University of Alberta

From the Community to the World: Ukrainian Dance in Montréal.

by

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Abstract

Ukrainian staged dance is a popular element of Ukrainian culture. In Canada, Ukrainian dance flourished and has transformed into a distinct symbol of Canadian-Ukrainian culture. Each Canadian province shows an evolution in its Ukrainian dance that is distinct from the others, depending on where the choreographers found inspiration.

Ukrainian dance in Montréal has been influenced strongly by the spectacular dance model, which was associated most strongly with the state sponsored dance companies coming from the Soviet Union. A question arose regarding this observation: why would these rather anti-Soviet communities in Canada choose a Soviet style to represent Ukrainians? And why would Québécois choreographers repeatedly choose to add Ukrainian dance into their international dance repertoire?

The goal of this research project is to set a chronological and aesthetic framework of Ukrainian dance in Montréal and to observe the main influences that changed its aesthetics both inside and outside the Ukrainian community.

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Introduction

Ukrainian staged dance is a popular element of Ukrainian culture both in Ukraine and in Ukrainian diasporas around the world. It was first brought to the North American continent by Vasile Avramenko. In Canada, Ukrainian dance flourished and has transformed into a distinct symbol of Canadian-Ukrainian culture. Each Canadian province shows an evolution in its Ukrainian dance that is distinct from the others, depending on where the choreographers, dancers and other community members found inspiration, and other factors.

Although one can find many sources about Ukrainian dance on the Prairies (mostly graduate students' theses that are listed later in this introduction), a publication dedicated to Montréal's dance is yet to be written. In Montréal, the increasing presence of spectacular dance groups as well as the popular cultural perception of the USSR enabled Ukrainian dance to be strongly influenced by the state sponsored Soviet dance companies that have toured North America since the late 1950s. These companies were presenting an aesthetic based on strong spectacle. I propose to call the early stylings for staged Ukrainian dance in Montréal the "national dance model," and contrast it with the more recent "spectacular dance model" that can be observed. These ideas were proposed by Andriy Nahachewsky in earlier publications about Ukrainian dance in Canada.[1]

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[1] Andriy Nahachewsky, "Shifting Orientations in Dance Revivals: From 'National' to 'Spectacular' in Ukrainian Canadian Dance," *Narodna umjetnost. Croatian Journal of Ethnology and Folklore Research*, 43/1, (Zagreb, 2006): 161-178.

In Montréal, Ukrainian dance is performed by Ukrainians but also by non-Ukrainians, in the Ukrainian community and outside of it.[2] The dancers from the Ukrainian community and from outside the community use Ukrainian dance to represent the entire Ukrainian culture.[3] The contacts between the International Folk Dance and the Ukrainian communities in Montréal are interesting in terms of influence. Both types of groups present Ukrainian dance extensively, but for different reasons.

The goal of this research project is to document Ukrainian dance in Montréal and to observe the main influences that changed the aesthetics of Ukrainian dance both inside and outside the Ukrainian community.[4] I am hoping that this research will set a chronological and aesthetic framework for understanding the evolution of Ukrainian dance in Montréal.

This research is partly based upon ethnographic fieldwork: participant-observation as well as interviews. I have been personally active in Montréal's

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[2] Most of the dancers that are part of the International Folk Dance Movement are born in Québec and speak French. They tend to refer to themselves as 'Québécois' rather than 'French Canadians.' I did not discuss their political inclinations but, since all put a special emphasis on the importance of French language and culture, I decided to refer to them as 'Québécois.' I realize Canadian-Ukrainians born in Québec are also 'Québécois' but I keep the term 'Canadian-Ukrainians' to emphasis their Ukrainian ethnicity. Most of the Canadian-Ukrainians I interviewed were English speaking. It is important to understand that they are supporting French language and culture as well. Again I use two different terms not to put an emphasis on their political views but to make the distinction between two communities.

[3] The International Folk Dance movement consists mostly of dancers performing Ukrainian dance outside the Ukrainian community. Most dance groups that are part of this movement are presenting dances from all around the world. The dance aesthetics is highly influenced by the state sponsored dance groups: Moiseyev and Virsky for Eastern European dances but also Ballet Folklorico de Mexico and the like. This research will focus on their Ukrainian repertoire only.

[4] Dance performed in boat cruises was ignored in this research because it did not relate geographically to Montréal. Cabaret style was also ignored for this research. Both of these dance types sometimes present Ukrainian dance and it is important to mention them.

Ukrainian dance community and in the classical dance community until few years ago, and have remained an interested observer since then.

Interviews were conducted with members of the Ukrainian dance community and members of the International Folk Dance community. Interviews were generally semi-structured: I prepared a standard questionnaire although interviews did not strictly follow that structure. Interviewees were not interrupted when the conversation took a different direction. They all live or lived in the Montréal area. Many were chosen because they were suggested by previous respondents. Most of them were former dancers or choreographers.

Ukrainian dance in this study is discussed from the *etic* (the researcher's) as well as the *emic* (the native's) point of view. In addition to my research analysis, I actively document my personal opinion and impressions based on my experiences in Montréal. I try to give a significant voice to my interviewees as well.

A great deal of historical data was collected from the local community newspaper *Oko* as well as from the Montreal's *Star*, *Montreal Gazette* and the *Herald Tribune*.[5] In reconstituting the history of Montréal's Ukrainian community, I based my research on graduate students' theses written for McGill University,

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[5] Hromada (Association), *Oko*, vol. 1 (1979)- 7 (1985/1986), Montreal: Hromada; Sydney Johnson, "Those Amazing Ukrainians," *The Montreal Star*, 22 May 1962; Eric McLean, "An Era Ends With the Death of a Great Impresario," *The Montreal Gazette*, 6 Sept. 1980, Music section; Victor Swoboda, "Then and now: Lado has strong traditions," *The Montreal Gazette*, 24 Oct. 2009; Paul Delean. "Ukrainian dancer's folk-art group competes with state-run companies." *The Montreal Gazette*, 24 Sept. 1993; Harold Whitehead*, "*Ukrainian Dancers Excellent On First Visit to Montreal*," The Montreal Gazette*, 22 May 1962; Terry Walter, "Dancing Bear Is Everywhere," *The Herald Tribune*, 22 April 1963.

Concordia University and Université de Montréal.[6] Most of these studies are historical or sociological. A great deal of data was also found in the Ukrainian community jubilee books celebrating Ste Sofiia Cathedral, Prosvita, the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association, Ukrainian National Federation and Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada.[7] Finally, Alexander Biega's studies of Ukrainians in Québec and Yurij Luhovy's movie *Les Ukrainiens au Québec* (1979) were helpful to set a chronology of events in the Montréal Community.[8] All of those publications are available in Montréal.

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[6] A. M. Tokar, "Ukrainian Community Life in Montreal: Social Planning Implications" (MSW diss., McGill University, 1992); S. W. Mamchur, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada: With Special Reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal" (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1934); Y. G. Kelebay, "The Ideological And Intellectual Baggage of Three Fragments of Ukrainian Immigrants: A Contribution to the History of Ukrainians in Quebec (1910-1960)" (PhD diss., Concordia University, 1993); Y. G. Kelebay, "The Ukrainian Community in Montreal" (MA diss., Concordia University, 1975); C. Berthiaume-Zavada, "Le chant ukrainien, une puissance qui défie les pouvoirs" (MA diss., Université de Montréal, 1994); N. A. Hrymak-Wynnycky, "Les églises ukrainiennes à Montréal" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Montréal, 1964); B. Hiritsch, "The Development of Ukrainian Theatre and its Role in Canada" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Montréal, 1961); G. R. B. Panchuk, "Canadian Ukrainians in Seven Decades of Canadian History" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Montréal, 1959); A. M. Côté, "Transplantation humaine: Une enquête sociologique sur une agglomération polono-ukrainienne" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Montréal, 1948).

