WALTZING THROUGH EUROPE
Attitudes towards Couple Dances in the Long Nineteenth-Century

From 'folk devils' to ballroom dancers, this volume explores the changing reception of fashionable couple dances in Europe from the eighteenth century onwards. A refreshing intervention in dance studies, this book brings together elements of historiography, cultural memory, folklore, and dance across comparatively narrow but markedly heterogeneous localities. Rooted in investigations of often newly discovered primary sources, the essays afford many opportunities to compare sociocultural and political reactions to the arrival and practice of popular rotating couple dances, such as the Waltz and the Polka. Leading contributors provide a transnational and affectionate lens onto strikingly diverse topics, ranging from the evolution of romançic couple dances in Croatia, and Strauss's visits to Hamburg and Altona in the 1830s, to dance as a tool of cultural preservation and expression in twentieth-century Finland.

Waltzing Through Europe creates openings for fresh collaborations in dance historiography and cultural history across fields and genres. It is essential reading for researchers of dance in central and northern Europe, while also appealing to the general reader who wants to learn more about the vibrant histories of these familiar dance forms.

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Cover image: A drunken scene in a dancing hall with a sly customer eyeing a young girl. Coloured etching by G. Cruikshank, 1848, after himself. Wellcome Collection, CC BY.

Cover design: Anna Gatti

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8. The Waltz among Slovenians

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Introduction

The Slovenian language has no equivalent term for round dances (literally translated as *okrogli plesi*). Therefore, a Waltz is defined only as a couple dance, which can be danced in a circle; but the typological category round dance is not used at all. This chapter examines round dances in Slovenia, focusing on the Waltz as folk dance. The analysis of Waltz dance forms, which forms the central part of this chapter, is based on collected material (written descriptions and labanotation scores) about the Waltz as folk dance in archives of the Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU in Ljubljana. The Waltz material is based on the field research of a handful of researchers who conducted their research mostly in the second half of the twentieth century, with the intent of providing information about the folk dance of the past. Consequently, their research created an impression of folk dance that was limited to the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.

Today, the established Slovenian name for a Waltz is *valček* [a small roller] with other terms only rarely used. In the past, several expressions were used to denote the Waltz. The most common among them, e.g. *valc,*

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1. This article was written as part of the research programme *Research on Slovenian Folk Culture in Folklore Studies and Ethnology*, No. P6–0111, funded by the Slovenian Research Agency.
2. Ethnochoreologists (e.g. Marija Šuštar, Tončka Marolt, Mirko Ramovš) were focused more on the rural inhabitants (and their dance tradition), and less on other social classes of the population in the towns, arguing that the majority of the Slovenian population, until the Second World War, belonged to the peasantry.

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valcer, bolcar, indicate yet more clearly the connection with the German name Walzer, and the very origins of the dance. From an etymological standpoint, its German origins are indisputable. Walzer derives from the German verb walzen, originally meaning ‘to travel’, as in the German expression ‘auf der Walz’ (‘travelling on the job’), and later on meaning ‘to turn’, as in Germ. ‘sich walzen’.3 Nowadays, a dance named valček is a simplified, impoverished and modified form of the Viennese Waltz, and is one of the most common and widespread dance forms. The Waltz, with its 3/4 beat, represents an alternative to the equally widespread Polka, which is danced in 2/4. Together, they are staples of many dance parties, especially in the countryside, where half of the Slovenian population lives. In the context of today’s ballroom dancing, dance schools and so-called international standard dances, the two types of Waltz are usually separated: dunajski valček [Viennese Waltz] and angleški valček [English Waltz], also called počasni valček [slow Waltz; known in the English-speaking world as the basic Waltz].

The Beginnings in the Slovenian Lands

The Waltz probably emerged in Slovenia at the end of the eighteenth century, or, at the latest, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Like other dances, the Waltz was introduced to Slovenia by travelling craftsmen, soldiers, students and intelligentsia.4 Since the Second World War, this particular dance has mostly been researched as a part of folk dance culture in rural areas, and largely overlooked as a part of dance culture in urban areas. Most of the ethnographic data on the previous centuries, especially the nineteenth century, relates to the rural environment, and less to the urban.

