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*Международная Фольклорная Ассоциация*



# MAN AND WOMAN

## *Keepers of folk tradition*

Works of Symposium  
Bistrița 2011-2012

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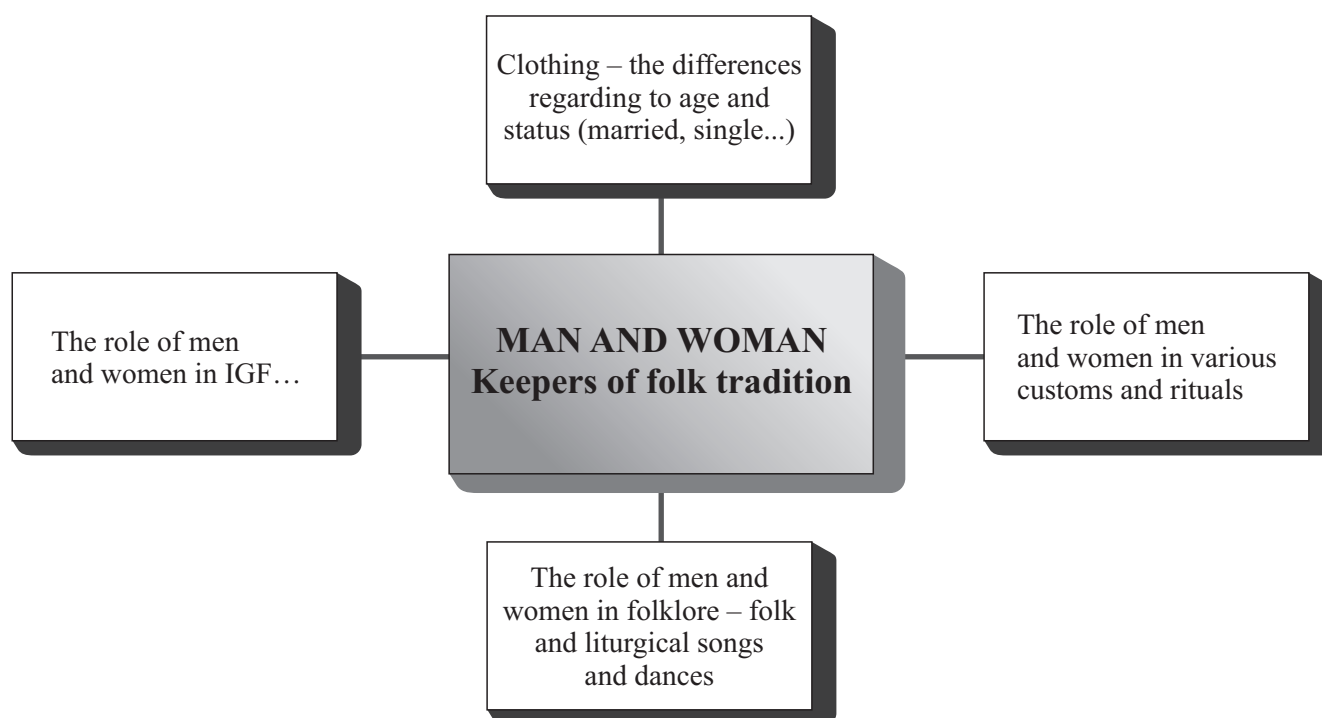


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**BISTRITA 2011-2012**  
**Romania**

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The creation of the European Folklore Union - I.G.F. in 1947 upon France' and Italy's initiative was perhaps the first step for the establishment of a large European family. Officially acknowledged and authorised by the French Government ever since its creation, the European Union - I.G.F. got extended, thus becoming nowadays European and extra-European. Its assignments obviously increased and the new I.G.F Board's management set up at the General Assembly held in October 2011 aimed at refreshing and covering a new road in its important mission of furthering and capitalising the universal folklore values. I am persuaded that jointly with the newly elected team we will fully contribute to the furtherance of the artistic phenomenon, of friendship, peace and harmony worldwide.

Starting from these principles we would like that IGF become an important factor in the cultural relations between all worlds' peoples and to contribute to a better understanding and collaborations in economical, political and social fields.



The symposium from Bistrita has succeeded to bring in front of the present ones the variety and the beauty of the traditional costumes: man and woman. Important pages and special images shows how significant are the colors of the traditional costumes, how many symbols are found in all decorations.

Something very interesting was also the exemplification of some specific elements of traditional choreography from the dances in pair to the common dances like *hora* (round dance) which is practiced in many European folkloric areas.

It was a joy listening to our colleagues from Latvia, Solomon Island, Croatia, Czech, Lithuania, France, Italy and Israel who were presenting with passion and love the costumes and dances elements specific to their countries.

That's why I considered that their presentations should remain in the IGF archive as documents of our permanent preoccupations of promoting and sustaining the universal folkloric values.

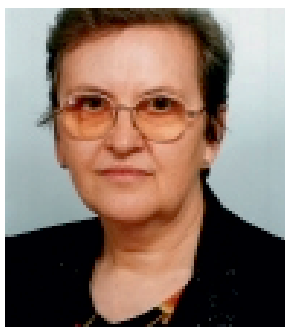
An important word deserved to be said about our colleague PhD. Manda Svirac from Croatia who has done a great work realizing this book printed in Romania.

We will continue this preoccupation lines and we will edit other magazines to bring at the surface the richness of the folklore from everywhere.

The new I.G.F. board council have on their tasks some measures and activities which will contribute to realize all purposes.

I am convinced that also the new scientific council under the management of prof. Franco Megna will have important achievements in the activity of research and folkloric communications.

Teacher PhD Dorel Cosma  
I.G.F.'s President



Dans son sens le plus large, nous lisons souvent que la culture et la civilisation désignent un ensemble des valeurs sociales et des accomplissements matériels et spirituels d'une nation en contribuant de cette façon au progrès et au développement de l'humanité. Il est difficile à trouver un trait caractéristique d'identité d'une nation et, aujourd'hui, il est encore plus difficile à constituer, car les différentes cultures et nations se rapprochent et se mélangent entre elles. Aujourd'hui, dans un pays où les gens se mélangent, c'est à chacun de définir sa propre identité. L'homme en général est à la base de la culture et du folklore qui est son élément constitutif.

Par cette publication, nous offrons, au public et aux amis du folklore, les différents rôles de la femme ou de l'homme dans les traditions populaires et folkloriques qui ont été étudiés et présentés pendant le Colloque le 14 octobre 2011. C'était un des sujets de l'Assemblée de l'IGF à Bistrița en Roumanie, excepté le texte de Birutė Akelaitienė, chorégraphe expert de Vilnius (Lituanie), mais accepté par le Conseil scientifique le lendemain.

Les thèmes portent sur la danse en Lettonie, Lituanie et en Îles de Salomon (Océanie), le costume traditionnel des femmes sur la scène en Croatie et en général en République Tchèque, le soin des malades par les méthodes populaires dans une région au nord de la Croatie, une réflexion sur la différence entre hommes et femmes dans l'histoire et jusqu'à nos jours par Claude Sarraïl (France), un exemple de travail scolaire, en liaison avec la recherche sur le terrain, effectué par Elena Bartolomasi (Italie). Le titre *Bédouin costume* et le texte sont copiés sur l'internet avec l'accord de son auteur d'Israël qui l'avait largement présenté par des images à Bistrița.

Avec ce travail, nous n'avons que commencé ce thème du rôle des femmes et des hommes dans la culture.

Manda Svircac PhD

## **Works of Symposium**





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**CHOREOGRAPHIC TEXT STRUCTURING SKILLS' DEVELOPMENT IN THE PROCESS OF DANCE COMPOSITION MASTERING**

The article analyses a choreographic text and its structuring skills' development in the process of dance composition mastering. A processional model of the dance composition skills' development has been established, which is substantiated by the author on the basis of experience provided discoveries on the aim and motif correlations, phenomenology concepts on the body movement as an intersubjective activity, on the subject-object relations in artistic text explanation and interpretation based in the hermeneutics theory. Structuring of the choreographic text has been substantiated as one of the elements of this model's operation.

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Methodological base: Findings of the action theory on interconnections between the aim and its motives (L. Vygotsky, S. Rubinstein); Cognitions of phenomenology on body movement as an intersubjective activity (M. Merleau-Ponty); Cognitions of the hermeneutical theory on the subject-object relationship in the interpretation of artistic texts.

**Keywords:** choreographic text, structuring, skills, dance composition.

**Introduction**

Dance composition as a subject of studies in the choreographic education is a comparatively new teaching. It entered Europe in the middle of 20th century, Latvia – at the end of 1970s. Alongside with the structuring of the study subject, the dance composition theory has started its fast development. Researches on dance structuring, assessment a. o. urgent dance composition problems begin appearing. In the context of the 20<sup>th</sup> century philosophical theories the methodological basis of the dance composition study subject are established by R. Laban's discoveries on movement systematisation and notation. The most crucial statement in R. Laban's theory is a rhythmically dynamic and stereometric dance construction conception, as well as cognition about movement's simultaneous existence in time and space. R. Laban's movement, time and space conceptions finalize the historic evolution of composition elements' development bestowing them with a scientific perception and creating preconditions for research in dance composition as a systemic structure.

Contemporary dance composition theories use reduction method based in phenomenology, where each individual's self-expression is understood as a message of the perceived information sent to someone else, and the human's world is enclosed in the relationships:

***I. another system***

M. Merleau-Ponty, considering his predecessors' E. Husserl, M. Heidegger a.o. statements, in the centre of the world cognition places the human body as a cognition research subject. The body is considered as the existent basis of the relations between the human and the world. Any movement or an expressive gesture serves as an original sign for expressing of an individual's emotions and infinite life situations. Nevertheless, movement cannot exist as an abstraction for it is always connected with an object, which provides the movement with a unity of an activity. Movement, according to M. Merleau-Ponty, is enclosed in time and space dimensions, which restricts movement and simultaneously provides it with a certain form. "The origination point of a movement always is an object, and from

this point it is developing, occupying a certain space, the limits of which are determined by time and space dimensions” (Мерло-Понти 1999: 356). The phenomenology theory bestows the body with double functions – it is perceived as the subject of the world exploration and simultaneously as the object of the movement. The greatest discovery made by phenomenology perceives of the rational world's explanation as a unity of the subjective and the objective, and according to this theory the body possesses both the features of the subject and the object.

Movement conception in the dance is created by the *body language*. In the dance composition process it acquires a specific form to be perceived as an aesthetical object. The body language, arranged in time and space by the dance composition's expression means, obtains a meaning of a *choreographic text*. The philosophic basis of the body language and text research has been found in hermeneutics (gr. *hermeneutike*) – the teaching on the comprehension and interpretation of texts. Up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, hermeneutics engaged only in literary text interpretations. Nowadays it has spread the researched problems' area due to the interpretation of the text in its most global meaning. Hermeneutics comprehends the whole as the particular's entirety, but the particular – as a module of the entirety. Contemporary hermeneutics claims that it is impossible to understand any extract from the text without the total context comprehension; as well as in total the text cannot be explained without reading of its separate extracts. In such a way hermeneutics also explains the essence of the context. H.G. Gadamer develops the idea that a text, separated from its author, begins its own independent life (Gadamer 1999: 254). Especially this should be related to the artistic texts, whereas each perceiver of the text perceives it from his own experience point of view. Thus the text becomes a mediator between its author and the perceiver. The main hermeneutic activity, therefore, according to H.G. Gadamer is not to reconstruct the author's idea, but to provide an opportunity to implement the author's experience and interpret it by means of the text (Gadamer 1999: 162–163). An advantage of the artistic text is such that it becomes a mediator between the author and the perceiver thus creating new visions and images. *One of fundamental problems in the emergence of a new discipline is the clarification of its language. Words take on specialist meanings as subjects develop (some would say they become meaningless jargon designed to mystify interested spectators), examples being found in the many “closed” language systems used in dance teaching and in some forms of movement analysis. Add to this the specialist vocabularies of the various schools of anthropologists, psychologists, philosophers and sociologists and the problem of understanding what another person says about dance is magnified* (Adshead, A Bringinshaw, Hodgins, Huxley 1988: 16).

### ***Analysis and interpretation of facts***

J. Smith-Autard in the monograph *Dance composition a practical guide for teachers* analyzes the artistic features of the dance text and comes to conclusion that perceived separately neither a physical movement nor an emotion is art yet. The dance changes into art when a language material is given organisation and form. *The word 'language' is used as an analogy only. It is not meant to suggest that the 'language' of moment can replace or be the same as language in a vocally communicative context. It is common knowledge that communication can take place through movement. How it communicates is the dance composer's area of study* (Smith-Autard 1992: 17). During the dance the fundamental basis of the body language is expressed by the particular body positions, movements and their positioning in time and space (Spalva 2004: 56). Also J.Ch. Camp has established conditions due to which the body language becomes an artistic text:

1. It is a movement, which has obtained quality thanks to its arrangement, style, elegance and beauty;
2. The movement has been provided with accompanying music or rhythm

3. It is able to bring a message about events
4. It possesses communication ability by means of emotions, ideas or a theme
5. It has gained additional expressivity due to facial expressions, mimicry, costumes, scenario and lighting effects (Camp 1981: 20–27).

*To turn the body language into a choreographic text, during the composition development process it should be invested with form and expression. The dance composition structure decides the borders of form and expression.*

*In the context of hermeneutics theory, the author of the article has established and substantiated the dance composition structure, where each component is interconnected to others and separate parts form a united entirety (Figure1).*

In the developed structure the *time structure component* is formed by the connection of the dance with music and rhythm. *The space structure component* is based in the movement spread in space: moving horizontally (around an area), vertically (by leaps), or considering the space as planes of different levels; *the composition link structure component* promotes the entirety and logic of activity. It is formed by passages, movements joint by combinations, connections of separate dancers or dancer groups. The *quality structure component of the composition* is created by dynamics, style and interpretation of activity. *The idea structure component* is based in the dance composition stimuli- audio, visual, kinetic and tactile. In 2007 in the author's defended promotional work "Dance composition skills' development in students' artistic activities" the content of structure components has been widely analyzed and substantiated. To demonstrate the model in operation, the author has

chosen as the research subject the choreographic motif serving as a factor uniting all elements. *Motif* fr., *motivus* lat. – moving. Motif is also a traditional term of hermeneutics. In philosophy it is connected to dialectics of internal - external and as a result – to hermeneutic circle. Hermeneutics, as well as the dance theory, use music terminology for characteristics of motif. Motif in music is type smallest unit of melody, which promote the most characteristic feature of a music theme (*Mūzikas terminu vārdnīca* 1962: 162). Music theory has defined the main features of the motif: 1) dynamics, 2) rhythmic, 3) variability, 4) concreteness. *A motif is a single movement or a short movement phrase (usually shorter than a theme) that is used as a source or a spark for development into an integrated gestalt. The motif can contain the essence for the complete piece* (Blom, Chaplin 1994: 102). The *Motif* is the basis of the dance composition forming mould, as well as the dance composition conception quintessence, the fundamental unit of the choreographic text. The Motif is formed as the main idea of the means of expression, which involves substantiation of the content and the form. Conceptually the motif reveals the basic theme, the origins of which have to be sought in the idea of the dance composition. The skills to operate with the motif can be considered as the choreographer's professional expertise index. *The motif* is a relatively autonomous, possessing a meaning moderate group of consolidated movements, which:

- 1) complies with the composition idea
- 2) it can be recognised
- 3) it possesses a structure
- 4) the motif continues development (Астахова 1978: 74).

