

WALTZING THROUGH EUROPE

Attitudes towards Couple Dances in the
Long Nineteenth-Century



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Cover image: *A Drunken Scene in a Dancing Hall with a Sly Customer Eyeing a Young Girl* (1848). Coloured etching by G. Cruikshank, after himself. Wellcome Collection, CC BY 4.0. Cover design: Anna Gatti.

15. A Twenty-First Century Resurrection: The *Potresujka*, the Croatian Polka Tremblante

Tvrtko Zebec

This chapter investigates a particular kind of Polka that entered the field of popular culture and generated extraordinary enthusiasm as late as the twenty-first century. The round dances were mostly neglected by ethnographic research on dance during the twentieth century, as we see in several of the chapters in this book (see Chapters Two, Seven, and Eleven) that focus on different countries, and this was also the case for Croatia. Polka dancing was present in Croatia throughout the twentieth century, and from the 1970s it was recognised in some regions as having the value of a traditional dance. From that time and to the present day we see an extraordinary resurrection of popularity for one particular Polka form, the *potresujka*, in the broader region around and in the city of Rijeka. The portrayal of this resurrection will try to explore several questions about how a dance from the early nineteenth century experiences a revival that is taken up and spread by modern media.

Participation in the work of the Sub-Study Group on round dances — nineteenth-century-derived couple dances — is a particularly inspiring undertaking. It has prompted ethnographic dance research that had been neglected in Croatia for some years. Nineteenth-century Central European couple dances were of little interest to Croatian ethnochoreologists for a long period. After the formal shaping of the discipline in Croatia in the early 1950s, Vinko Žganec, Ljelja Taš, and Ivan Ivančan conducted in-depth research into the dances of the

villagers, which were generally regarded as a reflection of national pride and identity. Such a stance coincided with the dominant theoretical, cultural and historical aims of the ethnology of that time, which resulted largely from the ideological orientation of the *Hrvatska seljačka stranka* [Croatian Peasant Party]. That political party, like similar examples in Europe, advocated shaping national cultural identity to distinguish the Croats from the uniform, universal, 'civilisational' progress that was emerging from Central European urban centres.

Seljačka sloga [Peasant Harmony] — the cultural, educational and charitable cooperative, driven by the populist ideology of the Peasant Party — attempted to inspire self-confidence in the peasants, to gradually enlighten them, and to introduce them to national political life. Folklore festivals were mirrors of cultural policy and places for public presentations of recognised national practice. This process was one-sided — from urban to rural, from intelligentsia to peasantry — wherein the aristocracy and intellectuals 'became aware of and discovered folk traditions and the life of "simple" peoples'.¹ As Max P. Baumann further asserts: 'The outsider ideology of emancipation through literacy and the aesthetisation of old traditions created a new dependency: the subordination to musical practices, aesthetics and performance concepts from the hegemonic culture of the upper classes'.²

Couple dances — the Polka, *valcer*, the Mazurka, *čardaš*, *šotiš*, *tango*, *fokstrot* and the like — were not readily accepted at the festivals organised by *Peasant Harmony* during the late 1930s, since they showed the influence of urban and non-Croatian centres.³ Even when they were later performed at festivals as an exception to the rule, they were not favourably evaluated. The analysis of the repertoires of groups that appeared long after the first *Peasant Harmony* festivals — at the

1 Max P. Baumann, 'Folk Music Revival: Concepts between Regression and Emancipation', *The World of Music*, 38 (1996), 71–86 (at 72).

2 Baumann, 'Folk Music Revival', p. 77.

3 In a similar way, in the 1920s and 1930s in Sweden, the Swedish Foxtrot was the local answer to American Jazz (cf. K. O. Edström, 'From Schottis to Bonnjazz: Some Remarks on the Construction of Swedishness', *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 31 (1999), 27–41, <https://doi.org/10.2307/767971>) and manifested resistance to American influence.

International Folklore Festival in Zagreb (since 1966) — shows that these dances were rarely seen on the stages of festivals right up until the 1980s.⁴

At the same time, from the end of nineteenth century one could find, parallel with their own tradition, fireman brass bands and tambura and jazz orchestras, as well as dance masters and their schools, especially in the smaller cities. They played music and danced all the European modern dances during dance evenings, events and weddings, but only for fun as a social gathering and not for the stage.