[7] *25 Lit Ukrains'koï Pravoslavnoï tserkvy Sv. Sofiï v Montreali, 1926-1951* (Montreal: 1951); Mariia, Davydovych, ed., *Zolotyi iuvilei tovarystva 'Prosvita' im. Tarasa Shevchenka v Montreali—Point St. Charlz* (Pointe St-Charles: "Prosvita" im. Tarasa Shevchenka v Montreali, 1963); Bohdan Panchuk, *Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association. Ukrainian Canadian Veterans, Royal Canadian Legion, 1926-1986 : Memorial Souvenir Book, Ukrainian Branches RCL : Montreal, Mazeppa, no. 183, Toronto, Philip Konoval, V.C., no. 360, Winnipeg, Ukrainian Canadian, no. 141, Edmonton, Norwood, no. 178* (Montreal: Ukrainian Canadian Veterans Association, 1986); Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Montreal Branch: daughters of Ukraine Branch, *Propam'iatna knyha z nahody 50-litnoho iuvileiu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady, Viddil "Don'ky Ukrainy", Montreal, Kvebek, 1926-1976* (Montreal: Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Montreal Branch: daughters of Ukraine Branch, 1976).

[8] Alexander Biega, ed., *La vie des Ukrainiens du Québec* (Toronto: Ed. Basiliens, 1994); Aleksandr Biega, *Litopys Ukraintsiv v Kvebeku* (Etobicoke: Basilian Press Ukrainian, 1992); *Les Ukrainiens au Québec*, original footage, director Yurij Luhovy (Québec: 1979).

I looked at general available sources on the Montréal dance scene and the history of dance in Québec, as well as some ballet history. For example, dance in Montréal was examined by Iro Tembeck, dancer and professor at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM).[9] Although her main focus is modern dance, her historical research about vaudeville and gigue québécoise was helpful.

The Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau in Montréal contains the archives of Les Sortilèges, a part of the archives of Les Feux-Follets as well as a number of dance publications that constituted Les Sortilèges' research library.[10] Copies of Alice Major's book about the Ukrainian Shumka Dancers are relatively easy to find in Montréal and the Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau owns one.[11] In Montréal, publications from Ukraine date mostly from the Soviet era. Hryhorii Hryhoriev, Andrii Humeniuk and P. O. Hryhoriev are the authors that are the easiest to find.[12] A copy of Humeniuk's and Hryhoriev's books are available at the Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau. The Centre de documentation also holds manuscripts of most of Les Sortilèges' dances and videos of most of their

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[9] Iro Tembeck, *La danse comme paysage: sources, traditions, innovations* (Québec: IQRC, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001); Iro Tembeck *Danser à Montréal: Germination d'une histoire chorégraphique* (Sillery, Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1992). For more information about gigue québécoise see Simone Voyer and Gynette Tremblay, *La danse traditionelle Québécoise et sa musique d'accompagnement* (Québec: IQRC, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001).

[10] Les Sortilèges and Les Feux-Follets are International Folk Dance groups.

[11] Alice Major, *Ukrainian Shumka Dancers: Tradition in Motion* (Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1991).

[12] Hryhorii Prokopovych Hryhoriev, *Ukraina tantsiuie! Narys* (Kyiv: Radians'ky Pys'mennyk, 1964); Andrii Humeniuk, *Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi* (Kyiv: Akademia Nauk Ukrains'koi RSR, 1962); Andrii Humeniuk, *Ukrains'ki narodni tantsi* (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1969); Andrii Humeniuk, *Narodne khoreohrafichne mystetstvo Ukrainy* (Kyiv: Akademia Nauk Ukrains'koi RSR, 1963); P. O. Hryhoriev, *Zbirnyk ukrains'kykh narodnykh tantsiv* (New York: Hoverlia, 1962).

performances. There, one can also find publications from the earlier International Folk Dance Movement. C. Ward Crampton, Elizabeth Burchenal, Mary Effie Shambaugh, Anatol Joukowsky and Luther H. Gulick are a few of the authors who wrote about the earlier movement.[13] Jensen and Jensen published about folk dance as well.[14] Most of my information about the repertoire available through this dance movement came from the journals *Danses des Peuples*, *Folk Dances From Near and Far*, *Folk Dance!* and *Chorégraphies de la Fédération Folklorique du Québec*.[15] These journals can be found in the Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau as well.

Also available are a few English translations of Russian publications such as *Folk Dances From the U.S.S.R.*[16] The Montréal dance communities also had access to promotional booklets dealing with state sponsored dance groups from the Soviet Union, such as The Ukrainian State People's Dance Company (Virsky), The State Dance Ensemble from the USSR (Moiseyev) and the Red Army Chorus and

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[13] C. Ward Crampton, comp., *The Folk Dance Book, for Elementary Schools, Class Room, Playground, and Gymnasium* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1924); Elizabeth Burchenal, *Folk-Dances From Old Homelands* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1922); Mary Effie Shambaugh, *Folk Dances for Boys and Girls* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1929); Anatol M. Joukowsky, *The Teaching of Ethnic Dance: Macedonia, Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, France, Poland, Russia, Ukraine* (New York: J. L. Pratt, 1965); Luther H. Gulick, *The Healthful Art of Dancing* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1911).

[14] Mary Bee Jensen and Clayne R. Jensen, *Folk Dancing* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1973).

[15] *Danses des peuples.* (Montréal: Centre de recherches et d'informations folkloriques de Montréal); *Folk Dances From Near and Far: International Folk Dance Series* (California: Folk Dance Federation of California); Ronnie and Stu Lipner. *Folk Dance!*; *Chorégraphies de la Fédération Folklorique du Québec* (Montréal: Fédération Folklorique du Québec).

[16] *Folk Dances of the USSR* (National Executive Russian Canadian Youth Organization, 1956).

Dancers.[17]   The Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau does not have a video collection from dance groups other than Les Sortilèges and Les Feux-Follets.

In the Ukrainian community, the various dance groups seem to have limited access to books on Ukrainian dance.   None of my interviewees possessed any. Bohdan Klymczuk, from Troyanda, owns few videos of Ukrainian dance, bought through the local Ukrainian store.[18]   This store is popular in the Ukrainian community but not among outsiders.

In addition to the material described previously, I found other sources outside Montréal. A great number of publications about Ukrainian dance were available to me in the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives at the University of Alberta and elsewhere.   Publications by Kim Vasylenko is available in the previous two institutions.[19]   Students' theses about Ukrainian dance in Canada include those of Andriy Nahachewsky, Alexandra Pritz, Vincent Rees and Jillian Dawn Staniec.[20]   Many more exist but these were especially relevant for my research.

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[17] *Derzhavnyi zasluzhenyi ansambl' tansiuiu Ukrains'koi RSR* (Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Obrazotvorchohoyi mystetstvao iI muzychnoia literaturye URSR, 1962); Georges Soria, *Le ballet Moïsséiev: ensemble officiel de danse populaires de l'U.R.S.S.* (Paris: Édition du cercle de l'art, 1955); *Leur arme, c'est la chanson: L'ensemble de chants et danses de l'armée soviétique Alexandrov* (Paris: Édition de l'agence de presse Novosti).

