1996 vol. 1, p. 178).

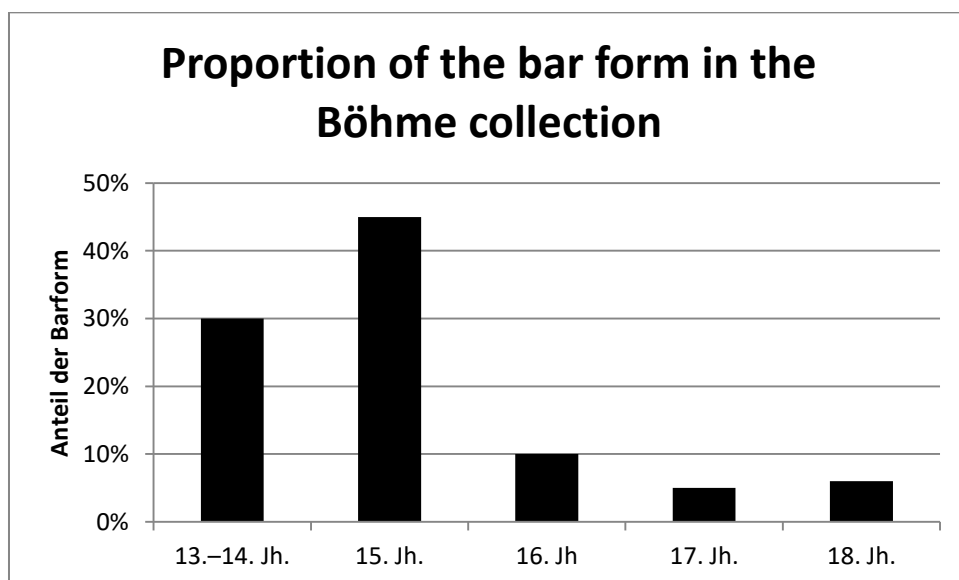


Fig. 533c: Proportion of dance music pieces with bar form in the collection of F. Böhme (1886). Data basis in the data section F.1.A.

The increase in the binary phrase structures leads to the decrease in pieces of music with bar form.

#### b4) Transitional forms of music

There are pieces of music that seem to be in this transition from non-binary to binary. An example of this are the melody phrases for the dance 'Prela Baba'<sup>235</sup> from Liaski in Pirin in southwestern Bulgaria.

The melody phrase structure is AABBBCCC, which corresponds to a binary concept of consistent doubling.

The lengths of the individual melodies are different. Melody A runs over 6 measures, melodies B and C run over 8 measures, with the associated dance having a three-measure pattern. The three-measure pattern is congruent with the non-binary phrase length of melody A, but not with the binary melody phrases B and C over 8 measures each. If you take a closer look at the individual melodies, you can see that they are composed of two-measure elements, which are marked with small letters in Fig. 533d.

A ( $a_1 + a_2 + a_3$ )



B ( $b_1 + b_2 + b_2 + b_2$ )



C ( $c_1 + c_2 + c_3 + c_3'$ )



Fig.533d: Transitional form Prela Baba

<sup>235</sup> The source for the dance and the music is Prof. Nikolay Tsvetkov from the University of Blagoevgrad, workshop for Bulgarian dances on September 7, 2013 in Tübingen.

It is noticeable that melody A has six measures. Melody C also seems to have a length of 6 measures. To achieve eight measures, the last two measures are repeated almost identically. When listening, this gives the impression that there is no continuous melody curve over 8 measures, but that it breaks off after 6 measures and the following 2 measures are only added on. Melody B does not have eight measures either, but actually only consists of b1 and b2. To complete to 8 measures, b2 is even repeated twice.

This is interpreted here in such a way that the melody phrases B and C were originally six measures (or at least not eight measures); that is also that they were congruent with the dance steps. Under the influence of the binary concept, 2 measures in B and C were also repeated. This step has not (yet) been taken in melody phrase A. That is why this dance music is interpreted as a transitional form between the original six-measure form suitable for the dance and a binary changed innovation in the music.

### **Summary**

The concept of binary doubling first emerged in France in the 14th century and became dominant throughout Western Europe by the 17th century. Together with further developments such as notation and the increase in polyphony, it leads to a leveling and standardization of pieces of music. In terms of time signature, this leads to an impoverishment of diversity, in terms of phrase length, the proportion of eight-measure melodies is close to 100%, and binary constructs are also increasing in the case of the increasingly complex phrase structures. The analysis of pieces of music used today for Bulgarian folk dances leads to the result that binary melody phrases have largely prevailed with a share of almost 85% for the instrumental pieces, but this process is not yet fully completed. In the case of songs with a share of around 50% binary melody phrases, this conversion process seems to be slower. The reason for this is possibly that traditional songs with fixed texts cannot be changed so easily in their melody length and a binary concept can only be used for new compositions.

What effect does binary music have on the dances and the movements that go with them?

### **5.3.4 Effects of modern changes in dance music on dances and dance movements**

As the study of Bulgarian music titles carried out in the previous chapter shows, the increase in binary structures in music is not independent of whether people are singing along with the dance or whether they are playing instruments. Regardless of this, singing or instrumental accompaniment in itself has different effects on the dances themselves.

#### **Singing accompaniment**

Until the Middle Ages, chain dances were only accompanied by singing. The singing of the participants formed the actual musical accompaniment (Boehn 1925, p. 33). The lead dancer starts a song, the crowd sings the refrain or repeats the individual verses (Czerwinski 1878, p. 4). The exclusive vocal accompaniment is particularly documented for the French Carole (Mullally 2011, p. 5, p. 84). The term carole disappears in French literature around 1400 (Mullally 2011, p. 1). At this point in time, instrumental accompaniment began, at least at

court, but it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that vocal accompaniment ceased completely (Boehn 1925, p. 87). The ritual dances examined in the present work (data part E 6.4) are almost exclusively accompanied by singing.<sup>236</sup>

### **Instrumental accompaniment**

The emergence of professional musicians (and probably also professional dancers) was, for the Middle East, in the 3rd millennium BC proven for the first cities (Salmen 1983, p. 23) and is related to the associated stratification and differentiation of the local society. Some pictures on vases from ancient Greece suggest that there may have been professional musicians at the aristocratic courts of that time. For Central Europe, traveling musicians are documented from the Middle Ages. From the 15th century there are professional flutists in larger cities.<sup>237</sup> At court, instrumental accompaniment for dancing began around 1400. This applies to the coupled “hove dance” (Mullally 2011, p. 91), but also to the courtly dance from 1450 (Martin 1973, p. 103, p. 117). There is no early evidence of the dance of the Central European peasants. Their couple dances are reproduced in almost all pictures with musicians from the 16th century at the latest. In comparison, the instrumentalisation of dance music in the Balkan countries<sup>238</sup> probably took place later. Unfortunately, more precise information is not yet available, but it can be assumed that after the First World War at the latest, folk dance events were largely secularized, which also made instrumental accompaniment possible or resulted in it.

Accompaniment by musical instruments allows faster movements and complicated movement patterns, which are impossible with your own singing accompaniment because of the breathing problems that arise. The dancers' attention is no longer focused on their own singing and the associated content. This enabled a development towards greater diversity and differentiation of dance movements. The emergence of music groups that moved from village to village made further development possible. With such groups, dance pieces and associated steps spread over larger areas by playing certain melodies over and over again on their wanderings and also showing the associated dances.<sup>239</sup> Local chain dances with special songs, on the other hand, hardly spread.

### **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 replaced by further melody phrases. This creates a superordinate musical phrase structure. That is at least true for Western music.<sup>240</sup> Most of the folk dances of Western and Central Europe, including the Western Balkans, have a structure analogous to music. The

---

<sup>236</sup> Examples of this are the ballad dances in the Faroe Islands or the ritual dances of Greece, North Macedonia and Bulgaria (see table ritual dances in data section E 6.4 and Fig. 532e).

<sup>237</sup> [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pfeifer\\_%28Musikant%29](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pfeifer_%28Musikant%29), December 29, 2013.

<sup>238</sup> Katarova and Djenev (1958, p. 10) write for Bulgarian folk dances without specifying a period: "Gradually singing was replaced by the bagpipe and other instruments."

<sup>239</sup> An example of this is the group "Bistrička Četvorka", which spread certain dances in Bulgaria in the 1930s (Stephen Kotansky in an interview on October 31, 2011). Another example of such a phenomenon could be the spread of the Alunelul family (see Section 5.5.1).

<sup>240</sup> This does not apply to many instrumental pieces by the Pontic Greeks, performed by a lyre or a bagpipe. In this music, smaller units, for example over two bars, are repeated over and over again in variations in the further course. There is no regular superordinate structure (own analysis). On the other hand, sung songs with different vocal stanzas have a melody phrase structure that is comparable to our music.

music phrase length is the same as the step pattern length and the music phrase structure corresponds to the structure of the dance parts.<sup>241</sup> They are congruent. The reasons for this observable correspondence between music and movement in dance may be found in a need for harmony of form characteristics, which most people seem to have.<sup>242</sup> That was also true in Arbeau's time: "The dance depends on the music and its variety, in the rise and fall of the tones. Because without the rhythmic quality it would be gloomy and confused, all the more because the movements of the limbs have to follow the cadenzas of the musical instruments, and it is irrelevant that the foot and the music each have their own time measure "(1588, p. 24) . At this point Arbeau does not speak of music and dance structures, but it is obvious that his statement also refers to them. The Branles at Arbeau show a one hundred percent congruence between music and dance structure (see Tab. 534). The analysis of the chain dances of ethnic minorities in the Chinese province of Yunnan (data part E.8.1) also shows a complete congruence of the music and dance structures.

Tab. 534: Proportion of binary structures in dance music and associated step patterns from different sources and congruence between step pattern length and melody phrase length (data section F.6). All percentages are related to the respective total number

	Proportion of binary melody phrases in music	Proportion of binary step patterns in the chain dances	Proportion of congruence with binary step patterns and binary melody phrases	Proportion of congruence with non-binary step patterns and non-binary melody phrases	Sum of the congruent structures
Branles at Arbeau (1588)	40%	27% <sup>243</sup>	40% (all)	60% (all)	100%
Lisu-Dances	not recorded	23%	all	all	100%
Pece Atanasovski (1927 – 96)	56%	8%	8% (all)	16%	24%
Sasko Anastasov (*1964)	71%	35%	35% (alle)	0%	35%

The fact that with a 40% proportion of binary melody phrases and only 27% binary step patterns in the branles at Arbeau there is still 100% congruence. This is due to the fact that the branles have a high proportion of four-measure patterns and two four-measure patterns danced congruently in a row to an eight-measure melody phrase. After all, a good third of the music and the associated dance structures are congruent in the material of S. Anastasov, an approximately 50-year-old folk dance teacher from North Macedonia. For the older material of P. Atanasovski, who has already passed away, this value is only 24%, possibly an

<sup>241</sup> Or a simple multiple of the step pattern length matches the music phrase length.

<sup>242</sup> Whether this need is of a fundamental nature or is socialized within the framework of aesthetic norms is unimportant in this context.

<sup>243</sup> Some of the step patterns are four bars and, if you repeat them, make 8 bars. These have been categorized here as four bars. Nevertheless, such patterns are congruent to the music and there is 100% congruence.

indication that the binary concept has meanwhile continued to prevail in music and dances, which is clearly demonstrated by the corresponding figures in Tab. 534.

For many folk dances in the southeastern Balkans and their music, there is not a high degree of correspondence between music and dance structure. Here a melody phrase often extends over eight measures, but the step patterns, for example, extend over three or five measures. The two phrases are not synchronized, they are not congruent. Only with the common multiple, with three and eight that is after 24 measures, do the dance pattern and melody phrase begin again at the same time. With “Western Balkan dancers”, this observation often leads to the statement that the lack of congruence between the dance pattern and the course of the music is an additional stimulus and this is probably the reason for this phenomenon. This interpretation explains the special experiences with this phenomenon when dancing, but does not explain why this phenomenon is limited 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 perspective is formulated as an explanation for this phenomenon.

### **Summary**

The step material of the chain dances, as far as they were not replaced by couple dances, probably consisted of predominantly short pattern lengths throughout Europe until at least 1600. The associated music, especially as long as the dances were accompanied by singing, was mostly not conceived as binary. In most cases, the melodies were likely to match the pace patterns used. The binary concept that dominated Central Europe, France and Northern Italy from the 17th century onwards also influenced dance music, especially instrumental music. Newly composed musical phrases almost always had a binary number of measures, while existing ones were partially rewritten. This reshaping of music affected the Balkan countries with a time lag. Today in the Eastern Balkans or in Turkey, with regard to its melody phrase length and its music phrase structure, dance music is predominantly designed in binary form, at least if one considers polyphonic instrumental music. Older songs and popular pieces with solo instruments such as gaida or lyra often have a non-binary character. Viewed in this way, the binary concept in folk dance music in the Balkans has not yet become generally accepted everywhere and can be observed in some areas as a current process of change.

In the course of the reshaping of dance music towards binary melody phrases, the step patterns of the chain dances also change and the proportion of eight-measure forms increases. There are also indications for this currently running process, such as transition step patterns or observable similar processes. But the change in the step pattern is much slower and therefore time-shifted. Therefore, pieces of dance music have a much higher proportion of binary structures compared to the associated dance forms (Tab. 534). With changes in dance music, especially with instrumental accompaniment, the musicians must just relearn, the music which is no problem for them. In addition, special melodies are rarely assigned to certain dances. For the dance, in particular, the tempo and time signature must be right. In the Balkans, for example, it is quite common for several melodies to be used for certain step patterns. This explains the much slower process of transforming the dance steps into binary step patterns compared to music.

The increase in the complexity of melody phrase structures, especially in instrumental music, led to multi-part forms in the dances. This process can first be observed in the Branles at Arbeau, 66% of which are already multi-part, although the step patterns remained simple. Similar simple step patterns can still be found in today's Breton chain dances. In contrast to the Branles, however, these barely have multi-part structures, which leads to the conclusion that the emergence of multi-part dance structures could also have something to do with the elegant society.

The increase in repetitions in the melody phrase structures could have led to symmetrical step patterns, because it is often the case with dances that a step pattern is first performed on one side and then when the melody phrase is repeated on the other side.

This process of redesigning the chain dances, which through changes in the music led to a high proportion of binary step patterns, multipartism and symmetry, probably reached the western Balkan region with Croatia, central and western Serbia in the 19th century, whereas to this day it has not yet reached or has just reached the southeastern part of the Balkans. . This is due to the greater distance to the place of origin of these changes, but also to the varying duration of the Ottoman occupation and timing of its liberation.

In order for this transformation process, shaped by the changes in the music, to begin at all, two further requirements had to be met. At one point, the compelling connection between singing accompaniment and dance had to be broken, because only instrumental accompaniment made longer, more complicated and faster step patterns possible. Second, for this change, the dances had to be separated from an exclusively ritual involvement. Because only through and with a secularization was it possible to use instruments as exclusive accompaniment. And the secularization combined with the increase in instrumental accompanying music did not occur at the same time everywhere in the Balkan countries and thus led to areas with different characteristics.

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

### **5.3.5 Transitional forms between non-binary starting forms and binary pattern lengths**

Modern era changes in music led to a high proportion of binary step patterns, multiple parts and symmetry in the chain dances. This process of change has largely taken place in the western Balkans, whereas today it has only just reached the southeastern part of the Balkans.

In order to be able to make statements about the change from non-binary step patterns to binary, the basic mechanism of changing step patterns must first be discussed. There are two fundamentally different processes that can be used for this. On the one hand, new patterns can be invented which then spread. Such an event would require inventors and multipliers, i.e. choreographers and dance teachers, who first worked in the upper classes of Italy from the 15th century (Günther 1970, p. 10), in France from the 16th century (Günther 1970, p. 12f)

and in the middle classes of Germany from the 17th to 18th centuries (Günther 1970, p. 19f). There are no such institutions for the folk dances of the village communities of western Europe up to industrialization and for the traditional dances of the Balkans up to the present day. A second process seems likely here, 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 re-learning processes need to be carried out (cf. chapter 5.4.1).

In a process of conversion from non-binary initial forms to binary pattern lengths on the basis of gradual change, transition or intermediate forms arise that may have properties of both groups. Examples of such transitional forms are given below<sup>244</sup> and can be seen as evidence of such a change.

When categorizing transitional forms, however, the problem arises as to how, for example, an originally existing four-measure pattern can be distinguished from a four-measure pattern created in the course of the binary concept. To make such a distinction, further criteria must be stated.

Original patterns are characterized by the fact that a shorter pattern cannot be determined as a sub-element in them. In addition, original patterns can have a wider spread because they originated earlier. The four-measure step patterns of the old French Branle double or the Romanian Hora are step sequences that are binary, but in which no shorter partial patterns can be identified and which are also very widespread.<sup>245</sup>

In contrast, transitional forms have step patterns that have a binary length, but which still have an old, non-binary core and which, moreover, are not widely used. Some of these transitional forms are danced in the assumed, non-binary original form in certain regions and as a transitional form in other areas. Examples of such a parallel existence of the initial form and the binary transition form are Zacharoula (Tab. 535g), Omorfoula (Northern Greece) or the Pontic Chalai (Tab. 535h). According to S. Kotansky, e.g. the Vlachian dance Stara Vlajina danced in the mountains for 7 measures (0011101) and in the flat land of the Danube region as 8MP (00011101). There are also three-measure and four-measure versions within a dance. In the Serbian dance Srbijanka, the 3MP is repeated several times, then a (additively supplemented) 4MP follows, which changes the direction of movement, then the 3MP is performed again in the other direction.<sup>246</sup>

How can the change from an originally non-binary pattern to a binary one actually take place? Two-measure or four-measure patterns hardly need to be changed, or not at all. In principle, they are already binary, and when they are multiplied, they automatically create eight-measure patterns. A three-measure pattern can be converted into a four-measure pattern by adding one bar, a five-measure pattern by shortening one bar. Furthermore, five- and six-measure patterns can be added to form eight-measure patterns. In the examples given below, the assumed initial form is shown first, then the modified transitional form, with the specific changes being marked in italics and bold. In the respective tables, capital letters mean a shift in weight, a small “o” means an action without shifting weight. The assignment of an initial

---

<sup>244</sup> In an analogous way, it is known in the field of molecular genetics for new genes that well over 90% of new gene functions arise simply by duplicating and subsequent diversification of an older gene with a well-established function (R. Neumann, *Laborjournal* 1-2 / 2011 p. 45).

<sup>245</sup> Remarkably, the 4TM 0101 also dominates most of the folk dances of Tibet and is also very common in the chain dances of ethnic minorities such as the Lisu in southwest China.

<sup>246</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gt4ors6KTQU>, 3.1.14.



form to a transitional form is purely hypothetical, since such transitions can hardly be observed over time. But even that is possible in exceptional cases, as the modifications of a 12-measure Čačak listed at the very end show.

Only one example is given below for each type. Further examples can be found in the original work.

**a) From 3MP to 4MP by adding at the end of the pattern**

Tab.535a: Initial form: 3MP triple form

Basic structure	0	1	1					
	R L	R LR	L R L					
	→							
beats	1 2	1 u 2	1 u 2					

Transitional form: 4MP LEMONIA 1st part (Greece, Epiros)

Basic structure	0	1	1	<i>0</i>				
6/8	R L	R LR	L R L	<i>R L</i>				
	→	↗	↘					
beats	1 2	1 u 2	1 u 2	<i>1 2</i>				

Source: Joe Graziosi (Stockton 1993)

**b) From 3MP to 4MP by doubling the initial steps of the first measure**

Tab.535e: Initial form: 3MP basis

Basic structure	0	1	1					
2/4	R L	R o	L o					
	→							
beats	1 2	1 2	1 2					

Transitional form: 4MP Sufliutouda (Greece, Thrace)

Basic structure	0	<i>0</i>	1	1				
2/4	R L	<i>R L</i>	R o	L o				
	→	→						
beats	1 2	<i>1 2</i>	1 2	1 2				

Source: Damianos Charalampides.

Doubling the first measure is an obvious way to turn the 3MP into a 4MP. This transitional form is also used for some other dances.