The concept of moral panic and ‘folk devils’5 provides an appropriate context for the introduction of the Waltz among Slovenians. Initially, in towns and cities, the Waltz was considered immoral. Furthermore,

because the affection felt for the Waltz stemmed in part from its German origins (it was seen as appealingly modern, rather than traditional), it was often associated with the ethnic issues of the time, and the struggle for the cultural and political autonomy of the Slovenian people. In 1884 the periodical journal *Slovan* included the following statement:

The Germans claim the Waltz is their national dance. The Waltz is not aesthetically pleasing, certainly immoral. I mention this because some in our country are in love with this dance, about which General Sherman’s wife wrote a book exclusively about that dance. It would be better to accustom ourselves to the ‘kolo’ [circle] dance, which is also popular in our country.

However, some decades later, the Tango appeared as a new ‘folk devil’ and object of moral panic, and the Waltz was reconsidered as a model of elegance and morality. Hence, in December of 1913, a great controversy ensued over the Tango in the Slovenian press. Judgments in newspapers were very contradictory, depending on whether they belonged to the liberal or conservative circle. For example, the newspaper *Slovenski narod* published an article in which an anonymous author compared the history of the cherished Waltz with the new Tango. Its author glorifies the Waltz, describing it as ‘lovely’ and the ‘happy Waltz’, while describing the strong resistance to the dance upon its arrival, despite it not being

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6 From the fourteenth century to 1918, the Slovenians lived under the rule of the Habsburg dynasty. The exception was the period 1805–1813, when the Slovenians settled in territory that was part of the autonomous Illyrian Provinces of Napoleon. After a short French interregnum, which contributed significantly to greater national self-confidence and Slovenian awareness of their own rights, Slovenian lands were once again included in the Austrian Empire. German remained the main language of culture, administration and education well into the nineteenth century. The interest in Slovenian language and folklore grew in the 1820s and 1840s, and, by the end of the nineteenth century, Slovenians had established a standardised literary language, and a thriving civil society. The period 1848–1918, the so-called Slovenian National Awakening, was marked by a demand to unite all Slovenians in a common state. After the First World War and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Slovenians joined the Slavs to form the state of Slovenians, Croats and Serbs, and, eventually, the kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, which was renamed the kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. Slovenians whose territory fell under the jurisdiction of neighbouring states such as Italy, Austria and Hungary in that period, joined the majority of Slovenians after the Second World War, when Slovenia became part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In June 1991 Slovenia declared its independence.

7 ‘Razne novice’ [n.a.], *Slovan* (13 March 1884), p. 88. Translated from the Slovenian by Rebeka Kunej.
clear whether the resistance was specifically Slovenian or spread across wider European territory.\textsuperscript{8} The article asserts that when the Waltz first appeared, it had been described as a ‘dance deserving persecution’, ‘dance of sensuality’, ‘a mark of adultery’, ‘certain damnation for the Christian soul’.\textsuperscript{9} The bishops had written pastoral letters against the dance, and theology scholars had argued, using the Church Fathers’ writing that the Waltz was of pagan origin and was a manifestation of a godless view of life. The article further points out that, at the time of the Waltz’s arrival, despite priests having a great influence over people, their attempted repression of the Waltz was ultimately unsuccessful.

The first Slovenian dance master’s book, \textit{Slovenski plesalec} (\textit{Slovenian Dancer}, 1893), by Ivan Umek, discussed the Waltz in comparison to other dances. He classified it as \textit{navadni ples} [an ordinary dance that is usually danced independently of other couples, as opposed to \textit{sestavljeni plesi} [compound dances], that require a number of couples to be danced successfully (e.g. the Quadrille). He called the Waltz \textit{valček} and \textit{valiček} but also \textit{walzer}, and mentioned that the Waltz could be danced in more ways than any other dance. The most common type he called \textit{valiček na šest korakov} [the Waltz in six steps], and quoted the well-known variations — \textit{francoski, laški in štajerski} [French, Italian and Styrian Waltz] — that differ in speed, step mode and motion.\textsuperscript{10}

In his later book \textit{Moderni plesalec} [\textit{Modern Dancer}] (1904), where he discusses \textit{navadni plesi} [ordinary dances] under the section ‘\textit{Valček’}, he comments that the Waltz is not an exacting dance; however, it takes time to learn it well. Umek added a relatively detailed description of the Waltz, which included sliding steps.\textsuperscript{11} In the same chapter there is also a section on ‘\textit{Slovanski valček}’ [Slavic Waltz], which contains a description of a dance composed by Umek himself on the occasion of the opening of Narodni dom [Slovenian National] in 1904 in Trieste. His \textit{slovanski valček} includes figures of \textit{pas balancé} in the first part, whereas the second part