[18] Most of the Ukrainian dance videos and DVDs available in Montréal can be purchased through the catalogue of the Ukrainian store Yevshan. The store is located in Montréal.

[19] Kim Iukhymovych Vasylenko, *Leksyka ukrains'koho narodno-stsenichnoho tantsiu* 3rd ed. (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1996).

[20] A. Nahachewsky, "The Kolomiyka: Change and Diversity in Ukrainian Canadian Folk Dance" (PhD Diss., University of Alberta, 1991); A. Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada: Theatre, Choral Music and Dance, 1891-1967" (MA diss., Ottawa University, 1977); V. A. Rees, "*Bereznianka: Becoming symbolic"* (MA diss., University of Alberta, 2008); Jillian Dawn Staniec,

Also available there are the books by Vasile Avramenko published in 1928 and
1947 that present his own choreographies as well other information that reveals
his political inclinations.[21] They are among the first books about Ukrainian dance
in Canada. Lesya (Alexandra) Pritz, Iryna Knysh and Ivan Pihuliak also wrote
about Avramenko.[22] Irka Balan and Orest Martynowych's research works are
also important in the field.[23] Bohdan Zerebecky's series about Ukrainian dance
was published in Saskatchewan.[24] Petro Kravchuk and Myron Shatulsky[25] also
wrote about Ukrainian dance. Finally, Robert Klymasz edited *Ukrainian Folk*

"Cossaks and Wallflowers: Ukrainian Stage Dance, Identity and Politics in Saskatchewan from the
1920's to the Present" (MA diss., University of Saskatchewan, 2007).

[21] Vasyl' Avramenko, *Ukrains'ki natsional'ni tanky: muzyka i strii* 2nd ed. (Winnipeg: National
Publishers, 1947); Vasyl' Avramenko, *Ukrains'ki natsional'ni tanky: korotkyi narys pro
ukrains'kyi tanok ta opys desiatiokh naikrashchykh narodnikh tankiv vlasnoho ukladu* (Winnipeg:
Nakladom Shkoly ukrains'koho natsional'noho tanku, 1928).

[22] Irena Knysh, *Zhyva dusha narodu: do iuvileiu ukrains'koho tanku* (Winnipeg: Knysh, 1966);
Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada" 1977; Alexandra Pritz, "Ukrainian Dance in
Canada in the First Fifty Years: 1924-1974" in *New Soil –Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in
Canada,* ed. Jaroslav Rozumnyi, 124-154, (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Canada,
1983); Ivan Pihuliak, *Vasyl' Avramenko a viddrodzhennia ukrains'koho tanku* (Syracuse, New
York: Published by the author, 1979).

[23]Balan Irka, ed., *Vasile Avramenko: A Legacy of Ukrainian Dance* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian
Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, 2006); Orest T. Martynowych, "Avramenko
Chronology to 1937," manuscript (2009); Orest T. Martynowych, "Avramenko Chronology from
1937" manuscript (2009); Orest T. Martynowych, "All That Jazz!" The Avramenko Phenomenon
in Canada, 1925-1929," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 28, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 1-29.

[24] Bohdan Zerebecky, *Folk Dances of Hutsulshchyna. Ukrainian Dance Resource Booklet; Ser. 4,
v. 1* (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Saskatchewan Provincial Council, 1989);
Bohdan Zerebecky, *A Survey of the History of Ukrainian Dance. Ukrainian Dance Resource
Booklet; Ser. 1, v. 1* (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Saskatchewan Provincial
Council, 1985); Bohdan Zerebecky, *The Origins and Development of the Basic Movements and
Patterns of Ukrainian Dance. Ukrainian Dance Resource Booklet; Ser. 1, v. 2* (Saskatoon:
Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Saskatchewan Provincial Council, 1985); Bohdan Zerebecky,
Choreography: Ukrainian Folk Dances. Ukrainian Dance Resource Booklet; ser. 1, v. 2
(Saskatoon: Published by the author, 1978).

[25] Petro Kravchuk, *Nasha stsena : khudozhnia samodiialnist' ukrains'kykh poselentsiv u Kanadi*
(Toronto: Kobzar, 1981); Petro Kravchuk, ed., *Our Stage: The Amateur Performing Arts of the
Ukrainians Settlers in Canada* (Toronto: Kobzar, 1984); Myron Shatulsky, *The Ukrainian Folk
Dance* (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing, 1980).

Dance: a Symposium that included articles from both the Ukrainian community and the International Folk Dance community.[26]   Significantly for this study, Robert Klymasz published two articles with Montréal-based authors (Peter Marunczak and Kost Pankivskyj) in this collection.

I looked at materials in the Vasile Avramenko fund at the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa, and I am aware that other materials dealing with the history of Ukrainian dance in Montréal are probably to be found in the Archives of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (OSEREDOK) in Winnipeg.

Furthermore, a number of more theoretical publications in ethnochoreology and dance anthropology are important for this study. Irene Loutzaki in Greece, Arzu Öztürkmen in Turkey and Anca Giurchescu from Romania examined the link between dance and politics.[27]   Scholars who researched the complexity of nationalism in dance as well as the problematic surrounding authenticity and staged traditions were influential for this study of Ukrainian dance.   Anthony Shay, Egil Bakka, Theresa Jill Buckland, Francesca Castaldi, László Felföldi, Georgian Gore and Andriy Nahachewsky are few of the many scholars that had had an impact on my understanding of the complex ideas and positions in the field of dance.[28]

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[26] Bohdan Klymasz, comp., *Ukrainian Folk Dance a Symposium* (Toronto: Ukrainian National Youth Federation, 1961).

[27] Irene Loutzaki, "Folk Dance in Political Rhythms" *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 33 (2001): 127-137; Arzu Öztürkmen, "Politics of National Dance in Turkey: A Historical Reappraisal" 139-143; Anca Giurchescu, "The Power of Dance and Its Social and Political Uses" 109-121.

[28] Anthony Shay, *Choreographing Identities: Folk Dance, Ethnicity and Festival in the United*

For the specific discussion of the dance forms in chapters 4 and 5, I chose to look mostly at Ukrainian dances that have the *Hopak* structure: namely mixed group dances that feature acrobatic "solos."[29]

This research deals specifically with dances that are performed on stage in an urban context even though many of them imitate or make strong references to peasant village dance traditions. Folk dance is used by me as a way to define any peasant dance and revival dance influenced by it. International Folk Dance ensembles have a long tradition of using the term 'folk' to describe their activities, as they want to stress the continuity between traditional dance of their source cultures and their revival activity. For these groups 'folk' means something related to any traditional ethnic community.

States and Canada (Jefferson: McFarland, 2008); Egil Bakka, "Whose Dances, Whose Authenticity?" In *Authenticity. Whose Tradition?*, ed. László Felföldi and Theresa Jill Buckland, 60-69 (Budapest: European Folklore Institute, 2002); Egil Bakka, "'Or Shortly They would be Lost Forever.' Documenting for Revival and Research," in *Dance in the Field: Theory Methods and Issues in Dance Ethnography,* ed. Theresa Jill Buckland, 71-81 (Basingstoke: McMillan Press, 1999); Theresa Jill Buckland, "Dance, Authenticity and Cultural Memory: The Politics of Embodiment," in *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 33 (2001): 1-16; Theresa Jill Buckland, "Th'owd Pagan Dance: Ritual, Enchantment and an Enduring Intellectual Paradigm," *Journal for the Anthropological Study of Human Movement*, 11, no 4 and 12, no 1 (Fall 2001/Spring 2002): 415-52; Theresa Jill Buckland, "Dance, History, and Ethnography: Frameworks, Sources, and Identities of Past and Present," in *Dancing from Past to Present. Nation, Culture, Identities,* ed. Theresa Jill Buckland, 3-24 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006); Francesca Castaldi, *Choreographies of African Identities: Negritude, Dance and the National Ballet of Senegal* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois press, 2006); László Felföldi, "Authenticity and Culture," in *Authenticity: Whose Tradition?*, ed. László Felföldi and Theresa Jill Buckland, 110-129 (Budapest: European Folklore Institute, 2002); Georgiana Gore, "Dance in Nigeria: The Case for a National Company," *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 4, no. 2 (1986): 54-64; Nahachewsky, "Shifting Orientations in Dance Revivals," (2006); Andriy Nahachewsky, "Avramenko and the Paradigm of National Culture," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies 28*, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 31-50.

