

THE CARNIVAL DANCE EVENT IN CROATIA AS A RITE OF PASSAGE

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The author analyses the complex cultural phenomenon of dance as part of Carnival customs in Punat on the island of Krk. He interprets Carnival customs in the light of van Gennep's theory of the rite of passage, and also observes them as a dance event. The focus of interpretation of the dance event is transferred from a general view of the event towards the narrowest, kinemic part of the dance, following A. F. Snyder's analysis model. The author establishes that the *tanac* dance has a specific place in the observed dance event.

Introduction

Unlike exclusively choreological research - until recently the type most frequently applied in Europe - research of dance through dance events offers many more perceptions on culture and Humankind, on the role and influence of the individual and the community in the creation and performance of dance, and on the significance of dance for that individual and community. The contextual approach to the research of dance as a dynamic process is an essential because of the nature of dance as a means of non-verbal expression, communication, and form of human behaviour¹.

Dance is a phenomenon which can be observed and analysed from various viewpoints. It has been shown that successful research requires an interdisciplinary approach. It is necessary to utilise the methods of all scientific fields whose viewpoints can make a contribution to the acquired picture of dance being as integral as possible.

¹ The differences which have arisen in research to date by Croatian ethnochoreologists and research of Croatian dance being carried out by two female dance ethnologists from the United States, prompted me to study various trends in the theory of dance research in general. Ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology developed identically as fields of folklore, similarly in Croatia as in Europe (particularly in its eastern part). Contrary to that viewpoint, dance ethnologists in the main follow the achievements of American anthropology. The broad scale of anthropological approaches, and the dance ethnology as a field of interdisciplinary research of dance in culture, were also therefore the subject of my interest in my master's thesis (Zebec 1993).

Many researchers who are representatives of the anthropological and choreological *schools* support a uniform view of dance research (Youngerman 1975). According to them, dance should be observed as a culturological process, it should be studied in the situation in which it is performed, in a context which is determined and conditioned by the socio--cultural system in which it comes into being. Dance is in a specific relationship with other modes of social activity so that it is built-in into the system of a given life model, or pattern.

Dance research must be defined by the problem which is being analysed in each individual case, which means that the focus and emphases can be altered in keeping with the needs of the research project.

Observing dance in dance events, and in the context of Carnival customs as a rite of passage, revealed its importance in the life of the entire community of Punat on the island of Krk. Despite powerful external influences, the fact is that young people participate in dance events either on an equal footing or even in a more prominent manner than the other members of the community - and are equally active in the performances of traditional dances as in the non-traditional. In addition, the existence of the *sopci* (musicians of the traditional *sopila* instrument of the oboe type) and their playing at all important happenings for the community, speaks for the lively and powerful tradition of Punat, and its strengthening and adaptation in the consciousness of the young.

The real and full significance of dance is not shown when dance is spoken of, but when one participates in it, body and soul. Consequently, for a complete experience of dance, nothing can replace one's own encounter with it. Participation in dance and dance events uncovers all those dimensions which the dance contains. Namely, dance is a multi- -dimensional expression of communication, so that to speak of it or write about it means to remove the dimensions which make it an integral whole. A one-dimensional description can only evoke certain perceptions about dance (see Frykman 1990:82).

Independently of whether a structural/choreological or contextual/anthropological description of dance is in question, it is impossible to avoid a one-dimensional approach in the description. However, postmodern anthropology stresses the author's *writing culture* as the essence of anthropological and ethnological fieldwork, and the sorting, collating and editing of field experience, including the transcribed statements - as a reconstruction of original context and a construction of new ones (see Povrzanović 1992).

Therefore I hope that in creating a new context for the dance at Carnival time in Punat, in writing about dance, I am revealing its role and significance for the people of Punat. Carnival customs - as part of the annual

course of time - have the character of a ritual in Punat. Dance is unfailingly a part of this ritual.

The relations between the people of Punat can be interpreted through the dance events. The intense influence of the outside world on the people can be identified, along with their open stance towards that world and modern influences, but one can also uncover certain forms of social compulsion, firmly linked to tradition. The mutual links between the people of Punat, and their rivalry and self-assertion in their own environment are also noticeable.