*O. Astahova ascertains that a motif turns into the leading motif of the dance if it involves features of character, style and activity. The motif lives in each structural element of dance composition. In the time component it keeps developing simultaneously or parallel to the music theme. It can occur due to a free counterpoint principle, coming*

*closer or moving away from it, yet concur in the main key points. In the space structure component, the motif bestows the composition with a special solution, movement diapason, predicts the dancers' different placement on planes and levels. In the composition links' structure component the motif promotes the entirety and logic of the activity. It is revealed in passages, movement connections and combinations. The most crucial component of the links' structure component is comprehension on the motif as the holistic basis of the activity. The quality structure component of the composition consists of drama, dynamics, style and interpretation. The choreographic motif is enhanced by expression, intension and dynamics. The idea structure component is revealed by the leading-motive. The choreographic motif acquires significance of the leading-motive in the idea context (Spalva, 2006: 83-87).*

To let the audience perceive the composition, it is crucial to develop it, to bestow the activity with logic and excluding involvement of random and isolated movements into it. The motif development is one of the ways how to perfect the dance composition. P. Anderson Sofras's analyses the following types of the motif development:

- 1) repetition
- 2) variability
- 3) contrasting
- 4) culminations
- 5) emphases
- 6) proportions
- 7) balance (Anderson Sofras 2006: 3-17).

*Repetition* introduces an element of recognition into the composition. The repetition in the composition is enhanced by particular motives and constructed as a multiple direct use of the motif or a phrase. *Variability and contrasts* establish that the constructed material has been used repeatedly, only in another way. Variability and contrasts enhance the logical development of the activity, develop comprehension on adding of nuances to the dance. The contrast is accomplished if a phrase has been interrupted by new or contrasting activities. *Culmination* – an event, target in the focus of the composition, the one it strives for. The culmination is created by a concentration of means of expression. The culmination can be reached gradually and slowly, can be constructed as a contrast or prepared gradually. *The proportions* decide the correlation of each part to the whole work, and balance maintains the right proportions between the parts and the whole. The development of the motif in the framework of dance composition structure components maintains the composition development, its logic and unity. In dance education the student self-development can be carried out only under such conditions, where the knowledge acquisition and skills development is accomplished by means of interconnection with each student's subjective conceptions and needs, where the individual sense is searched in the artistic process. Knowledge on the dance composition establish basis, but skills of choreographic text structuring consolidate and create a new artistic experience. The gained knowledge and skills encourage selection and structuring freedom of the choreographic text, diversity of implementation, provides for an expanded dance composition.

The action theory substantiates the significance of self-actualisation and activity for development of choreographic text structuring skills. L. Vigotsky's *interiorisation theory* supplies explanations for each individual's strive for activity: it stems out of correlations of interests and motives (Выготский 2001: 70). *The determinis principle* in S. Rubinstein's theory clarify the subject – object relations, where the external reasons for activity are created by the

impact of the subject's internal activity processes. Thus, interests and motivation is based on the correlations between the external and internal reasons of activity.

Irrespective of different interpretations, *activity* is pointed out as the main characteristic of the cognitive activity in the action theory. The action theory determines the dance composition study process as a correlation system between the objective and the subjective, where the unifying factor is the relations among the aim of an activity, its completion and the result.

For the establishing of the procession model of the dance composition skills' development, the author implements the revelations based on the action theory experience of correlations between the aim and motif, phenomenology concepts on the body movement as an intersubjective activity, discoveries about the subject – object relations in explanations and interpretation of artistic texts made by the theory of hermeneutics. The choreographic text structuring is substantiated as one element of this model's operation.

The processional model reveals that the mastering of the dance composition skills turns into an activity aim, reaching of which is connected to the student's artistic activity motivations, stimulation of activity and creative attitude, knowledge and skills accumulation, as well as to development of new experience (Figure 2). A dance image in the processional model gains an absolute significance and turns into a system-development factor, as they carry in them significant information both subjectively and objectively. The dance image is subjectively significant to the author of the composition, as it has concentrated the author's knowledge and skills as well as the gained experience. The created model explains the study process purposefulness in the union of the subjective and the objective factors. The dance composition procession model is a dynamic functional structure, which maintains unity of activity, forms a systemic approach to dance composition development, proves the choreographic text structuring skills' development in the study process.

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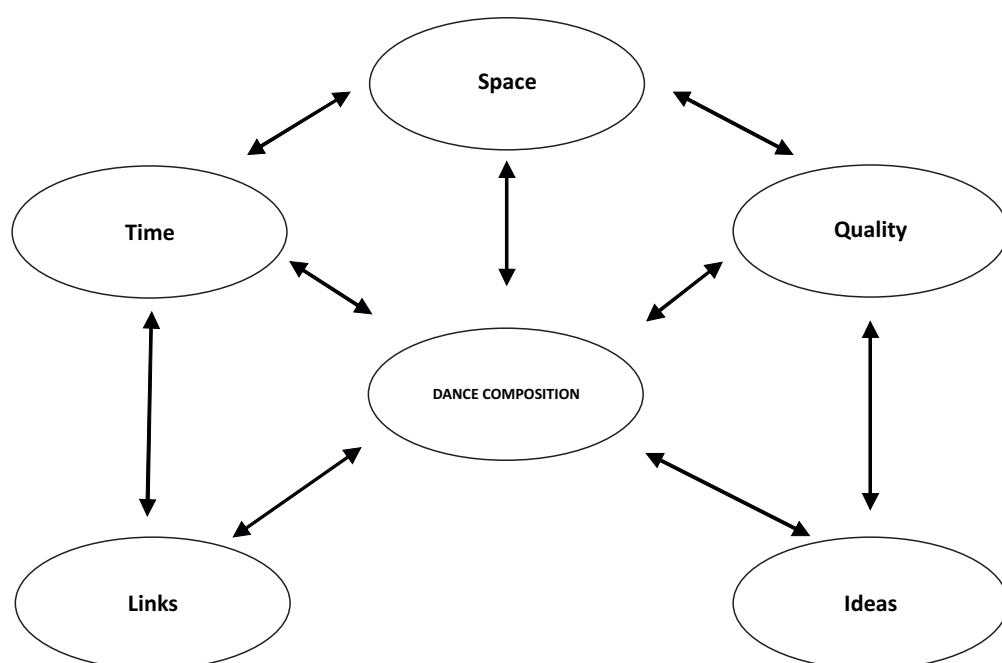
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- SUMMARY**
1. The article analyses the choreographic text and development of its structuring skills in the study process of dance composition. The methodological basis of the dance composition study subject in the context of the 20<sup>th</sup> century philosophic theories is formed by R. Laban's discoveries in movement systematisation and notation.
  2. The 20<sup>th</sup> century discoveries in phenomenology prove that it perceives the rational world explanation in the unity of the subjective and the objective, and the body in this theory possesses double functions – it is the world cognition subject and simultaneously also the movement object.
  3. Hermeneutics' theory proves that the whole must be perceived as a particular in entirety, but the particular – as a component of the entirety. Contemporary hermeneutics interpret that it is impossible to understand any text extract without comprehension of the whole text, as well as the text on the whole cannot be explained without reading of its separate extracts. In the context of hermeneutics theory the author has established and substantiated the dance composition structure, where each its component is correlated with others and the particular components form a united entirety.
  4. Highlighted by this cognition the dance composition structure has been established and relations among its structure components have been proved. Substantiation is provided by the motif, which generates the development of the basic unit of the structural system in the dance composition development process.
  5. The article analyses the processional model of the dance composition skills' development for substantiating of which the author implements the revelations on the aim and motif correlations based on the action theory experience, phenomenology cognitions on the body's movement as inter subjective activity, discoveries by hermeneutics theory on the subject – object relations in the explanation and interpretation of the artistic texts. Choreographic text structuring is substantiated as one of elements of this model's operation.





*Figure 1.* Dance composition structure-components

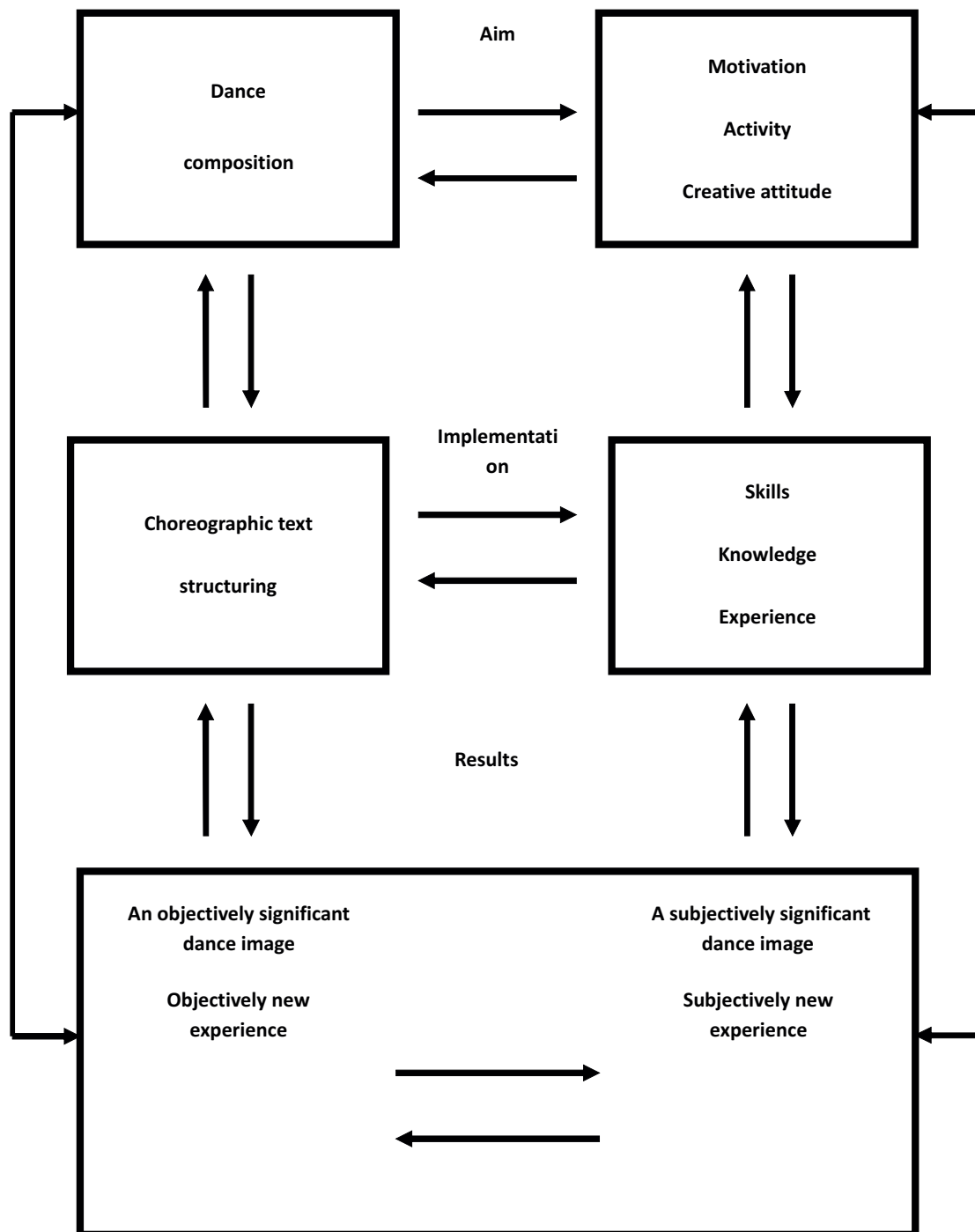


Figure 2. The processional model of the dance composition skills' development

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## **MEN AND WOMEN ROLES IN DANCES OF I – KIRIBATI ETHNIC MINORITY IN SOLOMON ISLANDS**

The work tries to present the overview of history, settlement, culture and dance of the I – Kiribati ethnic community in Solomon Islands. Special emphasise is given to the ethnographic presentation of the dances, as well as to role which male and female performers have during their performances. The distinction between traditional Kirbati dance and modern hybridal *tamure* is especially emphasised, as well as a role which both have in protection, fostering and promotion of their identity in the multicultural society. Possible further directions of the research are shown in the conclusion.

**Key words:** traditional dance, I – Kiribati, Solomon Islands, identity.

### **INTRODUCTION**

First week of my stay at Solomon Islands I concluded with participation in Sunday Eucharist worship in a small Catholic community in Burns Creek, in the suburbs of the national capital Honiara. It was on the occasion of the blessing of their small local chapel, which was built of sego palm leaves and bamboo.

After that celebration, all the participants were invited to take part in feasting and the entertainment, which was supposed to follow after the meal. At that time, I was still not aware of the importance of the feast as an important and undivided part of every celebration in Melanesia. I was even more surprised with the celebration which was simply called *entertainment*.

That first encounter with the entertainment in Solomon Islands was a great surprise for me in many ways. The whole process lasted for a good part of the afternoon and, even I really tried

hard, soon I didn't play the role I was supposed to – I was not entertained. After years of stay and many entertainments behind me I have learned the basic fact that the entertainment is

only a frame for an opportunity to have a good time. The participation in the program, baut only a frame for an opportunity to have a good time. The participation in the program, baut also the non – formal socialisation, chat, betel nut chewing and sharing with people – they are

all equally important parts of the entertainment, as well as the items of the performers.

As time was passing by, I had the opportunity to establish some close friendships with people of different ethnic backgrounds in Solomon Islands. Each of Solomon cultures has as an integral part of every feasting the entertainment.

My personal fascination with time became the dances of the I – Kiribati ethnic minority in Solomon Islands. With their specific customs, dances and ways of singing, they contribute at the unique way to the cultural diversity of Solomon Islands.

Being the guest of many of the I – Kiribati in Solomon Islands and participating in their entertainments and celebrations, I gradually grew (and still do grow) in knowing of the various ways of their traditional dances, as well as their roles in the wider community. While primarily of the entertaining character for the outsiders, they keep the story of that ethnic community. This work is just an attempt in looking at it.