[29] In Canadian-Ukrainian dance, a "solo" is a virtuosic step or combination of steps within a dance. It is performed by a single dancer (called a "soloist") that stands out in front of his or her fellow dancers. In the dancers' community, the word "solo" is also used if that special virtuosic segment is performed by a small group of dancers.

All of the dances discussed in this thesis are staged dances that are part of a revival process. Revival here is "[…] any dance tradition in which the participants are actively conscious of a connection with past performances."[30] Revival dancers are generally concerned with the authenticity of the dance. In this project, 'authenticity' is understood as "the ability of cultural objects or performances to evoke a sense of genuineness among those who partake of them, such as the strong emotional or even physical response of audiences witnessing a ritual."[31] Authenticity generally determines the central themes and the canon representing a cultural group.[32] It also depends on how a specific group defines its tradition or is defined by others.[33] For example, Québécois culture might be associated to Maple syrup and swearing in Canada. However, inhabitants of France, Ukraine or Chile might associate it with other elements that represents Québécois culture in their country such as music, language or history. Furthermore, Québécois are more likely to associate themselves with other cultural elements that are unknown by outsiders such as local writers, sport teams or local popular culture. What is 'authentic' will be different for each of these communities.

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[30] Nahachewsky, "Shifting Orientations in Dance Revivals," 162.

[31] Regina Bendix, "Authenticity," in *Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music and Art*, vol. 1, ed. Thomas Green, 72-75 (Santa Barbara, Denver, Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 1997), 72.

[32] For a deeper discussion about authenticity, see Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).

[33] Martha C. Sims and Martine Stephens, *Living Folklore: An Introduction to the Study of People and Their Traditions* (Logan: Utah State University, 2005), 85.

The concept of nationalism is strongly relevant in studies of Ukrainian dance. Nationalism is connected with the identification of a group with a specific state, political power and culture. These characteristics of nationalism are never completely independent form one another. Dances representing a specific country are always tied to a political state in its geographic territory.[34] However, many dancers perform as a way to celebrate their heritage. Thus nationalism in that case is concerned with cultural identity. We can call this "cultural nationalism." This type of nationalism is important for this thesis because this research is dealing first with a minority group that evolved in a North American context. Montréal's Ukrainian community has members who just arrived in Canada but largely consists of second, third and fourth generation Canadians. Some have a stronger link to Ukraine, others have only a symbolic link that passes through the expression of cultural identity. Thus, for this research, it seems appropriate to put an emphasis on a cultural nationalism.

The revival dances are performed almost exclusively on stage, primarily for the benefit of non-dancing spectators. Since the earlier dances were performed in social context, this revival community is engaged in a process of "theatricalization." Theatricalization involves a major shift in the dance activity. The dances are no longer performed for the benefit of the dancers themselves, but

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[34] It is important to make a distinction between 'state,' which is a government, and 'nation,' which is a community that shares a culture, language, perceived history and/or homeland. See Alexander J. Motyl, *Will the Non-Russians Rebel? State, Ethnicity, and Stability in the USSR* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1987): 9; Joseph Dunner, "Nation," in *Dictionary of Political Science*, ed. Joseph Dunner (New York: Philosophical Library): 365.

are actively oriented towards a non-dancing audience.[35] Theatricalization may involve a variety of strategies used to stage a dance such as standardization and organization of dances.[36] In the styles of theatricalization relevant to Ukrainian dance in Montréal, the process includes increasing an impression of monumentality, using props, lighting, etc. Monumentality refers to the amplification of movement on stage that enable the details to be seen from a far. Monumentality is a way to control the focus of the dance by creating patterns, motifs, lines and colors. It is very present in strategies used for the theatricalization of spectacular Ukrainian dance in Montréal. Theatricalization is used in the national dance model, but especially in spectacular dance, a large scale dance that is mean to be impressive. This study will focus on strategies used as the national dance shifts into the spectacular dance mode.

During this research, I worked with two hypotheses. The first one was that the dance groups in Montréal have different styles of Ukrainian dance. My intention was to present the evolution of the different styles chronologically. My second hypothesis was that Ukrainian dance in Montréal has been influenced strongly by the spectacular dance model, which was associated most strongly with the state sponsored dance companies coming from the Soviet Union. Both those

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[35] Andriy Nahachewsky, "Participatory and Presentational Dance as Ethnochoreological Categories," *Dance Research Journal* 27, no. 1 (1995): 1-15.

[36] Andriy Nahachewsky, "Strategies For Theatricalizing Folk Dance," in *Proceedings 21 Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology in Korcula 2000*, ed. Elsie Ivancich Dunin and Tvrtko Zebec, (Zagreb: International Council for Traditional Music Study Group on Ethnochoreology and Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 2001): 228-234.

hypotheses are based upon an analysis of aesthetic. A question arose regarding this observation: why would these rather anti-Soviet communities in Canada choose a Soviet style to represent Ukrainians? And why would Québécois choreographers repeatedly choose to add Ukrainian dance into their international dance repertoire?

Before discussing the changes in dance styles, it is necessary to first look at the context surrounding Ukrainian dance in Montréal.

Montréal Ukrainian Dance Today

Montréal is the largest French city in Canada. It is characterized by its large Francophone population and by the presence of many different ethnic groups. Also known as the "City of Festivals," Montréal's vibrant culture is stimulated by the many contacts between the all the cultural groups that live the city. One of the largest cultural events is a 10 day festival located outside the city called 'Le Mondial des Cultures.'[37] This festival is the third largest festival of its kind. It displays dance groups from all around the world. One of the cultural groups that participates both in this festival and in many other events in Montréal is the Ukrainian community. It is most often represented through dance. The actual context of Ukrainian dance is worth examining.

Montréal's Ukrainian Community

Three dance groups specialize in Ukrainian dance in the Montréal Ukrainian dance community: Marunczak Ukrainian Dance Ensemble (MUDE), Troyanda Ukrainian Dance Ensemble and Mria.

Marunczak Ukrainian Dance Ensemble (MUDE)

The oldest group is the Marunczak Ukrainian Dance Ensemble (MUDE). The group is associated most of the time with the Ukrainian National Organization (UNO) because it uses UNO's facilities for its rehearsals. Rehearsals are held once a week, on Fridays, for all age groups. The dancers are mostly English

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[37] The Mondial des Cultures happens every July in Drummondville.

speakers and dances are taught in English. Most of the dancers have Ukrainian ancestry, though a minority are Québécois or Asian.

Donna Marunczak is the current leader of the group. She is the daughter of the initial founder of MUDE, Peter Marunczak Sr. She teaches all age groups, and is a long-time performer in the senior group herself. The goal of the group, since the death of Peter Marunczak Sr., is to promote Ukrainian dance, promote Peter Marunczak's teaching and choreographic work, and preserve the memory of his cultural importance for the Montréal Ukrainian community.[38] Commemoration is an important motivation for the group.