The Polka in Croatia

The Polka was adopted and accepted, we could say *naturalised*, in Croatia soon after its appearance in Central European ballrooms and dance salons in the second part of the nineteenth century.⁵

It was accepted in diverse ways in the different parts of Croatia. We can ascertain just how popular the Polka was by observing the strong criticism levelled against it on the part of traditionalists, who wrote about a craze for the Polka and the Waltz among the youngsters in the north-western part of Croatia in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶ They describe how these dances are done in mixed pairs in which partners danced very close to each other, and did so with a lot of passionate turns. They also state these new kinds of dances should be fought against, in order to protect and preserve traditional dances and national melodies (see Chapter Nine in this volume).

4 Stjepan Sremac, 'Smotre folkloru u Hrvatskoj nekad i danas', *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, 15 (1978), 97–114 (at 109); Tvrtko Zebec, 'Dance Research in Croatia', *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, 33 (1996), 89–111 (at 111); Tvrtko Zebec, 'Development and Application of Ethnochoreology in Croatia', *Međunarodni simpozij 'Muzika u Društvu'*, 6 (2008), 138–52 (at 140).

5 'Polka and *polkomanie* in the Bohemia of the 1830s and 1840s was firstly a manifestation of the energy of the young dynamic bourgeoisie, profiting from all features that could help to build the national identity and finally result in the creation of the national state' (Daniela Stavělová, 'Polka jako Český národní symbol', *Český lid*, 93.1 (2006), 3–26 (at 3)). See also Chapter Five in this volume.

6 Kuhač and other members of the Enlightenment movement promoted national values as opposed to foreign ones. See Franjo K. Kuhač, *Južno-slovenske narodne pobjevke*, vol. 3 (Zagreb: Tiskara I litografija C. Albrecht, 1880), pp. 319–20.

Even stronger reaction came from the moralists in the Catholic Church — especially the Blessed Ivan Mertz during the 1920s.⁷ He was generally in favour of the promotion of the traditional dances as they were mirrors of the people's spirit. While he accepted artistic dance, such as classical ballet, he maintained that 'Modern, mixed dances are something else. We still do not have formal bans against that kind of dance from the pontiffs'.⁸ Concomitantly, he ordered young people to abandon these types of dances. A parish priest called Leopold Jurca wrote a manuscript in Istria in 1950, largely following Ivan Mertz's line of thought. In that extensive work about dance and morality, Jurca proudly concluded that, after fifteen years of work, he had succeeded in exterminating such dance types in his parish, recommending the same to other priests in the neighbourhood.⁹

Comparing the Waltz and the Polka, the following observation could be made in accordance with the superficial urban opinion: that the Waltz is an urban tradition (everybody knows it from Vienna as the *Wiener walzer*), while, in contrast, the Polka is regarded as a dance from the countryside (see Chapter Nine in this volume).

While tensions grew among traditionalists concerning the integration of the Polka into the Croatia dance scene, the Polka was being danced in a very vigorous fashion all over Croatia. Thus, Ivan Ivančan wrote that it was reliably known that bourgeois couple dances from Central Europe (such as the Polka, the Mazurka, *mafrina*, *cotić* (*schottisch*), *varsoviienne* and the like) had a lively influence on the members of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.¹⁰ He did not do detailed research into those dances, but mentioned them as a newer tradition, and regularly referred to them in research localities in Istria and in later research in Dalmatia. He speaks of them having many spins and turns in the couple dance around a circle, with the presence of the *capobalo*, a dance leader. This characteristic social role came to these areas from the Alpine region, just

7 The Blessed Ivan Merz — a Croat from Banja Luka in Bosnia (1896–1928) — was a philosopher who was beatified by Pope John Paul II in 2003 at his birthplace. He finished his studies in Vienna, Paris, and Zagreb, and his thoughts and discussions are accepted in the Catholic Church as strong moral messages. See Ivan Merz, *Katolici i novi plesovi* (Sarajevo: Kaptol Vrhbosanski, 1926), p. 13.