**c) From 3MP to 4MP by adding in between**

Tab.535f: Initial form: 3MP basis

Basic structure	0	1	1					
2/4	R L	R o	L o					
	→							
beats	1 2	1 2	1 2					

Transitional form: 4MP Halaylarimiz (Turkey)

Basic structure	0	1	<i>0</i>	1				
2/4	R L	R o	<i>o h</i>	L o				
	→							
beats	1 2	1 2	<i>1 2</i>	1 2				

Source: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IPHQWoSd6\\_c&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IPHQWoSd6_c&feature=related) (down)

**d) From 3MP to 4MP by spreading the step pattern to 4 measures**

Tab.535i: Initial form: 3MP basis

Basic structure	0	1	1					
2/4	L R	L o	R o					
	←							
beats	1 2	1 2	1 2					

Transitional form: Potkolo 4MP (Dubrovnik)

Basic structure	1	0	1	0				
3/4	L <i>o</i>	R L	o R	o <i>o</i>				
	←							
beats	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3				

Source: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=muzinR-DH8g&feature=related> (down)

**e) From the 3MP to the 4MP through addition and symmetrical doubling to the 8MP**

Tab.535k: Initial form: 3MP triple form

Basic structure	0	1	1					
2/4	R L	R L R	L R L					
	→							
beats	1 2	1 u 2	1 u 2					

Transitional form: 8MP Moravac (all of Serbia, Tanasijevič)

Basic structure	0	1	1	<i>I</i>	0	1	1	1
2/4	R L	R L R	L R L	<i>R L R</i>	L R	L R L	R L R	L R L
	→							
beats	1 2	1 u 2	1 u 2	<i>I u 2</i>	1 2	1 u 2	1 u 2	1 u 2

Source: V. Tanasijevič

**f) From 5MP to 4MP by shortening by measure 5 and symmetrically doubling to 8MP.**

Tab. 535l: Initial form: Trojanac (West Serbia)

Basic structure	0	1	1	1	1			
2/4	R L	R o o	L o o	R o o	L o o			
	→							
beats	1 2 u	1 2 u	1 2 u	1 2 u	1 2 u			

Transitional form: 8MP Moravac (all of Serbia)

Basic structure	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
2/4	R o L	R L R	L R L	R L R	L o R	L R L	R L R	L R L
	→							
beats	1 2 u	1 2 u	1 2 u	1 2 u	1 2 u	1 2 u	1 2 u	1 2 u

Source: V. Tanasijevič

Which of the two possibilities led to the Moravac, which is danced very often in Serbia, cannot be said, because both starting forms are common.

**g) From 5MP to 8MP by breaking off at measure 8**

Tab. 535m: Initial form: 5MP basis

Basic structure	0	1	1	1	1			
7/8	R L	R o o	L o o	R o o	L o o			
	→							
Beat length	3 4	3 2 2	3 2 2	3 2 2	3 2 2			

Transitional form: 8MP Staro oro (South Serbia)

	Bar 1	Bar 2	Bar 3	Bar 4	Bar 5	Bar 1	Bar 2	<i>ending</i>
Basic structure	0	1	1	1	1	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
7/8	R o L	R o o	L o o	R o o	L R L	<i>R o L</i>	<i>R o o</i>	<i>L R L</i>
	→					→		
Beat length	3 2 2	3 2 2	3 2 2	3 2 2	3 2 2	<i>3 2 2</i>	<i>3 2 2</i>	<i>3 2 2</i>

Source: V. Tanasijević

In this transitional form, Staro oro, the five measures of the assumed initial form are danced, then measures 6 and 7 correspond to measures 1 and 2 in the original form, so the basic pattern is started again from the beginning. In measure 8, the pattern is then ended in correspondence with measure 5.

**i) From the 12MP by subtraction to the 8MP**

Tab.535p: Initial form: Čačak (12MP version)

Basic structure	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
2/4	R L	R L	R L	R o	L o	R o	L R	L R
beats	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2
	→	→	→				←	←
	1	1	0	1				
	L o	R o	L R	L o				
	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2				
			←					

Transitional form: Čačak (8MP version)

Basic structure	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
2/4	R L	R L	R L	R o	L o	R o	L R	L o
beats	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2
	→	→	→				←	

Sources: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F3gchSiqc1c>, 3.1.2014 (12TM, down);

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1hnaHgOZt94>, 3.1.2014 (8TM, down).

The same form can also be found expanded to 16 measures in the following source:

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QEh\\_Pf99wFE&feature=BF&list=ULd3jMfACjzx8&index=3](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QEh_Pf99wFE&feature=BF&list=ULd3jMfACjzx8&index=3), 3.1.2014.

In the eastern Balkan countries the dances are still mostly not binary in their pattern length. However, since binary structures are becoming more and more prevalent in the associated music or have already prevailed, a discrepancy arises between the step pattern and melody phrase lengths. They are not congruent. This situation has triggered a tendency towards binary structures in the dances, as can be seen in the transitional forms mentioned above. This process was only made possible by the secularization of folk dances. As long as they were still firmly embedded in customs or even in rituals, hardly any change was possible and the original, old forms were preserved. This conservation was also extended by the Ottoman occupation, during which chain dances became a symbol of ethnic-national identity. During this time the pattern lengths hardly changed, but the existing patterns became more varied, rhythmically more complicated and also faster. For example, a 3M basic pattern became an XL version. In principle, this process was only possible and also promoted by the increasing number of instrumental accompaniments. The further development, triggered by binary music structures, led first in the western Balkan countries to predominantly binary step patterns, to multipartism and to symmetrical forms. But this process has also reached the Eastern Balkans, where the transition from non-binary structures to binary and also an increase in symmetrical shapes<sup>247</sup> can be seen.

On the basis of this knowledge, four age groups can be distinguished for the genealogy of the chain dances.

---

<sup>247</sup> S. Kotansky S. (conversation in Obersteinbach on 7.4.12) observed the Vlachian dance Pre Picior at the festival in Leskovac in the 1970s in an 8TM (3rd part: 00011101), which is performed symmetrically in Eastern Serbia today (00011100 00011100). Some patterns in Greece are danced symmetrically on stage, especially in the presentation situation, and then adopted in this form at the village dance festivals (own observation).

### 5.3.6 Age groups of the chain dances

	Step pattern	Accompanying music	social background
1st layer = very old layer (ritual layer)	short, simple step patterns, body front towards the middle, dance movements sideways and asymmetrically (never towards the middle, at most small zigzag movements), often with a dance leader	own singing	embedded in customs and rituals
2nd layer = old layer	short but more complicated patterns, faster execution	Instrumental music	social situations of the village community
3rd layer = modern era layer	predominantly binary patterns, simple multi-part design, symmetrical shapes, body front no longer exclusively oriented towards the center, also radial movements	Instrumental music with a binary concept	also urban situations and bourgeois classes, possibly first dance teachers, but couple dance is not possible due to clearly pronounced patriarchal social structures
4th layer = modern layer	complicated sequences of steps, complex structures	modernized or modern music	Dances are performed in the hobby area, are put together, choreographed and taught by dance teachers

The age class model describes important changes in the external form features and the step material over the course of the genealogy of the chain dances and thus answers essential aspects of the third key question. Not all age groups can be found in all regions. They also did not always develop at the same time, because the controlling factors were different in time and region, which explains the current abnormalities of the step pattern in geographical distribution. The process of change in the chain dances is also evident on the level of terms.

### 5.3.7 From oro to kolo - a new term for modern era chain dances

When Serbia (excluding today's southern and southeastern parts) became independent at the beginning of the 19th century after the Ottoman occupation, it opened up and reoriented itself to the west. In contrast to Catholic Croatia and western Romania (west of the Carpathians), which was also under Austro-Hungarian influence, the couple dances that arose there could not spread under the authority of the Orthodox Church in Serbia. The chain dances were influenced by other factors that resulted in eight-measure, multi-part and symmetrical structures, and so a completely new type of chain dance emerged in the 19th century, which superimposed or superseded the old forms. These so-called Kolos were possibly only danced by the more elegant and urban classes of the population at first, which the term “ballroom” suggests. Only later were they taken over by the village population. Presumably the accompanying music was instrumental and no longer sung. These innovations were possibly also reflected in the name, because in central Serbia and to the west of it the name 'Kolo' is used today (see Fig. 537), whereas the old name 'Oro' is still used in southern and southeastern Serbia. Further remarks on the word history of Kolo (see chapter 4.7.5) speak in favor of this interpretation.



Fig. 537: Terms for chain dance in the Balkans.

The boundary between the names Kolo and Oro correlates with the boundary between predominantly binary, multi-part and symmetrical and non-binary, short dance patterns. It represents the current state of a development that was triggered by innovations in music and has significantly influenced the genealogy of chain dances in the last centuries since modern

era times. Even in the very old layer of ritual and traditional dances, there were already different pattern forms that had developed since the emergence of this dance form.

#### **5.4 Conservative elements and models for dance change**

Today's chain dance forms show an impressive correspondence of their external structural features. The dancers are connected to one another in a chain-like manner via lateral contact, the front of the body faces the center of the circle and the movements are performed to the side. The step patterns are mostly short and simple and are repeated over and over again. Often a dance leader leads the chain and with old forms the musical accompaniment consists of one's own singing. The conformity and widespread distribution of these external structural features can best be explained by a one-off emergence and subsequent expansion. In this sense, today's chain dances in Europe are a family group with a common genesis. This is also supported by the widespread distribution of the three-measure dances and the dance images of the early Neolithic culture of the Middle East.

This culture arose with the first cultivation of wild grain and the domestication of animals around 10,000 BC. Around 7500 BC, a clear population growth can be determined together with population movement (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, p. 49) and for this period there is also the first evidence of a further expansion of early agriculture (Gronenborn 2006, p. 22). In these two to three thousand years the genesis of the chain dances took place and they became a common cultural asset of the entire region. All groups that migrated to the surrounding regions from the 8th millennium onwards carried the chain dances with them, as the dance presentations of this time show. Which step patterns were carried out in the area of origin before the first expansion can only be found out indirectly. The three-measure pattern (011) seems to be one of those very old patterns. Its widespread use is best explained by the fact that the first farmers and shepherds already followed this pattern and spread it across Europe when they migrated. Even in south-west China, this pattern can be seen in some minority ethnic groups. In this sense, there would be direct lines of descent for today's three-measure dances, which go back to an "original form" which was already danced in the Middle East during the period when the chain dances were created. It stands to reason that other very simple patterns such as the 1MP (0) and the 2MP (11) belonged to the repertoire of the early Neolithic, because these patterns are still very common today in the original tribal dances of India or in ancient ritual dances in Europe. The 4MP (0101) is also notable for its not completely comprehensive, but very widespread distribution with a high regional density. In addition to a high proportion of the old French Branles, many forms in the north of the Western Balkans and in Romania, it is the dominant step pattern in Tibet and among the southwest Chinese minority ethnic groups. This widespread use can best be explained by the fact that this pattern was part of the repertoire of the early Neolithic before their expansion to the east, west and north. It is astonishing that these sequences of steps survived almost unchanged for a period of 10,000 years.



### 5.4.1 Particularly conservative elements of dances

The change in dances over time is comparatively small. Dance and dances are very conservative. This is suggested by some authors.<sup>248</sup> Not all aspects of dances are equally conservative, there are clear differences. In particular, all elements related to the shape and the step pattern seem to be particularly resistant to change. Petermann (1983, p. 12) notes: "The shape is characterized by its particular durability. It only goes through gradual evolutionary developments and changes in history. The functional core of a dance, its content, on the other hand, undergoes faster, often multiple changes or can disappear completely." Martin (1983, p. 150) formulates this in a similar way: "The investigation of form is the most fixed point in the systematization of folk dances. These elements seem to be less changeable than the character, the function or the music."

There is some evidence for a change in context in the use of the same dance, or rather, the same step pattern. Dimopoulos (2009), for example, describes the customs at Easter in villages like Lazarina in Thessaly. From Easter Monday it was customary for people to dance in the village square after church. On Easter Tuesday there was a dance in the cemetery, in which only the women took part under the leadership of the priest. The songs sung in addition addressed other aspects as well as the resurrection of nature and thus pre-Christian content. A "sta tria", a three-measure dance, was performed, just like the day before on the village square. This three-measure pattern was carried out on Easter Tuesday in a Christian context with clearly pre-Christian roots, which was carried out the day before in a sociable context. Always the same pattern, but in very different contexts.

The adoption of step patterns from the repertoire of chain dances in the creation of couple dances such as the Spanish boleros, the Croatian lindo or the minuet can also be interpreted as a change in function.

There are three reasons for the great consistency of shape and step pattern, which are ultimately related to one another:

First, the chain dances were ritually integrated into the early village community, in individual cases up to the present day. They were danced and sung to dance at certain times and occasions. The focus was on the context of meaning, to which the lyrics of the songs were also related. The steps were only a means to an end and had little function of their own. Even the accompanying singing rules out complicated patterns and quick execution. So only the old, simple patterns were used.

Second, dance and dances are the most important means of group identification, at least in a rural context. Those who dance together and master the same dances belong together, form a

---

<sup>248</sup> See Sachs 1933, p. 128: "The type of movement is so deeply anchored in the physiological that it lasts for thousands of years, withstands the influences of the natural and artificial environment and even the admixture of foreign blood." In view of the unusually conservative character of all dances [...] Junk (1948/1990 p. 102) also states that dance and dance use are more conservative than some other expressions of life by a people. In *Archaeologia Homerica* (Göttingen 1988, R 26) G. Wickert-Micknat compares three Greek round dance pictures from different epochs: "The change in artistic style can be clearly seen, but also the change in fashion [...]. There seems to be no reason to change the round dance pictures, presumably because the public round dance is a matter of the community, a moment of its lasting cults and recurring festivals." Katzarova & Djenev (1958, p. 17) note: "But because of the stability of the folklore forms, the change (of the dances) was slow and imperceptible." Tölle 1964, p. 82: Old forms of round dances are retained for centuries because they are fixed and shaped by cult.

group. Seen in this way, dance is group or village identification, is tradition in a positive sense and ultimately also serves to distinguish it from other groups. This effect can be clearly seen in the fact that many ethnic groups in the USA cultivate older forms of dance compared to the countries of origin, in which the forms of dance have already changed and modernized.<sup>249</sup>

Emigrants and their descendants keep the old cultural assets more strictly. In the diaspora it serves even more to promote group identity and to separate people from the outside world. A second proof of this phenomenon are the relic areas of the chain dance in Brittany, Sardinia, Catalonia, the Basque Country and southern France. There, the ethnic group identification of minorities meant that the culturally and historically older chain dances have been preserved to this day. Performing these dances became a cultural and political demonstration.

Thirdly, a certain step pattern - at least in the case of dances performed uniformly or with dances defined in the basic step - cannot simply be changed. Folk dances are performed by certain groups. Within this group, each member must master the steps in order to participate. Changed sequences of steps would mean that not all members of a community would be able to dance or at least would have to learn the new steps. For this reason, once defined basic step sequences prove to be very stable over time. Variations are only possible as far as they remain in the basic pattern. For example, a step-hop can be replaced by a triple step without disturbing the secondary dancer in the execution of the basic pattern.<sup>250</sup>

The shape and step pattern are therefore particularly conservative. Some patterns seem to have lasted for millennia.

This high level of constancy over a very long period also seems to apply to the associated designations. Mladenovic (1969, p. 482) states in her article on the terms 'Kolo' and 'Oro' that both, as well as the entire ethnochoreographic terminology, are exclusively of Slavic origin. There are only minimal external influences, but not even the Turkish one is of particular importance - even though the Balkan Peninsula was under Turkish occupation for a long time. The author explains this phenomenon to the effect that the everyday life of the local population was very isolated.

The high temporal constancy of the step pattern also explains the higher proportion of binary structures in music compared to the associated dance patterns (Tab. 534). This fact also reflects the great constancy of the dance steps up to the present day.

How can it be explained that some dance patterns have remained unchanged over a period of 10,000 years and that the chain dances have hardly changed in the course of various historical processes. New conquerors and rulers seem to have had little influence on the dance change. The chain dances have been preserved with their old step patterns until our time. Only the emerging couple dances and developments in modern music brought significant changes. How can this stability of the chain dances compared to many historical processes up to the Middle Ages and partly beyond be explained? Are there any models for dance change and spread that could explain these aspects?

---

<sup>249</sup> Cf. John Filcich with his remarks on "Igra Kolo" in the data collection of the Stockton camp

<sup>250</sup> See Leibman 1992, foreword p. XV.

## 5.4.2 Models for the spread of languages and language change

In the field of dance, there are still no independent models that address and explain the spread of dance and dance change. Such considerations already exist for the area of language spread and language change. And language and dance have essential similarities. Speaking and moving are innate human abilities that are culturally shaped.<sup>251</sup> Can models from the field of language be transferred to dance?

### 5.4.2.1 Spreading processes in languages

For the spreading processes in languages, Renfrew (2004, pp. 28-29) distinguishes four fundamentally important spreading processes over a longer period of time:

1. First settlement by modern humans (e.g. Aborigines in Australia)
2. Expansion of agriculture (e.g. Tibetan Chinese)
3. Late climate-related resettlement (e.g. Eskimo-Aleut)
4. Elite rule (e.g. Turkish in Anatolia or Hungarian in Hungary)

The spread of languages through initial and new settlement does not require any further consideration. Such a process also spreads the language of the settlers. Renfrew sees the spread of agriculture as another important vehicle for the spread of languages.

Does elite domination remain a further fundamental process for the spread of language and especially for the language change that takes place when a resident population is dominated with their language by a new elite with a different language and the language changes due to external influences. In the following system, a distinction is made according to the origin of the influences.

### 5.4.2.2 Basic processes of language change

Basically, when changing language, a distinction can be made between internal processes and external influences. The adoption of elements from other languages is contrasted with the internal language development, which is based on a common heritage (Bechert 1991, p. 81).

#### a) Inner language change

The longer two populations of speakers are separated, the more differently they speak. Their respective languages have diverged after the separation. The resulting difference goes back to inner language evolution, which in turn is based on selection as well as random modification (drift) (Heinze 2005, p. 28). Drift is understood as a gradual change over time, whereas sometimes different, competing language elements arise, one of which asserts itself over time or is preferred - selected - by the speakers. The resulting changes are further developed in separate groups in independent traditions (see Fig. 542a). This process is held responsible for the primary emergence of different languages and language families. Frequently used words

---

<sup>251</sup> Similarities and differences between language and dance can only be hinted at at this point. They are very diverse and the discussion about them requires an extensive discussion, which can neither be done at this point, nor is it necessary for further considerations

change less often than rarely used words (H. Dambeck, Sprachentwicklung, Spiegel online 11.10.2007).