Ms. Marunczak keeps the dances as close to her father's original choreographies as possible. Sometimes, she changes the music of a dance, or changes the sequence of some of the dance patterns, to make them more interesting for the dancers. For example, in a dance called *Nozhytsi* (in Ukrainian Ножиці - scissors), she has changed the original music to a new pop song from Ukrainian singer Ruslana. Most of MUDE's repertoire is from central Ukraine, although they also perform an *Arkan* from Western Ukraine and an all-girl Caucasian dance.[39] My impression is that the group's repertoire consists of some 7-10 dances, all of which have been choreographed several decades ago.[40]

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[38] With permission of Donna Marunczak, current leader of MUDE, personal correspondence, May 2010.

[39] The Caucasus is a mountainous area to the southeast of Ukraine, including the Georgians, Armenians, and other nations.

[40] I have not been able to assemble a complete list of the MUDE repertoire. The program of their yearly show normally displays the name of the dancers, dance instructors and live musicians. The

The group uses central Ukraine costumes representing young peasant girls: flower skirts for the younger dancers, and a one-colour fabric skirt for the older dancers. All female dancers wear a central Ukrainian head piece called a *vinok*. All boys wear central Ukrainian wide pants and shirts. All dancers are responsible for producing and owning these basic costumes. Patterns for the basic costumes are produced by the group. They are easy to follow and require fabrics that are easy to sew. For example, most male dancers have cotton polyester pants (as opposed to the silk pants that are used by other groups, and which need more sewing experience to make). When performing the Western Ukraine choreography *Arkan*, the men wear their central Ukraine costumes.[41] Some costumes, such as the one for the Caucasian female dance, belong to the group. Recently, a new costume from Western Ukraine was added to the group's wardrobe. It consists of a Hutsul jacket for women (that probably belongs to the group) and a brown fabric skirt.[42] Most dancers perform in red ballet slippers with long red socks that imitate red boots, which are standard in Ukrainian dance. Only the older group dances in red boots. This group is the only one allowed to perform at weddings. In Montréal, there is little access to Ukrainian dance supply shops, the closest being in Toronto. Dancers find the various fabrics where they can. Costumes are expensive to make,

name of the dances is often omitted. I have not been able to arrange enough successful interviews with representatives of this group.

[41] *Arkan* is a dance that is traditionally performed by men only. MUDE performed it in 2009 with both men and women.

[42] Annual performance by MUDE, directed by Donna Marunczak, Ukrainian National Federation Hall, Montréal, May 2009.

and the group tries to keep participation affordable. The lack of local Ukrainian seamstresses is also a factor in limiting the costume resources for MUDE.

Weddings are a big part of the group's performances. In most cases, the bride and/or the groom have Ukrainian ancestry and request having dancers perform as a part of a display of their ethnic background. Most of the time, dancers are invited to perform at the reception after dinner. Traditionally they are invited to join the crowd in the festivities and to drink and have desert with the guests. If the group is given money for performing, these funds are kept for the group. Dancers are never paid individually.

Besides weddings, MUDE participates yearly in the Saint-Jean Baptiste celebrations in Montréal's Chinatown.[43] MUDE is also active in Montréal's Ukrainian Festival, which is organized every year since 1999, in September. All activities are held at Parc de l'Ukraine in the Rosemont area. The Marunczak Ukrainian Dance Ensemble also organizes its own an annual show at UNO hall in May where most of the audience are members of the Ukrainian community.

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[43] Today, Saint-Jean Baptiste marks the celebration of Québec history, culture and French language. It is held on June 24th.

Figure 1 MUDE dancers at a wedding, 2004, Montréal. Courtesy of Ms. Halia Kotovych.

For many people, MUDE's style represents the 'real,' and 'authentic' Ukrainian dance in Montréal.

> I was more impressed with that dancing [MUDE's] than some of the stuff I've seen out West.   It seemed more authentic to the steps and things that I learned. […] [What Western Canadian Ukrainian dance groups do is] not really Ukrainian folk dancing![44]

Another former dancer asserts: " [Our dance] was creative to a certain extent but it wasn't theatrical. […] We were true to the dance […] They [the styles of dance] each have their own place, my preference is still traditional Ukrainian dance […]"[45] These two interviewees imply here that authentic dance, as they perceive it, is lost with theatricalization and spectacle.   Authenticity, in these cases, is linked to their personal dance background. What they learned as children dancing in the community is the 'real' Ukrainian dance in their minds.

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[44] Halia Kotovych, personal interview, Edmonton, October 2009.

[45] Christina Mota, personal interview, Montréal, January 2010.

Troyanda Ukrainian Dance Ensemble[46]

The second group, Troyanda Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, is often associated with Ukrainian Youth Association (CYM), because they use CYM hall space. They have rehearsals once a week on Sundays, sometimes at CYM, sometimes in rented dance studios. Classes include a ballet *barre* to warm the dancers' bodies up, and to gain technique and form. Sometimes a ballet teacher is hired to give a class. Group members speak Ukrainian, French, English and Spanish during practices.[47] Bohdan Klymczuk is the director of the group.

Troyanda has a varied repertoire formed by adapting available videos of dance groups like Shumka from Edmonton and Hromovytsia from Chicago.[48] The group has also learned some of its repertoire from Ukrainian and western Canadian dancers who visited Montréal and shared choreographies with Troyanda's members. The group performs both Hutsul and central Ukrainian numbers, as well as a gypsy dance and a theatrical humoristic *mise en scène* of Ukrainian village life. They have a *Pryvit* (welcoming dance) which is performed in central Ukrainian costumes and is organized like a *Hopak*. The group has three *Hopaks* in their repertoire but tend to perform the most recent more often. Girls also perform a lyrical dance called *Vinok*. The group has one male/female Hutsulian dance called *Hutsulky*, one all-female Hutsulian dance called *Girl's*

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[46] Recently re-named on its website "Troyanda School of Dance and Cinematography."

[47] New immigrants from Argentina joined the group few years ago.

[48] My informant could not remember the name of the dance group from Chicago. I suppose it is Hromovytsia.

Hutsul. Children perform *Kozachok*, a Hutsulian dance for boys and girls and a dance called *Karpaty*, which is a Hutsulian contemporary dance using a recording by the Ukrainian pop star Ruslana.[49] The group also has a humorous dance for children called *Varenyk* (dough dumpling). It tells the story of a *varenyk* that runs away from the old woman who baked it, then travels the world. Although the group did have Bukovynian and Transcarpathian dances in their repertoire, they no longer perform them.[50] The dances are performed to pre-recorded orchestral music, mostly published by other Canadian Ukrainian dance groups. Today, most of the dances show a strong frontal orientation, colour coded formation, canon of movements, etc.[51]

Figure 2 Troyanda dancers performing *Hopak* at Montréal Ukrainian Festival, 2002. http://www.troyanda.net/

One can see that Troyanda's dancers desire to increase the training in ballet technique and monumentality as a whole. Monumentality is hard to achieve

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[49] Kozachok is typically a central Ukrainian dance.

[50] Bukovyna is a region in western Ukraine. Transcarpathia is a part of the Carpathian Mountains located in western Ukraine as well.