8 Kuhač, *Južno-slovenske narodne popijevke*, pp. 319–20.

9 Leopold Jurca, *Ples u vjerskom, čudorednom i socijalnom pogledu* (Pazin: [n.p.], 1950).

10 Ivan Ivančan, *Istarski narodni plesovi* (Zagreb: Institut za narodnu umjetnost, 1963), p. 9.

as the accordion did (particularly the *botunara*).¹¹ Ivančan refers to the Polka as one of the most widely disseminated dances, still popular at the time of his field research in the 1960s, with the comment that it reached certain regions more quickly and others more slowly, even after World War Two.¹²

We also know, for example, that people from the central Croatian region of Lika used to use the word *Polkati* — to dance¹³ — for dancing in general. Simplicity and adaptability were significant reasons for the dynamic spread of the Polka — a Polka step or refrain could be introduced into a Quadrille,¹⁴ but also into different traditional dances, even into circle-dance formations. There are a lot of traditional dances in Croatia (the *drmeš* and especially the *kolo* circle dance in Slavonia and all over Croatia) where the Polka step replaced some other steps from the older traditional layer in the same 2/4 time and, with different accenting, even changed the performance style of particular dances.¹⁵

The *Potresujka*, a Local *Polka Tremblante*

A number of different variants of the Polka are known all over Croatia. We can find a special style of Polka dancing that involves a strong trembling movement, such as the French *Polka tremblante* (shaking the whole body with strong vertical movement and small steps) under its

11 *Botunara* derives from the word *botuni* — buttons — since it did not have a classic keyboard. It is also known as the *trieština*, since it was purchased in Trieste. Other instruments involved included an ensemble of stringed instruments — a violin and a *bajs* [a contrabass] — along with a clarinet and a trombone. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

12 Conclusions on that historical period, however, can only be superficial and incomplete, since Ivančan did not supply detailed analyses of the historical, social, political and economic context, nor did he consider migration from neighbouring areas, which was particularly complex in Istria.

13 Ivančan, *Istarski narodni plesovi*, p. 48.

14 Libby Smigel, 'Minds Mad for Dancing: Polkomania on the London Stage', *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 30 (1996), 179–207 (at 198), <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-3840.1996.00197.x>

15 Daniela Stavélová also writes about similarities between the *třasák* and Polka (see Chapter Five in this volume). Egil Bakka explains that the 'two measure turning Polka' type is a usual element in many West European folk dances and, at the same time, is a traditional dance in itself. On Norwegian examples in the countryside, he explains different names for the same dance — *hamborgar*, *skotsk*, *hoppvals* and *galopp* — as older names, before the Polka, which stayed on in use; Egil Bakka, 'The Polka before and after the Polka', *Yearbook for Traditoinal Music*, 33 (2001), 37–47 (at 38–39), <https://doi.org/10.2307/1519629>

local name — the *potresujka* or *potresuljka*.¹⁶ This is found in the regions in the hinterland of the city of Rijeka (Croatia's major harbour city), comprising *Kastavščina* (the region surrounding the small town of Kastav), *Liburnija* (the region surrounding the town of Opatija), and, a little higher in the mountains, at Grobnik and in *Grobinščina* (the region which is also called the 'Grobnik Alps') (see Fig. 15.1).

However, it is interesting to note that Ivančan did not mention the *potresujka* in his research in the immediate vicinity of Istria, or anywhere else in Croatia. Along with the most frequently mentioned Polka, in Istria he noted the *denči* dance with the same rhythmic pattern as the Polka, then the *krajc-Polka* (*Kreuzpolka*) as a derivation from the Polka with crossing of the arms, and the *špic-Polka* (*Spitzbaumpolka*), a Polka in which the partners in the dance threaten each other from time to time with raised admonishing fingers. Although he mentioned dances from Mune and the *Kastavščina* area, where the *potresujka* is danced today, Ivančan made no mention of that dance in the 1960s. He did not do research in *Liburnija* or *Grobinščina*. Stjepan Sremac, who carried out research in Gorski Kotar and the Littoral near Rijeka during the 1980s, was more interested in studying the Croatian *tanac* dance, and did not mention the *potresujka* at all.¹⁷

Alemka Juretić wrote about the *potresujka* from the *Grobinščina* area in 2004.¹⁸ She stated that the *potresujka* was danced there from the end of the nineteenth century. The local folk recall that an unknown merchant had taught it to the villagers. They performed it until World War Two, when it was abandoned along with other dances and not danced until its renewal during the 1970s. Juretić established a performance group in her village, Gornje Jelenje, in 1978 and the *potresujka* has also been performed on stage with other dances since then. It was allocated the value of a traditional dance, although it was still not seen at the *International Folklore Festival* in Zagreb at that time, which would have been an indication of its ratification by experts, mirroring the paradigm of public cultural policy.