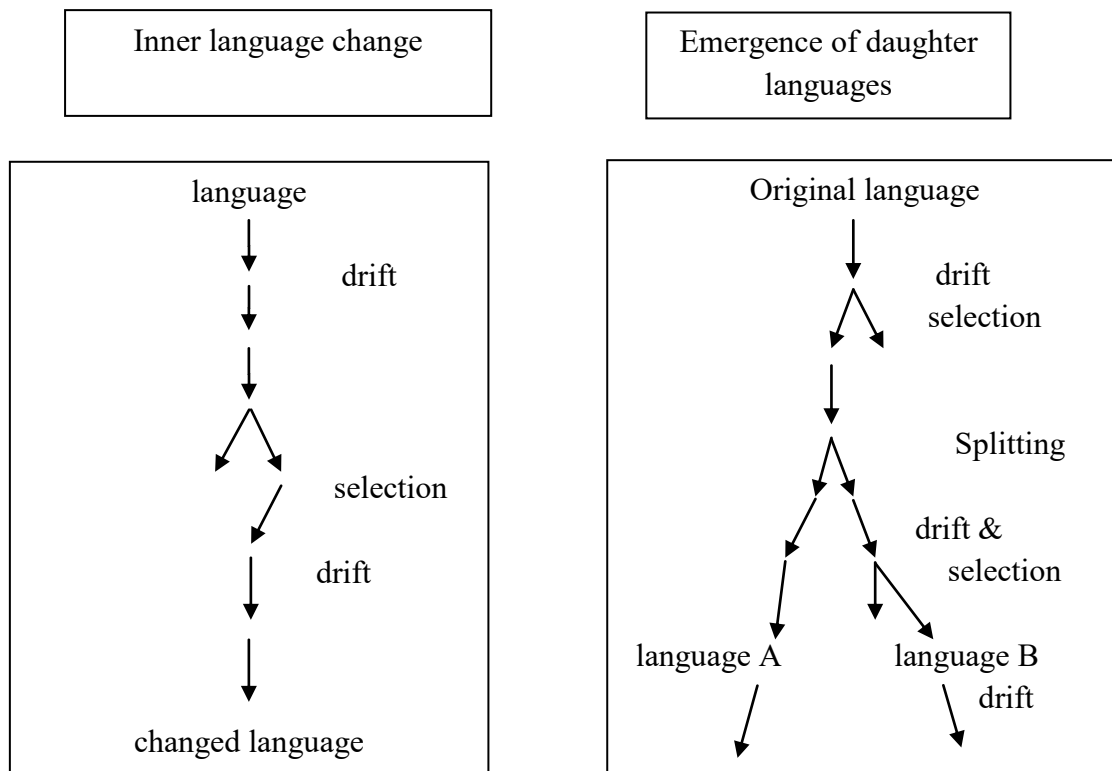


Fig. 542a: Fundamental processes of internal language change

### b) External language change

Vennemann (2004, pp. 24-25) distinguishes three different levels of external language modification:

- A dominant layer (superstrat), for example conquerors, bring new elements into the language and thereby change it.
- If the conquerors prevail with their language, elements of the indigenous population (substrate) will be incorporated into the new language construct.
- Some words are taken over as loan words from other languages (adstrat).

#### Superstrate

If the conquest by another language elite does not lead to a change of language (e.g. the conquest of Romanised Gaul by the Franks), certain words are incorporated into the newly emerging language as a superstrat (Vennemann 2004, p. 24). These words are mostly from typical areas (Vennemann 2004, p. 40 & 44 and Riehl 2004, p. 172) such as warfare, weapons, military, law, state and community, elegant society, fashion, food, transport, equipment, house building.

#### Substrate

If a language is replaced by that of a new elite who speaks another language (e.g. that of the Magyars in Hungary), words from the old language are often incorporated into the new, which are then referred to as substrate words. When the language is adopted, sounds are also

shifted, as some sounds are not available in the replaced language. It is therefore difficult for the speaker to adopt these new sounds (Schrijver 2004, p. 4, Bechert 1991, p. 101).

Typical areas for substrate words are house and yard, agriculture, names for local animals and plants. Names for other local occurrences, areas that were not available in the new rulers or were poorly developed.

Lawful sound shifts are usually enumerated in the case of internal language change, but are more likely to be traced back to a substrate influence when a language is substituted, i.e. to external language influence. The indigenous population carries old pronunciation and construction habits into the new language to be learned (Vennemann 2004, p. 23). The changes affect a specific area at a specific time and are related to a specific language or even dialect. Interpreted in this way, the 2nd sound shift of German occurred in connection with the Germanization of the former Celtic Central Germany and Celtic-Roman southern Germany, Switzerland and Austria (Schrijver 2004, pp. 15, 16), which resulted in Upper German.

### Loanwords

Astrates influence a language on all levels, especially in lexicon. Possible reasons for including words are more appropriate names, unknown words for innovations, e.g. B. Computer, floppy disk, Internet, downloading, etc. (Riehl 2004, p. 172), “chic” buzzwords. Words of a language with higher prestige, words of the educated (foreign words)

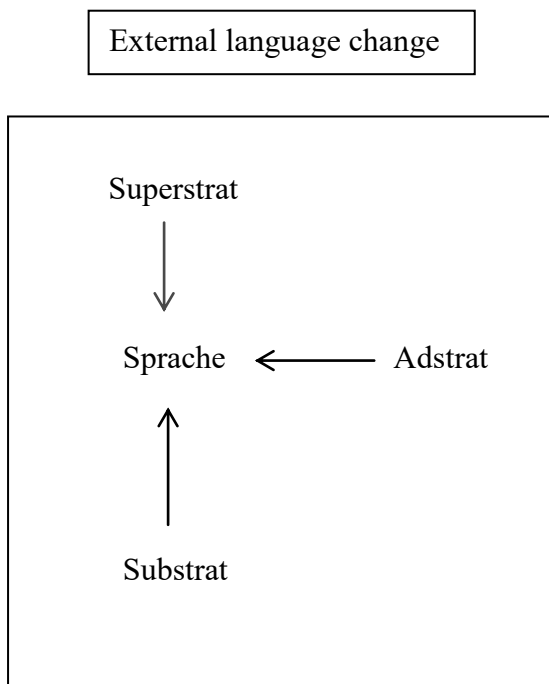


Fig. 542b: Fundamental processes of external language change

The cited models of the processes of internal and external language change are well suited to describe fundamentally analogous processes in dance change.

### 5.4.3 Models for the spread of dances and dance change

#### 5.4.3.1 Spreading processes in dances

##### a) Inner dance change

Dances and their context change over time. This applies more to the content and function than to the external structures and step patterns. Step patterns are very stable over time, the changes tend to take place in the style and execution or there are only variations of the basic pattern. How new patterns could have emerged is discussed in Chap. 5.5.2.

In the case of languages, there have been frequent changes and exchanges in language throughout history. The new elite often prevailed with their language. Did the new rulers also bring their dances? Or did the people stick to their dancing habits?

##### b) External dance change

#### Superstrate influence in dance change

Superstrate influences in Tanzwandel are influences of the new elite on the local dance culture. The dance culture of the new elite can replace the local culture, modify it or exercise no influence at all. Finding examples of superstrate influence in dance is difficult for several reasons. A prerequisite for this is that the historical events are sufficiently known. This applies, for example, to the rule of the Magyars in Hungary or that of the Turks in Asia Minor. However, this is less and less the case for events further back in time. A second requirement is that the dance culture elements are known to both the new elite and the local population so that an origin can be assigned at all, and that is rarely the case. For these reasons alone, there are few tangible examples of superstrate influence in dance change. Such an example could be the wooden spoon dances of the Varna region in Bulgaria. There are no other areas of distribution in Europe.<sup>252</sup> The wooden spoon dances in this region, however, show a clear similarity to the wooden spoon dances in western Asia Minor<sup>253</sup> and, like these, could have come from Central Asia and were brought to Bulgaria by the Turkic-speaking proto-Bulgarians. The proto-Bulgarian superstrat would have brought the wooden spoon dances with them from Central Asia, but the local population kept their chain dances. The wooden spoon dances were added to the existing cultural assets. In this case influences of the Magyars on the dance culture in Hungary are not discernible. Similarly, the Turkish influence on the dances of central and eastern Turkey appears to have been very little. An influence on the Balkan countries during the Ottoman occupation can at best be found in the cities. The dance culture of the rural population was not influenced; on the contrary, it was

<sup>252</sup> Today's wooden spoon dances in Greece go back to those expelled from Cappadocia ([http://www.bettinahenkel.net/e\\_learning/index\\_e.html](http://www.bettinahenkel.net/e_learning/index_e.html) from 1.5.14).

<sup>253</sup> Wooden spoon dances are typical for the Zeybek and Cifteteli-Karsilama areas of Turkey (cf. data part A2; Bicer 2009, p. 133). They could have been imported there from Central Asia by the Turkic population who settled there. This process possibly also led to the replacement of the chain dances in this area (see Chapter 4.10.2). However, this is not a superstrate effect, but was caused by a large proportion of the Turkic population in this area and is consequently due to migration.

preserved under these conditions. Overall, it can be deduced from these examples that a superstrate influence that is not associated with a clear population input, at best complements the dance culture of the local population, but often has no influence at all.<sup>254</sup>

### **Influence of the astrate in dance change**

Astrate influences in dance change are changes that take place independently of new rulers and their culture. There are a few examples of this. All fads fall under this category. In connection with the history of chain dances in Europe, the spread of couple dances and the associated replacement of chain dances in western Europe is certainly a process in which a dance change has taken place through the adoption of new dance forms from neighboring regions. The expansion of the 'Alunelul' dance family is another example.

### **Substrate influence in dance change**

Substrate influence in dance change is the other side of the superstrate influence and focuses on the cultural entry of the local population into the resulting mixed culture with new elite rule. As the above examples of the Proto-Bulgarians, Magyars, Turkic peoples in Turkey and the Ottomans in the Balkans show, the influence of the superstrate on the dance culture is extremely small in contrast to the persistence of the dance elements of the substrate culture, which turned out to be very conservative. The local population, especially the rural ones, stuck to their dances. The function and context may have changed, but the structure and step pattern of the chain dances in Europe / Western Asia remained almost unchanged over an incredibly long period of time.

This has to do with the fact that chain dances were ritually involved, that they served the group identification and that each group member has to master the steps and cannot simply learn anew. This has to do with the fact that, in contrast to language and religion, dances are of little interest to new rulers. If the new language had to be learned in order to be able to communicate with the new elite, and if religion was possibly an essential element of the new power apparatus, the dances of the people were of secondary importance for the new elite. The "substratum" performed its old dances and these hardly changed over millennia, at least not due to the influences of a new elite.

Their names were associated with the dances. Since the dances remained the old ones, their names were also retained. The language of the conquerors did not contain any designation for these dances and so they were adopted as substrate words in the new language, even if the language changed several times. This explains the great similarity of the names of chain dances in very different languages of the world wherever chain dances still exist. All these words seem to go back to a common original name and consequently come from a very old language layer, which has its roots in the period of the emergence of the chain dances in the Middle East.

---

<sup>254</sup> Another difficulty in identifying superstrate influences in dance change is possibly the fact that there were no major differences in the respective dance cultures when conquered by new rulers who themselves also come from Europe. For example, the Germanic tribes that dominated southern Germany during the Great Migration probably had chain dances with similar patterns as the local Celts.

## 5.5 Relationships - dance families and new patterns

### 5.5.1 Dance families

Many forms of chain dances have striking similarities in their step patterns. All three-measure dances with the binary code 011 have the same basic pattern. Dance forms with the same basic pattern are grouped into families. However, there can be different variants of the respective basic patterns. Two different processes are conceivable for their creation of dances with the same basic pattern. All forms with the same basic pattern either go back to an original form (homologous) or were created several times independently of one another (analogous). A wide, almost area-wide distribution as with the 3TM/MP speaks for a homologous origin and development. A regionally limited occurrence as with the 10M and 12TM/MP speaks for homology. A scattered distribution as for example with the 5TM/MP speaks more for analogy. Some dance families are listed below as examples.

#### a) The family of the 4TM/MP with the basic pattern 0101

Four measure dances with this pattern are very common. In some regions they provide the majority of the dances. For example, the many Horas of Romania have this basic pattern, but also the Branles doubles of France and almost all dances of Tibet are based on it. It is also found in the other Balkan countries with the exception of Bulgaria. The wide distribution and frequent occurrence suggests that it originated in the Middle East in the period before the expansion of the Neolithic culture.

#### b) Family of the 10TM/MP with the basic pattern 0011100111

Tab.551b: 10TM/MP (0011100111)

name	region			source
Gorno Djumajsko	North Macedonia	10TM	0011100111	P. Atanasovski (Video)
Šopka (Trojka)	North Macedonia	10TM	0011100111	S. Atanasov 12/10
Kopačka	North Macedonia	10TM, h&h	0011100111	P. Atanasovski OBN 92
Čačak (Godečki)	SE Serbia	10TM	0011100111	S. Kotansky 4/00
Koštrljaka	Vlach Serbia	10TM	1. Teil: 0011100111	Kostrljaka
Pešačka	S-Serbia	10TM	0011100111	B. Gajicka 1975
Staro Selsko	S-Serbia	10TM	0011100111	Tanasijevic 12/10
Emkino	S-Serbia?	10TM B	0011100111	V. Tanasijevic 2/11 HD
Bela Rada 2/4	S-Serbia	10TM sym	2 Teile	R. Obradovic 2/96



			:0011101111:	
Bugarka	S-Serbia, Vranje	10TM sym	11000 11000	H. Milde 11/07
Rumenka 2	E-Serbia	10TM sym	00111 00111	D. Djordjevic o.J.
Graovko	BG-Šop	10TM	0011100111	div, Koprivstica rote CD
Kjustendilska Racenica	BG West	10TM	0011100111	W-. Lahn 10/10
Pravo Erkečko Horo	BG Trakia	10TM	0011100111	Koprivstica rote CD
Pravo Shopsko	BG Šop, Gabra	10TM	0011100111	S. Kotansky
Šopsko Horo	BG Šop	10TM	0011100111	Koprivstica rote CD
Žvansko Horo	BG West	10TM	0011100111	D. Boxell 1967
Za Pojas	BG Šop	10TM h&h	0011100111	N. Kavadjikova 1994
Četvorno	BG Šop	10TM sym	0011100111	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5u4jOtmX_M">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5u4jOtmX_M</a>

There are dances with this basic pattern almost exclusively in SE Serbia, W Bulgaria and NE North Macedonia, which speaks for a common origin and development in this region.

### c) Family of the 10TM/MP with the basic pattern 0011101101

Tab.551c: 10TM/MP (0011101101)

Injevko	North Macedonia	10TM	0011101101	B. Glass 1991
Kočovo	North Macedonia	10TM	0011101101	P. Mulders 9/06
Ravno oro 7/8	North Macedonia	10TM	0011101101	D. Boxell 1963
Stipski Čačak	North Macedonia	10TM	0011101101	S. Atanasov 12/10; 9/09
Basara	SE Serbia	10TM	0011101101	D. Djordjevic 1996
Bela Rada	S & E Serbien	10TM	0011101101	Schick 11/80
Čačak	S (Vranje)Serbia	10TM	0011101101	S. Slovic 1991
Čačak (Leskovacik)	SE Serbia	10TM	0011101101	Tanasijevic 1/09
Čačak (Švrljig)	SE Serbia	10TM	0011101101	Tanasijevic 12/10
Čačak Koretište	S Kosovo	10TM	0011101101	V. Tanasijevic 2/11 HD
Čačak Sumadija new	Central- Serbia	10TM	0011101101	V. Tanasijevic 2/11 HD
Bregovsko H	BG NW	10TM	0011101101	Y. Moreau

This 10TM/MP also has an almost exclusive occurrence in SE Serbia, W Bulgaria and NE North Macedonia, which speaks for a common origin and development. The same distribution area of the two 10TM/MP suggests that one 10TM/MP emerged from the other.

### d) The "Alunelul" family (0010 0010 and 1110 1110)

Forms of this family are common in Romania, Bulgaria and Eastern Thrace Greece. The melody of the associated music is very distinctive and also very similar in the different regions. If sung, the lyrics are heterogeneous (Kacarova-Kukudova 1956, p. 72). The motifs include many stamping movements. The structure of the dances is mostly in two or three parts, goes over 8 measures and the movements are symmetrical. This is particularly noticeable for Bulgaria and Northern Greece, where otherwise there are hardly any multipart and binary structures. The basic pattern of the different parts is 0010 0010 and 1110 1110, rarely also 0101 0101.

Tab. 551d: The "Alunelul" family

region	name	source
Romania, Oltenia, Southern Romania	Alunelul	Kacarova-Kukudova 1956, S. 82. Vasilescu
N BG	Ovčata; (Kreis Loveč),	Kacarova-Kukudova 1956, S. 70ff
Dobrudža	Kak se čuka čer piper; Mari babo Hadžijke	dito
East Trakia	Topčijskata (Spahievo)	dito
W-Trakia		dito
eastern Balkan mountains	Kukuvička (Omurtag)	dito
central Balkan mountains	Kako Marijke kakva si	dito
Sredna-Gora- mountains		dito
Strandža mountains	Zaičeskata (Sinemorec), Čičo Koljo ima dve šterki ; Mari momičence maninko	dito
Rhodope Mountains	Čukanoto	Stanev 4/84
Greek village in BG: Tofolovgrad	Servos dexio	Graziosi 12/12
Greece: Thrace, especially Eastern Thrace	Kariotikos, Podaraki, Tri Pati, Dachtili,	Graziosi 12/12

The Romanian word 'Alunelul' is translated as 'hazelnut'. But most likely the dance has nothing to do with it. Kacarova-Kukudova (1956, p. 82) writes that 'Halo Nelo' (p. 82) is possibly the correct old name for Alunelul and Vasilescu also suspects that the name is derived from 'A lu Nelu' and has the meaning of 'nelus dance'. Kacarova-Kukudova speculates that song and dance came into fashion at a certain time and soon spread over the villages and towns (1956, p. 80f). At least one hundred, more likely two hundred years, can be assumed as the distribution period. The place of origin is probably in Romania, because in Bulgaria and northern Greece, multi-part and binary structures are still very rare today. Possibly the dance was spread by wandering groups of musicians who not only brought the catchy melody into fashion, but also showed the corresponding steps.

### 5.5.2 Creation of new patterns

From the evidence and considerations cited so far, it can be deduced that the repertoire of the early farmers and shepherds in the area of origin consisted of chain dances with very simple step patterns. From the distribution areas of individual patterns, it can also be concluded that the initial repertoire consisted of 1TM/MP, 2TM/MP, 3TM/MP and probably 4TM/MP, which developed there during the genesis of the chain dances. From this basic stock, predominantly simple patterns resulted after the spread, which still characterize the step sequences of the chain dances of the south-eastern Balkan countries or central Asian forms and 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 been changes in the long period since the creation that led to the modification of the existing sequence of steps and thus to new patterns that can be traced back to an inner dance change. Big development in 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. Within these groups, each member must master the steps in order to be able to dance. As a result, only small change events are to be expected and observed, which take place on the basis of what is already there. Such small change events are, for example, doublings, multiplications, small expansions and spatial or rhythmic modifications.

A common variation seems to be a doubling or multiplying.<sup>255</sup> If the pattern (abbabbabb ...) as a whole is doubled or multiplied, this is also connected with other small modifications such as rhythmic or spatial variations (abba66abba66 ...). Some new patterns are also created by doubling individual motifs (aabbaabb ...) or all motifs of the step pattern (aabbbaabbbb ...).

#### Possible change events

##### a) Partial duplication, duplication of parts

A pattern usually consists of several sub-units, which are called motifs and phrases according to the structure and shape analysis according to Petermann (1983, pp. 9 - 31). For example, the widespread three-measure pattern consists of two motifs. The first motif is formed by two steps and the second motif consists of a pendulum movement on one side, then on the other.

---

<sup>255</sup> Similarly, it is known in the field of molecular genetics for new genes that well over 90% of new gene functions arise simply by duplicating and subsequent diversification of an older gene with a well-established function (R. Neumann, *Laborjournal* 1-2 / 2011 p. 45).

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

Tab. 552a<sub>1</sub>: Initial form 3TM/MP basis

Motifs	Motif a	Motif b					
Basic structure	0	1	1				
4/4	R L	R o	L o				
	→	→	←				
Beats	1 2	1 2	1 2				

New Form 5TM/MP: This transition is implemented, for example, in the Pontic dance Tik, which goes as Tik monon over three measures and as Tik diplon over 5 measures.

Motifs	Motif a	Motif b		Motif b			
Basic structure	0	1	1	1	1		
4/4	R L	R o	L o	R o	L o		
	→	→	←	→	←		
Beats	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2		

More examples: Particularly in North Macedonia there are many, mostly (widenet) and metrically adjusted 5TM (see E.1.3)

**a2) From 3TM/MP to 4TM/MP** by doubling the first motif

Tab. 552a<sub>1</sub>: Initial form 3TM/MP basis

	Motif a	Motif b					
Basic structure	0	1	1				
2/4	R L	R o	L o				
	→	→	→				
Beats	1 2	1 2	1 2				

New Form 4TM/MP realized in Sufliutouda (Greece, Thrace) as a transitional form, since both forms exist (source Charalampides).