[51] Montreal Ukrainian Festival, performance by Troyanda Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, directed by Bohdan Klymczuk, Parc de l'Ukraine, Montréal, September 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006.

however, since they are a small group of about 10 dancers. Thus, the results are not always as successful as the group wants. For example, we mentioned that Klymczuk was inspired by dances from videos of other groups. Those groups are formed of about 30, sometimes even more than 40 dancers. Their dances provide a powerful effect by the number of dancers on stage that perform the same movement. Monumentality is reached by the repetition of identical movements, the use of large straight lines and the impact of colors to communicate the effect of great size, power and order through dance. The use of monumentality is very effective in a group of 30 dancers but in the case of Troyanda, the four or five couples doing the dance hardly resemble the original aesthetics. In spite of their small number, the group pursues its goal to achieve a theatricalized aesthetics. Bohdan Klymczuk acknowledges the influence of groups such as Shumka and the Irish spectacular concert *Lord of the Dance*.[52] He aspires to have Troyanda perform very powerful dancing that carries a strong visual impact.

Troyanda's wardrobe includes central and western Ukrainian costumes, as well as a special one for their *Gypsy* dance. All costumes belong to the group though the dancers are responsible for providing their own embroidered blouse or shirt. The dancers made some of the costume accessories such as their Hutsulian moccasins and crowns of flowers (*vinky*). Most of the costumes have been made by professional seamstresses. Although they are made mostly of polyester or velvet polyester fabric, the costumes never include velcro or zippers. Such elements

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[52] Bohdan Klymczuk, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009; *The Michael Flatley Collection, 10th anniversary,* DVD, The Lord of the Dance (Universal Studios, 2004).

would provide an advantage when changing quickly from one costume to another, however the costume designers and dancers have chosen to keep to the "traditional" clips to fasten them.[53] Dancers wear boots that the group bought from the Angelo Luzio company. A few dancers own their own boots.

Like MUDE, Troyanda performs most often at weddings. Income received after a performance is divided equally among the performers. The dancers are also allowed to enjoy the sweets and drinks at the wedding. They also perform yearly at the Montréal Ukrainian Festival, the Santa Claus Parade as well as at the St. Patrick's Parade, where they have their own float and decorations. The end of the St. Patrick's parade is actually called *Ukraine on Parade* and features, in this order, a *korovai* (traditional bread) holder, Mister and Miss Ukraine, chosen from the community, in their respective sport cars, a float of dancers, and sometimes the Ukrainian student associations from McGill and Concordia Universities and the Ukrainian soccer club.[54] Sometimes, Troyanda organizes special projects such as organizing an annual show or a making a DVD. These performances involve a lot of props, dry ice special effects and, in the case of the DVD, long hours of editing.[55]

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[53] The clips were used in the past in the Montréal Ukrainian community to fasten the costumes. The exact date of their usage is not known but many dancers said it was the traditional way of making a costume *as opposed to using zippers or velcro.*

[54] *Ukraine* on Parade started about 10 years ago.

[55] *Ані тут ані там / Ani tut ani tam.* DVD, Troyanda Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, (Troyanda, 2008).

Figure 3 Troyanda dancers performing on a moving float during Montréal's St. Patrick's Parade, 2004. http://www.troyanda.net/

Mria

Formerly known as "Ми" (We), Mria is associated with St. Sophia Orthodox Cathedral and was created in 2005 by Elena Vaselenko. The group performs yearly at the Montréal Ukrainian Festival. Most members are newly arrived immigrants and are part of the Zustrich association that helps newcomers from Ukraine in Montréal. Although I have never seen the group perform, my interviewee said: "[…] it's a lot of the new kids who just arrived from Ukraine, so there is a lot of theatrical stuff [..]. They do hip hop too, […]"[56] The group's *résumé* announces that "traditional dance remains at the core of their performance but their repertoire includes other styles such as Latin dance, the tango and hip-hop."[57] Mria represents the new wave of immigration and perhaps a new style in

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[56] Mota, personal interview, Montréal, January 2010.

[57] Montreal Ukrainian Festival, "List of performers," http://www.ukefestmontreal.org/

dance that will increase its profile within the next few years in the Montréal Ukrainian community.

For all these groups, Ukrainian community performances are usually held outside on a small stage, in a community church or hall or in a reception hall. Having Ukrainian dancers is not unusual for Montréal's cultural events, for when such an event is planned, invitations are sent to all performing groups or associations. Therefore it is not uncommon to see folk dancers, cheerleaders, music bands or sport associations in such parades. These events enable the Ukrainian dancers to regularly perform in front of audiences outside the Ukrainian community. Beside the curious crowd walking by during city events, the performances will also attract members of the Ukrainian community and friends of the dancers.

Ukrainian dance is also performed by the International Folk Dance community. This other community of dancers have little contact with the Ukrainian dance community.

The International Folk Dance Movement

A few International Folk Dance groups exist in Montréal today. These groups include Les Sortilèges, Les Pieds Légers, Les Bons Diables and Les Éclusiers and others.[58] Most of the dancers are native Québécois and rehearsals are conducted in the French language. Those groups have their own dance schools and studios as well as their own wardrobe.

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[58] For more information about these groups and their organization please see their websites: "Les Sortilèges" http://www.lessortileges.com/, "Les Pieds Légers" http://www.piedslegers.qc.ca/, "Les Éclusiers" http://www.eclusiers.com/, "Les Bons Diables" http:// www.lesbonsdiables.ca/

These groups attract an audience consisting mostly of the dancer's family and friends or of a few knowledgeable people in the field of dance. The performances are held in small theatres and the dances are organized in what I call a 'mosaic' form. This mosaic is a way to present one choreography from one different country at a time, sometimes linked by a central motif, for example, a dancer travelling from country to country. The closure of the show generally highlights a traditional Québec gigue, which is the specialty of most International Folk Dance groups in Montréal. These dance groups mount a yearly show which closes the dancing season.

These groups always seem to have one or two Ukrainian folk dance choreographies in their repertoire, generally a *Hopak* and a lyrical dance. Most of the time, lyrical dances are organized in two parts. The first part presents women dancing to slow music. The second part introduces the men to the dance and is performed to a faster tempo. The latter is organized around solos, like a *Hopak*.[59] These dance groups always present these dances in costumes representing central Ukraine.[60]

These groups generally hire specialized choreographers to teach them new dances for their repertoire or use pre-existing choreographies, learned from a foreign authority. Typically, the dance authority (choreographer) has to have immigrated

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[59] See Spectacle "*Annual Show,*" VHS, Les Bons Diables, (Québec, 2002), Courtesy of Sarah Fatiso; *"Entre Croisées,"* DVD, Les Bons Diables, (Québec, 2008), Courtesy of Sarah Fatiso.

[60] Ukrainian dance is not the only ethnic dance that is represented. Mexican repertoire based on Moiseyev's dances is also used widely. African, Romanian, English, Amerindian, Inuit and Québécois dances are also quite popular.

from the country which the dance represents. The only exception is when the choreographer learned from another reliable source (a knowledgeable person from the country which the dance represents.) The choreographer plays the role of mediator and link between Québec and the other country. In that case, the geographic origin of the choreographer seems to be understood to assure the authenticity of the dance. The choreographer is the main contact with the foreign culture. The groups dance to recorded music taken from another famous group or choreographer and performed by an orchestra.

Within the International Folk Dance groups, males are gracious and handsome. They aspire to show a strong ballet technique, yet masculinity is presented through great strength and athleticism. Women are light and delicate figures that usually, convey an image of innocence.

The visual elements conform to what the dance groups of the USSR were performing in the 1950s to 1980s. Some of Montréal's most influential choreographers literally borrow a figure, step or complete song from those groups. For example, during Igor Moiseyev's *Ukrainian Suite*, couples jump over a fire.[61] This same pattern was used by Les Bons Diables in their *Vesneani Zabavi*.[62] This is one of many examples that illustrate how the groups who travelled from Eastern Europe to North America still have a strong influence on the Montréal international dance scene.