\textsuperscript{8} ’Tango’ [n.a.], \textit{Slovenski narod} (6 December 1913), p. 9. Translated from the Slovenian by Rebeka Kunej.
\textsuperscript{9} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{11} Ivan Umek, \textit{Moderni plesalec: zbirka raznih narodnih in drugih najnovejših, navadnih in sestavljeni plesov} (Trst: self-published, 1904), p. 11.
of the dance is a Waltz. At the end of his book, Umek provides statistics on how many dance masters there are in the world, as well as details of the time he judged necessary to learn a particular dance. Here, Umek argues that it is necessary to dance the Waltz fifty times to dance it well, and a hundred times to dance it very well. It is necessary to dance the Polka twenty-five times, and it takes thirty attempts to dance the Mazurka well.

The first evidence of the Waltz as a folk dance can be found in the responses to a questionnaire, initiated by Archduke John of Austria, which was sent out to all the recruiting districts of the Duchy of Styria between 1811 and 1845. The response was poor. Of the eleven questionnaires that were returned from Slovenian areas, three relate significantly to dance. The completed questionnaires for Fala and Studenice, dated 1812, state that the most widespread dances in these regions are *die Deutsche Tänze* [German dances]. It is not certain whether this includes the Waltz, but we can assume that it does, because the Waltz was often called *Deutcher or Deutsche Tanz* among Slovenians. The responses from Hrastovec, dated 1815, mention *der Deutche Walzer*.

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13 Ibid., p. 60.
14 The main purpose of the survey conducted in the 1811–1845 period was to collect data about the ‘statistical-topographic’ features of the Duchy of Styria in the first half of the nineteenth century. Questionnaires for the collection of topographic materials were first sent out in 1811 by the Archduke John of Austria to recruiting districts, however, the response was poor. Twenty years later, the Archduke’s work was continued by his secretary, Dr Georg Gött, an archivist and librarian, whose efforts proved more successful — he also sent the questionnaires to manors, tax municipalities, parishes, etc. The questionnaire answers were collected c.1843 and are kept in the Styrian Provincial Archives (present-day Austria). The questionnaire results were also published in two books (1840, 1841), however, only responses for the German-speaking part of Styria were included. The ‘Slovenian section’ (the section referring to the Slovenian-speaking population) was omitted. The efforts of Slovenian ethnologists for the ‘Slovenian section’ to be acquired by the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology ZRC SAZU bore fruit and, since 1980, photocopies have thus been available in the Institute’s archives. Approximately 150 years after the answers were collected, ethnologist Niko Kurent translated them, made a selection and published the compilation in four volumes (1985–1993), thus providing a wide circle of interested individuals with access to the responses, which are written in the Gothic alphabet.
[the German Waltz].\textsuperscript{16} Certainly, the interviewer from Hrastovec knew the Waltz as the Walzer and was aware of its German origin.

Early evidence of the Waltz can also be found in the answers to a circular on dress culture, festivities and dance that was sent out to the five district offices of the Ljubljana district before the intended visit of Emperor Ferdinand in 1838. Based on these responses, it seems that it was the intention to arrange a presentation of the unique traditions belonging to people in the countryside. While the visit itself never occurred, the responses to the circular still survive. While the answers are quite short, they nonetheless give some image of the dancing at that time. Written down by the German administrators, they reveal that dancing was common at the time and that the Waltz, in addition to other German dances, had already replaced the local dances. The Waltz continued to be most commonly referred to as der Deutsche Tanz [the German Dance] (among fourteen villages) or der Deutche [the German] (thirteen villages), but often also as the Walzer (ten villages) or just as Walzen [dancing Waltz] (three villages). A remark by one interviewer, who has put Walzer in brackets next to the word Deutche, clearly indicates that the Deutsche was an alternate name for the Waltz.\textsuperscript{17}

Unfortunately, there is no exact data on the Waltz as a folk dance in the second half of the nineteenth century, even though it was undoubtedly already firmly established in the repertoire of rural musicians, and danced at village public festivities and private dance parties. It is evident from the data from before the First World War (taken from various sources, including newspapers and archival material) that, by then, the Waltz had become one of the most popular dances. In the 1907 ‘Questionnaire on Folk Songs, Music and Dances’, the Waltz was usually not considered a ‘folk’ dance, but categorised as an ‘ordinary’ dance.\textsuperscript{18} This reflects the opinions of priests, teachers and other state officials, who were mostly involved in formulating the responses to this nationwide survey. Response to that questionnaire was lacking, however. Only seventy-seven examples of completed questionnaires are kept in the archives of the Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU,
and, of those, only eighteen listed dances by name. Seventeen of those questionnaires also include the Waltz, described mostly as *valček* (ten times), but also *valcer* (four times), and *valcar, bolcer, taje* (once).