	Motif a	Motif a	Motif b				
Basic structure	0	0	1	1			
2/4	R L	R L	R o	L o			
	→	→	→	←			
Beats	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2			

Further examples: Thastrin ki tu figaraki (E.1.6 Charalampides Thes93), Simpethera (E.1.6 Charalampides 10/85),

**b) Duplication of the entire pattern with subsequent modification of individual motifs**

With this doubling, the step pattern is carried out twice in a row. Individual motifs are slightly modified.

**b<sub>1</sub>) From 3TM/MP to 6TM/MP**

Table 552b1: Initial form double 3TM/MP trip

	Motif a		Motif b		Motif a		Motif b	
Basic structure	0	1	1		0	1	1	
2/4	R L	R L R	L R L		R L	R L R	L R L	
	→	→	←		→	→	←	
Beats	1 2	1 2	1 2		1 2	1 2	1 2	

New Form 6TM/MP: in this example, Gaida Pousteno Florina (E.1.6 M. Ginsburg OBO 07) (o = hopp), the basic pattern is expanded (see below under d and e) with metric adjustment, two measures are performed in the direction of dance, two measures against the direction of the dance, 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 sub-units. The pattern is also started out of phase.

	Motif b2	Motif a	Motif b1	Motif b2	Motif a	Motif b1
Basic structure	1	0	1	1	0	1
4+2+3+4+3	o o R L R	L o R L R	o o L R L	o o R L R	L o R L R	o o L R L
	→	→		←	←	
Beats	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

**b<sub>2</sub>) From 5TM/MP to 10TM/MP**

There are comparatively many 10TM/MP in certain regions. They almost always consist of a back and forth movement, which are rarely really symmetrical. Since there are also many 5TM/MP dances in these regions, it can be assumed that the 10TM/MP dances were created by doubling a 5TM/MP. In order for the 10TM/MP to have a harmonious back and forth movement, a small structural change has taken place in which 01111 became 00111, which then leads to a symmetrical doubling

Table 552b2: Initial form 5TM/MP trip

Structure	0	1	1	1	1					
2/4	R L	R L R	L R L	R L R	L R L					
	→	→	←	→	←					
Beats	1 2	1 u 2	1 u 2	1 u 2	1 u 2					

New Form 10TM/MP (back and forth): Šopka or Trojka (E.1.3 North North Macedonia; Anastasov 12/10)

Structure	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
2/4	o R L	o R L	R L R	L R L	R o	o L R	o L R	L o	R o	L o
	→	→	→	→		←	←	←	←	
Beats	1 u 2	1 u 2	1 u 2	1 u 2	1 u 2	1 u 2	1 u 2	1 2	1 2	1 2

Further examples: Gorno Djumajsko (E.1.3 P. Atanasovski); Potrčano oro (E.1.3 Atanasovski); Kopačka (E.1.3 Atanasovski);

New Form 10TM/MP (back and forth) with further modification: Štipski Čačak (E.1.3, Northeast North Macedonia; Anastasov 9/09)

Structure	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
2/4	R L	R L	R L R	L R L	R o	L R	L o	R o	L R	L o
	→	→	→	→		←			←	
Beats	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2

Further examples: Injevko (E.1.3 B. Glass 1991); Kočovo (E.1.3 P. Mulders 9/06); Ravno oro (1E.1.3 D. Boxell 1963);

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

#### c1) From 3TM/MP to 12 + 2TM/MP 001 001 001 001 00

Extension of the pattern through different spatial design of the individual basic patterns and addition of two further measures at Sofka (E.1.6 Selkos 3/09 Tüb), this creates a longer pattern.

#### c2) From 3 TM/MP to 9 TM/MP

Tab. 552c2: Initial form 3TM trip

Motifs	Motif a	Motif b						
Basic structure	0	1	1					
2/4	R L	R L R	L R L					
	→	→	←					
Beats	1 2	1 u 2	1 u 2					

Ne form 3x 3TM = 9TM/MP:

Olimpio (E.1.6 Charalampides 97)

Motifs	Motif a	Motif b		Motif a	Motif b	
Basic structure	0	1	1	0	1	1
2/4	R L	R L R	L R L	R L	R r <sub>hopp</sub>	L l <sub>hopp</sub>
	→	→	→	→		
Beats	1 2	1 u 2	1 u 2	1 2	1 2	1 2

	Motif b/2	Motif a	Motif b/2
	1	0	1
	R r <sub>hopp</sub>	L R	L l <sub>hopp</sub>
		←	
	1 2	1 2	1 2

#### d) Doubling of all motifs (doubling expansion)

Element-wise doubling 0 1 1 becomes 00 11 11 or 00 01 01

Tab.552d) Initial form 3TM/MP Basis

Motifs	Motif a	Motif b						
Basic structure	0	1	1					
2/4	R L	R o	L o					
	→	→	←					
Beats	1 2	1 2	1 2					

New form 6TM/MP 00 11 11: Tis Marias (E1.6 Selkos 1/02 Bal)

Motifs	Motif a	Motif a	Motif b		Motif b	
Basic structure	0	0	1	1	1	1
	R L o	R L o	R o o	L o o	R o o	L o o
	→	→	→	→	←	←
Beats	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3

Further examples: Vrbo vrbičice (E.1.5 B. Ilievski 2002); Kutsos (E.1.6 Charalampides 99), Boimitsa (E.1.6 I. Loztzaki)

#### e) Metric expansion

With a metric expansion, the steps of a pattern are distributed over twice the number of measures. This is probably not really a development event, but an event that arises from specifications for standardized music notation. In contrast, the metric adjustment is a frequently observed event.

**e<sub>1</sub>) Expansion from 3TM/MP to 6TM/MP**

There are a few examples of expanding the 3TM/MP (triple form) to a 6TM/MP.

Tab. 552e1: Initial form 3TM trip

Motifs	Motif a	Motif b					
Basic structure	0	1	1				
2/4	R L	R LR	L RL				
	→	→	←				
Beats	1 2	1 u 2	1 u 2				

New form 6TM/MP 11 01 01: Dimitroula (E.1.6 P. Selkos 3/97 Tü)

Motifs	Motif a		Motif b			
Basic structure	1	1	0	1	0	1
	R o	L o	R L	R o	L R	L o
	←	←	→	→	→	→
Beats	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2

Further examples: Gejko (E.1.6 P. Selkos 3/97 Tü), Tsinganikos (E.1.6 L. Shannon 2011)

**e<sub>2</sub>) Expansion with metric adjustment**

This process seems to have happened more often in the development of the chain dance pattern, because, with the three-measure dances alone there are many variants that are adapted to the respective meter of the music. It can be assumed that the preferred dances, or the few usual dances, were danced to different music. In order to do justice to the different meters, movements without shifting weight were added, e.g. spring, hopping or tapping movements. The individual actions were also carried out for different lengths of time, depending on the meter of the music.

Tab.552e2: Expanded form 3TM/MP XL (4/4)

Motifs	Motif a				Motif b			
Basic structure	0				1			
4/4	R L	R L	R o	L R	L o			
	→	→	→	→	←	←		
Beats	1 2	3 4	1 2	3 4	1 2	3 4		

Expanded form 3TM/MP XL: Devetorka 9/8 (E.1.6)

Motifs	Motif a				Motif b			
Basic structure	0				1			
9/8	R L	R L	R o	L R	L o			
2 2 2 3	→	→	→	→	←	←		
k k k l	k k k l	k k k l	k k k l	k k k l				

(k = short; l = long; l. = longer)



## Expanded form 3TM/MP XL: Gankino Horo 11/8 (E.1.5)

Motifs	Motif a				Motif b							
Basic structure	0				1							
11/8	R	L	R	L	R	L	R	o	L	R	L	o
2 2 3 4	→		→		→		→		←		←	
k k l l.	k	k	l	l.	k	k	l	l.	k	k	l	l.

## Expanded form 3TM/MP XL: Eleno Mome 13/8 (E.1.5 Bulgarien)

Motifs	Motif a				Motif b							
Basic structure	0				1							
13/8	R	L	R	L	R	L	R	o	L	R	L	o
4 4 2 3	→		→		→		→		←		←	
l. l. k l	l.	l.	k	l	l.	l.	k	l	l.	l.	k	l

## Expanded form 3TM/MP XL: Eleno Mome 7/8 (E.1.6 Nordmazedonien)

Structure	Motif a				Motif b							
Basic structure	0				1							
7/8	R	L	R	L	R	L	R	o	L	R	L	o
2 2 1 2	→		→		→		→		←		←	
l l k l	l	l	k	l	l	l	k	l	l	l	k	l

There are also many examples of the metric adjustment of the 5TM/MP, especially in North Macedonia, e.g. Topansko oro 12/16 (E.1.6), Žensko Pušteno oro 12/16 (E.1.6); Čučuk 9/16 (E.1.6); Postupano 13/16 (E.1.6);

Another example of a metric adjustment is Beratse of Flambouron, Florina, where the underlying Syrtos pattern (2TM) is adjusted with a pause or a hop (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a6PyUaGZNE4&feature=related> down).

**f) Addition**

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

**f<sub>1</sub>) From 3TM/MP to 4TM/MP**

This possibility was already discussed in Chap. 5.3.6. An addition can take place at the beginning, in the middle or at the end. Examples: Jatros (Tab.536b), Valle Nuseve (Tab.536c), Toi Negris (Tab.536d)

**f<sub>2</sub>) From 3TM/MP to 8TM/MP**

011 becomes 0111 0111. There are many examples of this 8TM/MP: Changulovo (North Macedonia), Maleševsko oro (North Macedonia) or Čigancica (Eastern Serbia).

**f3) From 3TM/MP to 5TM/MP**

This process is very rarely documented.

Tab. 552f<sub>3</sub>: Neue Form 5TM: Pompouri (Armenien) J. Filcich 1963

Structure	0	1	1	0	0			
4/4	R L	R o	o L	o o	o			
	→							
Beats	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1			

**g) Subtraction and termination**

When subtracting, parts of the step pattern are removed; when canceling, the repetition of the basic pattern is canceled at a certain point within the pattern (for examples see Section 5.3.6i).

**h) Variants of a basic pattern**

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

**h<sub>1</sub>) Addition or Subtraction through shifting ones weight**

The basic pattern is described by a binary code. There are distinguishable variants for a certain basic pattern, which differ in the number of weight shifts per cycle. An even number of weight shifts can always be added or subtracted per cycle so that the coding does not change. A common variant is, for example, that a step - hop / tip is replaced by a triple step. So that the binary code stays the same, an even number of weight shifts must always be added or subtracted. The code remains in effect even for additional actions without shifting weight.

**h<sub>2</sub>) Different rhythms**

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

**h<sub>3</sub>) Different meter**

The time signature of the music has a decisive influence on the rhythm of the movements. This can be very different for the same basic pattern. For example, a 3 measure pattern B can be in 2/4, 3/4, 6/8 or 7/8 time, which leads to distinguishable dances due to the different meter of the music.

The use of music that was not previously part of the repertoire seems to have been an important reason for the emergence of new dances through variation of the basic pattern (cf. also e2: expansion with metric adjustment). There is some evidence of this. For example, in the urban area of Naoussa (Northern Greece), a metrically adapted Syrtos (sta dio) variant is danced to specific melodies, while in the surrounding area variants of the 3TM/MP are performed to the same melodies (D. Barbarousis, 8.5.14). From 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 modifications

Stylistic differences result particularly from additional movements of the knees and ankles, but also of the body. Further style-defining features are the posture, the speed and dynamism of the movements. Style features are also the result of special frames (cross frame, shoulder, belt frame, etc.), as this restricts certain possibilities of movement or makes others easier.

#### h5) Phase shift

Leibman (1992, p. 299f) describes a situation in which a family from Prilep (Central North Macedonia) meets a family from Peštani (South-West of North Macedonia) for a wedding. Both groups dance a Lesnoto (3TM/MP) to a melody in 7/8 time. The difference is that the people of Peštani carry out the sequence of steps on the stressed parts of the measure, those of Prilep on the unstressed parts. Although the step pattern and the music are the same, they don't go together at all and the dances, which are basically the same, are perceived as very different.

#### i) Variation over two measures

Table 552h: Initial form

Structure	0	0							
2/4	R L	R L							
	→	→							
Beats	1 2	1 2							

Variation

Structure	1	1							
2/4	R L R	L R L							
	→	→							
Beats	1 u 2	1 u 2							

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 can sometimes also be observed as a common variation of a basic pattern.

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

### 5.5.3 A family tree of Pontic dances

With Pontic dances are meant dances that originated from the former Greek settlement area in the north eastern area of Turkey on the Black Sea and that are danced today by Greeks whose ancestors were driven from their residential areas on the Pontos in 1922.

These descendants of the displaced Pontus Greeks are very tradition-conscious and they largely protect their dances from changes. So the traditional forms are old, original and authentic. This assessment is also shared by Zografou (2001, p. 62). There is also a well-documented and researched collection of Pontic dances on two videotapes published by the Pontian Dance Association (Nikos Zoumatzidis). The family tree refers to this collection.<sup>256</sup> Hence, origin considerations are always made with exclusive reference to the patterns given in the collection.<sup>257</sup> Branches in the family tree are created in such a way that as few events as possible are necessary. So the result is the simplest explanation among other possible ones.

In total, four basic patterns are assumed from which the others are derived:

1TM/MP: In this pattern, 2 steps are performed per measure. In Europe, this pattern is only (still) found in sung dances in which the text of the song is in the foreground.<sup>258</sup>

2TM/MP (triple step): With this pattern, 3 steps are performed per measure. The rhythm can be short - short - long, but also long - short - short. Depending on the meter, there are also other rhythmic subdivisions.

3TM/MP (basic): This pattern is described in detail in chap. 4.1.3.

4TM/MP: In this pattern, three steps and one further action without shifting weight (hop, tip) are carried out in one direction and in the other.

A hypothetical family tree - explained by simple change events - is shown in Fig. 553a. This family tree shows that from the total of 67 Pontic dances in the collection, 57 forms can be derived from four basic patterns through very simple changes.

---

<sup>256</sup> A reference to an existing collection has the additional advantage that a clear assignment of the names to certain step patterns is unambiguous and that the step pattern is also defined because similar but different step patterns can be determined for some dances.

<sup>257</sup> If, for example, the dance Tamsara is present as 4TM 0101 as in the reference data, it is classified differently than a three-bar form that also occurs.

<sup>258</sup> This is also a common pattern in Indian tribal dances.

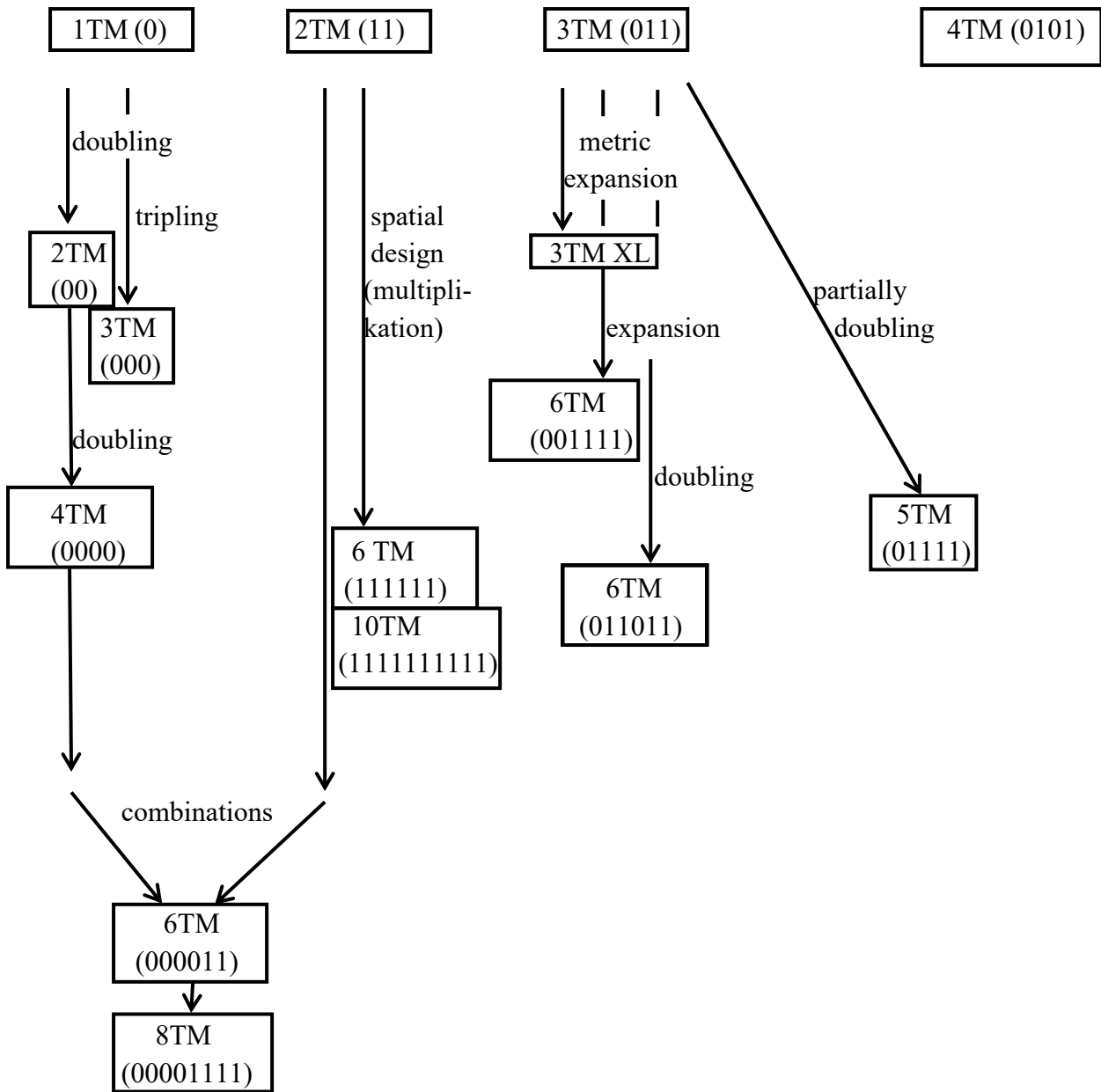


Fig. 553a: General hypothetical family tree for Pontic dances

In Fig. 553b the part of the family tree is shown which is based on the 1TM and the 2TM/MP. The names of the specific dances are shown in italics. Other obvious branches, but not caused by the branches described in Chap. 5.5.2 simple change events listed are marked with "?". However, some of these are quite obvious. The family tree in Fig. 553c was created with the same characteristics, starting from the 3TM/MP. All dances in the collection are recorded on both family trees together.