Research of dance events

The unification of the choreological and anthropological approach to dance is implemented through research of *dance events*. The concept of the *dance event* is the most favourable solution for the contextual approach to studying dance as human behaviour (Snyder 1989:1). The concept of the dance event extends the possibility of looking in two directions - from the macro towards the micro level, and, conversely, from the micro towards the macro level. Research into dance events smooths the way for the unification of diverse methods and approaches. Research bearings - *from dance towards dancer* (the choreological) or *from dancer towards dance* (the anthropological) - can intertwine, and in this way there are greater opportunities for creation of independent disciplines.

Further in the text I present my own 1991 and 1994 research into Carnival dance events at Punat on the island of Krk. My efforts are directed toward showing that, in order to understand dance, one must also penetrate into social relations and the customs of the community within which dance is being studied.

Carnival in Punat as a rite of passage

For easier understanding of the context - Carnival customs within which I observed dance - I am applying Arnold van Gennep's theory.

The theory of the rite of passage which A. van Gennep posited at the beginning of this century is considered one of the basic achievement in the study of ritual². In his scheme of rites of passage, van Gennep divided rituals into phases of *separation*, *transition* and *incorporation*, or into *preliminal*, *liminal* and *post liminal* phases (van Gennep 1960 according to Čapo Žmegač 1993). These three phases are not equally differentiated in all rites of passage.

² Interpreting van Gennep's model and his universality J. Čapo Žmegač (1993) develops the scheme of the rite of passage on the basis of Jean Cazeneuve's theory, and interprets Croatian Lenten and Eastern customs in this way.

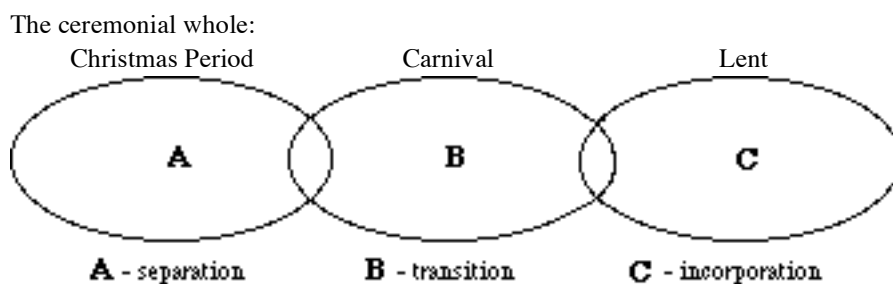
It can happen that the transition period becomes independent and thus doubles the ritual scheme (Čapo Žmegač 1993)³.

One of the important suppositions in van Gennep's scheme is that research of the ritual should be observed in contrast to and in the context of other rites, and not isolated or separated from their individual parts, as it is only in this way that they are given significance and only thus it is possible to uncover their position in the dynamic ceremonial whole (van Gennep 1960 according to Čapo Žmegač 1993:78).

Apart from rituals in which one can find the structure of passage which shows changes connected with the course of life of the individual, there also exists rites connected with cosmic changes - the solstice, the equinox, changes in seasons of the year, the moon and year (Ibid.:79). Van Gennep's interpretation of ritual was considerably added to by E. Chapple and C. Coon. They used the sintagm *rite of passage* exclusively for rites focussed on the individual, while they called rites which were group events *rites of intensification*. The former rites are unique events in the human life, while the latter, connected with seasons and periodic events which bring about changes in human activity, are repeated in a defined rhythm, long or short, and gather together the entire community (Čapo Žmegač 1993:79).

Thus, Carnival customs make up a phase of transition in the ceremonial whole: the Christmas period (A) - Carnival time (B) - Lent (C).