### **Chapter 1: ENTERTAINMENT AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE HUMAN DAILY LIFE**

The entertainment is an undivided part of all societies and it is being manifested at different ways. Traditional understanding of entertainment had as its main purpose keeping the attention, while contemporary definition of entertainment includes every performance or other experience in which big and various group of people can enjoy (cf. Bauman 1992: 50). Such, modern understanding of entertainment is different then the understanding of entertainment in oral culture. While contemporary media contribute to the fast exchange and spreading of the ways of entertainment, in oral cultures it is mainly limited to the defined group of people. Pacific societies are, in general, in a transition, because in one of its part they are adapted to the westernised way of life, while in its traditional rural part, they are still primarily oral.

In traditional Pacific societies entertainment and dance didn't have as its goal exclusively keeping the attention of the participants, but also *a transformation of real behaviour into symbolic behaviour* (Schechner 1974: 458). The dance is so much more then just a simple

entertainment. I would dare to day that, for Pacific islanders, the dance is the traditional library, archive and university in one, as it keeps the knowledge of the community about

itself, it is its undivisible part and helps that community stays protected in its identity.

Dance very often has got sacral meaning too. For the I – Kiribati dancers, the *spirit of dance* is a reality, which can be completely touched. During the performance, it is not uncommon to see dancers shouting and weeping, crying and in tears, because they felt the spirit which inspired their ancestors in performing the dances. Although we might try to find some rational explanation to that, as high emotional state, mixed with fear how the performance will go, the presence of the spirit still continues to be valued by the dancers.

*Dance...is expression of joy and sorrow, maybe love, friendship being expressed through the dance in the highest way – so dancing in Kiribati. I think, is one of the highest forms of expression. ...Our emotions and feelings about life and relationship between one another and also the relationship with the invisible world, the spirit are all in the dance; so it's a big wealth for us and a very rich expression of our life through the dances* (Whincup 2001: 162).

In the same time, as well in the western societies, so also in Pacific ones, the entertainment plays vital role in formation of values and beliefs of children, as well in their socialisation, though that power of convincing has got secondary role (cf. Bauman 1992: 51).

In this work, after presenting the arrival of I – Kiribati to Solomon Islands, I am trying to:

1. offer an historic overview of the Kiribati presence in Solomon Islands
2. observe traditional dances of I – Kiribati ethnic minority in Solomon Islands, see what role does entertainment has in their dance, see what are the distinctive role that men and women are playing in them.

Of course, as it will be seen in this work, many changes already affect traditional dance of the Kiribati community in Solomon Islands, as well as in homeland Kiribati. *The loss of the ritual process and community commitment might also affect the symbolic and spiritual nature of the dance itself* (Whincup 2001: 61). In other words, though originally with deeper meaning, Kiribati traditional dance is more and more becoming an entertaining part and

segment of the social life.

## **Chapter 2: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE TIE I – KIRIBATI MIGRATION TO SOLOMON ISLANDS**

Today's states of Solomon Islands, Kiribati (Gilbert Islands) and Tuvalu (Ellice Islands) were governed between 1953 and 1971 by the Western Pacific High Commission. Both territories were proclaimed British Protectorates at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century. During the period of the Western Pacific High Commission, some 2000 people were relocated and resettled from Gilbert Islands to British Solomon Islands Protectorate. In the same time, and for the same reasons, the same Commission organised also smaller internal resettlements in Solomon Islands and Gilbert Islands.

In 1963, Gilbert and Ellice Islands had together some 49 000 inhabitants, some 154 per square kilometre. Those islands consist mainly of low lying atolls, with little or no land. In the same time, Solomon Islands had population of 124 000, some 4 inhabitants per square kilometre, with mostly highly fertile volcanic soil. The inhabitants of the Gilbert Islands were mainly relocated to Solomon Islands, in order to make demographic pressure easier. The second of reasons was thinking that higher proportion of their presence in Solomon population might solve the problem of the chronic lack of the working able force.

The resettlement happened in four waves, from 1955, until mid 1960's. The first group, between 1955 and 1957 came mainly from the Manra Island (Sydney Island) in Phoenix Islands and from southern Gilberts.

Phoenix Islands were completely uninhabited, but during the 1930ies it was populated with people from southern Gilberts. Nevertheless, the prospects for fishing were poor and the lack of water bigger and bigger, especially in early 50ies and again in 60ies. The resettlement from Manra to Solomon Islands was organised by two British administrations. First settlers came to the place called Titiana, near Gizo and, in 1962 further away, at Shortlands. Second group, of 120 people organised its trip and, in agreement with the government, settled in Shortlands in 1962 and 1963.

The third group, some 1200 people, came from Orona (Hull) island and Nikumaroro (Gardener) island to the island of Wagina, south east of Choiseul, in 1963 and 1964. Same as the first group, this one was a part of the organised project and with it the evacuation of Phoenix Islands was finished. The fourth group, some 350 people, consisted of the government officials, students and people in search for the job during 1960ies, although some of their families came earlier, in previous decade. The majority settled in or around Honiara, as a group who bought a piece of land at Red Beach. In 1971, further resettling was stopped and the automatic right for immigration of the children of settlers was limited.

The land was not promised to the second and fourth groups, although it was made possible for the members of the second group to purchase the free hold land in state ownership. The right

on land was promised to the first and third groups, if they renounced right to the land in Phoenix

Islands. The earlier settlers had to sign the contract (berita), which gave them right to decide in five years if they wish to stay in Solomons, but only a small portion is still kept. The land purchased for the settlement was bought with aid funds of United Kingdom from foreign companies. The purchased land was obtained in the early years of Protectorate (established in 1893) by purchase from Solomon Islanders or (in the case of Wagina) by declaration of the *waste land*.

The first group in Titiana and islands around Gizo got less than 2 ha of the coconut plantation per family. At

Shortlands, family could choose: either 1 ha of old coconut plantation and cca 2 ha of the swamp area for gardens, or cca 3 ha of old coconuts, from which half was barren because of the bad soil. The land was charged at nominal price of 4 cents, which was later raised at 40 cents per hectare. For the third group the price of the land at Wagina was around 1 dollar per hectare. They were offered 1 ha of coconuts (half planted, of which only half yielded fruit) and 4 ha of the garden land, mostly swamp. The survey and record of the plots (2 dollars) was paid by the settlers themselves. In 1973 more and more people started to look for the land when part of Wagina, initially meant to serve as a settlement place, was declared as a potential bauxite mine. The other settlers could lodge the application for the state land, same as other Solomon Islanders, by internal migration in Solomon Islands, or by renting on the fixed term land in towns. Two groups of I – Kiribati hired the land by their own initiative: some from a foreign family at Red Beach, the other from the Solomon owners, registered for the settlement in place called Komuvada, at Guadalcanal plain.

Ethnic tensions and civil unrest from 1999 until 2003 resettled those communities, whose members live today mostly in Honiara.

The poor Wagina soil and political insecurity felt by Kiribati people, resulted that many didn't develop or invest money in the land which was given to them. The majority of the fourth group lives from salaries and many of them left Wagina in order to find the job, because of the poor soil. The report of the special Committee for the land and mining from 1976 recommended (two years before independence), that I – Kiribati, who become citizens of Solomon Islands, should keep the ownership of the land they have in possession, but that in the future, they might only rent the land from Solomon Islanders. In that time, the legal definition of Solomon Islanders included I – Kiribati too. Nevertheless, the land in their possession became the possession of the state, rented at the fixed term of 75 years.

*In September of the same year, after the Constitutional conference in London, Solomon negotiators promised to treat Kiribati settlers as a special case, according to the recommendations of the Committee from 1976. Therefore, the law was changed again in April 1978 (Campbell 2003: 297).*

Exactly because of such a complicated and intriguing relationships that existed and still exist between Solomon state and its Micronesian inhabitants who immigrated from Kiribati, this ethnic group is keen and eager to protect its specific identity. Probably the best way of doing that is through their dance, which through many generations served as a medium of translation of the communal knowledge. Kiribati culture is probably one of cultures whose historical memory in bigger part depends exclusively on dances (Tony Whincup, interview, 16.7.2011) Dances, in their various forms, served as transmitter of the message, remembrance of the great events and figures, as well as they accompanied all the important events happening in the traditional house called *te maneaba*.

### **Chapter 3: OBSERVATION OF THE TRADITIONAL KIRIBATI DANCING IN SOLOMON ISLANDS**

This part of work is based on the earlier visit I had to the community in Wagina island and which was already presented in my assignment at doctoral studies of the Faculty of the humanities and arts of the University of Zagreb, in subject *Ethnologic and ethno – choreographic themes of the dance*, under the supervision of Prof. Tvrtko Zebec, as a part of my research on Kiribati dance in Solomon Islands. This chapter should not be understood as an all encompassing explanation of the Kiribati dance in Solomon Islands, but only as an initial scatch. This will be shown especially in the next chapter.

I was a guest of the family of my student from Wagina, from 15<sup>th</sup> until 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2010. This was my first encounter



with local Kiribati community outside Honiara. Therefore, the visit was not meant to be an ethnographic research. Together with my stay there, there was an ongoing annual program for Kiribati women from different parts of Solomon Islands, who spent one week together in order to share their knowledge, skills and customs of their islands: cooking, the weaving of mats, rising of children, the family relationship etc.

Such program for women, as well as my presence, demanded, according to the Kiribati custom, solemn welcome and farewell, and the fact that during that week I celebrated my birthday, gave us an additional opportunity to meet once more in *te maneaba*.

### 3.1. ABOUT WAGINA

Wagina Island itself has three villages: Kukutin, Nikumaroro and Arariki. Kukutin, as a central place of island, has its parish church and *te maneaba*. It is divided in two parts: Tengeangea and Tekaranga. *Te maneaba* is traditional Kiribati house for meetings, in which all important events of community find their place: welcomes and farewells, joys and sorrows, laughs and tears, dances and songs. According to Maude, it is *the focus of the whole of social life of the community. In it were held all discussions concerning peace or war or any of the other innumerable concerns affecting the common weal* (Maude 1980: 1). Everything that has to be remembered happens in *te maneaba*. Welcome, birthday party and farewell (15<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> June 2010) were the opportunity that, as a special guest, I observe different dances of the Kiribati ethnic community and that, maybe for the first time, I try to record some of the influences to the customs of this ethnic minority. Dances were performed in my honour, what makes me especially honoured and humbled. With explanation and assistance of my student Arimeta Tibaua, I could notice few layers in dances of the I – Kiribati. Of course, the whole protocol of the happening in *te maneaba* is also something worthy of ethnographic note, but it is not part of this article.

During each of three already mentioned evenings, different dancing groups were exchanging in *te maneaba* and they were, each on its particular way, presented the diversity of the customs. I too, as an active participant, took part in the dances of each evening.

After I returned to my island of Guadalcanal, I have checked my notes with two other experts and practitioners of the Kiribati traditional and contemporary dance, spouses Tawa tepaia and Tony Temeroa Riare, who themselves hail from Kukutin. They contributed, through their choreographic activity in developing of new forms of dance, as well as preservation of the dance in their community.

### 3.2. SOLOMON ISLANDERS' MISCONCEPTION OF KIRIBATI DANCING

One of the main opinions of the Melanesian and Polynesian population of Solomon Islands is that the members of the I – Kiribati ethnic minority dance exclusively tamure and that this is their original dance. That is a complete misconception. I – Kiribati themselves differ between traditional Kiribati dancing and tamure.

Traditional dance was brought from their islands and, as such, is jealously kept from the extinction. During all of these evenings, I was able to hear how elders of the community publicly teach young dancers how to dress and how to hold the hands during the dances.

### 3.3. TRADITIONAL KIRIBATI DANCING

Traditional Kiribati dancing is always in the context of LIVE music. In Solomon Islands, though, sometimes it is performed with recorded music. The lyrics of the songs record the great deeds, love, magic and history.

Kiribati dances can be divided in few groups. The elements of differentiation are costume, gender and age of dancers, music, positions and movements of the dancers. In this article I don't, of course, deal with the dances and

forms as they are used nowadays in Kiribati, but as they were kept and modified in Kiribati community in Solomon Islands. The research of traditional Kiribati dance in Kiribati is presented elsewhere (Whincup 2001).

The widest spread form of the traditional Kiribati dance in Solomon Islands is, as seen in Wagina, *te kaimatoa*. It is also the most common dance in modern Kiribati and its role is to show power and physical endurance of the dancers, as well as emotional preparedness for the performance. This dance can be performed by male, female and children.

Second kind of the traditional Kiribati dance present in Solomon Islands is *te bino*. This is the sitting dance and is also performed by male, female and children. In this dance, special skill is required in graceful and noble movements of the head and hands, which somehow remind of the traditional Polynesian dances of Samoa and Tonga. Further research on this connection would be interesting.

The third type of traditional Kiribati dance performed during my visit to *te maneaba* in Kukutin was *te buki*. It is a dance performed by girls and it expresses the skill of the girls in dancing with their hips. While shoulders and body should stay as much as possible static, energetic movement of the hips shows the skill of the dancers. There is also the specific costume needed for this type of dance, but that rule was not closely followed.

This first encounter with traditional Kiribati dances was an eye opener to me. They are really something that builds and creates the complete identity of the I – Kiribati, and as such continues to stay an important part of the Kiribati culture in Solomon Islands. This first visit, in fact, encouraged me to search some further information on Kiribati dances and it opened me the door to many I – Kiribati celebrations. Some more systematic results are presented in the next chapter.

### 3.4. FOLK COSTUMES

*Every costume has a kind of inspiring power and that is felt by anyone who puts one on* (Whincup 2001: 53).

The most common material used for the production of the folk costumes are weaved leaves of the palm. *Plants such as the coconut palm and its fruit, the pandanus tree and a range of local flowers are drawn into the complex and ancient methods of costume preparation* (Whincup 2001: 54). The male costume consists of few parts, i.e. decorations made of palms: the head is decorated with crown (*te bau*), neck (*te roroa*), hands (*te burebure*), body (*te tiebaba*). *Your arm decorations and other costume decoration can also be used to guide your head and eye movements* (Whincup 2001: 140). Lower part of the body is wrapped in the palm leaf mat (*te bee*) which is tied with the belt (*te iniuota*). *Te iniuota* was originally made of female hair, usually of the one of the closest relatives of the dancer, while today it is often replaced with the rope made of black woollen threads. The hair is specially cut off for the purpose (cf. Whincup 2001: 57).

The female costume is made of some decorations and parts common to the male costumes too (crown – *te bau*, neck decorations – *te roroa* and hand decorations – *te burebure*), while there are some distinctive parts of the costume as skirt (*te riri*), bra (*te baintauanimamme*) and typical necklass made of palm leaf (*te kaki*). The belt for skirt is different than the belt for *te bee* in male, because it is made of a small thread at which we have lined white shells, and it is called *te katau*.