**Choreological Aspects of the Waltz as a Folk Dance**

During the interwar period, as well as after the Second World War, the Waltz and the Polka were undoubtedly among the most popular dances in Slovenia. A diverse picture of the Waltz in Slovenia (presented below) has been created primarily on the basis of field research conducted by the Institute of Ethnomusicology’s associates after the Second World War, the results of which present the Waltz as performed at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth. The basic materials used below are dance notations (Kinetography Laban) from the Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU Archives.19

According to the sources and documents, different varieties of the Waltz became established in the countryside and survived at least until the Second World War. It can therefore be claimed with great certainty that among Slovenians the Waltz was danced in three main ways:

1. *valček s prestopanjem* [Waltz with shift steps];
2. *valček z menjalnim korakom* [Waltz with the change step];
3. *dvokoračni valček* [two-step Waltz].

1. Waltz with Shift Steps [*Valček s prestopanjem*]

One of the oldest forms of the Waltz in Slovenia includes shift steps [*prestopanje*]. In two measures, the couple makes six steps of equal duration using the whole foot, and, at the same time, makes one turn (L R L / R L R). The male dancer usually starts with his left foot and the female with her right foot, although the other way around is also possible. The couple turns clockwise, moves forward, and then moves counter-clockwise in the circle (see Fig. 8.1).

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The form with shift steps probably evolved from one of the figures of the štajeriš [Styrian] that was danced in a very similar way as the Waltz. The couple takes an ordinary dance position (closed position), characteristic of the Waltz: standing face to face, the man holds the woman at the waist with his right hand, the woman places her left hand on his right shoulder, and the man’s left hand holds the woman’s right hand stretched out at the height of her shoulders. The couple then turns on the spot. The Waltz was danced in the same manner as the štajeriš described above, except that the couple moved forward during the turns. In the variation from Brezovica pri Buču, the couple stamped their feet on the ground at the end of each eighth measure of the Waltz’s melody, similar to the štajeriš. This was called potrkan valček [stamping Waltz]. There were two unique variants of the Waltz with shift steps:

- **potresavka** [shaking, trembling Waltz] was danced in western parts of Slovenia, where the steps were accompanied by the shaking of the body;\(^{21}\)

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\(^{20}\) GNI Pl 642.

\(^{21}\) Cf. GNI Pl 944.
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- and ta nizki bolcar [the low Waltz] from southern parts of Slovenia, in which the first step of each measure was made with bent knees.

Today the Waltz with shift steps [prestopanje] is very rarely danced.

2. Waltz with the Change Step [Valček z menjalnim korakom]

The most frequently danced Waltz form involves one turn being made with two change steps [menjalna koraka], L R L / R L R. The second step in each measure is made as a change step on the ball of the foot. As in the previous variant, the male dancer starts with his left foot and the female with her right, although it is also possible to dance it the other way around. They turn clockwise and dance counter-clockwise around the circle (see Fig. 8.2).

Fig. 8.2 Valček z menjalnim korakom [Waltz with the change step], 2003. © Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU. Drawing by Mirko Ramovš.

22 Cf. GNI Pl 228.
This variant is still the one danced the most, except that moving in the circle is no longer as intensive or is absent altogether. The changing steps could be performed with some stylistic specialties. For example, if the first step is made with a bent knee it is called *ta nizki bolcar* [the low Waltz]. Or if the first step is made with a slide of the free foot, the dance is named *podrsan valček* [the sliding Waltz]. In the variant from the eastern part of Slovenia, named *pemišvalček* [Bohemian Waltz], the couple performs the first part of the dance along the circle while holding each other only with one hand, or not at all. In the second part of the dance, they dance in the ordinary dance position, on the spot.

3. Two-Step Waltz [*Dvokoračni valček*]

If the change-step Waltz was too difficult for the less skilled dancers, they preferred dancing a simpler form of Waltz called *dvokoračni valček* [two-step Waltz], which appears in three different variants.