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[61] *Moiseyev: A Gala Evening*, DVD, The State Folk Dance Group of the USSR, (1989).

[62] *"Entre Croisées,"* DVD, Les Bons Diables, (Québec, 2008). Courtesy of Sarah Fatiso.

It is interesting that the International Folk Dance groups do see the importance of the Canadian multiculturalism policy as a leitmotiv for their performing art. Dance for them is a way to educate the masses about other cultural groups living in Montréal. In the choreographers' mind, anybody can represent a national group as long as it is done with 'authenticity' and respect. The question of authenticity is understood by this group, as 'being as close to the represented cultural tradition as possible.' Monik Vincent illustrates this point with comments about costumes for dance compositions.[63]

> Quand j'enseigne, j'essaie toujours de partir de l'histoire d'un peuple […] on doit expliquer le costume [aux danseurs]… on doit être très cautionneux et respectueux du costume; on ne t'habille pas juste là dedans parce que ça [le costume traditionnel] ressemble à ça! C'est toute un histoire qui est liée au costume […] représenter un pays est une grosse responsabilité.[64]

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[63] Monik Vincent was a dancer and later teacher for Les Sortilèges. She is now an independent choreographer and is responsible for choreographing dances for TV shows and musicals such as the Jewish classic *Fiddler on the Roof*.

[64] "When I teach, I always try to start from the history of the people […] we have to explain the [symbolism of the] costume [to the dancers]… we have to be very careful and respectful of the costume; you're not wearing it only because it's [the traditional costume] supposed to look like that! There's a whole history linked to the costume […] representing a country is a huge responsibility." Monik Vincent, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

Furthermore, dance is often seen as a way to communicate, learn and understand each other.

> […] on [les danseurs des Sortilèges] a développé une sensibilité envers, avec et pour les communautés culturelles. […] Si je fais une danse ukrainienne, je ne peux pas me permettre faire un danse ukrainienne sur scène avec des danseurs qui ne connaissent ni 'A' ni 'B' de la danse ou des Ukrainiens! […][65]

The choreographers working in the International Folk Dance Movements are concerned with authenticity, and believe that the dance is connected with other elements of the culture. Though they do research about the national costume, a slight change in it for stage purposes is acceptable.

While a national dance group might perform its folk dance repertoire for pride and political ideology in International Folk Dance groups the dancers do not identify themselves with the culture represented in the dance. The only dance that belongs to their current cultural tradition is the gigue Québécoise. Their goal is to imitate to an almost perfect level: " Je veux pas voir des Québécois qui danse de la danse ukrainienne, je veux voir des Ukrainiens sur scène!"[66] In this case, dance is used somehow for educational purposes on one hand and for the dancers' own pride in

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[65] "[…] we [Les Sortilèges' dancers] developed a sensitivity towards, with and for cultural communities. […] If I choreograph a Ukrainian dance, I cannot afford to stage a Ukrainian dance with dancers who know nothing about dance or about Ukrainians!" Jimmy Di Genova, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

[66] "I don't want to see Québécois dancing Ukrainian dances I want to see Ukrainians on stage!" Vincent, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

showing their versatility in so many different styles. Sometimes, the choice of dances for some specific performances are done to please an specific audience. For example, when Les Sortilèges travelled to Mexico, they learned the country's national dances and performed them in front of their Mexican audiences.[67]

Finally, television shows such as *Le Match des Étoiles* contributed to popularize dance. Some of the public's favorite dances were put on special edition DVDs.[68] One of these dances was a Ukrainian *Hopak* choreographed by Monik Vincent.[69]

Ukrainian dances are quite prominent in the Montréal dance scene. They are used by both Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians to display culture as performing art. A look at the past is necessary to understand how Ukrainian dance came to be used by these different linguistic and ethnic groups, and the specific strategies that each group uses to attain its goal.

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[67] Di Genova, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

[68] *Le Match des Étoiles* was a Québec television program based on the same concept as the American *Dancing With the Stars*. A contest is organized between celebrities who have to learn different styles of dance in a very short period of time. *Le Match des Étoiles* was presented between 2006 and 2009 on the station Radio-Canada.

[69] *Le match des étoiles: la danse c'est la vie*, DVD, Le Match des Étoiles, Radio-Canada (Québec: La Presse Télé, 2006)

History of Ukrainians in Montréal

Ukrainian immigration to Montréal occurred in three waves over time.[70] The immigration involving Ukrainians from Galicia and Bukovyna has been well documented. Immigration of Ukrainians from the Right Bank of the Dnipro River, a more central region, has been less documented.

Historical Context in Ukraine

At the time of the first major wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, in the late 19th century, the territory which constitutes today's Ukraine was divided between two different imperial powers. Galicia and Bukovyna were ruled by the Habsburgs of the Austro-Hungarian Empire while most of the rest of the territory was under the authority of the Russian Tsar.[71] The immigration from the Austro-Hungarian-ruled part of Ukraine is the most documented in Canada. This small part of Ukrainian territory served as the source for a large majority of Ukrainians in Canada. The immigration of Western Ukrainians into Québec follows a similar pattern to the rest of Canada.[72]

Galicia and Bukovyna experienced a massive emigration of peasantry at the end of the 19th century. The cause of the first wave of immigration to Canada was

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[70] A am aware that a large group of Ukrainian immigrants arrived after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, and a second one from South America in the past 5 or 6 years. Perhaps this could be seen as a fourth and fifth wave of immigration. Unfortunately, little has been published about these groups yet.

[71] Orest, Subtelny, *Ukraine : A History,* 3rd ed., (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 212.

[72] I put an emphasis on what was going on in Québec to remind the reader that this is the region I will focus on. It is in no way a political statement that try to demonstrate that Québec is a country.

essentially a result of a shortage of land, a deterioration of the lives of people and the denial of a democratic state.[73] While it first started as a seasonal migration to the Empire of Germany it later changed into a permanent large-scale emigration to trans-Atlantic countries such as Canada, the United States of America, and Brazil. Canadian economy and politics greatly influenced the mass-migration of the Galician and Bukovynian people. The later waves of immigration were provoked by the two Great Wars.

Historical Context in Canada

The 19th century Canada was characterized by a huge industrialization and economic growth that followed the painful depression of 1890. Some historians branded this industrialization as led by national colonial interests.[74] Seeking new people to colonize its distant lands, the Canadian government first employed immigrants to built the national railroad which eventually enabled populating of the West. "[Sir John A] Macdonald felt deep anxiety […] The American west was expanding rapidly and threatened to deprive the [Canadian] North-West of prospective immigrants."[75] The Canadian government offered a large piece of land at a small price to immigrants who would be willing to move to Canada. Canadian expansion happened at the same time as the worldwide price for

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[73] Ol'ha, Voitsenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada* 2nd rev ed. (Winnipeg: Printed by Trident Press, 1968), 10.

[74] Craig, Brown ed., *The Illustrated History of Canada* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1988), 378. For more on the topic see also Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991).

[75] Jaroslav, Petryshyn and L. Dzubak, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1985), 9.

products, especially agricultural products, was rising: "The value of wheat and wheat-flour exports rose from \$14 million in 1900 to \$279 million in 1920. Britain and Europe were by far the largest customers."[76] Thus the Canadian prairies were at the centre of a promising national economy and seen by many as the Canadian *El Dorado*. Furthermore, progress in technology and science helped increase the agrarian potential of the prairies.