## Chapter 4: SHIFT FROM IDENTITY TOWARDS ENTERTAINMENT

Contemporary way of life brings some challenges to the keeping and valuing of the traditional dance. Something what became the most recognisable sign of the Kiribati community is dance called *tamure*. *Tamure* is originally not a Micronesian dance, but derives from Tahiti, in French Polynesia. It was strongly popularised by the dancers from Samoa and Tonga and we can completely talk about it as a Polynesian dance. Because of the fast rhythm, exotic and

attractive nature for the observers, it became one of the Pacific tourist attractions. I – Kiribati did, partially because of their culture, partially because they are physically closer to Polynesians than Micronesians, easily adopted tamure. In capital of Solomon Islands, Honiara, there are various Kiribati dancing groups which are performing tamure in hotels, for tourists and foreign guests, and they are visible during solemn celebrations and welcomes of the important people. There were some groups of young tamure dancers in *te maneaba* in Kukutin too.

Exactly here I had the opportunity to see different influences at dance which is today, in Solomon Islands, called tamure. Characteristics of all those dances, not referring to their origin, is the fastness of rhythm, the art of movement and entertaining character of the dance. Tamure is performed by mixed couples and groups, but also by gender divided groups. The dancers themselves are not dressed in traditional Kiribati folk costumes anymore, but they are wrapped in the piece of colourful decorative cloth, which is in Solomon Islands called lava lava. Regular decoration is banana leaves, but it can be also flowers, alive or artificial.

Taking the music used for the performance as a criterion, we can distinguish few kinds of Solomon – Kiribati tamure:

the original tamure – songs of Polynesian extraction: Tahiti, Samoa, Tonga, Maori – Aotearoa.

songs of Fijian origin

songs of Kiribati origin

songs of Solomon Islands origin, be it in local languages, or in Solomon Pijin.

modern songs in English (wedding of AT and BH, 17<sup>th</sup> September 2011).

Many Polynesians, when they observe Solomon – Kiribati performance of their traditional dance are not impressed at all with it. One of the often said commentaries, which can be seen in internet too, that this is the copycatting and corruption of their cultural heritage. It is fact that Polynesian dances are dances of high physical activity and rhythm. I – Kiribati themselves, when they hear the melody, attempt to create movements for various dances. In recent years special popularity was gained by dances of Maori people from the island of Aotearoa (New Zealand).

Fiji Islands, situated at the border between Melanesia and Polynesia, with both cultural influences, adds to the variety of the tamure dance. The mixture of both influences is kept and valued in Fijian songs and dances, although Melanesian influence stays dominant. Their songs are very popular and can serve as a base for the creation of tamure dance. Similar change is happening in Kiribati too. In my talk with Professor Whincup in Wellington, New Zealand (14<sup>th</sup> July 2011), I was told that, few years ago, all over the Tarawa (capital of Kiribati) Indian music gained high popularity, as a base for the performance of dances. According to my informant, that was only a trend of the moment and since then that kind of music lost its popularity. The interest of young Kiribati people was directed towards other types of music. In the same conversation, Professor Whincup expressed his opinion, according which this kind of musical change is a part of the complete cultural shift that affects this Pacific country. In future investigation of the topic, it would be interesting to make a comparison between Kiribati dances at home and abroad (at least Solomon Islands). The processes would not, in fact, be too different, and challenges which are confronted to the both societies would be similar, in my opinion. This would be the case, because the contact with the original homeland and I – Kiribati ethnic group in Solomon Islands didn't die out. Although transportation is not simple at all, the exchange of music, with the help of the modern media is very fruitful. I would even dare to say that choice of music available in Kiribati is the same as in Kiribati ethnic group in Solomon Islands. Because of that reason, contemporary Kiribati songs are also

one of the bases for the tamure dance. The fact that language can be understood can help in creation of movements which is complementary with the lyrics.

Finally, the modern Solomon songs can be used as a base for tamure too. Many of them are written in one of over 80 indigenous languages of Solomon Islands, although, the tendency is growth of the compositions composed in Solomon Island lingua franca, Solomon Pijin. This language, understood by the whole population of the country, is a medium for the bringing of the tamure to everyone.

Such a various influences at tamure are showing us something interesting. Although originally from Polynesian culture, tamure became visible and recognisable sign of the identity towards out of the Micronesian – Kiribati community in Solomon Islands. That acceptance as a part of the identity changes the dance itself, which is the adaptation to the audience or, if you wish, market, i.e. receivers and observers of the dance. The form and the content of the dance are the same, but its creation, movements, melody and language – all of them are the changed elements of this new – old dance. My initial practical encounter with Kiribati dance, in *te maneaba* in Kukutin, showed me two sides of the same dance: firstly, in traditional dance we have kept, petrified elements of the tradition from the old homeland, which are jealously protected and transmitted from generation to generation. Secondly, we have a dance which is visibly, from day to day, from performance to performance being changed and accommodated to the public. Paradoxically, it is in all of its forms connected with Kiribati ethnic community, although it doesn't originate from it. Because of that community, this dance is alive and present in Solomon Islands and puts them on the map, not only as a place for observation of old ancient cultures, but as a place of encounter and enrichment of cultures which influence each other, creating something new, different and modern.

## Chapter 5: THE ROLE OF MEN AND WOMEN

Taking into consideration that this work is written for the Scientific Symposium of the International Association of the Folkloric Groups in Bistrița and Colibita, Romania (14 – 16 October 2011), with its particular topic and interest on the role of men and women, allow me to spare some space to write about the role of male and female in traditional Kiribati dances of Solomon Islands.

For me, personally, work with the Kiribati dancers in Solomon Islands is an enriching experience, as for many of them dance is not only one of the activities they are doing, but it is a way of expression of its own belonging, as well as of all that makes them members of their ethnic group. Traditional dance links them with the ancestors and those before, but in repetitious performances it stays something alive and fresh.

In this part of my work, I relied mostly on the informations of the contemporary performers of Kiribati dance in Solomon Islands. As dancing is a family pride too, all of them are stressing the importance of those before, who taught them dancing, be it parents, or, even more often, grandparents. On various occasions I had the opportunity to talk to one of passionate dancers of the Kiribati traditional dance, Ryan T., with whose help I was able to improve my previous knowledge on different types of Kiribati dance. Being a young person, he lacks knowledge about the real meaning of the dances. The translation of the songs sometimes stays obscure, because they are *in old language*.

Nevertheless, I would like to present different types of Kiribati dances in Solomon Islands and the role of the gender differentiated performers in it.

1. **Te Ruo** can be divided in three diverse sub-groups:

a. *Te kamai* – the groups of dancers are mixed and male and female are allowed to perform this dance together. The movements of the female dancers are the same as those of men and this type of dance is used usually to challenge

another group to stand and compete, thus showing their skills.

b. *Te kabuti* - it is a type of dance in which female dancers are the only ones to compete. In this dance it is important role of legs. The dance is performed by fast movements of legs, in which the skill of the particular dancer becomes visible.

c. *Te naonao* – is the male equivalent of the competing dance and it is the dance in which great importance is put at the skill of the legs. Dancers are moving around in crawling like movements of the legs, thus creating very attractive dancing forms.

Themes of *te ruo* dance can be very different, but they are all dealing with the events from the everyday life: fighting, fishing, planting... It is important to say that, although these dances are meant to be used as a competition, that competition was never between individual dancers, but between competing groups of dancers. Nowadays the shift towards individual dancing is visible.

2. **Te bino** is commonly translated into English as the sitting dance. This type of dance has themes from everyday life too, from work till lullabies for the children. According to our informant, Ryan T., this is dance which is primarily performed by women. Men can join in this dance behind and with female dancers, but only as a supporting force. Again, because of the change which is rampant, this dance can be performed also by individual male dancers (as I have witnessed during the wedding of AT and BH, 17<sup>th</sup> September 2011, Pacific Casino Hotel, Honiara), or in a small group of few male dancers (as I have actively participate in it during cultural concert in Holy Name of Mary Seminary, 28<sup>th</sup> August 2010).

3. **Te kaimatoa** is commonly known as *dance of strength*. Our informant said: *This is the dance in which spirit of dance works most. When I dance other types of dance, I just flow with it, but with "te kaimatoa", spirit is strongest. I feel him and I can experience crying and sometimes weeping...* (RT, 15.9.2011). This is dance performed my men only. If children are supposed to get engaged, that should be only boys. Themes are also very common: fight, fishing, travelling in the canoe. The great skill in this dance brings prestige and makes dancers and dancing groups popular and influential.

4. **Te buki** is one of the dances I have been mentioning earlier. It is typically female dance and men can't dance it. It is particularly skilful dance and it involves a lot of practice. The dancers are supposed to gracefully move their hips, while the rest of their body should stay as calm as possible. Skirt for *te buki*, called *te riri* is specially made from the grass and weights sometimes 15 – 20 kg. The movement of the hips symbolizes the movement of the waves of the sea.

There is even more specific type of this dance, called *te kaurake*, which means *lifting up*. It is, again, performed only by female dancers, but because of its complexity, it can be performed only by most skilful and professional dancers.

5. **Te tirere** is a dance where elements of *the bino* and *te karanga* are being mixed. It is a sitting dance and each dancer has got two sticks. Dancers perform in pairs and the whole dance is done with only one partner. Very often the theme of this dance is lullaby. In Solomon Islands this dance is not performed very often. According to our informant, *it is an old style dance and it is too boring for the younger generations* (RT 15.9.2011). Because of the rhythm, they prefer more next type of dance.

6. **Te karanga** is another type of the stick dance, but it is performed standing and partners can swap. Even more, dance can simultaneously be danced with few partners. In the past, this dance used to be performed only with traditional music, sometimes accompanied by ukulele and guitar, but nowadays different types of music can be used



for the performance. This type of dance is, as opposed to *te karanga* very popular in Solomon Islands Kiribati community. Both dances can be performed by both sexes, divided or together.

7. **Te taubas** – this is the dance is performed by the mixed groups of dancers, and male and female dancers are allowed to dance together. The main characteristics of this dance is clapping of hands and legs, it is performed standing and mostly by younger dancers.

## CONCLUSION

As time was passing by, I realised that my first feeling of uneasiness and lack of understanding of entertainment in Burns Creek was, in fact, caused by my lack of knowledge of the group dynamic. Instead of being an active participant, I was trying to be passive observer. Instead to contribute that others can get entertained too, I was thinking that the whole event was prepared for us, guests. That Burns Creek's entertainment was just an opening of a small window into something in which I will later take part so many times and what will be the opportunity for socialisation and sharing with other people.

Entertainment in general, led me to the observation of a particular form of it, which refers to the Kiribati ethnic minority of Solomon Islands. I was able to learn the varieties of the forms that this community values. Although, from one side, I had a great interest in observation of the contemporary composed dance *tamure*, which became an important element of their identity towards others, I was also happy to observe Kiribati traditional dance, which serves as an identity builder towards inside, i.e. Kiribati community itself.

My initial ethnographic scatch on one particular week spent in Wagina community and observation of the performances in June 2010, was later enriched with an occasional participation in other various celebrations in Kiribati communities in Solomon Islands, as well in New Zealand. I am sure that the further exposure to the Kiribati dance in Solomon Islands will be able to give even more precise informations. As an activeparticipant, but nevertheless an outsider, I do not pretend that this work of mine has all the elements of the topic. It is a part of the ongoing observation of the dance of the Kiribati ethnic group in Solomon Islands. Very precious would be to conduct a research, in order to compare the changes occurring in Kiribati dancing not only in Solomon Islands, but also in its homeland Kiribati. Together with continuing observation of the dance in Solomon Islands, I believe, this work can be expanded and improved.

Finally, I truly believe that this work will contribute at least a little bit in the wexploration of the culture, dance and customs of I – Kiribati ethnic minority, which is so valuable and which contributes in such an unique way to the cultural diversity of Solomon Islands.

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## **LIST OF THE INFORMANTS**

Arimeta Tibaua	20 <sup>th</sup> June 2010, Wagina
John Kakau Teruka	10 <sup>th</sup> August 2010, Tenaru
Ryan Teiba	15 <sup>th</sup> September 2011, Honiara
Tawa Tapaia	17 <sup>th</sup> July 2010., Red Beach
Tony Temeroa Riare	17 <sup>th</sup> July 2010., Red Beach

## **LIST OF THE EVENTS OBSERVED FOR THIS WORK**

Easter Celebration, Luqa, Easter, 2011

Te Maneaba, Kukutin, 15<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> June 2010

Poruroa, Wellington New Zealand, 15<sup>th</sup> July 2011

Wedding AT and BH, Honiara, 17<sup>th</sup> September 2011

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**LE PROBLÈME DE LA PRÉSENTATION DES COSTUMES FÉMININS CROATES SUR LA SCÈNE**

Le sujet de la présentation souligne les aspects traditionnels des costumes féminins croates selon les régions culturelles croates. Le problème qui se pose est celui de certains groupes, qui demandent beaucoup de temps pour s'habiller, afin de rester dans la vérité, lors de leurs présentations sur scène et surtout dans les festivals de folklore. Il s'agit des groupes folkloriques membres de l'association de Druzina et donc de l'IGF. En revanche, on ne dira que quelques mots des costumes masculins qui ne posent pas de problèmes.

**Mots clefs:** Le costume féminin croate, la scène, le problème de patrimoine

**APERÇU GÉNÉRAL SUR LE COSTUME**

Les vêtements faits de textile tissé à la main, cousus et ornés le plus souvent à la main, ne se portent plus à peu près depuis 1960. Aujourd'hui on ne les porte que dans les occasions exceptionnelles, comme aux revues de folklore ou pendant un festival de folklore et rarement pour les grandes fêtes religieuses.

Le costume fait de tissus manufacturés se porte encore par ci, par là. Le costume campagnard, comme le costume urbain, était en grande mesure sujet aux changements de mode. Dans une des phases évolutives du costume folklorique on a commencé à utiliser les tissus manufacturés, ce qui a nécessairement entraîné des changements.



Nr.1 Le costume fait de textile tissé à la main



Nr. 2 de tissus manufacturés

(Pendant le festival en R. Tchèque en 2010 le groupe croate *Mijat Stojanović* de Babina Greda)

Dans la coupe des parties fondamentales du costume de tissus manufacturés, on abandonne définitivement les principes fondamentaux de la coupe traditionnelle, mais on établit, dans les autres aspects du dessin, les principes de la nouvelle tradition.

*Le fait que ce nouveau costume folklorique porte des caractéristiques locales prouve qu'il s'agit vraiment d'une tradition, quoiqu'elle ne soit pas aussi longue que celle du costume folklorique cousu de textiles*

tissés à la main (Šestan, 1987 : 71).

Le costume féminin, fait de tissu manufacturé, est encore aujourd'hui porté par certaines femmes d'âge moyen et de vieilles femmes.