Figure 1.
The first stage of the rite of passage scheme
according to van Gennep



J. Cazeneuve states that the transition phase can be implemented as liberation from all rules or, to the contrary, as a strengthening of rules. On the example of our whole that would mean that Carnival time in the transition phase is implemented as a liberation from rules, while Lent in the phase of transition

³ In his analysis of the human conception of time, E. Leach mentions that a function of holidays is to divide time into the sacred (holy days) and secular (ordinary days), and he denotes the transitions from these phases as rituals of *separation* in the old, and rituals of *incorporation* in the new phase. He observes the ritual as a transition from the secular into the sacred state, and unlike van Gennep, he calls them to *sacralisation* phase, the *marginal* phase, and the phase of *desacralisation* (Leach 1961, according to Čapo Žmegač 1993:86).

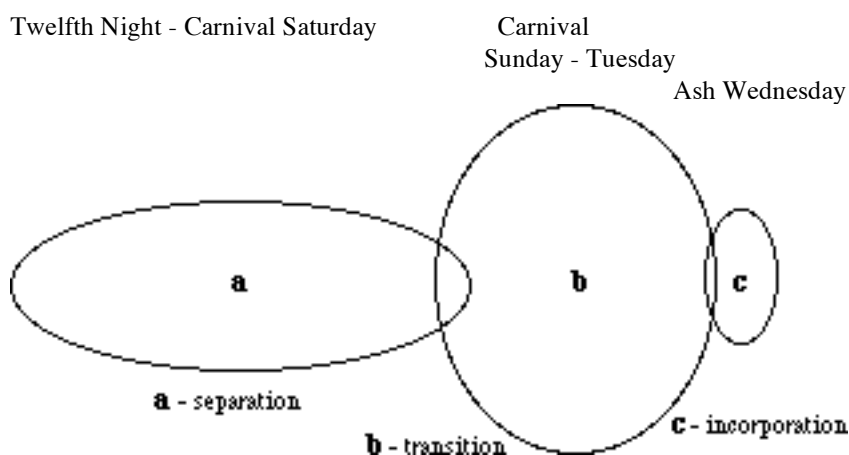
of the Carnival - Lent - Easter whole, as a strengthening of rules (see Čapo Žmegač 1993:86).

The Carnival period and the customs at Punat can thus be interpreted on the basis of the theory of passage and the rite of intensification. The *annual customs* being observed are significant for the entire community and its members participate in them as *a group*, but this does not exclude the importance of the rite for the individual members of the group. In fact, for the majority of members of the community, participation in the rite mentioned is a question of honour. So it is that these rites acquire the hallmarks of *life-cycle rites of passage*, and should therefore also be analysed as being *individual*.

Interpretation will show two dimensions to the Carnival customs - the group dimension of the rite of intensification, and the individual dimension of the life-cycle rite of passage.

Carnival - as a transition phase on the broader ceremonial whole mentioned - can further be observed as an independent whole which again consists of three phases. The scheme is thus doubled. The period from Twelfth Night to Carnival Saturday would then make up the separation phase (a), the days from Carnival Sunday to Carnival Tuesday the transition phase (b), and Ash Wednesday would represent the incorporation phase (c).

Figure 2.
Second stage of the rite of passage scheme
according to van Gennep



I. The separation phase

The separation phase separates the sacred time and place from the profane or secular and, at the same time, changes the value of time (Turner 1989:44). During the Christmas period, the days preceding Christmas, though Christmas and New Year, are very eventful. Prayers and the holy day celebration become more intense. In the past, *koledve* - carols based on motifs of faith or legend - were performed in processions which made the rounds of the village between St Catherine's Day and Twelfth Night. If any of the houses visited were in mourning, prayers were said (R. Bonifačić 1990:53). These events lost their significance during socialist rule, and the *koledve* custom is gradually dying out and being lost, but nonetheless, Saturday entertainments are still held almost regularly (even during Advent)⁴.

The separation phase in our example is marked by the masque processions accompanied by collection of eggs and sausages, held every Thursday after Twelfth Night, and by dance entertainments of Saturdays (Figure 2:a). Events become more intensive as the transition phase draws nearer. *Kumpanije* (companies or groups) come together. These are usually age-defined groups which together choose the costume they will be wearing as a masquerade group. The entire community prepares for the main Carnival event - the transition phase.