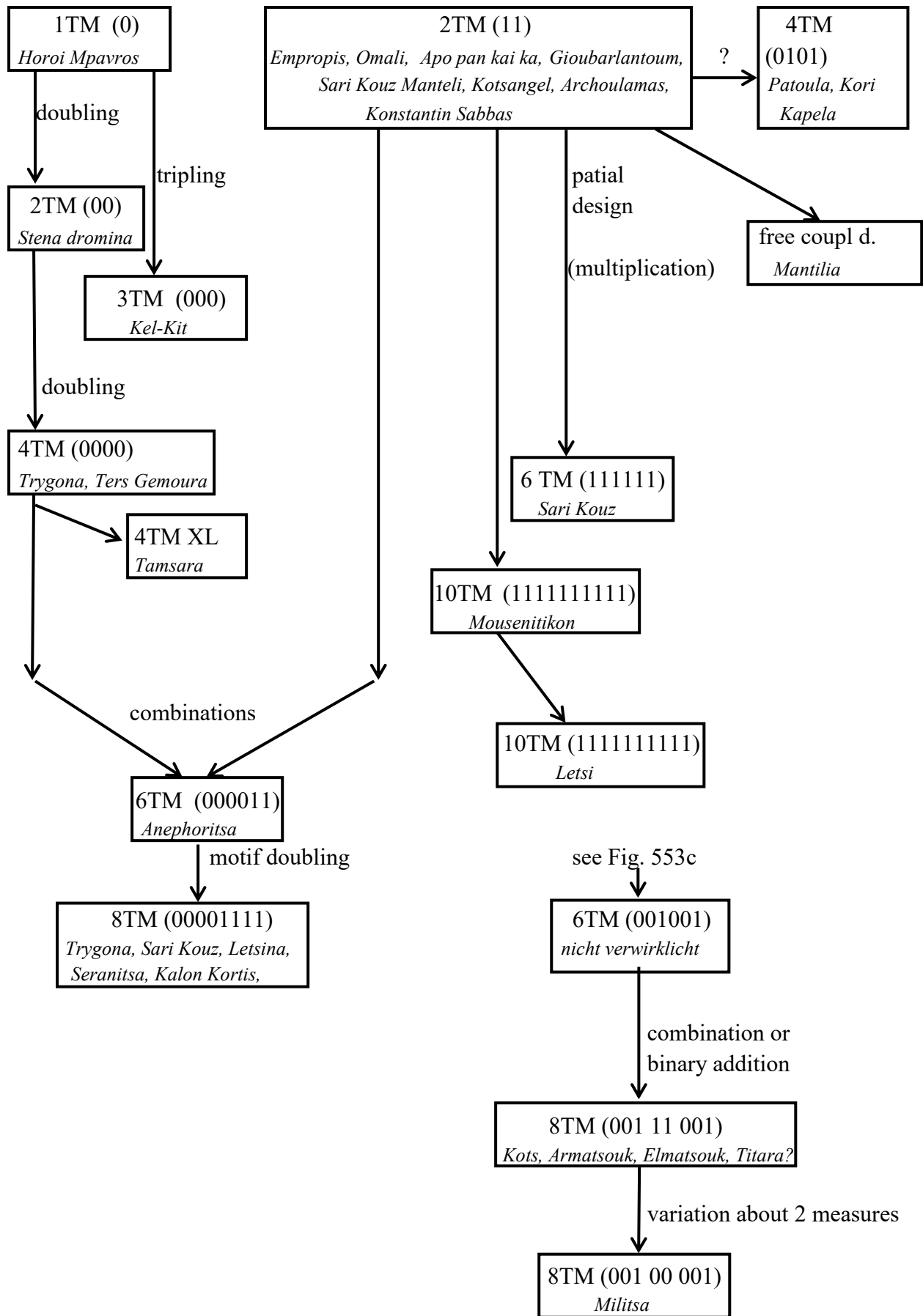


Fig. 553b: Hypothetical family tree for the initial forms of the 1TM and 2TM with the respective concrete dances (written in italics).

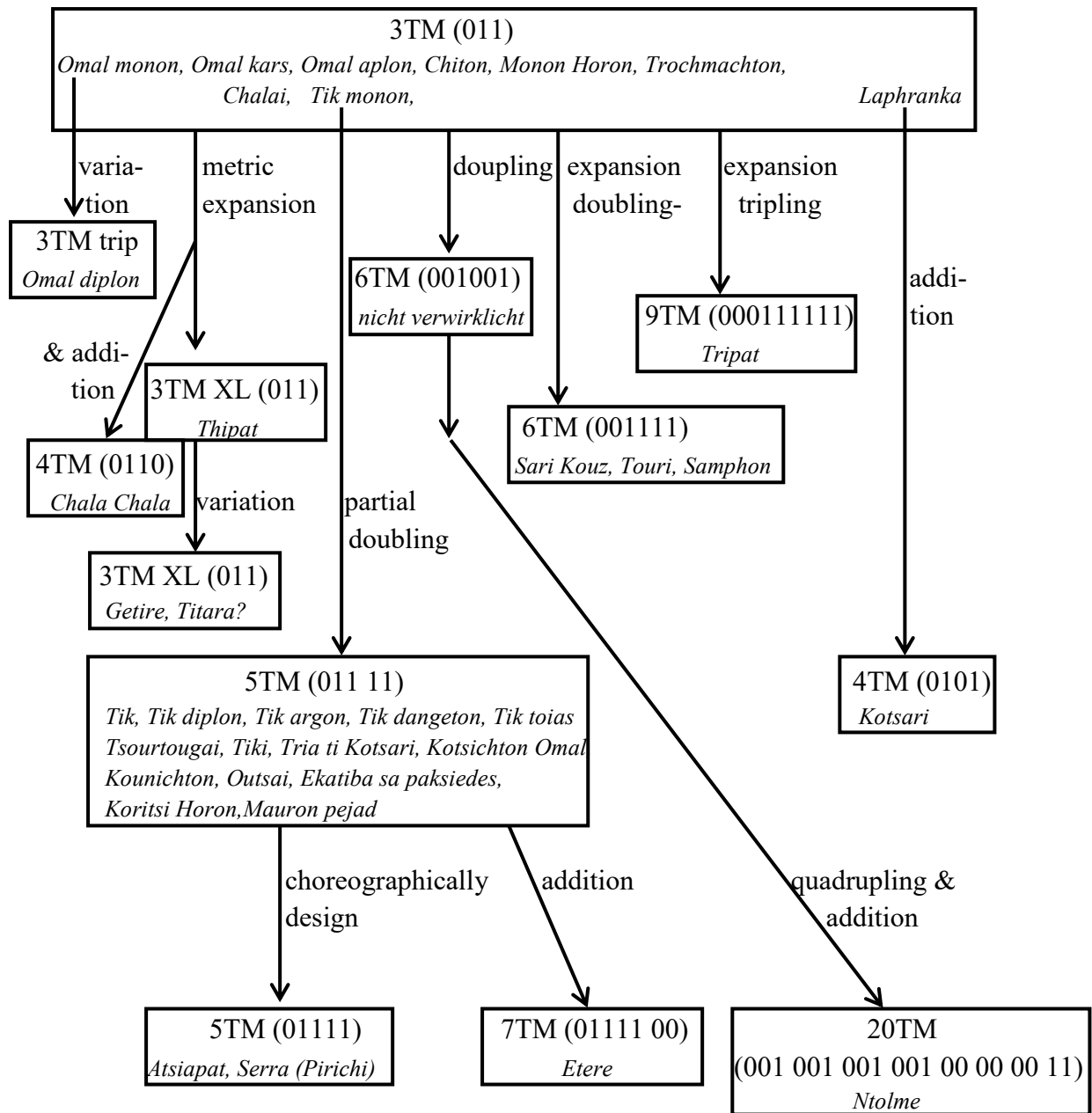




Fig.553c. Hypothetical family tree for the initial forms of the 3TM/MP with the respective concrete dances (written in italics).

Conclusion: Overall, the genealogy of the patterns of the 67 dances of the Pontic Dances collection can be explained by a family tree in which almost all more complex forms can be derived from four simpler patterns through simple and comprehensible change events. This suggests that the Pontic dances are related to a group in which the individual forms have emerged from existing patterns through small changes. There is no evidence of spontaneous, creative new creations. Pontic dances go to the right with a few exceptions. So every region has a preferred direction. When mapping these preferred directions, a left and a right area with a border through the middle of Europe emerges.

## 5.6 The preferred direction for chain dances

For group dances that are performed on the circular path, there is a preferred direction. In the tribal dances of the North American Indians, Black Africans and Australians, performed in a circle without holding hands, the preferred dance direction is counterclockwise. Likewise, the folk dances of the “Attantype” in the Middle East, the “Attamype” in southern India and for Central and East Asian forms of folk dance turn counterclockwise in a circle. Even in the southern hemisphere there is no deviation from this preferred dance style. Overall, there are very few exceptions, such as the circle dances of Tibet. These are usually danced clockwise both with and without holding hands. In the chain dances, on the other hand, which differ from other forms by connecting with the neighboring dancers and aligning the front of the body to face the center, there are regions with different preferred directions.

Tab. 560a: Direction for chain dances

Dance direction in chain dances	right, counterclockwise, "opposite sun direction"	left, clockwise, "with suns direction"
		

The names for the direction in chain dances are inconsistent. In today's descriptions of dances, the direction of movement is decided from the position of the dancer himself and this point of view is referred to as left or right. In relation to the circle, the right is to be equated with counterclockwise, which is also referred to by German-speaking folk dancers as "gegensonnen". The same applies to the other direction. In contrast, in some archaeological works, left and right are defined from the point of view of the observer. This creates an opposing assignment of the directional designations. Some works also characterize the direction of rotation, which is created by the lateral movement on the circular path. When moving to the right, a complete circle is turned to the left. In the present work right and left are used from the perspective of the dancers themselves (cf. Tab. 560a). This also applies to the iconographic evaluations.



### 5.6.1 The direction of movement of today's chain dances

If you analyze today's chain dances according to their direction of movement, you will find a striking border that runs through the middle of Europe. To the west of this the chain dances are or were danced to the left (clockwise), to the east of it they are performed to the right (counterclockwise).



Fig. 561: Regional expression of the direction of the respective chain dances of today's and documented forms.

R: to the right

L: to the left

deutliche Grenze = clear borderline

Re: mainly right

li: mainly left

ungefähre Grenze = approximate border

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, this border (see Fig. 561) runs from the mouth of the Neretva into the Mediterranean Sea to the mouth of the Bosna into the Danube (Mladenovic 1973, p. 99 in Leibman 1992, p. 233). In the center of the former Yugoslavia the division is not so sharp, there are exceptions on both sides (Leibman 1992, p. 236). In Hungary, according to Martin (1973, p. 114), it runs along the Danube. In Slovakia there are both directions, in the Czech Republic right predominates in Moravia and left in Bohemia. The Polish chain dances tend to go to the right, as far as today's remainder is at all representative. The same applies to Lithuania and Latvia, whereas the left is the preferred direction in Estonia, as in the rest of

Central Europe. The clockwise direction dominates throughout the north and west,<sup>259</sup> as well as in southern Europe. However, one can find both directions in the Basque chain dances. On the other hand, in the east and south-east, as well as in the Middle East, dancing is predominantly to the right and in other Asian chain dance forms, the preferred direction is right.

There are a few regional exceptions to this preference for one direction, such as e.g. the direction of the chain dances in the Hakkari region in southeastern Turkey, which goes to the left.

There are individual exceptions for the preferred direction of a region itself, which are danced in the opposite direction. These are then delimited, for example, in Bulgaria as “Ljavo” (left) or in Greece as “Zervos” (left) in relation to the normal direction. Left is often also meant to be evaluative 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 have a ritual connection, then they are often in the context of burial and death or are associated with the defense against old spirits, the devil or witches.<sup>260</sup> Joe Graziosi<sup>261</sup> notes: "I know that in Kassos and Karpathos at least the Zervos is never performed at weddings, being considered bad luck." The connection of the direction of movement "left" with a negative evaluation is not so obvious for Bulgaria and Greece, but it is clear for Armenia, where "dancing to the left is associated with loss, grief, sadness, drought, exile etc."<sup>262</sup>

This evaluation of the direction of the circle also applies to other movements involved in ritual activities. All ritual circular movements, including those in the Orthodox Church such as circling the altar, are carried out counterclockwise (Leibman 1992, p. 223), like the dances there.

Such references are also documented for the “left dance area” in western Europe, only with the opposite sign. Here, moving to the left is good and right, and moving to the right serves to marginalize evil. In the ancient Roman wedding tradition, the bride and groom circle the altar clockwise, i.e. with the right side towards the altar (Wolfram 1951, p. 31). 'Withershins' (counterclockwise) is the way of witches and all bad things in Scotland. What is addressed to the dead also moves in opposite directions (Wolfram 1951, p. 32). The circling with the sun, on the other hand, expresses the special bond with the circled: the bond to the divine in the sanctuary, to the new home and the seat of his good spirits when the bride dances around the hearth, etc. The direction of movement determines the meaning of the action (Wolfram 1951, p. 32). In Norway, when you pass a cemetery, you turn yourself around three times counterclockwise, then the evil spirits cannot harm you. Wolfram interprets this as a defense circle (1951, p. 33). In earlier times, a child also had to turn away from the sun at first communion in Norway. Likewise, the priest turned before giving the sacrament (Wolfram 1951, p. 33). Circumnavigations around Drei-König or on similar occasions in Austria are also carried out

<sup>259</sup> The circular elements of the multi-couple dances also go to the left or at least start to the left in the case of a symmetrical execution.

<sup>260</sup> Leibman pp. 160f, footnote 10 and examples there; Tineke van Geel reports this for dances of Armenia, Dragan Paunovic for old Vlachian dances in Serbia and Dimitris Barbarousis for Greek dances.

<sup>261</sup> Personal email contact on January 13, 2014.

<sup>262</sup> Laura Shannon wrote this in a personal mail of January 17th, 2014 about Armenia, where this dancing to the left is connected with loss, grief, , drought, exile etc.

clockwise. So it was still the custom in 1947 in Rauris in East Tyrol that the owner of the house, on the feast of the Epiphany, had to circle the house three times clockwise while carrying an pan with embers (Wolfram 1951, p. 33). The “wrong” direction is also associated with witches or the devil (Salmen 1980, p. 18, p. 21, p. 21). The dances of death depicted in some churches, for example in Lübeck, move to the right with death as the lead dancer, whereas the dance direction in dances connected with death, in Berlin go to the left, whereby the latter does not fit the "wrong" direction.

This dichotomy of Europe with different preferred directions is remarkable and raises a number of questions: Have these preferred directions always existed or has it changed in one of the two areas? What was the original direction and what reasons led to a change of direction?

In addition to some written evidence and rare transitional forms in today's chain dances, iconographic analyses offer a possibility of determining the preferred direction in bygone times.

### **5.6.2 Iconographic analyses and other indications for the preferred direction in historical and prehistoric times**

For the period from their creation up to the Middle Ages, pictorial representations are the most important source of information about chain dances. The basis for the following analyses is formed by depictions of dance on Neolithic ceramics, particularly from the 6th - 4th millennium BC, rock carvings, stone carvings and wall paintings from very different time periods, figures made of clay from the 4th and 2nd millennium BC, figures made of metal from the corresponding metal ages, seal impressions from the 4th millennium BC, relief representations from the ancient Greek and Roman times, frescoes and painted pictures from the Middle Ages to modern era times.

In addition to various basic, material-technical, execution-technique and other conditions that influence an artistic product, such representations always include the subjective and artistic view of the person performing it. In addition, there are preferences and stylistic aspects due to the spirit of the time, e.g. preference for ornaments in the Geometric Period (in Greece 1100 - 700 BC), to which representations of circular chain dances with the body front towards the center go very well. The preference for profile views in the archaic period (700 - 500 BC), on the other hand, is more suited to snaking dances (Kleine 2005, pp. 41-42). Kleine cites a further example (2005, p. 43) for round figures in the Attic-Late Geometric period, which are mostly depicted mixed, whereas in the following periods only women are to be found in the figures. However, it is clear from the literature that there were still male dances and mixed rounds.

A particular problem arises when interpreting the direction of movement of representations that are attached to the outside of an object. This aspect is already discussed in Chap. 2.1.3. Based on the considerations given there, the direction is always assigned by the dancers. In the case of representations from which it is not clear whether the dancers are arranged with the body front or their back facing the viewer, it is assumed that the body front is always facing the viewer. All body parts shown in the profile are used for the directional analysis. In

contrast to Garfinkel's interpretation of direction, small asymmetries of bodies depicted in the front are not interpreted as such, but are interpreted as a consequence of special craftsmanship or the technology used. In the concrete evaluation, three categories are created. In addition to the left and right, there are also frontal images without profile components, which also include unclear or inconsistent images.

The evaluation of the representations for the left dance area of western Europe is compiled in Table 562a. A distinction is made between secular and religious motifs.

Tab. 562a: Evaluation of old chain dance representations from the western left dance area. (Database in data part C.2.2)

<b>Secular motifs</b>	left	right	unclear/frontal
before the Middle Ages	7	0	2
from Middle Age to 1820	47	19	13

<b>Religious motifs</b>	left	right	unclear/frontal
Dance of the dead (from 1439)	2	5	0
Angel chain dance	2	1	0

Before the Middle Ages, there are only a few representations of the left dance region, but these clearly indicate that people danced to the left in this area as well. The medieval and modern images also confirm the left direction for these later times. The result is not so clear when it comes to religious motifs (since the Middle Ages). However, the database is also very small.

The evaluation for the eastern right dance area of Europe is compiled in Tab. 562b.

Tab.562b: Evaluation of old chain dance representations from the eastern right dance area of Europe (database in data part C.2.1)

	left	right	frontal	2 groups opposite	unclear
Pictures from Garfinkel (2003) Fig. 10.5a,b; 10.6; 10.7; 10.8a-f; 10.15a			10		1
Prehistory to the Minoan period			5		
early Greek period 900 - 675 BC (Clay figures, ceramics)	5	0	3	3	
early Greek period 900 - 675 BC (Clay figures, ceramics) Own evaluation of the pictures in Tölle (1964)	25	1	0	2	
Archaic, Classical and Hellenic Period 675-100 BC (clay figures, ceramics, relief)	11	17	4	2	
Images from around 1000 (without tombstones)	4	30	0	0	2

For the Neolithic and Minoan times, the direction of movement in the illustrations is irrelevant. Here the dancers are all shown frontally without any preference. From the early Greek period to the classical period, the direction to the left clearly predominates. For the period from around 500 BC, for which most of the dance representations of Greece can be found in reliefs, the situation is not clear. The chain dances shown with the direction to the right predominate somewhat, but this does not have to be significant given the small amount of data. For the first millennium AD there are no chain dance images or none are accessible to me. In the pictures from 1000 AD, right now clearly dominates in the east as the predominant direction of the chain dances. The evaluation of the pictures speaks for the assumption that the chain dances in the east originally also went to the left and that between 500 BC and 1000 AD a reversal of direction took place.

For all of Europe, the original direction of movement seems to be left. Whether the preferred direction to the left also prevailed in the area of origin can only be clarified through a corresponding analysis of Neolithic depictions of the Middle East. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 562c.

Tab.562c: Own evaluation of the Neolithic images of chain dances in Garfinkel (2003)

region and period	Σ	Chain dances, be there circular chain and snaking dances differentiated		Direction of dance seen from the dancer * <sup>1</sup>			
		cCD	snaking Dance (sD) or single file Dance (sfD)	left	right	unclear	frontal
Middle East 8.-7. mill. BC	13	4 o.H. 3 w.H.	1 sfD	3	2	0	2
Anteil		54%	8%				
Halafian and Samarra Cultures 6. mill. BC	108	8 o.H. 93 w.H.	2 sfD. o.H.,	5	0	0	93
Portion		93%	2%				
Iran to Pakistan 6.-5. mill BC	106	16 o.H. 59 w.H.	1 sfD. w.H. 1 sfD. o.H. 14 bodies in a row	15	2	1	74
Portion		71%	15%				
SE-Europa 6.-5. mill. BC	56	3 o.H. 10 w.H.		0	0	1	10
Portion		23%					
Predynastic Egypt 5.- 4. mill. BC	58	2 o.H. 17 w.H.		6	7	1	7
Portion		33%					
Middle East 4.-3. mill. BC.	37	15 w.H. 12 o.H.	3 sD w.H. 2 sfD. o.H. 2 sfD. w.H.	11	19	1	2
		73%	19%				

\*<sup>1</sup> Solo dancers are not counted; cCD = circular Chain Dance; sD = snaking Dance; sfD. = single file Dance; o.H. = without holding; w.H. = with holding (joining)

The vast majority of the dancers in the 8th to 5th millennium BC are frontally shown in such a way that no direction of movement can be assigned. This does not mean that the dances were danced in place. Even today, with corresponding photographs of circular chain dances performed in front, the direction of movement in the picture cannot be determined, although it is actually there. On the other hand, this fact can possibly be interpreted in such a way that there is a lateral direction of movement, but that the alignment of the front of the body towards the center is more important both during the dance itself and in the representations. Unfortunately, no preferred direction can be deduced from these analyzes, even if the left is found somewhat more frequently than the right. Today the direction to the right dominates in the Middle East and in the Asian areas of distribution of the chain dances. Whether this has always been the case there or whether there has been a reversal of direction as in Eastern Europe cannot be said from the database on which this work is based. For Eastern Europe, however, this reversal of direction seems clear and this assumption is supported by further evidence.