A ma question posée aux responsables de groupe de Babina Greda au sujet de costume fait de tissus manufacturés lors d'un tel événement (Festival International), la réponse mentionnait le rôle d'organisateur du festival qui, au dernier moment, avait changé l'horaire de programme sans les prévenir à temps. En effet il fallait s'habiller très vite sans avoir le temps nécessaire pour mettre le costume traditionnel (v. photo Nr. 1) suivi de la coiffe spécifique et unique qui est réservée pour les femmes de 4 lieux de cet entourage seulement<sup>1</sup>.

Le modèle cousu de toile tissée à la main diffère considérablement de celui fait de tissu manufacturé. Ce dernier suit les lignes du corps et s'y adapte déjà dans la phase de la coupe. Les éléments à joindre sont modelés sans limitation imposée par quelque forme donnée ou par la coupe.

## LES ZONES CULTURELLES CROATES

### A/ Zone pannonienne

Le costume traditionnel pannonien<sup>2</sup> est caractérisé, surtout le costume solennel, par son riche fronçage. On consacre une attention particulière à la largeur de toile, déterminée par la largeur du ros du métier à tisser. On coupe la toile du rouleau parallèlement avec les fils de la trame par quoi on obtient toujours un rectangle comme élément fondamental dans l'assemblage de la pièce de vêtement. L'adaptation aux lignes du corps ne se fait qu'à la phase de l'assemblage, quand le tissu se fronce aux endroits où il est nécessaire de rétrécir. Là où les vêtements doivent être élargis, on ajoute des pièces de tissu.

Les vêtements de la zone de culture pannonienne – au nord de la Croatie – ont des caractéristiques suivantes: le costume fondamental est fait de tissu de fibre végétale; le costume d'homme se compose de chemise et de pantalon, celui de femme de *chemise*, c. à d. de jupon et de blouse assemblés en une seule pièce ou plus souvent au nord séparés<sup>3</sup>.

Ce que nous ne voyons pas, c'est la forme caractéristique qui est importante.

La chemise est donc la partie fondamentale et principale du costume et c'est d'après elle qu'on choisit d'autres parties de vêtements: la qualité et la quantité du textile, la couleur et la technique de l'ornement, la variante du tablier, du fichu brodé de soie ou de fil doré, de la coiffe, etc.

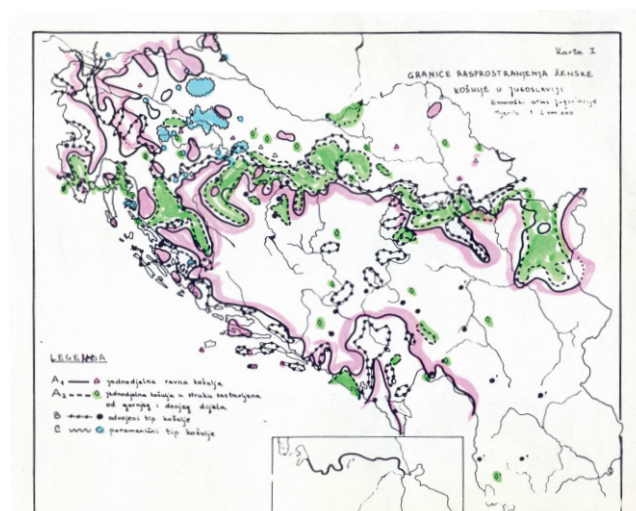
Les cheveux des jeunes filles étaient arrangés de tresses fines et ne les couvraient pas. Les femmes mariées, selon l'âge et les variantes de costumes, en général se couvraient la tête.

Les femmes aussi bien que les hommes se chaussaient depuis longtemps de souliers ou de bottines, et les hommes encore de bottes faites par les maîtres cordonniers. Dans certaines régions on portait des

<sup>1</sup> Cela peut être vrai, mais j'exprime la doute en cette réponse car le groupe avait à son disposition tout de même ce costume. Souvent il le porte à cause de temps mauvais pour protéger le costume traditionnel. Il est comique de les voir toutes en rouge, car dans la vérité la couleur peut varier.

<sup>2</sup> *Pannonie*, région de plaines de l'Europe centrale, entre les Alpes et les Carpates. Elle fut concusée par les Romains, envahie au Ve s. Par les Ostrogoths, les Lombards et les Huns, et tomba au pouvoir des Magyars en 893. (Larousse classique, dictionnaire encyclopédique, Paris 1957)

<sup>3</sup> La chemise féminine a été séparée en deux parties probablement pour des raisons pratiques permettant de combiner diverses parties supérieures et inférieures



Nr. 3. Les frontières de la chemise sur l'espace de Ex-Yougoslavie (les Slaves du sud, excepté les Bulgares)

Couleurs: *rouge* (A1) – chemise longue, *verte* (A2) - chemise de jupon et de blouse assemblés, *noir* (B) - jupon et blouse séparés, *bleu* (C) – chemise aux bretelles ou au gilet sans manche (Svirac 1984: 415).

**(La carte est disponible en couleur sur la couverture)**

chaussures *folkloriques* – *opanci* faites de lanières de cuir tressé.

Le costume de femme est fait de parties suivantes:

a/ petite blouse – *svapska* (*allemande*) à manche étroite, grande blouse à manches larges

b/ jupe

c/ tablier

d/ fichu – triangulaire brodé

e/ châle porté sur les épaules

e/ ceinture tissée ou brodée

f/ chaussures folkloriques

Décoration et parure le plus souvent sont d'ornement floral; on y trouve également des symboles d'animaux et de fruits.

La broderie peut être faite avec du fil d'or, de soie ou du coton. Il faut, en outre, respecter les principes de coordination de la coiffe avec le costume. Ainsi le fichu triangulaire de soie brodé d'or ne peut pas se porter avec la robe brodée de fils multicolores, tandis qu'avec la robe brodée d'or on ne peut pas porter sur la tête ni le fichu de toile ni le fichu triangulaire de soie brodé de fil multicolore.

B/ Zone montagnarde

Les vêtements des montagnes et de la côte adriatique sont plus simples.

Le costume de femme de la zone culturelle montagnarde est fait de parties suivantes:

a/ chemise longue à manche longue étroite

b/ 2 ceintures tissées en laine multicolore

c/ tablier

d/ *modrina* – une robe longue, ouverte devant, sans manches en été, à manches en hiver





e/ chaussures folkloriques (Voir photo Nr. 5)

Nr. 5. KUD Zupa Bagalovic Krvavac

Nr. 6. KUD Nevijana Nevidjane

Souvent ce type de costume en entier ou dans ses parties a influencé le costume au bord de la mer Adriatique comme c'est le cas chez le groupe de Krvavac. Ce lieu se trouve dans la zone adriatique avec le costume montagnard.

#### C/ Zone adriatique

Le costume de femme de la zone culturelle adriatique comprend:

- a/ chemise longue à manche longue étroite
- b/ robe aux bretelles ou au gilet sans manche avec un ruban rouge à l'ourlet
- c/ ceintures tissées en laine multicolore
- d/ tablier
- e/ gilet à manche, ouverte devant
- f/ chaussures

#### Les groupes de folklore membres de la Fédération croate *Druzina* dans les zones culturelles

Les groupes de folklore membres de la Fédération croate *Druzina* représentent toutes les trois zones culturelles. La plus part des groupes viennent de **la zone culturelle panonienne**, qui est composée de variantes et regions suivantes:

##### **Slavonija - Slavonie:**

KUD "MIJAT STOJANOVIĆ" BABINA GREDA  
 KUD "IVAN GORAN KOVAČIĆ" BERA VCI  
 KUD "TOMISLAV" DONJI ANDRIJE VCI  
 KUD "VESELA ŠOKADIJA" GUNDINCI  
 KUD "SLOGA" SIKIRE VCI  
 KUD "ŠOKICA" SLOBODNICA  
 KUD "ŠOKADIJA" BATRINA/Nova Kapela  
 KUD «LUKALUKIĆ» BRODSKI VAROŠ/SL. BROD  
 KUD „ZRINSKI“ BRODSKI STUPNIK  
 KUD "KRISTAL-SLADORANA" ŽUPANJA

KUD „KAMEN” SIRAC

HKUD “LAHOR” DARUVAR

**Slavonska Podravina - Le nord de la Slavonie longeant le fleuve Drave**

KUD “RAVNICA” HABJANOVC

KUU “ŠUBIĆ ZRINSKI” PETRIJEVCI

KUU “NAPREDAK” PODRAVSKI PODGAJCI

KUD “JOSIP ČOKLIĆ” RAKITOVICA

KUD “KOLO” NARD, VALPOVO

**Podravina** (Région de la Drave)

DRUŠTVO IZVORNOG FOLKLORA, KOPRIVNIČKI IVANEC

KUD «IVAN VITEZ TRNSKI» NOVIGRAD PODRAVSKI

**La région de Zagreb**

KUD „VRHOVJE ŽUPE DUBRANEC” DUBRANEC

KUD „PAVAO ŠTOOS” LUKAVEC SUTLANSKI

KUD “BRATINEČKO SRCE” PISAROVINA

**Prigorje** (Chaîne secondaire de la montagne de Zagreb *Medvednica*)

HKPD “BOSILJAK” ČUČERJE - ZAGREB

HSPD “PODGORAC” GRAČANI - ZAGREB

HKUD “PRIGOREC” MARKUŠEVEC – ZAGREB

**Turopolje** (Région au sud)

PLEMENITA OPČINA TUROPOLJSKA, VELIKA GORICA

**La région de Zagreb plus large**

**Moslavina**

KUD “MOSLAVEC” VOLODER

KUD „KLOŠTAR” KLOŠTAR IVANIĆ

**Posavina**

KUD „OGRANAK SELJAČKE SLOGE” POSAVSKI BREGI

IFG „TAMBURICA” DONJI VUKOJEVAC

**Zagrebačka Posavina**

KUD “SLAVUJ” BUKEVJE

**La zone culturelle adriatique**

**Dalmacija - Dalmatie**

KUD „KRALJ TOMISLAV” BIOGRAD NA MORU

KUD “NEVIJANA” NEVIĐANE, l'île de Pašman

KUD „BOKOLJE” DOBROPOLJANA, l'île de Pašman

„PIVAČI SALONE” SOLIN / Split

KUD „KUKLJICA” KUKLJICA, l'île d'Ugljan

**La zone culturelle montagnarde**

KUD «ŽUPABAGALOVIC» KRVAVAC / KULANORINSKA

Pour rester dans la vérité de la tradition et pour respecter l'identité de patrimoine propre de chaque pays, région, zone et chaque groupe, il faudrait:

- respecter la tradition qui fait l'identité et la richesse d'un peuple
- respecter les groupes folkloriques porteurs de la tradition
- apprendre aux jeunes leur patrimoine propre – connaître, transmettre authentiquement, pas de changement de l'essentiel à cause de la scène ou le programme (même si on le demande)

Il se pose aussi le problème de temps :

1/ Le costume demande bien de temps pour se préparer, s'habiller

2/ Souvent on doit rester habillé sans pouvoir s'asseoir durant 8 h ou plus dans une journée de folklore

3/ Si la présentation sur la scène dure 7 à 10 min, ce qui est souvent cas, on met entre 2 ou 3 h pour

s'habiller. La proposition va dans le sens d'augmenter la durée de la présentation sur scène. En conclusion il s'agit des groupes folkloriques membres d'IGF que nous devons respecter, encourager et admirer.

Merci à tous de penser aux groupes Croates de l'association de *Druzina* chez vous. Nous promettons de même pour vos groupes en Croatie afin de rester dans l'amitié.

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**MEN'S AND WOMEN'S CLOTHING IN THE CZECH FOLK TRADITION**

The Czech Republic is a rather small country, but its territory is a mosaic of ethnographic areas which are often strikingly different from one another. The differences were historically determined by natural and social conditions. For example, while Walachia in the east has been relatively poor, the Haná region in the centre of Moravia has always been opulent, and so are the Pilsen and Blata regions in Bohemia. The geographical and social conditions determined the economic activities of the countryside people, as well as the patterns of family and community life. Different ethnic substrata also played a role. The result is a diversity of folk traditions, which is most strikingly seen in the folk costumes.

**Key words:** costume, husbandman, woman, Haná region, Moravia

The folk costumes are a very appropriate feature to illustrate our topic: the *different position of men and women* both in the family and in the community. This position is not basically different from other Central European or Christian countries. The head of the family was the *man*, the farmer, who provided the main means of subsistence through husbandry or handicrafts. He was the deciding person and the owner of the homestead. The *woman* catered for the family and was in charge of the household. She looked after the children, cooked, provided the foodstuff – for example she milked the cows and baked bread. She did the laundry, sewed the underwear and some clothes for the family. She often had maidservants to help her. All these facts influenced the clothing of the people.

The *costume of the husbandman* consisted of a number of components, which the man needed for his representation and communication with others. It included a long coat and fur coat, hats and fur caps, high boots and other pieces according to local habits. Men wore these garments even on workdays, for example when going to town; but at home and at work they wore simple clothes suited to their position and activity.

The *woman* had simple, practical clothes for *workdays*, made from cloth, canvas or printed stuff, but even at home she was neatly dressed. That was an important sign of her position and prestige in the village. On workdays she usually did not leave the village, except for visiting relatives or going to market. For these occasions she had a better, so called *semi festive* costume made from better stuff, with a fashionable jacket, and a becoming scarf. This costume included shoes, while at home women wore slippers. In summer most people, except the husbandmen, went barefoot. However, on Sundays and on holidays women dressed up ostentatiously, even in comparison with the men's clothes. Plain skirts and aprons were replaced by richly embroidered garments, canvas by silk, the cretonne scarf by a lovely cap or a large, splendidly embroidered headscarf. The festive costumes bear the most distinctive regional signs, which are different between men and women, or married and single people. Let us now look in more detail at married and single women's costumes.

**Festive female costume**

The Christian married woman should be entirely devoted to her husband and this is reflected in her clothes. First of all she must have her head covered for the rest of her life. Even at home she wears a soft cap or scarf. Outside of home women used to add a large headscarf over the usual cap. This became the rule also with the festive costumes. married



women wear either a cap with a large scarf, called *plena* in Bohemia, or a more recent headgear – *čepec*, while in some places in Moravia they still wear a traditional *šatka*, a long shawl tied over the cap and hanging loosely down their shoulders or wound around their heads. Another obligation for a married woman is not to have her arms uncovered on holidays, so her costume is completed with a low-cut, long-sleeved jacket reaching to the waist. The neckline is covered with a scarf. Other parts of the costume are the same as for unmarried women, only the skirts or the aprons are usually made from sumptuous brocade, while those of single girls are made from lighter, more brightly coloured stuff. The obligation to cover their heads lead women to develop a splendid embroidery. The headscarves of married women are usually the most richly embroidered ones. In the Blata area the headscarf is 4 square meters large, embroidered with splendid ornaments and hemmed with lace arranged in frills. In other places women wear caps adorned with golden and silver lace and with Czech garnets. Even in the relatively poor Walachia the female costume includes delicate white scarves with embroidered patterns that only local women know how to create.