As early as the separation phase, one can see the division among the participants in the group by age and by status. One group is made of pre- - school and school age children. Another - girls and boys who have finished elementary school and are allowed to go out in couples - form the group which takes part in the *kordija*⁵. The third group is made up of *mesopustari* - young couples who have been married during the prior year.

The participants in the *kordija*, and the *mesopustari* are two groups of Punat's young people whose separation in the Carnival period is a reflection of specific social roles, and the groups independently agree on and prepare for the coming ritual.

In the separation phase, all other members of the community - - wearing masques or otherwise - take part in the Saturday entertainment with a lotto game, in expectation of the main Carnival events from Sunday to Tuesday - the transition phase.

⁴ Doing research on Carnival time on the island of Krk in February, 1994, I established that a firm link existed in Jurandvor (a village near Punat) between *koleda* and Carnival. Informants emphasise that unless one has previously participated in the *koledve* processions, then there are no Carnival events. They have not held them for the last four or five years, but expressed the wish to revive the customs.

⁵ The word derives from *kordati* with someone (tal. accordarsi) = to agree on something, to make a deal and from *kord* (tal. accordo) = contract, deal (Skok 1972).

II. The transition phase

The liberation from rules which exists throughout the entire Carnival period is intensified and expressly stressed in the transition phase (Figure 2:b). Apart from Carnival Tuesday when all the members of the community take part in events, there is a strict division concerning the times when each group has the right to participate in the rites.

Pre-school and school children have their masked ball in the community Hall on Sunday in the early afternoon. Carnival Sunday is thus dominated by the rites of passage of school children who are completing elementary school that year (Figure 3:b1). Next year they will be ready to take part in the *kordija*.

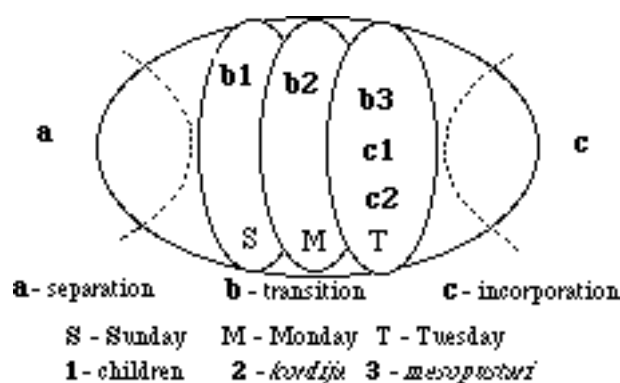
By its features, the *kordija* particularly stands out in the transition phase of the Carnival rituals, by manner of performance and by its participants. The young couples which are the members of *kordija* are differentiated from the members of the other groups throughout the unfolding of the Carnival customs, particularly by their dress. In the midst of Carnival time, they are not masked (!), but elements of unification in their mode of dress can be seen. During transition, the novices are curbed by uniformity, structural invisibility and anonymity - to the extent possible (Turner 1989:49). On Carnival Monday, during the time of the *kordija*, almost no other members of the community are present. The novices are "out of" the society during their novitiate, and society has no power over them, particularly because they have been "consecrated" (van Gennep according to Turner 1989:49). The isolation is partly physical, while it is symbolically expressed much better in the uniform, non-masked manner of dress. This can be denoted as "secularisation" of the members of the *kodrija*, their temporary elevation, their differentiation from the other members of the community⁶. For the members - boys and girls - this is a transitional phase in rite of passage. Carnival Monday is thus dominated by the rite of passage of the participants in *kordija* (Figure 3:b2). The older members of the community proudly embolden the young people in maintenance of this custom, and monitor and evaluate the outcome and possible deeper links between the young participants after the procession has taken place.