The First Variant

The first variant could be called *drseči valček* [the sliding Waltz]. Its characteristic is that in the first step (performed with a preliminary slight bend of the knee) on the first beat in each measure, the toes of the free foot slide to the supporting leg. On the second beat in each measure, the supporting foot lifts to the ball and the free foot touches the floor with its toes. On the third beat in each measure, the entire foot of the supporting leg is placed on the ground and the leg makes a shallow squat, thus making the free foot ready for the next step: L (R), R (L). The male dancer usually starts with his left foot, the female with her right, but this is not a hard and fast rule. The turning of the couple is not as intensive as in the change-step Waltz, and there is no consistency around the circle (See Fig. 8.3). The Waltz is still danced in this way. One of the sliding Waltz variants is *ta nizki bolcar* [the low Waltz] from Carinthia, but it is known in other parts of Slovenia as well. It is danced

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23 Cf. GNI Pl 222.
24 Cf. GNI Pl 1201.
25 GNI Pl 858.
26 GNI Pl 1023.
with a distinctive tremble of the knees on the upbeat and on the third beat in each measure but without the sliding of the free foot and rising to the ball with the supporting foot on the second beat.

Fig. 8.3 *Drseči valček* [the sliding Waltz], 2003. © Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU. Drawing by Mirko Ramovš.

**The Second Variant**

The second variant is sometimes called *poskočni valček* [gambolling, springing Waltz]. Because of the high hops it includes, it was also called *ta visoki valcer, ta visoki bolcar* [the high Waltz]. The couple makes a step on the first beat in each measure, on the second beat jumps up, and, on the third beat, jumps down on the same foot as they started with, contracting the free foot in the meantime: L-L / R-R (the male dancer usually starts with his left foot, the female with her right). With two gambolling steps, the couple makes one turn clockwise and dances counter-clockwise in the circle. The older position of the hands is characteristic of this variant of the Waltz: the male dancer grasps his partner’s waist with both hands, and she places both hands on his shoulders (see Fig. 8.4). The variant danced by Slovenes in the Austrian

27 Cf. GNI Pl 1022.
part of Charintia\textsuperscript{28} is unusual: the male dancer leans on his partner during the jumps (and claps with his feet while he is in the air, as if he were trying to kill a fly). Because of this foot movement the dance is called \textit{muhe pobujat} [killing flies]. The \textit{poskočni valček} [springing Waltz] has been forgotten, and is no longer danced. It can only be seen in performances by folklore dance groups.

![Diagram of the springing Waltz](image)

\textit{The Third Variant}

The third variant is relatively rare. It is similar to the second variant (the springing Waltz) except that the couple does not hop, but lifts to the balls of their feet on the second beat, and lowers themselves down again on the third beat, which looks like vertical swaying (up and down): L / R. The male dancer begins with his left foot and the female with her right, but the beginning position is not fixed. The couple turns clockwise (two steps make one turn) and dances counter-clockwise in the circle,

\textsuperscript{28} GNI Pl 1025.
or dances on the spot (see Fig. 8.5). In some places, this variant was performed with a tremble of the knees on the first beat and named mulcertanc.\textsuperscript{29} In the eastern part of Styria, this Waltz form developed into a specific dance with typical fixed melodies (e.g. \textit{Na oknu glej obrazek lep},\textsuperscript{30} \textit{dvojni valček}).\textsuperscript{31}

The above variations of the Waltz were danced autonomously: couples danced it with the same dance steps as long as they wanted or the music lasted, revolving around their own axis and moving forward.

The Waltz could also be a segment of other folk dances, as in these two instances:

1. The other dance takes on all the steps (changing steps) and posture of the Waltz but retains its own structure (for example: \textit{štajeriš} [Styrian] from Lahov Graben pri Jurkloštru, \textit{malender} from

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{29} GNI Pl 456.
\item \textsuperscript{30} GNI Pl 856.
\item \textsuperscript{31} GNI Pl 859.
\end{itemize}
Dule, and *neubayerisch* from Dule (which is known as *Moja dečva je djawa*).