### **Festive male costume**

Married men also had some distinguishing garments. At the wedding ceremony they received their first long coat. A man usually had only one such coat and wore it on special occasions during all his life. Wealthy farmers had also ram coats, richly embroidered on the back. These

garments were complemented by tall fur caps or black felt hats, high leather boots or, in older styles of clothing, wollen stockings reaching up to the knees and leather shoes. There are

some other parts of the costume that are common for married and unmarried men. The most conspicuous long coats are those found in Haná, made from dark blue wollen cloth in an Empire style, with multilayered collars and finely embroidered. Other components of Moravian costumes are wide belts, different waistcoats and embroidered shirts.

### **Festive costumes of young people**

The costumes of young people were not meant for representation but for gaining the admiration of the opposite sex. These costumes are full of colours, coquettish accessories, attractive materials, embroidery, ribbons, feathers and fresh flowers. Most of these typical elements are found in the headgear of both girls and lads. *Girls* are allowed to wear wreaths as a symbol of freedom, of being unmarried. After the wedding these ornaments disappear from the costume forever. The *lads* had the right to decorate their hats with fresh posies, usually of rosemary. In Moravia a cock feather is often inserted in the posy as a symbol of young virility. All this adornment is called *péřečko*, "little feather", and it must not be worn by married men. In Moravian Slovakia unmarried men also wear shirts with broad, richly embroidered sleeves. However, after the wedding this beautiful garments is put aside.

### **The wedding costume.**

Naturally the most distinctive attributes of the clothing belonged to the wedding costume of the bridegroom and the bride. The *bride* not only wears the above mentioned conspicuous wreath, as the last indication of her preceding unmarried status, but she also indicates through another piece of her costume her future status of wife and mother. It is a large piece of cloth worn over the clothes as a shawl, in which later her bay will be wrapped for the baptism.

The *bridegroom's* costume includes some clothing attributes symbolizing in a way his supremacy over the woman and also the eternal union of the married couple. For example in Haná the bridegroom has a woman's embroidered apron tied to his waist and a woman's scarf tied across his breast. In Moravian Slovakia a female headscarf is tied over the bridegroom's coat. The colours are also symbolic. Frequently it is the red as a symbol of life, but in the

Chodsko region the bride wears a dark, mourning costume expressing the girl's sadness at the loss of her liberty. In general the costumes of all the participants of the wedding ceremony show most distinctly the differences between the clothing of both single and married males and females. We might find many more elements and motives of the clothing that symbolize the rather different world of men and women in past times. Today the folk costumes are practically not worn in the Czech Republic, but they have remained as a splendid cultural heritage. Most of the approximately four hundred folk groups in the country use the original costumes with all the above-mentioned attributes of difference.

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Figure 1

Working costume, Eastern Bohemia, end of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Photo Jakub Langhammer



Figure 2

Woman's costume for daily use, Eastern Moravia - Wallachia, end of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Photo Jakub Langhammer



Figure 3

Festive costume Eastern Bohemia, mid of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Photo Jakub Langhammer



Figure 4

Wedding costume, Southern Moravia, mid of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Photo Jakub Langhammer



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**IN SICKNESS AND IN HEALTH: GENDER ROLES IN HEALING AND MAGIC ON THE TERRITORY OF BRODSKO POSAVLJE / EASTERN CROATIA**

The theme is composing of gender roles in the aspect of health care and magic in the area called Brodsko Posavlje, in Eastern Croatia. The interest of the work is focused on today, in comparison with the past. The elements of today's health care system are imported from traditional and academic medicine. The roles of men and women are studied through a spectrum of different practices and views which belong to healing and magic systems. The studied system shows how these roles are not the same when we consider the elements funded in the traditional medicine, but there is no reason to speak of sexual discrimination or inequality, there is only space for the term difference. The academic medicine does not show any gender differentiation. Accordingly, the today's health care system shows tendencies to gender differentiation, but since the vast part of this health care system is the academic medicine, it results in the fact that we can't speak of gender inequality

**Keywords:** healing, magic, gender roles, traditional health care system, academic medicine

The data in this work were collected in villages: Gundinci, Stari Perkovci, Velika Kopanica and Vrpolje in the area called Brodsko Posavlje, in eastern Croatia. The research started in the year 2006. and it is still being done. Field work consists of interviews with informants and through participant observer method. The informants are members of a local culture whose participants call themselves *Šokci*.

The goal of research is an attempt to give a description of the contemporary medical system. The research is being done on a small geographic area so that it would be possible to take in account a larger number of elements creating the medical system. From the data collected so far it was possible to conclude that this medical system contains elements of biomedicine and traditional medicine, but it is a specific system, it is not the same as ethnomedicine or biomedicine. Health is a challenging subject because it is important in everyday life. People take care of their health in different ways, and each culture has its own medical system. According to Kleinman, it is the manner in which the participants (healers and patients) think

about healthcare. That consists of beliefs about the disease, the reaction on the appearance of the disease, expectations from different healing methods (Kleinman 1981: 26).

In this work, the accent will be on the gender roles in the researched medical system, an attempt of their description.

**How do men and women talk about medicine?**

Already through the field work, while gathering data by interviewing the population, gender differences popped up. With time, it was possible to make a resume of what men have to say on the subjects of, health, illness, medicine, and on the other side, women.

However, it was common to all of them to primarily talk about ethnomedicine. They thought it is expected from them. When they did talk of biomedicine, topics were the same like in everyday communication when they talk about this subject. Most of them would comment on the hospital conditions and the medical personnel. People talk about biomedicine when there is a need for sharing experiences – if someone needs to be medically examined (for



example, get a colonoscopy). Anyone familiar with some specific method, talks about it to the person who will soon face it. Generally, there are no gender differences considering the attitude towards the biomedicine – it is in the first place, it really helps, it is respected, and so are the doctors - as representatives of this medical system.

Gender differences are more visible in the matter of ethnomedicine, at least towards the methods that had been kept until today.

Considering the attitude towards ethnomedicine, the participants can be divided into three groups:

1. The ones who believe in efficiency of ethnomedicine and use its methods. This group is mostly consisted of elderly women. For them, ethnomedicine was the only approachable medical system in the past. They found it to be efficient and that is the reason for which they use its methods. They also use biomedical resources, especially when encountering an illness which they do not recognize and don't know how to cure. They use traditional methods to release the pain or for relieving of other symptoms, sometimes combined with the treatment proscribed to them by medical personnel. These research participants, mostly women, talked about diseases they are familiar with and about their own treatment experiences. They also gave out recipes which they use themselves. They often give advices on everyday basis – not to sit on cold places (such as stairs made out of stone), for example. They talk about herbal cures, religious means of treatment and magic – but in a selected circle of people. They tried out these methods and believe them to be efficient. Medicine is a topic they like to talk about, without restraints. It is only when they talk about magic that they show kind of shame because their beliefs aren't always well accepted, in most cases from younger members of their family, especially male. The women did not just give out a list of recipes, they talked about everything that is connected to health – in their perception of health, they made spontaneous links to specific subjects. They talked about death which is without any doubt a significant part of any medical system. The perception of death in the traditional way of seeing things is very different than the perception of death in modern society. Biomedicine does everything to postpone death, death is not a taboo but it is not an everyday subject in conversations. It is avoided, not thought about, it is being put a side. On the other hand, traditional society and the traditional medical system consider death as something inevitable and completely normal. It could be said that there is less fear of death in a traditional society. For example, at today's funerals it became common to cover up the deceased. Many younger people, but mostly those living in the cities have never seen a dead person. On the other side, one of the research participants, when she was a five year old girl, kissed a dead child in the forehead – it was considered to bring bliss. Not only has she seen a deceased, she touched him. There are also many stories about dead people. According to the data, it is not odd to meet someone who passed away - on the street. There are beliefs that one can come back after death if he had not finished what he was suppose to have finish during his lifetime. Death was not understood as a final condition so it was less scary. Such beliefs are today present only in preserved stories and legends, but everybody tries to live as long as possible so health is much more important than it used to be.

2. This group mostly consists of men. Their negativity is primarily pointed to the magic component of the traditional medical system. They don't believe in it and in the past they would even use the women's beliefs to scare them, in a funny way, by disrespecting what they saw as potentially dangerous. That resulted with a state in which the women wouldn't talk about this subject, except amongst themselves. Men were so rational sometimes that they would exclude anything women believed in to the point that an older man said: “My brother and myself, we never believed in massage.” However, when it comes to biomedicine, they ask no questions. They completely rely in doctors and medical personnel. Men say they don't believe in any kind of magic, but women state otherwise. One woman had to

put some garlic on her husband's nipples because, as they both believed, a witch came while he was sleeping and sucked them. She put the garlic after that so it wouldn't happen again. When men talked about medicine, they didn't give advices or recipes, they did not tell stories or legends, opposite to women. They talked about experiences – their own or from someone in their closer family. They also talked about “specialists” – the barber for men who was usually also a dentist. This combination – barber and dentist was a wide spread phenomenon. But, of course, they were dentists only in the sense that they would pull out bad teeth. Those barbers were just plain people from the village. They were paid but it was more like a hobby, they would usually work on the land and have animals, like the others. Except these “specialists”, there were also people who knew how to put broken bones in place so they would properly grow back. If someone broke a leg or a hand, he would go see this person. A man mentioned a masseur, a woman, in one of the villages, but in a negative manner. At last, she was a woman. When comparing data from men and from women, we can conclude that women shared their knowledge and men talked about experiences and people.

3. People who are neutral towards ethnomedicine. This group consists of both genders. These are elderly, educated people. They are familiar with traditional healing methods but they rarely use them. They sometimes use these methods for some mild diseases (common cold etc.) in order to remove the symptoms. They value every element in particular, they don't have a positive or negative attitude towards the whole ethnomedical system. They don't believe in magic but do not judge the ones who do. They keep their distance and they try to find a rational explanation of why people believe in it.

#### **Narativization**

Narativization is the way in which one explains his illness, the manner in which one talks about it. There are gender differences in this field, too. It is only possible to describe the actual situation (as it is today), and then assume it is similar to the one in the traditional society. When women talk about their illness, they say: it is tearing me apart, it is like I'm being stabbed with cold knives, it pounds me to the head and behind the neck... One gets an impression that the person is being attacked by an invisible being. Also, a woman can regularly suffer the same symptoms and each time talk about them like they are something new, surprising, and each time give them a kind of mystical aura. Illness is a new mystery each time it occurs, and each new time it is a special event, like no other before. It attracts attention, the person suffering the symptoms becomes an object of interest – at least for the women surrounding her. Women always talk to other women about her symptoms. In return, they listen to advices and similar experiences. Unlike women, men don't show a tendency of talking about their symptoms. They give a name to the state they're in, they categorize it. Usually they just repeat what the doctor told them. They talk about it far less than women. The exception are really old men. They like being asked about their state of health. It is considered to be a sign of care and interest. There are, of course, exceptions in both genders. Some women don't talk about the pain they feel because they assign it to the weather, menopause, etc. and consider it to be normal so they don't pay attention to it. There are also men who talk about their health to anyone who would listen.

#### **Beginning of treatment**

After the symptoms occur, it is necessary for some time to pass before the treatment begins. The symptoms first need to be recognized and after that decide whether the treatment is necessary. This is something that women do. It is usually them who notice change on others and then take appropriate actions. Instead of “woman”, it would be more accurate to say “mother”. The thing is, only after they are married, women begin to study about disease and medicine. After they give birth, they are immediately faced with the potential dangers for their child. They study

how to take care for their child and step by step, they learn how to take care of everyone in the house and slowly it becomes their duty. This is a timeless fact, it hasn't been changed through time, nor through the change of the medical system. Women always become "house doctors". So the women notice changes in their household members' health and then advise them what to do about it. After the treatment begins, they keep track of its success. They especially keep track if they are the ones who treat. If their method doesn't progress accordingly, they send the person to the doctor. Women usually take responsibility of treating only if they are completely certain what they are facing. The lady of the house is usually the first step toward health, and sometimes the last one. When a person is terminally ill, it is often the case that such a person turns to alternative methods and religion. That happens very often, same to men as women. Women usually help with suggestions what methods to choose or try out. Men don't treat, they can only be patients, at least in the traditional society. Men treat only if they are doctors, if it is their job. Today women are still the ones who take care, at least initially.

### **People who treat**

As it was said earlier, it is primarily the women who take care of health and they could be regarded as household's medical doctor. In the traditional society, with its ethnomedical system, the women had the same role as today, only they had to treat more kinds of disease than nowadays. The things, there weren't enough doctors, it was a problem to get to them and they were expensive. It was better to solve at home everything that could have been solved at home. Except the women who took care of their family members' health, there were women in with special skills in each village. The most wanted were the ones who knew how to remove a jinx caused by the evil eye. Not every woman knew how to do that, there usually a few in the village. Some women still do it, some used to do it in the past but stopped doing it due to their family disagreeing. The method has no power if a woman reveals it. The one who knows it, chooses the one who will keep on doing it and tells the secret of the method to the one on her death bed. These women are not paid for what they do and they don't have a special position in the society. They do what they do because they feel it is their duty because of the knowledge they inherited. There is no mention of men in this part of the traditional medical system.

During the research a few male healers were mentioned. There was a man who lived in one of these villages. He placed bones in place after they were broken. There was also a man who was well known for his success in treating *verrucae vulgares* (a skin deformity), people from a few villages came to him. There were also the barbers, each village had one. As it was said earlier, he would also pull teeth. They were all being paid for what they do, so in comparison to women, it can be said it was a job for them and they were a kind of specialists. They did some specific kind of treatment and didn't take care of everything like women.

The other men who treated people are doctors and priests, they did not belong to the same culture like the former ones did. Members of the researched culture are catholics, without exception. Nevertheless, they still believed in the evil eye, witches and fairies. If the traditional means weren't enough in the fight against these phenomenons, they would turn to the priest for help. What is interesting, they did not just go to the catholic priest, but also to the representatives of the muslim religion which wasn't a problem because the researched area lies 10 to 20 km from the Bosnian border.

### **Gender in the modern medicine (biomedicine)**

The men and women cannot be considered to be unequal in the modern medicine, they have the same rights and positions but they are inclined to different things.