16 See Fig. 15.3.

17 Stjepan Sremac, *Pričanja iz života, Običaji i druga folklorna građa Križišća i Hrvatskog primorja: kazivanja Josipa Juričića 1978.–1980. u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Dokumentacija Instituta za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 1980).

18 Alemka Juretić, *Grobnički luštrini* (Jelenje: Katedra Čakavskog sabora Grobinščine, 2004).

According to more recent research in the *Kastavščina* area, where the *potresujka* is very popular today, interlocutors claim that the *potresujka* was already being danced by their grandmothers, their *none*.¹⁹ This also permits us to locate its importation there to the first half of the twentieth century. It is believed that the trading connections between the inhabitants of Rukavac, Mune and Žejane with neighbouring Slovenia, Austria and Italy also influenced the adoption of this lively and trembling performance style. It is said that the *potresujka* is the modern term for the *potresuja* dance, which was also called the *pojka po strainski* (the foreign Polka). Use of the latter name was ostensibly intended to attract interest and draw the largest number of visitors possible to the Sunday entertainment events held at the inns and in front of the churches on Sundays and feast days.

After the *potresujka* was recognised on the local stages as being ‘traditional’ and a part of popular heritage at the end of the 1970s, it took almost three decades for it to impose itself once again as part of contemporary life — this time throughout the entire region and in a much more intensive manner. Although it had not been forgotten as a local tradition in the meantime, it nonetheless needed media support to receive public recognition. One particular musician who played the *trieština* accordion learnt to play the *potresujka* melody from an older musician in the village. He said of its beginnings in the *Grobinščina* area that ‘It was born here with the music!’²⁰

The new wave of public recognition of the *potresujka* was also linked with the music. The performance of the song ‘Potresujka’ by Ivana Marčelja and Tomi Krešević at the *Melodije Kvarnera* Festival in 2004 made this music and dance more popular again (see the example on YouTube).²¹ They were awarded second prize at that festival, but also ranked high on the hit-parades of the local radio and TV programmes.

Two years later it was said that the same singer, Ivana Marčelja, ‘with a special voice and perfect local Chakavian dialect has quickly become one of the favourites in and around the “Chakavian capital (Rijeka)”’.²²

19 Ivana Sajko, ‘Potresujka kao pokazatelj identiteta’ (unpublished graduate thesis, Odjel za etnologiju i antropologiju, Zadar, 2010), p. 9.

20 Ibid.

21 See Fig. 15.6.

22 ‘Melodije Istre i Kvarnera (MIK) 2006, Finale, Rijeka, June 24, 2006’ [n.a.], *Istrian Experience*, <http://www.istrianexperience.com/mik06/mik06-program>.

She performed at the *Melodije Istre i Kvarnera* Festival with the song, 'Boća i bulin', again in a lively Polka rhythm. *Potresujka* popularity continued and we can read about the festival in 2008: '[...] and to the delight of the audience the *potresujka* came spontaneously into the program once again'.²³

The *potresujka* has become very popular during Carnival celebrations and at weddings. One can even find headlines in newspapers during the last several years saying: 'The *potresujka* is "in" again!', or 'As Rio de Janeiro has samba, in Rijeka you will dance 'potresujka', a local entertaining dance, the only one of its kind in the world!'²⁴

We can see how the *potresujka* has become a notable part of people's identity nowadays through the work of seventh grade primary school pupils. Stella Paris,²⁵ a student at a school in Čavle, wrote a poem entitled 'A Grobnik Postcard', which, in the Chakavian dialect, recited important images of her native place and, of course, mentioned the *potresujka* as one of the most important symbols of Carnival events:

A small place where everyone knows everyone.
Where children play, and grandmamas tell stories.
Below the town the Ričina flows. Everyone knows of it.
It's like some fine lady. Oh, our dear Ričina!
A church stands on the hill, beside it a fort counts the stars.
The school in the middle from times long past, that is our town's famous trio.
The masks are always here, and the *potresujka* is danced.
All the people are merry, in good humour and full of courage.
Our tiny Grobnik Town, a place of blessed peace.
You just look at it and it touches your heart.²⁶

htm; for audio, see 'BOĆA I BULIN — IVANA MARČELJA', 3:06, posted online by Križišćan1993, *Youtube*, 5 January 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xhcvt9cpW6M>