2. The Waltz becomes a part of another dance, and the second part of the dance includes figures or a walk around the circle accompanied by singing or by dance music (for example: *mašarjanka, ta potrkan tajč, ta potrkan, majpajeriš, mrzulin, kmečki valček, Fsaka ftica je vesela*, and *špacirbolcar*). The change-step Waltz or the shift-step Waltz was used most frequently, which was danced clockwise or counter-clockwise in the circle, on the spot, in some cases also with jigs around the circle (*ta potrkan, špacirbolcar*).

The Waltz was also danced as a part of a game in which the dance partner was chosen with a cushion, a mirror or a chair, or as a part of a game with alternating dance partners. In such cases, the Waltz was danced only by a dancer who chose a partner; other participants would watch, or run in the circle. In dance games with alternating dance partners, all participants waltzed, but the Polka was more common in these games than the Waltz.

When the Waltz became the most popular dance in the rural dance repertoire, it also acquired a ritual function previously held by the *štajeriš* [Styrian] at weddings. Still today, but to a lesser extent, the Waltz is reserved as the honorary dance of the bride and groom at their wedding celebration (their first dance at midnight or even before it), or as the solo dance of marrying couples. The Waltz still has an important role at many wedding celebrations (if the celebration also includes dance), in both rural and urban areas.

Although the Waltz was a well-known dance among the Slovenian population in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it never became a part of national identity; it has never become a ‘typical Slovenian’. This is perhaps due to it being considered too European (and German), and thus not distinctively Slovenian. On the other hand, perhaps it was considered *too* Slovenian, too widespread and well-known to be able to meet the criteria to place it on a national pedestal.

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32 Author’s field research at Ohcet, Grosuplje (Slovenia), 30 August 2003, and at Ohcet, Lesce na Gorenjskem (Slovenia), 26 June 2004.
Conclusion

In the countryside the Waltz is still popular. There is a tendency to simplify the dance steps or to substitute simpler steps, resulting in the gradual extinction of more difficult ones. The change-step Waltz or the two-step Waltz (usually the sliding Waltz) are mostly danced by the less skilled dancers, while other variants introduced above have actually been forgotten. Sometimes, the crowded dance floor does not permit dancing counter-clockwise in a circle. Therefore, couples dance anywhere on the dance floor, with each couple dancing in an invisible small circle, so their turning is not as intensive either. They usually turn clockwise; only proficient dancers turn counter-clockwise in the ordinary dance position. The old dance position, in which the male dancer holds the female at her waist with both hands and she places both hands on his shoulders, has been abandoned.


The so-called dunajski valček [Viennese Waltz] and angleški valček [English Waltz] still feature at important social dance gatherings, such

33 Author’s field research at Gasilska veselica, Vrždenec (Slovenia), 24 June 2012.
as at graduations,\textsuperscript{34} or at big public dance events, such as \textit{Maturantska parada} — the Quadrille Dance Parade.\textsuperscript{35}

Regarding contemporary observations of various dance events and their analysis, it can be concluded that the golden age of the Waltz has already passed. As presented above, its diversity in performance has lessened and its social role is increasingly replaced by other social dances, which have a shorter tradition among Slovenians.

\textbf{Fig. 8.7} Video: The annual \textit{Maturantska Parada} — the Quadrille Parade — that was danced by more than 500 graduates in Ljubljana on 23 March 2014. ‘MATURANTSKA PARADA — 2014 — QUADRILLE PARADE’, 6:36, posted online by Tomaz Ambroz, Youtube, 28 May 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QoSOpu4Y58w

\textit{The author’s field research took place at:}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Gasilska veselica} [Volunteer Fire Brigade’s Festivity], 24 June 2012 in Vrzenec, Slovenia.
\item \textit{Ohcet} [Wedding Party], 30 August 2003 in Grosuplje, Slovenia.
\item \textit{Ohcet} [Wedding Party], 26 June 2004 in Lesce na Gorenjskem, Slovenia.
\item \textit{Maturantski ples} [Graduating Dance], 9 May 1995 in Ljubljana, Slovenia.
\item \textit{Maturantska parada} [Quadrille Dance Parade], 20 May 2011 in Ljubljana, Slovenia.
\item \textit{Maturantska parada} [Quadrille Dance Parade], 22 May 2009 in Ljubljana, Slovenia.
\end{itemize}

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\textsuperscript{34} Author’s field research at \textit{Maturantski ples}, Ljubljana (Slovenia), 9 May 1995.

\textsuperscript{35} Author’s field researches at \textit{Maturantska parada}, Ljubljana (Slovenia), 22 May 2009 and 20 May 2011.
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