## The data from the croatian statistical society

### *Medicine doctors, 1960.*

	total	women	men	Gender distribution % male	Gender distribution % female
total	3425	1010	2415	29,5	70,5
interns	258	102	156	39,5	60,5
Family doctors	1848	555	1293	30,0	70,0
residents	...	...	...	...	...
specialists	1319	353	966	26,8	73,2

### *Medicine doctors, 1980.*

	total	women	men	Gender distribution % male	Gender distribution % female
total	7668	3369	4299	43,9	56,1
interns	418	284	134	67,9	32,1
Family doctors	1591	897	694	56,4	43,6
residents	1143	559	584	48,9	51,1
specialists	4516	1628	2888	36,0	64,0

### *Medicine doctors, 2000.*

	total	women	men	Gender distribution % male	Gender distribution % female
total	10439	5795	4644	55,5	44,5
interns	429	290	139	67,6	32,4
Family doctors	1764	1286	478	72,9	27,1
residents	1090	655	435	60,1	39,9
specialists	7156	3564	3592	49,8	50,2

*Medicine doctors, 2008.*

	total	women	men	Gender distribution % male	Gender distribution % female
total	11801	6978	4823	59,1	40,9
interns	396	248	148	62,6	37,4
Family doctors	1554	1133	421	72,9	27,1
residents	1852	1171	681	63,2	36,8
specialists	7999	4426	3573	55,3	44,7

It is visible just from the numbers that women are more likely to become family doctors than men. This kind of work is just like the one women did in the traditional society – the first step towards health and taking care of everything. On the other side, men are incline to specialization. They choose a narrower field. It is more responsibility, more skillness, but it also paid better.

### Conclusion

Both men and women contribute in medicine but they each do it in their own way. Women see medicine as their duty. If they see a sick person, they will try to help her, it doesn't matter what the person is sick from. Women have a need to bring health.

Men consider medicine as a job. They try to simplify things – by narrowing their field of work but they have greater skills for it. And they always believe that more modern is more efficient. Medicine needs both men and women. Each gender gives its specific contribution and they create a medical system which fits everyone and deals with everything.

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## **THE ROLE OF WOMEN AND MEN IN THE LITHUANIAN CULTURE OF FOLKLOR**

In today's fast moving world human values change, old traditions and customs disappear. While losing our traditions we lose a part of our uniqueness. Today not only the borders of countries but also our social and professional life roles fade. The look towards cultural men's and women's roles has also changed these days if compared to the one 100 years ago. The aim of this article is to turn back to Lithuanian folklore and analyze what roles in family and social life have Lithuanian men and women performed. This report does not seek to compare or analyze Lithuania with other countries, but tries to let people to get acquainted with Lithuanian attitude and mentality which are revealed through the folklore. Every country's way of thinking and values are integral part of world's culture.

**Keywords:** women role, men role, differences, culture, folklore, folk, songs, dances.

### **Introduction**

Every culture defines and contemplates the roles of men and women in a different way. However, it can be agreed that the system of thought in terms of male and female categories is universal in different cultures. Men and women have been granted different social roles, different work and leisure activities throughout all human history.

### **Roles of men and women and their differences**

From the genesis of the patriarchal structure, men took the dominant role in the social life of Lithuania. They were central force of production, security and food supply. Women had more connections with the spiritual life. They had to protect the virtues and values of the society: see off their fathers, sons, brothers, husbands and wait for them to come back, mourn for the dead, and pass the wisdom and experiences of the society to the youth.

### **Roles in folk songs**

The roles of men and women are best revealed through the folk songs which is the richest and unique part of Lithuanian folklore. Lyricism is the crucial feature of Lithuanian folk songs. This allows us to contemplate about the feminine side of Lithuanian folklore: songs were mostly created by women; however, those songs were sung and appreciated by the whole nation.

### **Men's image in folk songs**

Peasants managed to beautify even the hardest country activities with the songs. For instance, a young ploughman is not just an ordinary peasant, wage-earner, rye grower but also he is a young, full of energy and male attractiveness man. Like a fairytale hero he copes with the hardest work in the songs. Hard work and understanding of its meaning shows this man to be honest, sincere and proper child of his father. His masculinity, his inner and outer beauty is revealed through his work.

Natural environment surrounds the picture of daily activities: ploughing in the early spring morning when the sun is rising is often emphasized in Lithuanian songs. This not only gathers people for work but also encourages singing a song that has not been sung before. The attractiveness of this young ploughman and his silvery songs are pointed towards young female weavers.

### **Women's image in folk songs**

The symbolic picture of woman is often created along with the picture of the ploughman in the ploughing song. The main theme of these songs is the delivery of the breakfast. Young female bearer of breakfast is the most anticipated by this young ploughman. After all, such situation was the perfect way to talk and interact for the youth. This theme soon outgrew to images of ploughman meeting, tempting and proposing to his maiden.

### **Different tasks to showing the maturity**

To show the maturity of men and women there were given different ritual activities for them to cope. For instance, the ritual that proved the maturity of a woman was the first time she managed to bake bread. The role of the bread maker was transferred to daughters of 15-16 years in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Only physically matured girl could knead and bake bread. This indicated that the girl was ready for the life in her own family. It was connected both with physical and social maturity. The fact that the girl is prepared for family life, usually has been announced to all the peers in the village. Usually, it has been announced to all youth about the fact that the girl is prepared for domestic life. Young men with a piece of bread used to carry her outside, showing that she can get married and leave her parents' house. At the same time parents used to announce the part of heritage they were giving to her. A Lithuanian girl used to get a new social role in the society with her first baked bread.

### **Role differences during the weddings**

The roles in the weddings were very different for men and women in Lithuanian customs. On the wedding eve, all female friends of the bride gathered both young and old, including mother, aunts, and other women of the village. They used to sing songs about life of the bride, tell stories about their own weddings, give advice about future life in the family and problems the bride would have to face. The ritual started with the act of giving a coin to the bride. This coin had to bring luck and money to the newly-weds. It used to be hidden in the bride's shoe. Later, during the wedding eve they used to roll a thread into one single ball. The bride had to unfold the thread holding on its end on her way to the church. Usually, the wedding eve ended with dances. The groom used to come with his friends and scare the bride and her friends. Furthermore, the groom had to identify the bride, answer the riddles about her and to play games.

Moreover, it was uncommon for the father to lead his daughter to the altar on the wedding day. This custom came later from American type of weddings. Mother and father used to take up equal positions. Mother's role in the wedding traditions were a lot stronger than father's. Therefore, a mother had to lead her daughter to the new life in the family.

### **Symbolism in Lithuanian folk**

Another interesting fact is that in the traditional rural culture the traditional female symbols of pregnancy and childbirth were kept in secret and people used not to talk about them in public. They were only revealed through certain symbols and hints. In the different regions of Lithuania the pregnancy used to be called differently. Sometimes it was referred to as "blasted by the frost", "having cold feet" or "stung by a bee".

### **Different roles in folk dancing**

The roles of men and women in Lithuanian folk dancing tradition differ as well. As in the case of folk songs, folk dances were also mostly created by women. This is the reason why we have so many dances that include only female dancing performances. Throughout the times, men have been more into mobile activities which were male areas such as horse racing, games involving competition, defeating the opponent, showing strength, endurance and rational. While dancing, they used various means: sticks, bats, bags and clogs. Male dances are fun and

pleasant. They reflect absent carelessness and playfulness. Male dance is a competition and amusement at the same time.

Contrary to male dances, female dances concern contemplation, sometimes they become a part of a ritual. In agrarian cultures, including Lithuanian, a woman is identified with the earth, soil, the secret of fertility that can be found in poetic symbols – ploughed soil and mother's womb. Not only in dancing but also in the whole Lithuanian culture a woman is associated with the nature, home and family. Women in folk songs are self-reliant, determined and spiritually resistant. This is because she is the mother and the guardian of the fireplace and fire itself. Feminine creativity that has its source in the Lithuanian customs and folklore is oriented towards main representation of womanhood – motherhood and the ability to give birth.

### Conclusion

To sum up, I claim that the role of women is much more interesting and significant in Lithuanian folklore than men's. So as you can see Lithuanian women represent spiritual, creative spheres and are connected with life's as well as traditions' uphold. The role of men is more connected with social survival. I dare to say that the role of women in Lithuanian culture is much more interesting.

In these times of global cultural levelling for Lithuania, like for every other nation, it is important to preserve what is unique and individual. The brightest nation's face is represented in folklore. To recognize that face means to understand ourselves better: who we are and how we seem to the world. The reflection of different sex roles is the attempt to tell about yourself, your thoughts and your attitude. In this article I shortly discuss those past folk spheres in which different roles of men and women are revealed. They have a great influence on our today's life. From the old past in Lithuanian culture men dominated in social life, took care of the survival of family and nation while women represented spiritual sphere: they were connected with spiritual values' protection. In Lithuanian folk songs, which were mainly created by women, both young boys' and young girls' moral qualities were described. Their diligence, honesty and creativity are valued. The main role of women is to get ready for the family life. Mother's worship was very strong in Lithuanian culture. Guardian of the family hearth - mother – this role was mysterious: nobody talked in public about pregnancy and childbirth, folk symbols were used instead. All in all, women creators' role was very strong in Lithuanian culture. Songs, dances, games, various family and nation's life rituals were created by women, so this article will let you to get acquainted with one of Europe's nation - Lithuanians, and maybe this will help you to understand European mentality.

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**HOMMES ET FEMMES**

Depuis que les hommes se sont sédentarisés et plus particulièrement dans l'habitat traditionnel rural isolé, le fait de naître fille ou garçon a déterminé un mode de vie fondamentalement différent. Si la petite enfance et la scolarité, les vêtements présentent le même caractère, dès l'âge de 12 ans commencent les divergences. De nos jours une similitude de vie est constatée entre les ruraux et les citadins. De plus, l'organisation de la société civile tend vers une volonté d'instauration d'égalité hommes / femmes tant au plan juridique, qu'administratif.

Après la Communion solennelle ou le certificat d'études primaires, le jeune garçon est pratiquement considéré comme un homme. Il abandonne son tablier, porte un pantalon, reçoit un couteau et commence, avec son père et son grand père, (s'il est encore de ce monde) l'initiation participative aux travaux du quotidien afin de les assurer pleinement quand son père sera avancé en âge. Le jeune homme va découvrir le travail de la terre, la régularisation des récoltes en fonction des saisons, les aménagements des corps de bâtiment, l'utilisation et l'entretien du matériel agricole. Le cas échéant, il participera à l'entretien et au gardiennage des gros animaux (vaches, chevaux, ovins...). Tous ces travaux sont en général d'une très grande pénibilité ce qui explique les courtes durées de vie (l'alimentation rustique et déséquilibrée y étant aussi pour quelque chose).

Au contact de son grand père, le jeune homme va apprendre les bricolages utiles : fabrication de manches d'outils, réparations diverses, renforcement de clôtures, construction d'un poulailler, greffage des arbres fruitiers... travaux ne demandant pas beaucoup de force mais du savoir faire et de l'habileté.

Les garçons accompagnent leur père lors des foires aux bestiaux, aux matériels agricoles et apprennent ainsi très tôt à reconnaître la qualité des animaux et à déterminer leur valeur ; sur ces mêmes marchés, ils procéderont à des ventes de veaux, cochons, agneaux et se familiariseront ainsi avec l'ambiance particulière de ces lieux d'échanges.

Dans un même temps la chasse au gibier, la recherche des champignons feront partie du parcours.

Arrivera le moment du départ au service militaire, très souvent premier grand voyage et découverte d'un autre monde, d'une autre forme de vie.

A son retour, ce sera, en principe, le temps de « prendre femme », en étant pratiquement prêt à prendre la succession du père dans la gestion de la ferme. La découverte des grands travaux saisonniers: labours, semailles, moissons dépiquage, vendanges, fenaison va se faire progressivement donnant à l'intéressé toutes les connaissances nécessaires pour diriger les autres, le moment venu. Cette description concerne en général le fils aîné dans une maison de propriétaires terriens, si d'aventure il y a des frères plus jeunes, ceux-ci seront très vraisemblablement destinés à devenir des bergers des valets de ferme ou des ouvriers agricoles dans des plus grandes exploitations.

A 12 ans la petite fille va également changer de statut. Bien sûr, si elle est l'ainée d'autres petites filles, elle va rester à la ferme et apprendre auprès de sa mère (et éventuellement de sa grand-mère) ce qui deviendra sa vie d'adulte.

Son aïeule lui transmettra son savoir dans la broderie, le raccommodage des vêtements, les recettes de cuisine, les confitures, la pâtisserie, les diverses spécialités régionales, les conserve, enfin tout ce qui lui sera nécessaire plus tard dans l'organisation de la vie d'une ferme. L'entretien de la maison est en effet l'affaire des femmes, cuisine, lessive, nettoyage, éducation des enfants.



Les femmes s'occupent également de l'élevage et du soin des petits animaux, poules, lapins, canards. Le jardin potager, souvent peu important mais indispensable à une vie basée sur l'autarcie, est aussi du ressort des femmes tout comme le stockage et la conservation des fruits secs, des légumes et des viandes.

La fille de la maison apprendra aussi les « remèdes de bonnes femmes » par la cueillette des simples ou herbes utiles, l'utilisation des herbes dans la composition des tisanes, tout ce qui peut servir à « soigner », l'appel aux services du médecin étant différé au maximum, faute d'argent! Participant à la veillée les soirs d'hiver, la jeune fille entendra toutes sortes de conversations qui seront parfois initiatiques dans bien des domaines rarement abordés dans l'intimité et découvrira ainsi ce qui se passe ailleurs ou dans la vie des adultes. Ces renseignements et les enseignements relatifs à la tenue de la maison, lui permettront, lors des grands rassemblements occasionnés par les travaux saisonniers (moissons, dépiquage, vendanges..) de préparer les repas qui feront la renommée de la ferme (qualité, quantité, vendanges..) de préparer les repas qui feront la renommée de la ferme (qualité, quantité, convivialité...). Le respect des traditions (Chandeleur, Pâques, Noël, fêtes votives, coutumes locaux, conduite à tenir lors d'événements particuliers, le deuil par exemple) fera partie des enseignements transmis.

Pour l'extérieur, la jeune fille accompagnera sa mère sur les marchés ou les foires soit pour vendre (œufs, volailles, fruits, légumes) soit pour les achats d'ingrédients ou ustensiles utilisés quotidiennement (réduits bien entendu au strict nécessaire café, chocolat, huile, tissu). C'est ainsi qu'elle comprendra la « gestion » du budget et se préparera à « tenir l'intérieur d'une ferme ».

C'est d'ailleurs au cours de ces sorties ou pendant une fête, pour les grands travaux ou fête votive du village, qu'elle rencontrera celui qui deviendra son mari.

La jeune fille est appelée, en effet dans la plupart des cas, à quitter son foyer de naissance pour habiter chez son mari dans une nouvelle ferme, sous le contrôle de sa belle mère. Il peut arriver que la famille de la jeune fille soit plus riche (ou propriétaire de terres) alors que le jeune homme n'a que peu d'héritage en perspective. Dans ce cas, c'est le jeune homme qui deviendra *gendre* et intégrera la propriété de la jeune fille en apportant sa force vive de travail. Il est donc très important que ses connaissances dans tous les domaines soient complètes car sa future belle mère la jugera souvent sans mansuétude ni indulgence.

S'il y a des frères et sœurs plus jeunes, elle participera à leur garderie, jusqu'à leur scolarisation, les filles étant, comme les garçons, destinées à travailler dans d'autres exploitations.