- 23 'Welcome to My Impressions of Melodije Istre i Kvarnera a Festival with Soul: Kostrena — *Potresujka* on the Grass' [n.a.], *Istrian Experience*, <http://www.istrianexperience.com/mik08/kostrena.htm>
- 24 Mašenka Vukadinović, 'Doživjeti osebniji grad / Experience a peculiar town', *Welcome to Rijeka*, 6 (June, 2012), pp. 8–15 (at p. 10), https://www.htz.hr/sites/default/files/2012-05/HR_EN-Welcome-to-Rijeka-2514.pdf
- 25 Stella Paris, 'Grobnička kartulina', *Gmajna*, 9 (2008), p. 18, https://www.cavle.hr/home/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Gmajna_9.pdf
- 26 Translated from the Croatian by Nina H. Antoljak.

Since 2008, there have been workshops and courses teaching the *potresujka* not only in the *Liburnija*, *Kastavščina* or *Grobinščina* areas, but also in the broader region of the Croatian Littoral (*Hrvatsko primorje*) and in Istria, even in towns in the more southern part of the Primorje coastal area such as Novi Vinodolski.

The *potresujka* has become as popular as the Salsa and some dance teachers of the *potresujka* have become very popular as well, through teaching these dance courses. In local online news we read about the *potresujka* dance course (held at the *Hangar Social Club* in Matulji) organised by the Tourist Board, with sixty participants on the first Saturday of teaching and double that number during the second term.²⁷ They came from different places in Istria and the Primorje, even from neighbouring Slovenia. A dance teacher stressed the significant possibilities for improvisation where 'each dancer could give something of his/her own, after learning the basic steps'; just as each village has developed something unique in its collective style of *potresujka* dancing.²⁸ At the end of the course each dancer is eligible to receive 'a prestigious autochthonous dancer diploma'.²⁹ The courses are usually announced and organised during the weekends in December, as preparation for the Carnival dance evenings. During these evenings, and particularly at the end of Carnival on Shrove Tuesday, the participants have to complete certain assignments and publicly show their competence. One of these assignments is to make a paper flower, and the other is to dance the *potresujka* in front of a 'jury', which selects the winners.³⁰ In the 2009 Carnival contest, *potresujka* dance ability became the most important condition in choosing 'the best Carnival girl' in Matulji. She 'should be more than 18 years old, she should dance the *potresujka*, drink a glass of wine, make a paper Carnival-flower, sing Carnival songs, corrupt the jury and drive a Carnival puppet around in the wheelbarrow'.³¹

27 See 'Škola potresujki' [n.a.], *Tzmatulji*, <https://tzmatulji.hr/dogadanja/skola-potresujki/>. In December 2010, the dance course 'Matuljska škola potresujki' was organised for the sixth time with the same dance teacher, Dean Jurdana, at the same place by the same organiser! See <http://moja.opatija.net/najave.asp?id=4959>

28 'Škola potresujki', <https://tzmatulji.hr/dogadanja/skola-potresujki/>

29 Ibid.

30 'Matulji', *Hrvatski karnevalist*, 5 (May, 2007), p. 24, <http://www.karnevali.hr/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/karnevalist5.pdf>

31 For example, the award was 5000 kuna — roughly 650 dollars — in 2009 on the election of 'the best Carnival girl' (see <http://www.opatija.net/hr/najave/najpusna-djevojka-2009-01310>).

Together with a lot of positive comments and cordial invitations to dance the *potresujka*, as well as frequently expressed knowledge of the *potresujka* as one of the main conditions in choosing a boyfriend, some negative reactions in online blogs also reveal the vital presence of the *potresujka* in the contemporary life of Rijeka and its surroundings. There are young people who do not like this type of music and dance and they are very critical of this well-established activity enjoyed by a huge part of the population, often popularised by the local media.

The popularity of the Polka, the local *potresujka*, continues to grow in the broader region of Istria and Kvarner (the Quarnero Bay).