The Carnival procession on Tuesday, a large gathering of the entire village on the Placa (the main square), the sentencing of the Carnival guy, and the entertainment and dance which follow, are the culmination of the rite of intensification. Beneath the surface structure of the custom there exists a deeper structure, the rules of which the novices are obliged to learn. Social

⁶ "Rituals are,...., only techniques for changing the state of the individual and society - from the secular into the sacred and from the sacred into the secular" (Piere Gordon, Leach and van Gennep according to Čapo Žmegač 1993:80).

pressures in Punat, too, are sometimes unnatural and irrationally strict. The older people force the novices to perform certain tasks and if they fail to do so, or do not show care in doing so, they may be strictly punished or exposed to ridicule (see Turner 1989:84). For the individuals of the *mesopustari* group, who are obliged to organise the Carnival Tuesday events, that day is a phase of transition of their rite of passage. Statements by young informants who were *mesopustari* in recent years, show how important it is to participate. According to them, all the people of Punat who marry during that year, but no longer live in Punat but in Rijeka, Zagreb, or abroad, help them in covering the expenses of Carnival Tuesday (if they are not in a position to be present physically)⁷. Thus, Carnival Tuesday is dominated by the rites of passage of the *mesopustari* (Figure 3:b3).

Figure 3.
Domination of the life-cycle rite of passage in the transition phase of carnival rituals of intensification, by days



III. Incorporation phase

Analysis of Carnival Tuesday in Punat shows the overlapping of different phases of the life-cycle rite of passage. In van Gennep's interpretation of the three-part scheme, he allows for this possibility.

Participation in the Carnival procession, the sentencing of the guy, *Frane*, and in the general *tanac* on the Placa, is the phase of incorporation for the children (Figure 3:c1). Some of them (fifteen-year-olds - finishing their last year of elementary school) will be allowed to enter a new age group in the community - and next year they will be allowed to participate in the *kordija*.

Carnival Tuesday is also an incorporation phase for the members of the *kordija* (Figure 3:c2). Apart from participating in the rites of Carnival

⁷ There were sixteen *mesopustari* couples in 1994, but only eight couples took part in the Carnival procession. The remainder helped with organisation and the covering of expenses.

Tuesday, the fact that the girls prepare a dinner during the second week of Lent for the young men with whom they were in the *kordija* shows that the time of incorporation of their life-cycle rite from the Carnival period, carries over in a mild form into the period of Lent. And this confirms the necessity of monitoring the rites in the context and in relation to the rites which precede and follow those being observed.

Thus, Carnival Tuesday is the time in which the phase of transition of the life-cycle rite of the *mesopustari* (b3) overlaps with the phase of incorporation of the live-cycle rites of the children (c1) and the young people from the *kordija* (c2).

The period of incorporation for the *mesopustari* is Ash Wednesday (c). On that day they mourn and search for *Frane*, the guy. In this way, they also symbolically denote the end of the Carnival period, while this phase of their life-cycle rite of passage at the same time symbolically brings calm, purification and a reversal to the period of strengthening of the rules for the entire community - the period of Lent. Thus it also comprises a phase of incorporation in the rite of intensification of the whole community, as an integral whole from the Christmas period, through Carnival time to Lent. In the Christian calendar, Ash Wednesday marks the beginning of Lent, and, in keeping with that division, is not part of the Carnival period. However, Carnival customs in Punat extend to Ash Wednesday, so that the day marks the connection of the two periods and changes the value of time.

The permeation and force of rites

The phase of transition in the rite of intensification - Carnival Sunday, Monday and Tuesday - is the culmination of the annual Carnival customs. Through those three days, the members of the entire community participate in the rituals so that the domination of the rites of passage of the different groups alternate. Namely, the rite of passage of the children who will have the right to take part in the *kordija* in the following year dominates Carnival Sunday, the rite of passage of the participants in the *kordija* dominates on the Monday, and the role of the *mesopustari* and their rite of passage dominates on the Tuesday. In the ideal model of the scheme, the complete rite of passage would thus last at least three years. That is the time necessary for unfolding of the full passage from school child to married individual. Each year there is a possibility for the individual in a particular group to advance to a higher phase.

Through the doubling of the three-part scheme of the rites of intensification and their multiplication in the form of the life-cycle rites of passage, their intensity also strengthens. It is impossible to separate the characteristics of those two levels of rites of passage by analysis. They overlap in many elements and thus contribute to the intensity of the rites.