Prokhorov (2002, p. 50) writes that in pre-Christian Slavic society the khorovod was danced with the sun. R. Koop<sup>263</sup> also expresses himself in this sense, although he does not suspect a change of direction until the 17th century. The old Vlachian dances were also danced to the left, as D. Barbarousis<sup>264</sup> found for his homeland in Northern Greece. D. Paunovic makes the same statement about Vlachian dances<sup>265</sup> in eastern Serbia. According to Barbarousis, this also applies to the old dances from Epiros.

A few old dance forms can be interpreted as a transitional form between one execution to the left and one to the right. In Crete there is the dance Ethianos<sup>266</sup> with a basic three-measure pattern in two different variants, both of which are danced to the right. One variant begins with the right foot and the steps are taken as is usual with the three-measure pattern to the right. The other variant starting with the left has a step distribution, as is usual with this pattern when it is carried out to the left. Possibly this dance was danced to the left earlier. In the process of reversing the direction, the original steps were first used, only executed straight to the right, and in a further part of this change the steps within the pattern were then switched from left to right.

The question now arises whether factors or processes can be identified that triggered a reversal of direction in the chain dances of Eastern Europe, which took place in the period between 500 BC occurring in Greece and possibly later in other regions of Eastern Europe.

---

<sup>263</sup> Dutch folk dance expert for Russian dances in an interview on May 12, 2011.

<sup>264</sup> Dimitris Barbarousis, Greek folk dance teacher from Northern Greece, himself of Vlach origin, in a conversation on November 20, 2010 at a seminar in Stuttgart.

<sup>265</sup> Dragan Paunovic, folk dance teacher for Serbian dances at the seminar on October 5th / 6th, 1991 on the dance "Stara Vlajna" (means: old Vlachian dance).

<sup>266</sup> D. Barbarousis on November 20, 2010 in Stuttgart.

### 5.6.3 Attempts to explain the different preferred directions in chain dances in Europe

So far, only a few hypotheses have been formulated for the causes of the division of Europe into two areas with different preferred directions for chain dances. These are checked in the following with the findings of the present work on the origin and spread of the chain dances. In addition to the sparse written evidence and the presumed transitional forms, the iconographic analyses play an important role.

In principle, there are two different possibilities that could have led to the current situation of the preferred directions. Either the areas with different directions already emerged when the chain dances were spread, or in one area the direction was changed at a later point in time. The iconographic evaluations speak against different directions from the beginning, which indicate that in the whole of Europe originally and thereafter until the 6th century BC. left was preferred. In addition, with the current state of knowledge, no causes can be identified that could have led to different directions during the process of spreading.

Supporting this point of view, Mladenović cites the opinion of Stojković et al. (1926, pp. 25-42, in Leibman 1992, footnote 53, p. 233), who believe that the preference for the left direction of movement, i.e. with the sun, is a remnant of a primeval cult of the sun god among all Indo-Europeans.<sup>267</sup> Clockwise, i.e. rotating with the sun, is therefore understood in a rural tradition based on the cultivation of plants as healing and well (Barber 2013, p. 361). Since there is currently no evidence against this hypothesis, it must be assumed that after the spread of the Neolithic culture throughout Europe, chain dances were danced with the preferred direction to the left.

But at what time and for what reasons did the change of the preferred direction for chain dances from left to right take place in the eastern part of Europe? In the circular chain dance representations of Greece this change takes place around 500 BC. At the beginning of the classical period. Up until this point in time, the chain dances, which were mainly depicted on ceramic vessels, went mainly to the left, while the relief images preferred from this time onwards mostly to the right. The causes of this change are not seen and the rest of Europe is likely still moving to the left at that time. The fact that this change of direction occurs first in southeastern Europe, however, suggests an influence emanating from neighboring southwestern Asia. But perhaps the direction to the right in the relief representations also has other reasons related to the change in the representation material. Nevertheless, the analysis results of the round tables are a first indication of a change of direction during this time. Also the assumption expressed by Mladenović (1973, pp. 99-101; in Leibman 1992, footnote 53, p. 233) that indigenous peoples of the Balkans, before the migration of the Slavs in the 5th and 6th centuries AD danced to the right does not contradict iconographic representations. After their migration, the Slavs took over the preferred direction to the right for the areas of the Balkans, whereas the Russian Horovods, like the last circular chain dances of the Poles and Czechs, after Mladenović at this time still went to the left. The latter statement is only true today for the remaining chain dances in the Czech Republic. In Poland, Slovakia and Russia, most dances are danced to the right and may not have reversed direction until later.

---

<sup>267</sup> In pre-Christian Slavic society, the Khorovod went with the sun to worship Yarilo, a prot-Slavic goddess of fertility, spring and vegetation (Prokhorov 2002, p. 50).

Leibman (1992, p. 222ff) contributes a further aspect to this topic in his work on the structure of Balkan dances. In it, Leibman correlates the boundary between the preferred direction of dancing right and left with three historically documented or conditional boundaries, which, by and large, coincide with the left-right boundary. These are the borders between the Holy Roman Empire and Byzantium, the border between the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary and the border between Catholic and Orthodox Christians.<sup>268</sup> In terms of content, the boundaries between Byzantium and Rome and thus also between Orthodox and Catholic Christianity seem to be essential, because with Byzantium the Greek influence dominated, with Rome the western one and this difference could also be related to a different assessment of the directions in earlier times.

This difference is still reflected today, among other things, in making the sign of the cross which, in the Orthodox Church the third touch is first on the right shoulder, in the Catholic Church this is first on the left shoulder. Other ritual movements of direction such as circling the altar also differ (Leibman 1992, p. 223).

With the spread of Orthodox Christianity, there was a preference for the right in northern and partly in western Slavic areas<sup>269</sup> and there are few indications that the preferred direction of chain dances also changed from left to right in the course of the Christianization of these regions. Christianity does not seem to be the primary cause for the change of direction in the eastern Balkan countries, because this change took place earlier, on the basis of the iconographic evaluations. If one looks at the current situation, one generally finds, in all European languages and probably beyond, a link from the right with luck, honorable, right, positive and good and also a link from the left with bad luck, misfortune, wrong, awkward and the like.

A fundamental cause of the different left-right evaluation is probably the worldwide dominance of right-handedness of around 90% (Hoops 2003, p. 226). The right hand is the more adept at doing more, so it can help, protect, work miracles, and crush enemies. Left-handedness seems to have been discriminated against as inferior already in antiquity (Betz 2003, p. 1118f). It wasn't like that everywhere. In ancient Rome, the left side was the lucky one when birds were flying or offerings were being made (Kittel 1935, p. 37). Right meant disaster for the Romans (Mohr 1960, p. 382). The same applied to the Germanic-speaking area, in which the word 'winistar' still meant „left“ up to Old High German (Hoops 2001, p. 481). A word whose semantic field includes words like ‚Wonne‘, ‚Gewinn‘, ‚Wunsch‘ und ‚Leidenschaft‘ ('delight', 'profit', 'desire' and passion) (Hoops 2003, p. 229). There is a relationship to the Latin 'sinister' (left) and the Greek 'aristeros' (left), which could indicate that these words did not originally have a negative connotation. The word 'winistar' reflects the fact that in this case the left side was rated as the favorable, a better one (Hoops 2001, p.

---

<sup>268</sup> It is no coincidence that Leibman uses the phrase that the boundaries by and large coincide. Because the first mentioned border between the Holy Roman Empire and Byzantium (Leibman 1992, p. 222) exactly coincides with the border for the preferred direction in Hungary, but is located in the southern course at least today further to the west. The second border between the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary (Leibman 1992, p. 223) does not coincide well in any area. This also applies to the third border between Catholic and Orthodox Christians (Leibman 1992, p. 223), since e.g. in Hungary there are no Orthodox Christians, but many Catholics also live on the other side of the Danube and this region is part of the legal dance area.

<sup>269</sup> The situation for Poland is unclear, where people mostly danced to the right, although Poland was influenced by the Catholic Church.



481). “While the right hand owes its preference to greater strength and dexterity, the positive evaluation of the left side may be motivated by the victim situation. The 'primary' line of sight is to the east, towards the rising sun, but the Teutons set the residence of the gods in the north, because they pray facing north (*horfa, lita î nordr*) ... But the divine side of heaven necessarily applied to them healing, more favorable” (Hoops 2001, p. 481). When looking to the east, the gods were then in the north. The preference for the left also applied to the ancient Slavs before their migration to the Balkans, at least when it came to dancing (Mladenović 1973, pp. 99-101; in Leibman 1992, footnote 53, p. 233). The Romans then later took over from the Greeks the belief that the left side was the unlucky side (Mohr 1960, p. 382) and the right side was the lucky side (Kittel 1935, p. 37). This change can also be traced in North Sea Germanic, in which 'wenistera' is replaced by the common new formation 'lufti', which by definition does not mean 'left' but rather unsuitable. In Middle High German there is, among other things, 'linc' (Hoops 2001, p. 482). This process took place in many European languages between the 8th and 15th centuries (Hoops 2003, p. 229). 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 those who are afflicted with his right hand, punishes enemies, gives his people land, helps in need and creates the world. The right side is associated with favor, luck, honor and justice (Kittel 1935, p. 37). Whereas the heart of the gates goes to his left (Kittel 1935, p. 37). “The overall picture of the right hand of God developed in the course of the Jewish apocalyptic: in the Persian and Hellenistic times from the 5th century BC onwards (Mail from Prof. Großhans, Münster, January 25, 2014). The negative assessment of the left is also widespread in many cultures in the neighborhood of Israel (Betz 2003, p. 836). This system of values is continued in the New Testament when Jesus places the sheep on the right side and the goats on the left side at the Last Judgment (Kittel 1935, p. 38), also in the exaltation of Christ to the right hand of God (Kittel 1935, p. 38). In Central Europe, the idea that dancing goes right to heaven and left to the devil can be traced back to the 13th century (Harding 1973, p. 63). In Master Ingold's “Goldenem Spiel” from 1432 it says in a sense: to the right dance with our Lord Jesus Christ into eternal life, not to the left like the sad dancer ... (in Harding 1973, p. 61). It is very similar in the *Mireour du Monde* from the 14th century, where Caroles are referred to as processions to the devil because they go to the left. It also says there that the paths that turn to the right go to God (in Harding 1973, p. 62). And also the much-quoted sentence by Jakob von Vitry: “*Chorea enim circulus est, cujus centrum est diabolus, et omnes vergunt in sinistrum*”<sup>270</sup> (The circular chain dance is a circle whose center is the devil and all are aligned to the left) contains this message. Despite this negative assessment of the dance direction to the left, the western half of Europe stuck to this preferred direction. The reason for this may lie in a comparatively early secularization of dance in Central and Western Europe, which led to an early exclusion from the religious ritual area. In addition, the chain dances were increasingly replaced by couple dances. In the eastern half of Europe, the chain dances remained in a religious context for much longer. This led to the fact that outside the Balkan countries, under the influence of the Orthodox Church, the preferred direction to the right dominated. This may also explain the preferred direction to the right in Catholic Poland and Lithuania, where the secularization of dancing was probably not that advanced. Overall, the few documents and

---

<sup>270</sup> Jacques de Vitry, *Sermones vulgares domini Jacobi Vitricensis*, Paris, BN, ms. lat. 17509, fol. 146.

processes that are difficult to grasp result in the following sequence for the change in the preference for left and right.

After the spread of the Neolithic culture, preference was given to the left across Europe. This applies to the chain dances and probably also to other references. From the 5th century BC a process of change begins, which can first be grasped in ancient Greece. A change in the assessment of right and left seems to come from south-western Asia, if only from a geographical point of view. This is also supported by the image of God's rights in the Jewish apocalyptic, which becomes tangible in the Old Testament at this time (see above). This is further supported by the fact that other peoples of the Middle East also rate the right as the better side. In the course of the spread of Christianity, which adopts this assessment, the preferred direction in dancing changes throughout Eastern Europe. Western Europe, too, presumably adopts the new value system as a result of Christianization. At this point in time, the chain dances of western Europe were no longer part of the religious ritual. They were mostly performed in a sociable context, which meant that they kept their old direction, insofar as they were danced at all.

## 5.7 Relationships of the chain dances in different areas

Western Eurasian chain dances likely have a common origin and form a kinship group. This is supported by the following features, at least for the original forms:

- Corresponding external structural features such as chain setting, body front aligned to the center (in the proportionally dominating circular chain dances)
- Simple step patterns over a few measures that are repeated over and over again
- A widespread distribution and a high proportion of the three-measure pattern (011)
- Asymmetrical patterns
- Accompaniment by one's own singing
- A great similarity of the associated names in many distribution regions

An area-wide and coherent area of distribution at least until the Middle Ages (Fig. 421), which corresponds to the expansion of the early shepherds and farmers of the Middle East, suggests that the chain dances were spread along with the culture of the Neolithic. For the beginning of the expansion in the 8th to 4th millennium BC, this expansion is well represented by chain dance representations in archaeological finds. Outside the large distribution area that extends into western Iran, chain dances also occur in the following areas:

- Among the Berbers in North Africa
- With certain ethnic groups in Central and North India, especially Northeast India (tribal dances), in Bangladesh and Nepal
- With minorities in southwest China (especially in Yunnan) and occasionally in Tibet •  
With the Buryats west of Lake Baikal (until 1990)
- With the Yakuts in Sakha
- Among the indigenous people of Taiwan

The existence of several distribution areas raises the question of whether the chain dances in these areas go back to a common origin in the Middle East or whether they arose independently of the Western Eurasian chain dances. With the same origin, all important features of the Western Eurasian chain dances should match those of the respective forms. A comparison of the individual attributes is summarized in Tab. 570.

Fig. 570a: Characteristics of the chain dances in the different areas of distribution

characteristic/ region	Western Eurasia	Berber	North- & central India	Lisu etc. SW china)
holding	all	Touching the shoulder, sometimes joined	many	almost all
cirular chain dances	almost all	yes	yes	yes
snaking dances	very few	no	yes	?
single file dances	no	no	no	few, e.g. at the Pumi

simple step pattern (1 – 7MP)	most of the original forms	very simple	very simple (2MP, 4MP)	yes
3MP	many	no	no?	some
8MP	western Balkans	no	few	few
asymmetrical pattern	yes	yes	yes	yes
terms	,chor´-family, ,chobi´-family	Ahouach (higher Atlas)	Garba (in Gujarat) and similar, but also some completely different words	woa kia (N-Thailand) wa ki (SW-China), Qie´ (pronunciation: tʃeə[r]).
archaeological finds of the Neolithic expansion with chain dance representations	Middle East, Southeast Europe, Romania	?	Rock carvings by Bhimbetka	painted ceramic with chain dance, Majiayao culture Northwest China, around 3900-3500 BC, from Datong Shangsunjiashai and from Tongde Zongri, Qinghai

Fig. 570b: Characteristics of the chain dances in the different areas of distribution

characteristic/ region	Buryate	Yakute	Taiwan
holding	yes	yes	with many dances
circular chain dances	yes	yes	yes
snaking dances	?	?	yes
single file dances	no	no	no
simple step pattern (1 – 7MP)	yes (4TM)	yes	yes
3MP	?	?	occasionally, but no basic version
8MP	?	?	few
asymmetrical pattern	yes	yes	yes
terms	Jochar	Ohuokhai	
archaeological finds of the Neolithic expansion with chain dance representations	(Rock carving Tamgaly)	(Rock carving Tamgaly)	?

In the Berber chain dances, not all characteristics are ideally present. Since the early Neolithic also spread to North Africa and the Berbers are considered a very old ethnic group there, an ancestry from the Middle East is conceivable. In the case of the term 'Ahouach', only the first radical of the presumed root word 'chor' would then be present. There doesn't seem to be any three-measure dances there.

The three-measure pattern does not seem to exist in the chain dance forms of Central and North India and neighboring areas either. However, that needs to be investigated better. The external structural features and the simple step pattern are the same as in the Western Eurasian distribution area. The rock carvings from Bhimbetka (Fig. 461) also indicate that these forms have existed here for a long time. With a few exceptions such as 'Khel' or 'Shhapro', the corresponding terms do not belong to the root word 'chor'. A common origin with the Western Eurasian chain dances seems possible, but is not yet clearly verifiable.



Fig. 570a: Bronze Age rock painting in the Tamgaly Gorge, Kazakhstan (detail), 2nd millennium BC

There seems to be a clear relationship to the dances of the minorities of Southwest China. They show a correspondence in all characteristics with the Western Eurasian chain dances and even the basic version of the three-measure pattern belongs to the repertoire of Nu, Pumi, Mosuo, Naxi, Yi and Lisu. The terms 'Qie' (pronunciation: tʃeə [r]) of the Yi, 'wu'<sup>271</sup> chuo' of the Naxi or woa kia of the Lisu could have a connection with the root word 'chor'. There are also Neolithic depictions of chain dances of the Majiayao culture in northwest China from the

<sup>271</sup> 'Wu' is the Chinese word for dance.

first half of the 4th millennium BC (Figs. 454c and 454d), which in style go well with the earlier depictions of the Middle East and also with the chronology of the spread. The chain dances of these minorities seem to have the same origin as the Western Eurasian forms. In addition, there are “single file dances” among some ethnic groups (Tab. 452a), which are also present in the early depictions of Western Asia, but which hardly occur there today. Bronze Age rock carvings in the Tamgaly Gorge in southeast Kazakhstan (Fig. 570a) testify that there were once people there who counted these dances as part of their cultural heritage. There are no more chain dances there today. Possibly the rock paintings establish a connection with the areas of the Buryats and Yakuts to the northeast, whose chain dances show all characteristics and the word 'Jochar' as the Buryat<sup>272</sup> designation for chain dance fits very well with the root word 'chor'.

Also noteworthy is the solitary distribution area Taiwan in East Asia. The characteristics of the chain dances of the indigenous people there largely correspond to those of the Western Eurasian occurrences. They also have mostly simple step patterns, mostly 1TM, 2TM or 4TM, but other lengths are also available. In most forms today, several patterns are added in sequence in a dance. One pattern is repeated several times for a while, then another. This could be a modern development, because, for example, in the wedding dance of the Rukai<sup>273</sup> and other forms linked to customs, only a single pattern is danced and is only sung for dancing, which is also typical for the original Western Eurasian occurrences. The three-measure pattern occurs occasionally, but not in the basic version. However, the dance names there are not based on the word 'chor'. There is also no evidence that the early Neolithic of the Middle East spread to Taiwan. A clear allocation is not possible on the basis of the current circumstantial situation. The chain dances of Taiwan therefore seem to be more of an analogous parallel development despite their great similarity to the Western Eurasian forms.