Fig. 15.1 The Istrian Peninsula and the Kvarner (Quarnero Bay). Detail of Map from CIA World Factbook 2009. Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Croatia_Transportation.jpg#/media/File:Croatia_Transportation.jpg

An example of interweaving of dance into the play *Potresujkom po Čehovu* [Through Chekhov with the *potresujka*] shows how the *potresujka* became the main connecting element in the dramaturgy, linking four single-act dramas by Anton Pavlovich Chekhov. The director/producer Serdo Dlačić (from the city of Rijeka) together with the choreographer

Đurđica Kunej (from Zagreb) linked this dance with the great Russian writer. They found it very appropriate and attractive to show some grotesque situations coloured by Chekhov's well-known irony and rhythm, integrating them with this lively local dance, popular during the Carnival and at wedding parties. They merged the ironical context of famous, 'global' and highbrow literature and the universal wedding theme with the rural, local context of small places. Members of the amateur 'JAK' theatre company performed these dramas.³² The director of Chekhov's plays in Mali Lošinj told me that, just as in other small places in Rijeka's surroundings, the *potresujka* 'with its lively and frisky tempo can find a way to wake up the whole body' and, with the love story often mentioned in discussions about that dance, could lead the partners into bed just as in Chekhov's single-act plays. The *potresujka*, which has become well-known through the festivals and media in Rijeka and its surrounding areas in recent years, has been very well accepted in Mali Lošinj as well.

In this way, the stage became a place where the *potresujka*, through its characteristic embodiment, could be used to express local experiences in order that the audience might better understand the universal feelings that Chekhov wrote about and dramatised. Theatre audiences, largely in Mali Lošinj, have enjoyed watching this form of staged Polk — the *potresujka* — known in their broader neighbourhood of the Quarnero Bay as something domestic and traditional. Just as in London one hundred and fifty years ago, 'the couple dance as a *divertissement* in larger works or, as an *entr'acte*, became a vehicle for exhibiting the virtuosity of local stars, so the Polka was easily featured in this way'.³³ And as for this kind of stage presentation of the Polka in London in the 1840s, where 'the Polka itself assured the theatres of attracting the throngs', in Mali Lošinj, 'audiences have responded, then, not so much to the virtuoso qualities of a theatricalised Polka as to the recognisable signs of dance fashion onstage' at the beginning of twenty-first century.³⁴ Exactly the same process happened again, this time in Mali Lošinj. Turning the

32 The JAK acronym was chosen in honour of the Croatian writer and collector of oral tradition, Josip Antun Kraljić (1877–1948), who was born on the island of Krk and died in Mali Lošinj. He was a well-known patriot who worked for many years as a teacher in Istria and at Mali Lošinj.

33 Libby Smigel, 'Minds Mad for Dancing', p. 199.

34 Ibid.

Polka's popularity to his own use, the playwright/director adopted the *potresujka* dance into scenes reflecting and making fun of contemporary, but also universal, social practices.³⁵

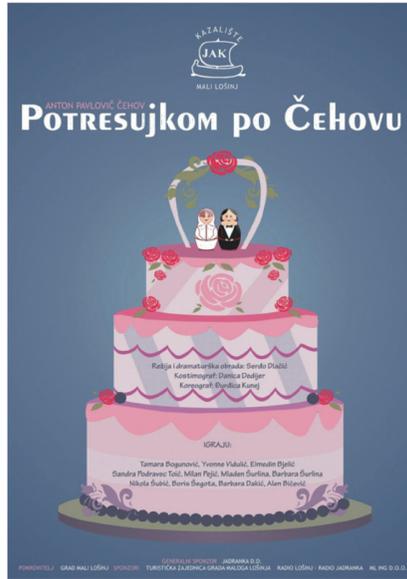


Fig. 15.2 Nikola Šubić (Shuba), poster for *Potresujkom po Čehovu*, 2008. Reproduced with author's permission, all rights reserved, <http://www.mi3dot.org/gallery/original/20280/>

Finally, we can turn to the musical accompaniment and the instrumental aspect. The accordion and trombone are the most important symbols of *potresujka* music and dance. This connects us again with the Alpine influences of brass bands, but also with a perception about ourselves in connection with our neighbours from the Northwest — the Slovenians and Austrians.³⁶ What does this look like as a perception of Alpine culture in Grobnik — the highest part of Rijeka's hinterland mountains — also called 'Grobničke Alpe [Grobnik Alps]' among the local inhabitants? *Polka/potresujka* music and dance, the *jodlanje* [yodelling] style of singing, *dinderl* costumes, accordions, trombones, sausages, strong and

35 See Fig. 15.7.

36 See Fig. 15.8.

fat men, and so on. Thus, integration continues on not only on a local or regional level, but on a higher transnational, even international, level.³⁷