Carnival Tuesday is the peak of the period in which the relaxation and power of change of customary order, of everyday life, culminates.

The exactly defined locations in Punat (the Vela Placa Square and the National Hall) symbolically denote the spatial passage - "the threshold" - which separates the pre-rite and post-rite position of the individuals (Turner 1989:46).

Sixteen couples took part in the *kordija* in 1991, and the figure had grown to as many as thirty-six in 1994. The more than doubled number of participating couples in the latter year in comparison with a few previous years, speaks for a new strengthening and adaptation of tradition to the newly existing circumstances, and of a more intense relation of the individual and the community towards the customs observed.

The example of Carnival customs in Punat confirmed that the phases of *separation*, *transition* and *incorporation* of the rites can be of diverse duration, and that they can multiply and overlap in certain characteristics. In this example too, the universal nature of the three-part scheme of the rite of passage - as posited by van Gennep and supplemented by other scholars who dealt with this matter subsequently - is proven.

All these events are continually accompanied by dance, but the intensity and participants in the dance events vary. Consequently, analysis of the rite of passage also facilitates interpretation of the Carnival dance events in Punat.

Levels in the dance event

Analysis uncovers a number of levels in the dance event. These levels or degrees correspond to the levels set by A. F. Snyder (1989). They move from the macro- towards the micro-view of the event. Each level of analysis establishes place, time and energy - the inner motivating force of the participants in the dance event.

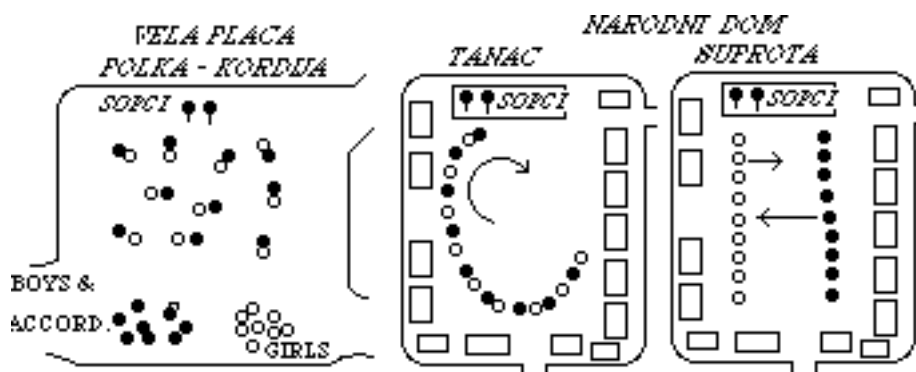
The first - the general level - is an all-encompassing world view, a view which reveals the importance of the events for the individual and the community, and their concrete experience of time and place - particularly as regards ritualised time/space. In the Punat Carnival example, this view speaks of the division of the year from the Christmas period, through Carnival to Lent (Figure 1), or the return of the people of Punat to the village (their native place) in order to take part in the Carnival customs; and of the inner symbolic force, the energy of the custom, stimulated by rites of passage and intensification. This perspective in general takes a broad view of the context of the event, and offers a picture of the social life of the people of Punat in relation to the world.

If we monitor dance from that perspective, it can be seen that it sometimes happens that fixed, traditional models from the past undergo change. For example, traditionally it was not the custom in Punat and on the island of Krk to dance during the Christmas period, but rather to sing carols (*koleda*). The ban during socialist rule on holding dance events at the time of Advent no longer existed, and entertainment evenings with dance were organised even before Carnival time.

The second level, and the view of the ritual and the *performance* is related to the time of the Carnival period (Figure 2), to the locations of events in Punat (particularly the Vela Placa and National Hall), to the procession, and the concrete dance events - the *tance*. The motivating force of the participants is shown in the intensity of public display and the intensity of the ritual (Figure 3). Namely, during the separation phase there is dancing every Saturday, while during the transition phase dance events are more frequent and there is dancing every day. Mainly adults take part in the dancing at Saturday night entertainment during the separation phase, while children and young people participate in the dancing during the transition phase, depending on the dominance of the life-cycle rite of passage (Figure 3). The dance repertoire varies during the dance evenings, and culminates with the dancing of the *tanac* and *suprota*.