### **La religion**

Dans la majorité des cas, les enfants sont baptisés et font leur première Communion ; ensuite, pour les hommes, la fréquentation de l'Eglise est plus diffuse, pour les femmes, on constate une plus grande assiduité.

En conclusion, nous pourrions dire que le destin était marqué dès la naissance pour tous les enfants ; toutefois, il est arrivé qu'un instituteur remarque chez un enfant (fille ou garçon) un don ou des capacités lui permettant de poursuivre des études et obtienne des parents et des pouvoirs publics des moyens et autorisations pour un cursus scolaire complémentaire. Cette situation est assez rare car les gens de la terre sont très attachés à leur mode de vie et s'ils respectent et envient parfois ceux « qui ont de l'instruction », ils ressentent une sorte de crainte, de malaise devant eux, ce qui explique leur résistance à déroger à la tradition. Cette situation s'est maintenue en France jusqu'à la seconde guerre mondiale, avec plus ou moins d'acuité selon les régions ou les terroirs.

Ce qui précède n'est plus vrai de nos jours ou une similitude de vie est constatée entre les ruraux et les citadins. De plus, l'organisation de la société civile tend vers une volonté d'instauration d'égalité hommes / femmes tant au plan juridique, qu'administratif.

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### THE ROLE OF MEN AND WOMEN - KEEPERS OF FOLK TRADITION IN REFERENCE TO A RESEARCH OF STUDENTS IN ITALY / TUSCANY

For some considerations about the role of men and women in the folk tradition I refer to my experience of several years of work in collaboration with the school of the territory where I live, the Tuscany. Some customs are present all over the Italian territory but the different history of the regions created particular traditions in every place.

The use of oral traditions as support of social and historical situation of a territory results essential in the art of teaching because develop the communicative ability in the students and promote the capacity of collaboration. The aim is the renewal of own past history not to be simply gratified but to create on a firm ground a new culture which raises the man in his specific qualities. The documentation has been compared with other extant reliable source.

In the territory of Tuscany the role of the woman was relegated to domestic life. Her public presence was scarce because she lived in a rural world distinguished by little farms, where the women had no responsibility in the work. Different the situation in the near Emilia Romagna where the women had an important role in the large farms: here the men worked hard and it was necessary the support of women in a role of important level in matters pertinent the farms. In Tuscany only the men were protagonists out of the family. I can refer some examples. In Tuscany is present a particular form of popular theatre, the *Maggio*, that proposes dramatic stories, often referring to great personages of History. The men perform also the feminine roles. It is a rare case the presence of the women: I had the registration of a *moresca*, an armed dance that was presented at the end of some of the aforesaid performances, realized by women but is the "exception that proves the rule."

Another case of male presence is offered of the tradition of the *Befanate di questua*, songs with the aim to obtain alms, singing to the Epiphany Eve.

The ancient tradition sends back to the rites present also in the pagan calendar with propitiatory function (to give presents from nature means a good omen for a rich crop) *Befana* and *befanotti* are the protagonists of the situation: the *Befana* is a man disguised as a woman, the *befanotti* are groups of young men that sing in verse with their best wishes.

The feminine presence is of recent date. In the rural tradition there was in the evening the *veglia*: after a day of hard work the members of the great rural families met in their house, in front of fireside to pray God and pass time together, especially in the winter season when the work was suspended and the day offered much free time.

The men narrated interesting *fole*: only the men could be *folatori*, never women.

The *fole* are stories hand down from one generation to the other. The protagonists are wizards, fairies, witches, born in a vivid imagination and result of credence. Often the *folatore* was an expert person that was asked near the various fireside. A good *folatore* could tell his story, the same story, for some evenings but his audience is not tired. The *folatore* is prominent figure, the women stand aside, pay attention to him while spin or embroider.

The women tell short story only to children, in the privacy of their home. In fact the woman acted inside her family and attended to the education of the children. The mother composed lullaby to lull a child to sleep, the mother entertained her sons and daughters with nursery rhymes and nonsense rhymes. The singing of the women spread in

the open air when they washed the linen in the river.

Men and women had in the past an intense religious activity. It is interesting considerer the role of men and women in the religious tradition. Every little village in the rural area of Tuscany but also the country towns had the confraternities, composed by men with the aim to participate to the most important liturgical festivities of the year. The members of the confraternities, only men, had particular clothes. The confraternities were parading before the statue or relic of the patron Saint during the religious festivities, are present during the commemoration of a dead person. Few confraternities survive today because many traditions are not preserved with care but it is always a pleasure to see some important and religious processions as that of S. Croce in Lucca: every year in September 13<sup>th</sup> all the confraternities of the province come together to do homage to a crucifix celebrated all over the territory.

The men are protagonist also in the religious songs during the Mass in important liturgical festivities: I know an evocative sung mass of Christmas, handed on from father to son that is for all the people of my village the symbol of Christmas. The women offer their songs in religious occasions of everyday life. In that case also the men join singing in prayer.

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## BEDOUIN COSTUMES

Are the traditional clothing worn by Bedouin. Foreign travelers to Holylands in the 19th and early 20th centuries often commented on the rich variety of the costumes worn, particularly by the fellaheen or village women and *bedew* (Bedouins). Many of the handcrafted garments were richly embroidered and the creation and maintenance of these items played a significant role in the lives of the region's women.

**Description:** A young woman facing the camera, her left hand holding the edge of a basket with a clay pot inside that is resting on her head, her right hand at her waist. She is looking directly at the camera, wearing a long white dress of heavy material. It is embroidered with geometric designs across the chest (where there is also a v-shaped line of coins) and down the front across the length of her legs. The front part of her hair is parted in the middle, the rest covered with a long veil of the same colour and material as the dress, which is also heavily embroidered. Her arms from the elbows down are not covered by the dress or veil, but are adorned with several bracelets. Around her waist is a belt with fine fringe gathered and hanging down at the center.

Most experts in the field trace the origins of Bedouin costumes to ancient times, though there are no surviving clothing artifacts from this early period against which the modern items might be definitively compared. Influences from the various empires to have ruled holylands, such as Ancient Egypt, Ancient Rome and the Byzantine empire, among others, have been documented by scholars largely based on the depictions in art and descriptions in literature of costumes produced during these times.

Until the 1940s, traditional Arab bedouin costumes reflected a woman's economic status, whether married or single, and the town or district of origin, and a knowledgeable observer could glean such information from the fabric, colors, cut, and embroidery motifs (or lack thereof) in a given woman's apparel. Dresses generally had a loose-fitting cut that allowed for considerable freedom of movement. Decorative embellishments supplied a substantial share of the distinctive elements, and elaborately crafted elements such as embroidery were often worked onto panels that could be removed from one garment and transferred to another as a young girl grew or as a woman's old clothes wore out. Men's apparel was more uniform in style, with some variation by locale, status, and age. Headgear has been the chief distinguishing feature of bedouin men's costume both traditionally and in the present era.

Although regional variations of Arab costumes largely disappeared after the establishment of Israel in 1948, which saw the bedouin exodus, bedouin embroidery and costume continue to be produced in new forms. While most modern arab have now adopted Western or generic Islamic fashions, some continue to wear the traditional costumes as an expression of solidarity and pride in their heritage.

The term Bedouin - "the desert dwellers" can be used to refer to a range of people. Very loosely it can refer to any nomads of Arabia, the Levant and North Africa. It can be limited to just nomads of Arab decent, or even just those who bred camels. These days those who live a settled life still identify as Bedouin - even though their lifestyle is that of a business man, engineer or soldier.

The following is a rough overview of some traditional clothing. Again keep in mind there is variation geographically

and socially.

The basic dress is an enormous tob or thobe. Usually in dark blue with light blue bands of decoration and decorated seams. One version of the tob (the tob 'ob) found especially around Jericho - was more than twice the length of a person and was hitched up to creating three layers and the sleeve used as a veil. Here is a clip of a women wrapping a tob'ob from the 1920's. When cold or wet a sleeveless coat or mantle *aba* is wrapped over the top and occasionally



over the head.

Bedouin women in Northern Holyland (Israel), Jordon and Syria wore a blue or black thobeor shirsh with long tight sleeves and a long neck opening. Decoration includes embroidery along the seams, above the hem and around the neck or four or five horizontal lines embroidered bands above the hem.

Bedouin women in Southern Palestine wore a similar shaped, but more voluminous, light blue or black dress *thobe* with winged sleeves. These sleeves narrowed by the 1960s. From the 1930s they also included cross stitched embroidery but in a different style to the villagers. The embroidery is usally red for women and blue for unmarried girls. Brightly coloured and patterned dresses *fustan* were worn under the overdresses.

Unmarried women wear a bag like hatta (the underlying fabric is like the men's kufeya but worn without and agal). Married women fold the square into a band and wear it around the head. Women wear a range of jewellery that represents the family's wealth - but also has perceived protective qualities. For instance triangles (representing hands) or eyes avert the evil eye. *Hijab* or *hirz* - silver cylinders containing verses of the Koran - protect against accidents and scorpion stings. Jewellery includes necklaces, rings, anklets and bracelets. The anklets and bracelets are often hollow and filled with stones to make noise.

Bedouin women in southern Arabia are unveiled. In the north they are veiled with a range of masks. In the Levant they again go unveiled with just their hair covered by dark blue or black veils. The *shambar* is a tube that encloses the head and neck. In the Sinai desert the burqas are formed by rows of coins.

While elsewhere unmarried Bedouin girls wear *hattah* like a bag, married women roll it like a headband. Bedouin men basic dress is a tob or *thobe* of, usually, white cotton to the ankles (silk and wool are also traditional; earth colours are also common - and in Oman brighter colours). The collar on the tob varies by region. In Oman it is round with a button and tassel. Further north the tassel gets dropped. Elsewhere a high collar (like an European clerical collar) is worn. The tob has large triangular sleeves which are tied back with a cord.



Under this Omani Bedouin wear a sarong. Many other wear sirwal. Around North holy land, Nazareth Area, Israel today - the legs are bare.

Over the tob a striped kibr open down front with belt and/or shoulder straps is worn. For non- manual workers a redan - with kimono shaped sleeves to ground - reinforces their leisure status. Over this a sleeveless coat - aba is worn. This is often striped for Bedouins. Headwear for most Bedouin men is a kufeya held in place with an igal of camel wool. The kufeya is a square of fabric folded into a triangle with a point on each shoulder. The igal can be richly decorated with metallic threads. However, in Oman a turban like maser is worn.

Unlike women, Bedouin men do not wear jewellery - however curved knives *khanja*, rifles and ammunition are frequently worn. Bedouin traditionally wore loose flowing robes that covered them from head to foot as they knew from experience that the best protection from the fierce sunshine, wind and sand of the desert is to cover every part of their bodies.

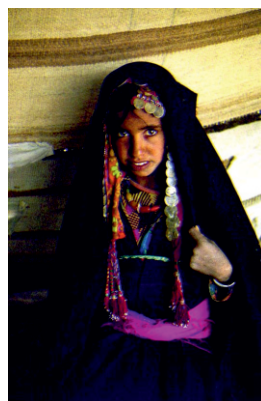
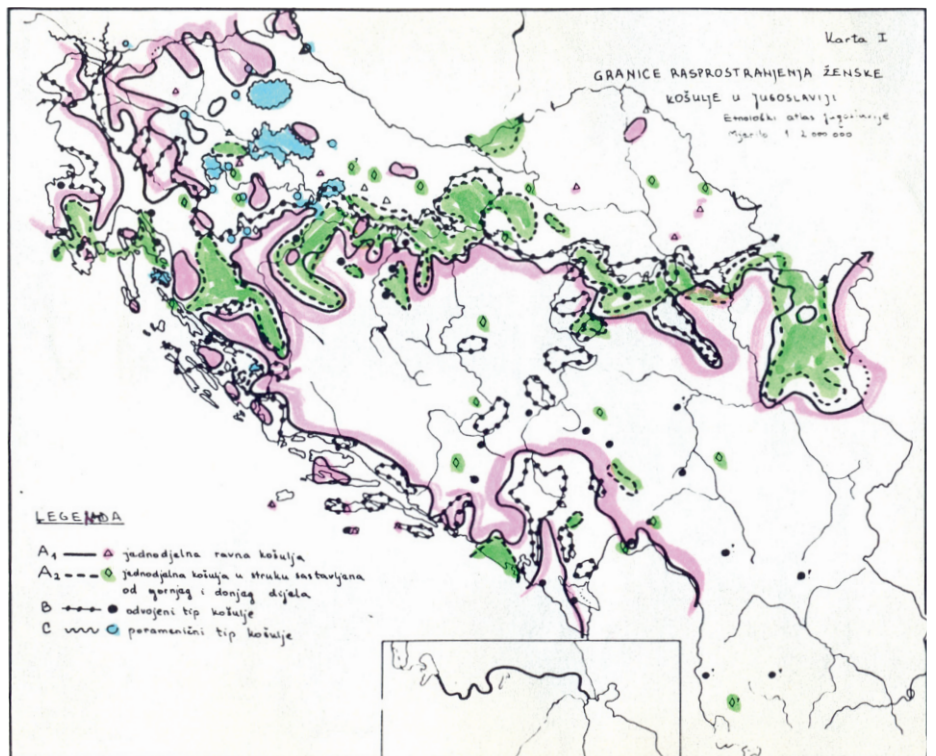
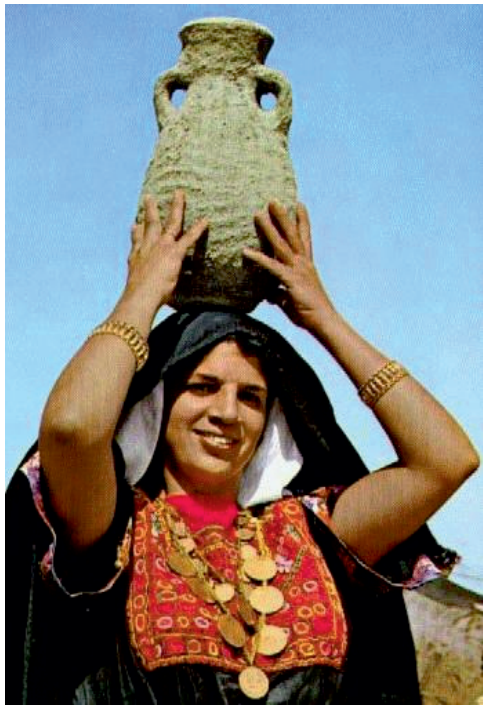
Men wear a long cotton shirt *thawb* with a belt, covered by a flowing outer garment *abaya*. In winter they may wear a waterproof coat of woven hair. Their heads are covered by a large headcloth, the Shamagh, which can be white, red and white, or black and white in colour. The Shamagh is held in place by a double black cord known as the Agal, and it is used also to protect face and neck.

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