Legend for Fig. 570c:

Kettentänze einer Minderheit = chain dances of a minority

Vereinzelte Kettentänze = singular chain dances

Drei-Takt-Tänze = three measure dances

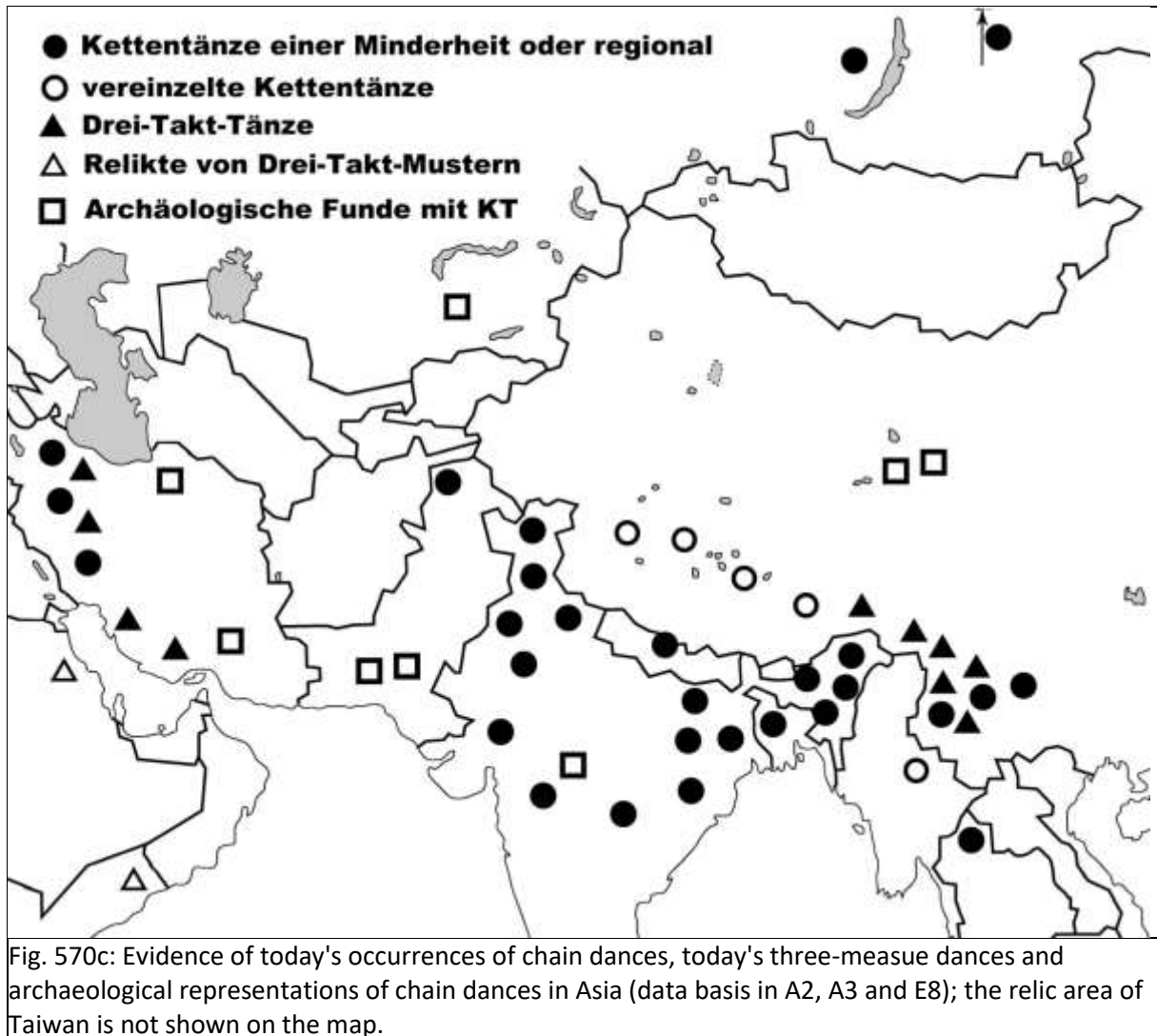
Relikte von Drei-Takt-Mustern = relicts from three measure pattern

Archäologische Funde mit KT = Archaeological finds with chain dance

---

<sup>272</sup> The Buryats are a Mongolian ethnic group who practiced circular chain dances until the 1980s, which had all the characteristics of this type of dance. Their way of life as shepherds of goats and sheep could indicate a possible descent from the early shepherds and farmers who also had these domestic animals. When they were dominated by the horse-tending Mongols (superstrat), they adopted their language, but retained their way of life, their dances and their designation (substratum).

<sup>273</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_4aLUKgv30](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_4aLUKgv30) from 8.8.14



### Summary and interpretation

In North Africa there is only sparse evidence of chain dances, which can be interpreted as remnants of the Neolithic expansion from the Middle East. The initial expansion towards Africa was probably already poor, because the post-glacial warming shifted the areas favorable for this form of agriculture to the north. In addition, later indigenous influences of Africa obliterated the traces of the early shepherds and farmers from the Middle East.

In the Asian areas east of Iran, in particular the chain dances of the minorities of southwest China and the Buryats west of Lake Baikal have obvious similarities in terms of features that can be assumed to have a common origin with the Western Eurasian forms. However, there are no more chain dances in the connecting territories. Here later events such as the repeated west and south-west movement of equestrian peoples from Central Asia covered the historically older east and north-east migration of the early Neolithic of the Middle East. A further investigation of the mentioned relic areas would be desirable and worthwhile, but cannot be carried out within the scope of this work.

## 6. Literature

- Aeppli, Fritz (1925). Die wichtigsten Ausdrücke für das Tanzen in den romanischen Sprachen, Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, Heft Nr. LXXXV. Halle 1925
- Akkermans, Peter & Schwartz, Glenn (2003). *The Archaeology of Syria*. Cambridge University Press 2003.
- Arbeau, Thoinot (1588). *Orchésographie*. Nachdruck des Georg Olms Verlag Hildesheim 1980.
- Archäologisches Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg (2009). *Eiszeit. Kunst und Kultur. Begleitband zur Großen Landesausstellung. Ostfildern 2009*.
- Armstrong, Lucile (1985). *A window on Folk Dance*, 1985.
- Attaignant, Pierre (1530). *Chansons und Tänze; Pariser Tabulaturdrucke für Tasteninstrumente aus dem Jahre 1530*. Herausgegeben von E. Bernoulli; München 1914; Verlag von Carl Kuhn. Heft 4: Tänze.
- Au, Hans von der (1939). *Das Volksgut im Rheinfränkischen*.
- Bachmann, Werner (Hg. 1987). *Musikgeschichte in Bildern. Band II: Musik des Altertums, Mittelasien*.
- Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (Hrg.). *Vor 12000 Jahren in Anatolien, Die Ältesten Monumente der Menschheit*. Theiss Stuttgart 2007.
- Bakka, Egil et al. (1986). *Grunnbok i Folkedans*. Oslo 1986.
- Barazi, Nawal (1966). *Geschichte des Volkstanzes in Syrien*. Diplomarbeit Sporthochschule Köln 1966.
- Barber, Elizabeth Wayland (2013). *The Dancing Goddesses. Folklore, Archaeology, and the Origins of European Dance*. New York 2013.
- Bechert, Johannes & Wildgen, Wolfgang (1991). *Einführung in die Sprachkontaktforschung*. Darmstadt 1991.
- Benecke, Georg Friedrich (1854 – 1866). *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*.
- Benz, Marion (2008). *Neolithisierung im Vorderen Orient*. Berlin 2008.
- Berneker, Erich (1913). *Slavisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg 1924.
- BetBasoo, Peter Pnuel 2003. *Thirty Assyrian Folk Dances*.  
<http://www.yumpu.com/en/document/view/8881497/thirty-assyrian-folk-dances>.
- Betz et al (2003). *Calwer Bibellexikon Band 2*. Calwer Verlag 2003.
- Biçer, Şahin 2009. *Aus der Seele kommt der Tanz*. Zürich 2009.
- Blank, Andreas (2005). *Etymologie und Wortgeschichte III: Neue Zugänge zu semantischem Wandel*; in Cruse, Alan et al. (2005). *Lexikologie, 2. Halbband*, S. 1324 - 1332. Berlin 2005.
- Bless-Grabher, Magdalen (1995). *Die Rechtsquellen des Kantons St. Gallen. Zweiter Teil, erste Reihe: Die Rechtsquellen der Stadt St. Gallen, erster Band: Die Stadtbücher des 14. bis frühen 17. Jahrhunderts*. Aarau 1995.
- Bodgani, Ramazan (1991). *Albanian Folk Dances Accompanied with Music*. In: *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* S. 327 – 333.
- Boehme, M. Franz (1886). *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland*. Nachdruck Olms Verlag Hildesheim
- Boehn, Max von (1925). *Der Tanz*. Volksverband der Bücherfreunde Wegweiser-Verlag Berlin 1925.



- Böhling, Björn. Ritterturniere im Mittelalter. <http://www.ritterturniere-im-mittelalter.de>
- Bollongino, R. & Burger, J. & Haak, W. (2006). DNA-Untersuchungen beim Menschen und Rindern. In Archäologie in Deutschland Heft 3 2006.
- Bräuer, Günter (2006). Das Out-of-Africa-Modell und die Kontroverse um den Ursprung des modernen Menschen in Conard, Nicholas (2006): Woher kommt der Mensch? Tübingen 2006.
- Breathnach, Breandan 1971. Folk Music and Dances of Ireland. Dublin 1971.
- Brunner Traut, Emma (1992). Der Tanz im alten Ägypten. Ägyptologische Forschungen Heft 6. 3. Auflage 1992.
- Brunner, Wolfgang (1983). Tanzhistorische Studien III: Höfischer Tanz um 1500. DBT Heft 8/1983
- Bumke, Joachim 1997. Höfische Kultur in Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter. DTV München 1997.
- Busch, Gabriele Christiane 1982. Ikonographische Studien zum Solotanz im Mittelalter. Heibling Innsbruck 1982.
- Busch-Hofer, Roswitha (1989). Vierpaartänze – niederdeutsches oder gesamteuropäisches Kulturgut? In Tanzhistorische Studien I: Kontratänze. Deutscher Bundesverband Tanz Heft 5 1989.
- Busse, Dietrich (2005). Etymologie und Wortgeschichte II: Semantischer Wandel in traditioneller Sicht; in Cruse, Alan et al. (2005). Lexikologie, 2. Halbband, S. 1306 - 1324. Berlin 2005.
- Bußmann, Hadumond (Hg., 2008). Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaft. Stuttgart 2008.
- Calendoli, Giovanni (1986). Tanz – Kult, Rhythmus, Kunst. München 1986.
- Cavalli-Sforza, Luigi Luca (1996). Gene, Völker und Sprachen. DTV 1976.
- Çilingiroğlu, Çiler 2005. The concept of „Neolithic package“: considering its meaning and applicability. Documenta Praehistorica XXXII (2005)
- Clottes, Jean & Lewis-Williams, David (1996, Übersetzung in Englische 1998). The Shamans of Prehistory. Trance and Magic in the Painted Caves. New York 1998.
- Collaer, Paul (1966). Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Band 1 Musikethnologie/ Lieferung 2, Amerika.
- Collon, Dominique (2003). Dance in the Ancient World. Near Eastern Archaeology, Vol. 66, No. 3, S. 96 – 102.
- Crate, Susan (2006). Oluokhai: Sakhas' Unique Integration of Social Meaning and Movement, in Journal of American Folklore 119 (472), S. 161-183.
- Dąbrowska, Grażyna (1983). Reigentänze in Polen in: Analyse und Klassifikation von Volkstänzen. Polen 1983.
- Dahms, Sibylle (Hg) (2001). Tanz. MGG Prisma. Bärenreiter Kassel 2001.
- Dawkins, Richard (1976/2007). Das egoistische Gen. Jubiläumsausgabe 2007, eine Übersetzung der Originalausgabe: The selfish Gene. Oxford 1976.
- Dhillon, Iqbal Singh (1998). Folk Dance of Panjab. Delhi 1998.
- Diamond, Jared and Bellwood, Peter (2003). Farmer and Their Languages: The First Expansion. In Science VOL 300 vom 25. April 2003, S. 597 – 603.
- Diez, Friedrich Christian (1869). Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen.
- Dimitrakos, Christos (1974). Die heutigen griechischen Volkstänze und ihre Volkskunde. Diplomarbeit an der Sporthochschule Köln 1974.

- Dimopoulos, Konstandinos (2009) et al.. The end of a ritual or the beginning of new social structures? The case of Bright Tuesday in the community of Lazarina, Karditsa, Thessaly. CID-congress Malaga 2009.
- Dimoski, Mihailo (1977). Makedonski Narodni Ora, Bd. 2. Institut da Folklor. Skopje 1977.
- Dolmetsch, Mabel 1954. Dances of Spain and Italy from 1400 – 1600. London 1954.
- Dometsch, Mabel 1949. Dances of England and France from 1450 to 1600. London 1949. Nachdruck New York 1976.
- Donkov, Ivan (1997). Folk Dances from the region of Velinko Tarnovo. Bulgaria 1997.
- Đorđević, Desa (ohne Jahresangabe). Serbian and Vlach Folk Dances.
- Dörwaldt, Editha (1965). Ungarische Volkstänze, Leipzig 1965.
- Duden (2007). Das Herkunftswörterbuch. Etymologie der deutschen Sprache. Mannheim 2007.
- Duggan, Schlottmann, Rutledge (1948). Folk dance of the British Isles. New York 1948.
- Dumbrill, Richard (2005). The Archaeomusicology of the ancient Near East. Trafford 2005.
- Džudžev, Stojan (1945). Bulgarska Narodna Horeographia. Sofia 1945.
- Elias Norbert (1971/1982). Die Genese des Sport als soziologisches Problem. In Hopf, Wilhelm (Hg.) 1982. Sport im Zivilisationsprozeß. Münster 1982.
- Elias, Norbert (1939/1969). Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Erster und zweiter Band. Erstausgabe 1939. Um die Einleitung erweitert 1969; als Taschenbuch im Suhrkamp Verlag 1976; Neuauflage von 1997.
- Elyholy, Alaa Eldin (1999). Tanz im alten Ägypten. Diplomarbeit Sporthochschule Köln, 1999 mit Video.
- Emmerson, George S. (1972). A Social History of Scottish Dance: Ane Celestial Recreation. Montreal, Quebec, and London, Ontario: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1972.
- Evers, Frydrych, Rohling (1989). Volkstänze aus dem Elsass. Berlin 1989.
- Finscher, Ludwig (Hg.) (1994). Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Sachteil 1. Metzler Stuttgart. 1994.
- Finscher, Ludwig (Hg.) (1998). Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Sachteil 8. Metzler Stuttgart. 1998.
- Flett, Joan, and Flett, Thomas M. (1964). Traditional Dancing in Scotland.
- Franks, A.H (1963). Social Dance, A Short History. London 1963.
- Friedberg, Joan (1997). Cultural Change in Traditional Dances in Florina, Greece. <http://joancarolfriedberg.com/iofapaper.html>.
- Friedberg, Joan (2000). Tracing the past through the present in the Florina & Lake Prespa region Greek Macedonia. <http://joancarolfriedberg.com/iofapaper2.html>.
- Friend, Robyn C. (1992). Dance in Iran. <http://home.earthlink.net/~rcfriend/danciran.htm>.
- Frisk, Hjalmar (1970). Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Heidelberg 1970.
- Fu, Qiaomel; Rudan, Pavao; Pääbo, Svante, Krause, Johannes (2012). Complete Mitochondrial Genomes Reveal Neolithic Expansion into Europe. <http://www.plosone.org/article/info%3Adoi%2F10.1371%2Fjournal.pone.0032473>
- Gamillscheg, Ernst (1928). Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache. Heidelberg 1928.
- Garfinkel, Yosef (2003). Dancing at the dawn of agriculture. University of Texas.
- Garfinkel, Yosef (2010). Dance in prehistoric Europe. Documenta Praehistorica XXXVII 2010.

- Giger, Peter (2009). Die Kunst des Rhythmus. Schott Verlag 2009
- Giurchescu, Anca (1983). Klassifizierung der rumänischen Kettentänze in: Analyse und Klassifikation von Volkstänzen. Polen 1983.
- Göhner, Ulrich 1979. Bewegungsanalyse im Sport. Karl Hoffmann Verlag Schorndorf 1979.
- Goldschmidt, Aenne (2001, 6.Auflage). Handbuch des deutschen Volkstanzes. W. Kögler Verlag Stuttgart 2001.
- Grimm, Jacob und Wilhelm(1935). Deutsches Wörterbuch.
- Gronenborn, Detlef (2006). Letzte Jäger – erste Bauern, in: Archäologie in Deutschland 3.2006, S. 18 – 24.
- Gronenborn, Detlef (2007). Vom Rand der Wüste bis an den Rand der Arktis - Die Ausbreitung der Landwirtschaft im westlichen Eurasien. In Damals, das Magazin für Geschichte und Kultur. 39. Jahrgang. Heft 2-2007.
- Grosse, Rudolf (1970). Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch Band II. Akademie Verlag. Berlin 1970.
- Gruyter, Walter de (2011). Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch, Band 6, 2. Auflage. Berlin, New York.
- Günther, Helmut (1970). Tanzunterricht in Deutschland. Eine kultur-soziologische Studie. DBT Heft 2/1970
- Günther, Helmut und Schäfer, Helmut (1975). Vom Schamanentanz zur Rumba – Die Geschichte des Gesellschaftstanzes. Fritz Iffland Stuttgart 1975.
- Haak, Wolfgang (2006). Populationsgenetik der ersten Bauern Mitteleuropas. Eine aDNA-Studie an neolithischem Skelettmaterial. Dissertation der Universität Mainz.
- Haak, Wolfgang et al. (2010). Ancient DNA from European Early Neolithic Farmers Reveals Their Near Eastern Affinities  
<http://www.plosbiology.org/article/info%3Adoi%2F10.1371%2Fjournal.pbio.1000536>
- Haarmann, Harald (2006). Weltgeschichte der Sprachen. C. H. Beck München
- Haarmann, Harald (2008). Weltgeschichte der Zahlen. C. H. Beck München
- Hamel, Elisabeth 2007. Das Werden der Völker in Europa. Berlin 2007.
- Harding, Ann (1973). An investigation into the use and meaning of medieval german dancing terms. Göppingen 1973.
- Heberling, Elisabeth. Etymologische und philologische Untersuchungen im Anschluss an einige Tanzwörter Neidharts und seiner Schule. Diss. Münster 1945.
- Heikel, Yngvar und Collan, Anni (1948). Dances of Finland. London 1948.
- Heinze, Jürgen (2005). Von Genen und Memen – genetische und kulturelle Evolution. In Hauska, Günter (Hrsg.). Gene, Sprachen und ihre Evolution. Universitätsverlag Regensburg 2005.
- Hengst, Dirk Patrick (2003). Tanz, Trance und Ekstase. Horlemann Verlag 2003.
- Hepp, Michael (1999). Strukturerehaltende Vereinfachung in Zeitschrift Tanzen 1/99
- Hepp, Michael (2010). Der Roien – schon 10000 Jahre alt und immer noch nicht tot. Der Heimatpfleger 4/2010. ISSN0177-2538.
- Hessische Vereinigung für Tanz- und Trachtenpflege (1988). Volkstänze aus Hessen. Reinheim 1988.
- Hirschberg, Walter (1988). Neues Wörterbuch der Völkerkunde. Berlin 1988.
- Hoerburger, Felix (1960). Der Gesellschaftstanz. Bärenreiter-Verlag Kassel.
- Hoerburger, Felix (1961). Volkstanzkunde 1. Bärenreiter-Verlag Kassel.

- Hoerbuerger, Felix (1964). Volkstanzkunde 2. Bärenreiter-Verlag Kassel.
- Holden, Ricky (1965). Greek Folk Dances by Ricky Holden Folkraft 1965.
- Holtzmann, Bernard (1990). Griechische Kunst. Freiburg 1990.
- Hoops, Johannes (2001). Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Band 18. Berlin 2001.
- Hoops, Johannes (2003). Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Band 24. Berlin 2003.
- Hoops, Johannes (2005). Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Band 30. Berlin 2005.
- Horak, Karl (1974). Tiroler Volkstanzbuch. Helbling Verlag Innsbruck 1974.
- Ilieva, Ana (1983). Formes et structures des rondes populaires bulgares in: Analyse und Klassifikation von Volkstänzen. Polen 1983.
- Ilieva, Anna Iakimova (1976) in The Folk Arts of Bulgaria. Dutifa 1976 USA.
- Ivančan, Ivan (1983). Index von Tanzmotiven von Kolo-tänzen in Slawonien und Baranya in: Analyse und Klassifikation von Volkstänzen. Polen 1983.
- Jaffé, Nigel Allenby (1990). Folk Dance of Europe. North Yorkshire 1990.
- Jannasch, Klaus-Peter (1990). Wörterbuch Deutsch – Niedersorbisch. Bautzen 1990.
- Jung, Eva (2001). Körperlust und Disziplin. Studien zur Fest- und Tanzkultur im 16. Und 17. Jahrhundert. Köln 2001.
- Junk, Victor (1948). Grundlegung der Tanzwissenschaft. Olms Nachdruck 1990.
- Kasten, Erich (Hg.) 2009. Schamanen Sibiriens. Magier – Mittler – Heiler. Reimer Linden-Museum Stuttgart 2009.
- Katarova-Kukudova, Raina & Djenev, Kiril (1958). Bulgarian Folk Dances. Sofia 1958.
- Katarova-Kukudova, Raina (1956). Verbreitung und Varianten eines bulgarischen Volkstanzes. Budapest 1956
- Kaufmann, Nikolai (1977). Bulgarische Volksmusik. Sofia 1977.
- Kemmelmeyer, Karl-Jürgen; Lang, Otmar; Nykrin, Rudolf Hsg. (1997). Spielpläne 7 – 10. Ernst Klett Verlag Stuttgart 1997.
- Kendel, Gertrud und Stingel, Manfred (1999). Volkstanz und Tanzlied der Schwaben. Schwäbisches Kulturarchiv 1999.
- Kendel, Gertrud und Stingel, Manfred (2000). Ton und Tanz in Schwaben. Schwäbisches Kulturarchiv 2000.
- Khokar., Ashish Mohan (2003). Folk Dance. New Delhi 2003.
- Kittel, Gerhard (Hg.) (1935). Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament Bd. 2. Kohlhammer Stuttgart 1935.
- Klein, Gabriele 1992. FrauenKörperTanz – Eine Zivilisationsgeschichte des Tanzes. Quadriga Verlag, Weinheim, Berlin 1992.
- Kleine, Bärbel (2005). Bilder tanzender Frauen in frühgriechischer und klassischer Zeit. Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH. Rahden 2005. In Internationale Archäologie Band 89.
- Klotzsche, Volker (1994). Der Tanz in der 1. Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, Volkstanz – Jugendtanz. Remscheid 1994.
- Kluge (2002). Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen 2002.
- Kluge (2011). Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. 25., durchgesehene und erweiterte Auflage.
- Kluge-Götze (1951). Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Berlin 1951.