The third and fourth level are made up of the dance - outside view, dance-inside view. They can also be denoted as micro-events. This refers to the place and time of the described choreographic terms and these micro-events are basically identical in this respect. However the third level observes the *group* of performers in place/time, while the fourth emphasises the *individual* dancer in place/time. At the third level, the relation between the dancers is only touched upon, while at the fourth level they are interpreted more fully. The essential difference between these two views lies in the fact that the third level looks from the group towards the individual, and the fourth first notices the individual, and observes his role in relation to the group. Taking the dance event in Punat as the example, the third level of observation relates to the various positions, the distribution of the performers during the dance, depending on the time and place of performance (Figure 4), the type of dance being performed and the energy invested in the performance of the dance. The fourth level, the relation of the individual towards the group, also differs depending on the type of dance. In the *tanac* the individual stands out while in the other dances, the role of the performers is mainly uniform in importance (Zebec 1991; 1994).

Figure 4.
The third level of the dance event



The fifth level (the dancer, dance symbol) tries to explain the symbolic meaning of the individual's dance, his costume and body movements. According to Snyder, this level relates to the dances of "illiterate societies" i.e. to non-western societies, and its focus is on the magical and symbolic interpretation of dance. It is impossible to identify the magical content of dance and symbolics of that type on the example of the dancing in Punat today. There are no dances in Punat repertoire for a better harvest and fertility - such as are typical for Carnival time in some other regions - or, for example dances of certain craftsmen's guilds. However, the symbolic meaning of the dance events can be seen in the division by age related to the time of performance (children on Sunday, young people on Monday, and married couples on Tuesday). Individuals stand out particularly during the *tanac*, improvising various figures, while the symbolics of the individual performer are also emphasised in the role of the best dancer - - the *tancadur* - as it is not unimportant who leads off the dance. It can only be assumed that the *tanac* did perhaps have symbolic, and even magical, significance in the past - as it is a dance which differs in all its features from others danced in Punat. However, setting of such a hypothesis would be too daring in relation to the research done.

The sixth level - the movement level - is analysed as the *kinesthetic essence* of the dance process. Laban's kinetography is essential as a tool at this level of analysis. It has also been the custom in Croatia to annotate dance using Žganec's dance script. The Punat example is shown (Figure 5) with an illustration of such analysis of the *polka*, with notation of the music of the *tarankavica* - a song which was sung in the past as an accompaniment to the *polka*, when no *sopela* were available⁸. For a long time, this level of analysis

⁸ During the kordija dance event in the Hall in 1991, R. Bonifačić managed to convince informants to sing, *tarankati*, the transcribed song *tarankavica* for us in a separate room.

was typical only for choreological research of dance structure, but today it is also applied by anthropologists/ethnologists of dance. They are aware of the fact that better understanding of dance and comparative research also depends in considerable measure on the structure of the dance.

Figure 5.
The sixth level of the dance event

The seventh and final level is called the kinemic one. Kinemes are the actions and positions, and body gestures which have no meaning in themselves, but make up the basic parts of the dance - for example, the raised arm or the hand placed on the hip. Such analysis of movement is derived from linguistic theory (Kaepler 1985) and refers to movements which have *symbolic* meaning, particularly in dances in non-western societies. Such gestures can be recognised in the Punat dances during improvisation by the dancers in the *tanac*, in shaking of the arm, clapping, foot-stamping, and the like. These movements express the performer's aesthetic concepts, and their eventual symbolic explanation could contribute to a fuller interpretation of dance. They have also been noted kinetographically.

Looked at from the general aspect and macro-context toward the narrowed micro-context, moving the focus of observation from one view to the other, ones obtains a complex picture of dance through time, space and invested energy.