In the meantime, after three years, the Slovenian version of Ivana Marčelja and Tomi Kreševič's *potresujka* melody appeared. Titled and performed in Slovenian, in keeping with the first verse *Hej mala, opala*, there is no mention of *potresujka* in the text. The video clip on YouTube is designated as 'turbofolk Slovenia'.³⁸ In the context of that and other similar Slovenian performances by Werner and Brigita Šuler, it is somewhat easier to understand the negative comments on the part of the younger Rijeka population, who do not like that type of music and the Polka rhythm, or the *potresujka* adapted to new conditions and the taste of the broad population. On the other hand, it is interesting to observe how identity is shaped and modified under various conditions. It is evident that the broader Littoral region is very close in music and dance taste to neighbouring Slovenia and Austria, where the traditional forms of dance music masterfully penetrate into contemporary music and dance trends.

Conclusion

We can monitor the journey of the Polka through the story of its local version — the *potresujka* — which shows us how some expressions in dance can progress from being local and national to being transnational, and can be accepted once again as being local, but in a different, new

37 See Fig. 15.9. Singing about 'musica Alpina' in the Latino and Cubana rhythm combining English and Spanish text with yodelling and brass band instruments, the accordion, and some elements of Austrian traditional costumes, the Global Krayner group (an Austrian jazz-folk band), produced a real mixture of cultures during their performance at the Eurovision Song Contest, when representing Austria in 2005 in their first international success. Shall we try to find local, regional, or national, Austrian-Krayner elements in their performance, or should we look at the mixture of different styles, genres, and rhythms gathered together producing some kind of global musical fusion? This kind of tension is expressed firstly in their name; the stage could accept both, and integration could be constructed and interpreted from different points of view and discourses. This kind of Cosmopolitan Karawanken beat and their unconventional, catchy Salsa-Polka-Pop tune 'Y Asi' warrant much more investigation.

38 See Fig. 15.10. Turbofolk is the term that has been used for the pop-folk music style in Serbia and other countries of the Balkans since the 1990s — often with negative connotations, as 'cheap' trash.

and transformed context and form. Such expressions can exist for a long time as something that perseveres, and then, the next moment, can explode again into a kind of mania — like the *Polkamania* or the *potresujkamania* in the local, but also in the regional context. They can also be accepted and presented as traditional, old and prestigious ways in which to interpret universal values, connecting local and global layers of art, high and low culture, dance and literature, along with philosophy and fun. Through different kinds of production, the Polka fulfilled the function of integrating these different layers.

Additional Video Resources

- Fig. 15.3 Video: Presentation of Croatian folk dances in a performance of couple dances. 'Jadranka Pilčić-Zlatko Franović: Potresuljka (Grobniščina)', 3:09, posted online by dusanmusic1, *Youtube*, 11 June 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Md3jaV2GkSQ>
- Fig. 15.4 Video: 'bela nedeja-kastav 2014 — pumpa band — škola potresujke', 11:20, posted online by valter pecman, *Youtube*, 4 October 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p14Kd3hDI8E>
- Fig. 15.5 Video: 'Potresujka-Mirela i Zub.MTS', 1:25, posted online by biba121212, *Youtube*, 29 February 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=24YnijPnP7o>
- Fig. 15.6 Video: 'Ivana Marčelja i Tomi Kresevič, Potresujka', 3:01, posted by Zoran Ventin, *Youtube*, 21 January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k2T6wwvv3rA>
- Fig. 15.7 Video: 'Potresujkom po Cehovu', 5:14, posted online by etnokor, *Youtube*, 15 April 2009, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Xxd4bygisY> [the dancers in this video do not use the typical step pattern that distinguishes the *potresujka* from the ordinary Polka]
- Fig. 15.8 Video: 'Linda Gizdulic, Grobnicke Alpe', 4:16, posted online by Marin1975, *Youtube*, 31 March 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sg1RFKgMxes>
- Fig. 15.9 Video: 'Global Kryner — Y Asi — Austria 2005', 3:06, posted online by primadonna11, *Youtube*, 8 November 2006, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9VdFY6vFiU0>
- Fig. 15.10 Video: 'Hej mala opla — Werner in Brigita Šuler', 3:03, posted online by Brigita Šuler, *Youtube*, 12 June 2007, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z8KV-KdY0ds&feature=related>

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