- Koegler, Horst und Kieser, Klaus (2009). Kleines Wörterbuch des Tanzes. 3. Auflage. Reclam.
- Kohl, Karl-Heinz (1993). Ethnologie – die Wissenschaft vom kulturell Fremden. Beck München 1993.
- Körting, Gustav (1891). Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch. Paderborn.
- Krüger, Michael (1996). Körperkultur und Nationsbildung. Hofmann Schorndorf 1996.
- Krüger, Michael (1997). Zur Bedeutung der Prozeß- und Figurationstheorie für Sport und Sportwissenschaft. In Sportwissenschaft 27 (2), S. 129 – 142.
- Krüger, Michael (2004). Einführung in die Geschichte der Leibeserziehung und des Sports. Teil 1: Von den Anfängen bis ins 18. Jahrhundert. Hofmann Schorndorf 2004.
- Kuhlbrodt, Eckhard (1959). Wildbeuter-Tänze – Ihre Formen und Funktionen. Dissertation Hamburg 1959.
- Lange, Elfriede und Karl-Heinz (1984). Tanzhistorische Studien IV: Modetänze um 1800. DBT Heft 9/1984
- Langeloh, Hinrich (1993). Renaissance-Tänze der Orchésographie nach Thoinot Arbeau. Verlag der Spielleute 1993.
- Lanik, Brigitte (2004). Die Hora als Tanztyp. Rhythmische Struktur und Verbreitung. Diplomarbeit an der Uni Wien.
- Lawler, Lilian (1964). The Dance in ancient Greece. Washington Press 1964.
- Lawson, Joan (1955). European Folk Dance, it's national and musical characteristics. London 1955.
- Leibman, Robert Henry (1992). Dancing bears and purple transformations: The structure of dance in Balkans. University of Pennsylvania 1992.
- Lesky, Michael (1999). Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie und Bedeutung antiker Waffentänze in Griechenland und Etrurien. Dissertation Tübingen 1999.
- Lewis-Williams, David & Dowson, Thomas (1999). Images of power. Understanding San Rock Art. Southern Book Publishers 1999.
- Lexer, Matthias (1872-1878). Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch. Leipzig 1872-1878 .
- Lia Rumantscha (Hg) (1993). Langenscheidts Wörterbuch Rätoromanisch. Zürich 1993.
- Lièvre, Viviana (2008). Die Tänze des Magreb. Marokko – Algerien – Tunesien. Frankfurt 2008.
- Lloyd, Albert (2005). Topics of etymological research in past and present: An overview; in Cruse, Alan et al. (2005). Lexikologie, 2. Halbband, S. 1280 - 1289. Berlin 2005.
- Lohse-Claus, Elli (o. Ja.) Tanz in der Kunst, Leipzig o.Ja.
- Loneux, Jacques (1995). Rumänien: ein Land und seine Tänze. Stembert 1995.
- Macdermott, Mercia (1998). Bulgarian Folk Customs.
- Macdermott, Mercia (1998). Bulgarian Folk Customs.
- Mackenstein, Lutz (1985). Ursprung der Wörter. Ullstein Sachbuch 1985.
- Marklowski, Eva und El Joker, Sayed (2007). Orientalischer Tanz – Folklore und Hoftänze.
- Martin, György (1973). Die Branles von Arbeau und die osteuropäischen Kettentänze in: Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 15.
- Martin, György (1974). Ungarische Volkstänze. Druckerei Kner Gyoma Ungarn 1974.
- Martin, György (1983). Gesichtspunkte für die Klassifizierung der ungarischen Reigentänze und ihre Typen in: Analyse und Klassifikation von Volkstänzen. Polen 1983.
- Meerlo, Joost A. M. (1959). Rhythmus und Ekstase. Forum-Verlag Wien.

- Meyer, L (1901). Griechische Etymologie.
- Miklosich, Franz (1886). Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Slavischen Sprachen. Wien 1886.
- Milde, H u. Stanev, B. (2004). Die bulgarische Tanzfolklore. Varna 2004.
- Mladenović, Olivera (1969). Kolo i oro u našoj etnokoreološkoj terminologiji. In RAD 16og kongresa folklorista Jugoslavije, Seite 477-482.
- Mohr, J.C.B (Hg.) (1960). Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Vierter Bd. Tübingen 1960.
- Moissejew, Igor 1951. Tänze der Völker der Sowjetunion. Verlag Kultur und Fortschritt Berlin.
- Moreau, Yves (1993). Folk Dances of Bulgaria. 10/93 Eigenverlag.
- Mullally, Robert (2011). The Carole. A Study of a Medieval Dance. Ashgate Publishing 2011.
- Müssig, Ricarda (2010). Sie schufen die ersten Götter. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Eiszeit. Weinstadt 2010.
- Narayan, Shovana (2004). Folk Dance Traditions of India. 2004.
- Nitsche, August (1987). Bewegungen in Mittelalter und Renaissance. Düsseldorf 1987.
- Noltensmeier, Ralf (Hg.) (1996). Das neue Lexikon der Musik in vier Bänden. Metzler Verlag Stuttgart 1996.
- Oakes, Dick 1981. Yugoslavian Folk Dancing.  
[www.phantomranch.net/folkdance/articles/yogoslav\\_folkdancing.htm](http://www.phantomranch.net/folkdance/articles/yogoslav_folkdancing.htm)
- Oberbach, Josef (1940). Tanz und Tänzerische Bewegung in der Kunst des Mittelalters. Dissertation Universität Münster.
- Oetke, Herbert (1982). Der deutsche Volkstanz Band 1 & 2. Heinrichshofen's Verlag Wilhelmshafen.
- Oosterveen, Corina (1995). 40 bretonische Tänze. Verlag der Spielleute 1995.
- Oosterveen, Corina (1999). Bourrée, Bourrée, Bourrée
- Otterbach, Friedemann (1992). Einführung in die Geschichte des europäischen Tanzes. Wilhelmshafen 1992.
- Pajtondžiev, Gančo (1973). Makedonski Narodni Ora, Bd. 1. Institut da Folklor. Skopje 1973.
- Panagel, Oswald (2005). Etymologie und Wortgeschichte V: Volksetymologie und Verwandtes; in Cruse, Alan et al. (2005). Lexikologie, 2. Halbband, S. 1333 - 1339. Berlin 2005.
- Pani, Jiwan (2000). Indian Folk Dances. New Delhi 2000.
- Panova, Gergana (2002). Bulgarian Folk Dances at Home and Abroad 2002 in Studia Choreologica Vol. IV edited by Roderyk Lange.
- Peer, Oscar (1962). Dicziunari rumantsch, ladinb – tudais – ch. Lia Rumantscha. Switzerland 1962.
- Pesovar, Ernő (1969). Der Tändel-Tschardasch. Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Tomus 18, S. 153 – 185. Budapest 1969.
- Petermann, Kurt (1982). Tanzhistorische Studien II: Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Volks- und Gesellschaftstanz. DBT Heft 7/1982
- Petermann, Kurt (1983). Grundlagen der Struktur- und Formanalyse des Volkstanzes in: Analyse und Klassifikation von Volkstänzen. Polen 1983.
- Petermann, Kurt (1985/3). Definition „Deutscher Volkstanz“. In Zeitschrift Tanzen 3/1985.

- Petermann, Kurt (1986/4). Die verbale Notation von mündlich überlieferten Tänzen. In Zeitschrift Tanzen 4/1986.
- Pfeifer, Wolfgang (1993). Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen. 1993. Akademie Verlag.
- Pinon & Jamar (1953). Dances of Belgium. London 1953
- Piotrowski, Alexander (1910). Die Quintuplicität der Rhythmik in mittelalterlichen Melodien. Berlin 1910.
- Pokorny, Julius (1927). Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen. Berlin 1927.
- Pokorny, Julius (1959). Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Francke Verlag München 1959.
- Prayon, Friedhelm (2006). Die Etrusker. Geschichte, Religion, Kunst. Beck'sche Reihe. Proca-Ciortea, Vera (1963). Rumänische Volkstänze. Leipzig 1963.
- Prokhorov, Vadim (2002). Russian Folk Songs – Musical Genres and History, Maryland 2002.
- Ravnikar, Bruno (1980). Kinetografija. Ljubljana 1980.
- Rebling, Eberhard (1982). Die Tanzkunst Indiens. Berlin 1981
- Reichholf, Josef (2008). Warum die Menschen sesshaft wurden. Fischer Verlag Frankfurt 2008.
- Reinhard, Wolfgang 2004. Lebensformen Europas. Eine historische Kulturanthropologie. Beck München 2004.
- Reiser, K. 1895. Sagen, Gebräuche und Sprichwörter des Allgäus Teil II. Kempten 1895.
- Renfrew, Colin (2004a). Die Sprachenvielfalt der Welt. In Spektrum der Wissenschaft: Die Evolution der Sprachen 1/2004, S. 28 - 34.
- Renfrew, Colin (2004b). Die Indoeuropäer – aus archäologischer Sicht. In Spektrum der Wissenschaft: Die Evolution der Sprachen 1/2004, S. 40 - 48.
- Riel, Claudia Maria (2004). Sprachkontaktforschung. Eine Einführung. Gunter Narr Verlag Tübingen 2004.
- Rix, Helmut (2001). Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstambildungen. Wiesbaden 2001.
- Rix, Helmut (2005). Etymologie und Wortgeschichte IV: Wurzeletymologie; in Cruse, Alan et al. (2005). Lexikologie, 2. Halbband, S. 1333 - 1339. Berlin 2005.
- Rix, Helmut (2005). Etymologie und Wortgeschichte IV: Wurzeletymologie; in Cruse, Alan et al. (2005). Lexikologie, 2. Halbband, S. 1333 - 1339. Berlin 2005.
- Rose, Lotte (1992). (Buchbesprechung von) FrauenKörperTanz. Zeitschrift Sportwissenschaft 1992/3, 22. Jg.
- Rother, Frank und Almut (1988). Die Bretagne. Du-Mont Kunstreiseführer 1988.
- Roussot, Alan (1994). L'art préhistorique. Sud Ouest.
- Sachs, Curt (1933). Eine Weltgeschichte des Tanzes. Nachdruck Olms Verlag Hildesheim.
- Sadnik, L und Aitzemüller, R. (1955). Handwörterbuch zu den altkirchenslavischen Texten. Heidelberg 1955.
- Saftien, Volker (1994). Ars Saltandi. Der Europäische Gesellschaftstanz im Zeitalter der Renaissance und des Barock. Olms Verlag 1994.
- Salmen, Gabriele und Walter (1992). Bilder zur Musikgeschichte Ostmitteleuropas. Bärenreiter Kassel 1992.

- Salmen, Walter (1980a). Ikonographie des Reigens im Mittelalter. *Acta Musicologica*, Vol 52 1980, S. 14-26.
- Salmen, Walter (1980b). Katalog der Bilder zur Musikgeschichte in Österreich. Musikverlag Helbling Innsbruck 1980.
- Salmen, Walter (1982). *Musiker im Portrait 1; Von der Spätantike bis 1600*. Beck München 1982.
- Salmen, Walter (1983). *Der Spielmann im Mittelalter*. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, Band 8. Helbling Innsbruck 1983.
- Salmen, Walter (1997). *Der Tanzmeister, Terpsichore Tanzhistorische Studien Olms Hildesheim* 1997.
- Salmen, Walter (1999). *Tanz und Tanzen vom Mittelalter bis zur Renaissance, Terpsichore Tanzhistorische Studien Olms Hildesheim* 1999.
- Schmidt, Hans (1985). *Die Sardana, Tanz der Katalanen*. Dissertation 1985 Hamburg.
- Schmidt, Klaus (2008). *Sie bauten die ersten Tempel*. dtv München.
- Schneider, Otto, Hsg (1985). *Tanz Lexikon*. Schott Mainz.
- Schnurbein, Siegmund von (Hg.) (2009). *Atlas der Vorgeschichte*. Theiss Verlag Stuttgart 2009.
- Schoch, Agnes (1998). *Die alten Tänze. 800 Jahre höfischer Tanz*. Kastell München 1998.
- Schrijver, Peter (2004). *Der Tod des Festlandkeltischen und die Geburt des Französischen, Niederländischen und Hochdeutschen*. In Schrijver, Peter (Hgg) (2004): *Sprachtod und Sprachgeburt*.
- Schuster, Marie Luise 1981. *Deutsche Volkstänze, die man in Siebenbürgen tanzte und zum Teil noch tanzt*. Sibiu 1981.
- Schützeichel, Rudolf (1969). *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*. Max Niemeyer Verlag Tübingen.
- Seebold, Elmar (2005). *Etymologie und Wortgeschichte I: Zielsetzung und Methode*; in Cruse, Alan et al. (2005). *Lexikologie*, 2. Halbband, S. 1297 - 1306. Berlin 2005.
- Shannon, Lura (2003). *Tänze der großen Mutter: Drei-Takt-Tänze und der Lebensbaum*. [www.laurashannon.net/articels/TanzeGrossenMutter.html](http://www.laurashannon.net/articels/TanzeGrossenMutter.html)
- Sobota, Raimund (1990). *Volkstanz – Folkloretanz: Zur Situation nationaler und internationaler Volkskultur*. In *Zeitschrift Tanzen* 4/1990.
- Sorell, Walter 1967. *Knaurs Buch vom Tanz. Tanz durch die Jahrhunderte*. Deutsche Ausgabe Droemer Knauer. München 1969.
- Sorell, Walter 1985. *Der Tanz als Spiegel der Zeit. Eine Kulturgeschichte des Tanzes*. Wilhelmshaven 1985.
- Stadler, Wolfgang (1955). *Der Tanz*. Herder Verlag 1955.
- Stang, Michael (2009). *Neolithische Revolution. Europas erste Bauern kamen von auswärts*. [http://www.deutschlandfunk.de/neolithische-revolution.676.de.html?dram:article\\_id=26734](http://www.deutschlandfunk.de/neolithische-revolution.676.de.html?dram:article_id=26734)
- Stratou, Dora (1992). *The Greek Dances*. Athen 1992
- Sykes, Bryan (2001). *Die sieben Töchter Evas*. Lübbe Verlag Bergisch Gladbach 2001.
- Taubert, Karl Heinz (1968). *Höfische Tänze*. Schott 1986.
- Thorwald, Ewe (2011). *Europas rätselhafte Ahnen*. *Bild der Wissenschaft* 2/2011.
- Tobler-Lommatzsch (1971). *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1971.
- Tölle, Renate (1964). *Frühgriechische Reigentänze*. Stiffland-Verlag Waldsassen 1964.
- Torp, Lisbet (1990). *Chain and Round Dance Patterns*. University of Copenhagen 1990.
- Tribhuvan, Robin (1999). *Tribal Dances of India*. New Delhi 1999.



- Uerpmann, Hans-Peter (2007). Von Wildbeutern zu Ackerbauern. In *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte* 16 (2007).
- Vasmer, Max (1958). *Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Winter, Heidelberg 1953-1958.
- Ven, van der E. (1949). *Dances of the Netherlands*.
- Vennemann, Theo (2001). Zur Etymologie von dt. Balz; in *Sprachwissenschaft* Band 26, Universitätsverlag C. Winter, Heidelberg 2001.
- Vennemann, Theo (2003). *Europa Vasconica – Europa Semitica*. Trends in Linguistics. Berlin 2003.
- Vennemann, Theo (2004). Die Entstehung des Englischen. In Schrijver, Peter (Hgg) (2004): *Sprachtod und Sprachgeburt*.
- Vieli, Ramun ed Decurtins, Alexi (1962). *Vocabulari romontsch sursilvan – tudestg*. Ligia Romontsch, Switzerland 1962.
- Volkhausen, Brigitte (1994). *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche zum Prozess der Neolithisierung*. Frankfurt 1994.
- Voß, Rudolf (1868). *Der Tanz und seine Geschichte*. Heimeran Verlag München, Nachdruck 1977.
- Walsdorf, Hanna (2013). Versuch einer ahistorischen Definition: Volkstanz . (<http://www.tanzfonds.de/de/projekte/filmaufzeichnung-heutevolkstanzten96239667>, 12.6.14)
- Warme, Reidar (1983). *Norwegian Halling in: Analyse und Klassifikation von Volkstänzen*. Polen 1983.
- Weege, Fritz (1976). *Der Tanz in der Antike*. Olms Verlag Hildesheim.
- Weidig, Jutta (1984). *Tanz-Ethnologie – Einführung in die völkerkundliche Sicht des Tanzes*. Verlag Ingrid Czwalina Hamburg 1984.
- Weiß, Richard 1946. *Volkskunde der Schweiz*. Erlenbach-Zürich 1946.
- Werner, Wiltrud (1997). *Tänze aus Irland*. Dieter Balsis Verlag Kiel 1997.
- Winter, Bernward (1996). *Französische Tänze der Auvergne und des Zentralmassivs*.
- Wittrock, Wolfgang (1969). *Zur Tanzballade in Schleswig-Holstein in Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* Berlin 1969.
- Witzig, Louise & Stern, Alfred (1941). *Volkstänze der Schweiz* 1941.
- Witzig, Louise & Stern, Alfred (1946). *12 Schweizer Tänze* 1946.
- Wolfram, Richard (1951). *Die Volkstänze in Österreich und verwandte Tänze in Europa*. O. Müller Verlag Salzburg.
- Wolfram, Richard (1983). *Die Volkstänze der Schweiz in: Beiträge zur Volksmusik in Vorarlberg und im Bodenseeraum* S. 185 - 211. Schendl Wien 1983.
- Wolfram, Richard (1986). *Tanzhistorische Studien V: Reigen- und Kettentänze in Europa*. DBT Heft 10/1986.
- Wolska, H. (1952). *Dances of Poland*.
- Wood, Melusine (1952). *Some Historical Dances (Twelfth to Nineteenth Century)*. London.
- Wosien, Maria Gabriela (1974). *Sacred Dance*. Avon Books 1974.
- Wosien, Maria Gabriela (2006). *Griechenland – Tanz und Mythos*. Metanoia-Verlag Bergdietikon.
- Wosien, Maria Gabriela (2009). *Feuerspuren. Lettische Tanzrituale und Symbole*. Metanoia-Verlag Bergdietikon.
- Zeid, Khaled Seif Abou (1999). *Musik, Rhythmus & Tanz im Orient*. 1999

Zoder (1929). Altösterreichische Volkstänze.

Zografou, Magda (2001). Towards a Structural Analysis of Folk Dance: Choreotypes and Dance Patterns in Pontic Dance Tradition. In *Studio Choreologica* Vol. III 2001, S. 59 – 80.

Zunic-Bas, Leposava. Zehn Reisen durch die jugoslawische Folklore, o. Jahresangabe.