The uniqueness of the *tanac*

Analysis of the dance repertoire shows that it differed depending on the moment within the event. During the greater part of the dance event, the performers danced all the dances except the *tanac* and the *suprota*. All of the dances were represented equally. During the performance, individual popular melodies were sung more loudly by the dancers or, dancing in couples, they would spin with more energy, but the mood of the performers and audience was relatively unchanged right up until the moment of performance of the *tanac*. Then the mood suddenly intensified, and each individual tried to attract attention, each in his own fashion.

The mere fact that the *tanac* is usually performed only once - and that at the end of the dance event - and the forceful playing and dancing which takes place, is an indication of its particularity⁹. And by its characteristics, the *tanac* differs from all the other dances in Punat. The force and power of dance as a means of expression and communication is fully manifested in the *tanac*. Competing with each other before the *sopci*, the dancers communicate primarily with them, imposing themselves upon them. The *sopci* evaluate the qualities of the dancers and set the duration of this competition by changing the musical themes. In this way, the dancers also display their abilities to the other participants in the *tanac*, and to all those gathered to watch. Individual improvised movements, gestures and mimicry in the *tanac* play an important

⁹ After one such session of playing, I saw that one of the *sopac* players had a bleeding tongue. The playing technique for the *vela* (large) and *mala* (small) *sopela* (traditional instruments of the oboe type) requires that the top of the musician's tongue is in constant contact with *sopela's* mouthpiece.

role. By shaking their raised arms at the improvisation moment of the *prebir* and by shouting out messages to the *sopci* players, the dancers show their feelings and their physical and motor abilities.

The individual's possibility of expression is greater in the *tanac* than in other dances. Based on my own observation, I agree with the opinion expressed by S. J. Cohen (according to Glickman 1978), that it is not only the physical movements which are expressive. The energy which appears in the creation of a movement is an exceptionally important form of expression in the *tanac*. Thus, the *tanac* has a number of features which make it distinctive in relation to the other Punat dances. It has a bordering characteristic, a trait which allows the performers a temporary change in social rules. Rivalry is allowed between the individuals taking part, and even expected. Better performance invokes a more favourable evaluation from the onlookers. In this way, the dancer in question attains or confirms existing standing in the community. The dancer's reputation is not an unimportant consideration, as the *tanac* is always led off by the best dancers - the *tancaduri*. These are the dancers from whom others could well learn.

And finally, the fact that the *tanac* is a significant dance is also shown by the acceptance of its name which has multiple meaning. The terms - *tancati* (to dance in general), *tancadur* (dancer), and, to go *na tanac* (to take part in a dance event) also prove the special position of this dance, how deeply rooted it is in the consciousness of the people of Punat, and, in this way, an old part of its heritage.

Conclusion

Monitoring the Carnival customs and participating in them in 1991 and 1994, it was a simple matter to discern that the entire Punat community contributes to the overall mood and atmosphere which overtakes the township during Carnival time. The division by age of the participants in the customs and their diverse share in the performance was also readily seen (Zebec 1991). However, tripartite interpretation of the structure of the rite of passage according to A. van Gennep, complemented the analysis in many ways. The doubled scheme of the ritual and analysis of the customs as a rite of intensification and as a life-cycle rite of passage emphasised the dynamics and intensity of the rite. Analysis in contrast with and in the context of the prior and subsequent period to the observed Carnival time enabled a review of the overall view of the events. In this way, interpretation with the aid of van Gennep's theory of the rite of passage was permeated with the interpretation of the levels of research of a dance event as suggested by A. F. Snyder. Analysis according to van Gennep's scheme of rites and analysis of levels of the dance event (according to Snyder) made possible a better quality

interpretation of dance in the context of the Carnival event and helped in creating this new written context concerning the dance event.

Carnival time in Punat is an important part of the life and culture of the people of Punat. Even at the time of the most intense war crisis, the inhabitants of Punat performed this custom in full. The greater number of participants in the 1994 Carnival in comparison with 1991 is a significant indicator of the new strengthening and adaptation of tradition.

(Translated by Nina H. Antoljak)

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