Another aspect that promoted immigration was the decline in the price of maritime transportation.

> […]the increase in Europe-bound grain ship made passage for immigrants as a return cargo readily available. […] Since the recruitment of immigrants was, to a large extent, left in the hands of shipping companies, who received per-capita bonuses from the government, the availability of "unused capacity" was of major significance in the drive to populate the Canadian prairies and to create a labour force for mining, manufacturing, and construction industries.[77]

 An important character arose in Canadian immigration politics at the same time that these policies were established: Sir Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior in the cabinet of Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He turned to the centre, the east and the south of Europe to promote the availability of cheap land in Canada. His

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[76] Brown, *Illustrated History of Canada*, 383.

[77] Ibid., 385.

efforts were directed, among other things, to Eastern European countries. "His [Sifton's] agreement in 1889 with the North Atlantic Trading Company covered Ukrainians and other Eastern Europeans; it stipulated that the company would receive five dollars for each family head and two dollars for other family members it recruited.[78]

Research documenting the Ukrainian immigrants coming to Canada during this period is complex. Most Ukrainians of the time were not nationally conscious. Most documents describing immigrant arrivals called these people Galicians, Bukovynians, Russians, Austrians Ruthenians or Rusyns. The people coming in the first wave of immigration were not preoccupied with this issue, but were very concerned with getting through the obstacles that they experienced in their new country: finding good land and clearing it, the cold climate, alien language, great distances, isolation, illiteracy, discrimination, etc. The Canadian government let them settle relatively close to each other, as long as they followed the Canadian method of settlement, generally on quarter-section homesteads. Especially in Western Canada, this resulted in the formation of ethnic bloc settlements. In cities, ethnic enclaves developed.[79]

Ukrainians from the Right-Bank Ukraine, under tsarist rule, also came during the first wave of immigration. Most of them considered themselves "Little Russians" or simply Russians. They came to Canada as workers:

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[78] Vladimir J. Kaye and Frances, Swyripa, "Settlement and Colonization" in *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* edited by Manoly R. Lupul, 32-58. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982), 43.

[79] Ibid., 52.

Nearly all Ukrainians and Belarusans who left the tsarist empire before 1914 were temporary labour migrants, attracted by employment opportunities in the extractive and manufacturing industries of the western hemisphere. This made Russian Ukrainians different from their 'Ruthenian' neighbours in the Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna (western Ukraine), who entered Canada primarily as farmers, creating several bloc settlements on the Prairies.[80]

Most of the Right-Bank Ukrainians, who were from the regions of Volyn', Podillia and Kyiv, headed to large urban centres of Eastern Canada where manufacturing was expanding. Since farm labour wages were lower than any other field of employment and because it was only seasonal work, industrial occupations seemed more promising.[81] These immigrants rarely joined Ukrainian organizations or communities, thus they are hard to study. The traces they left are almost non-existent in places other than the Montréal, Vancouver and Halifax Russian consular missions. Just like the 'Ruthenians,' Ukrainians from Right-Bank Ukraine were targeted by Canadian policies to increase immigration. "

Under agreements concluded between the Russian American Line and Canada's two largest railway companies – the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk – Russian Passengers landing at

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[80] Vadim Kukushkin, *From Peasants to Labourers : Ukrainian and Belarusan Immigration From the Russian Empire to Canada* (Montréal, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 4

[81] Mamchur, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada," 47.

Halifax were, until early 1913, divided evenly between the GTR and CPR. Both companies paid the steamship line a ten-per cent commission for each forwarded passenger. Grand Trunk tickets could be purchased in advance through steamship agencies in Russia.[82]

Many temporary destinations were possible for the workers, though Montréal was the most popular, attracting 40%.[83] Like Ukrainians from Western Ukraine, Ukrainians from Right-Bank Ukraine settled in the city close to their peers. This general geographical situation enabled Ukrainians from Western Ukraine to initiate the first attempts at organizing the life in the community. However these attempts were minor and more intensive community organization occurred in a later period, when the second wave of Ukrainian immigration came, after the first World War.

The first World War enabled the Canadian economy to flourish but ethnic conflict overshadowed this growing period. In both Ontario and Québec, bilingual schools were creating problems within a society that saw bilingualism as a way to racial division.[84] The conflict between Anglophones and Francophones increased even more when the question of war involvement arose. The insinuation that French Canadians were not doing their part in the war effort contributed to a

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[82] Kukushkin, *From Peasants to Labourers,* 53-54.

[83] Vadim Kukushki,, "Ukrainian Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada: A Reappraisal" *Journal of Ukrainian Studies,* 28, no.1 (Summer 2003): 3.

[84] Brown, *Illustrated History of Canada*, 416-417.

general xenophobia problem. "The rhetorical level reached dangerous heights when nationalists like Henri Bourassa claimed that the real war was not being fought in Europe, but in Ontario where the "Boches" were threatening minority rights."[85] The war divided the population, for French Canadians had a hard time sharing the enthusiasm to fight as British citizens. Xenophobia also touched European immigrants and reached a critical point in Canada when, between 1914 and 1920, the government generated internment camps for enemy-nationalities.[86] A large number of the interned people were Ukrainians because they had emigrated from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was Canada's enemy during the war.

The second wave of immigration took place in the inter-war period, 1918-1939. Many European countries were devastated in the First World War and the Trans-Atlantic countries seemed to offer a safer alternative for many people who had seen their land destroyed by the fighting.

It is in this socio-political context that many Ukrainians came to Canada. Many settled in cities rather than embracing agriculture. The slump in the price of agricultural products between 1920 and 1922 perhaps contributed to their choice of settlement.[87] These new urban immigrants were more aware of their ethnicity and were definitely more nationalistic in character than those that immigrated

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[85] Ibid., 417.

[86] According to Lubomyr Luciuk, four of these camps were located in the province of Québec. Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *A Time for Atonement: Canada's First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians 1914-1920* (Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1988), 4-5.

[87] Brown, *Illustrated History of Canada*, 428.

before. "[…] they were well versed in the historical past of their country. […]
they [were not] confused as to their identity, a state of mind not shared by earlier
immigrants. They were inclined to urban living, and only a small number settled
permanently on farms."[88] The immigrants who came during this period had been
strongly politicized by the war that had just been fought.

Figure 4 Galicians immigrants arriving in Québec. National Archives of Canada, C-004745.

This Ukrainian national consciousness was in many senses the result of an
ideology that spread to Europe during the 18th and 19th century: ***Romanticism.***
First a revolt against Enlightenment, Neo-Classicism and the aristocratic values
they exemplified, Romanticism was about seeking emotion, spirituality, human
contact, exoticism and freedom.[89] A complex artistic, literary, and intellectual

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[88] Voitsenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, 13.

[89] Patricia Fride, R. Carrassat and Isabelle Marcadé, *Comprendre et reconnaître les mouvements
dans la peinture* (Paris: Bordas, 1993).; Claude Frontisi, *Histoire visuelle de l'art* (Paris:
Larousse, 200)1.; Rolf Toman, ed., *Néoclassicisme et romantisme: architecture, sculpture,*

movement, Romanticism happened largely after the Industrial Revolution and during the rise of urbanization. Its followers were seeking a simpler way of living, social reforms and a less 'mechanic and foreseeable' life. Influenced by the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Voltaire, the Romantics turned to the idealized past, nature and people. Romantics glorified the peasant and the belief that he was closer to nature, and used it to assert nationalism.[90] Romantic Nationalism became increasingly important in Ukraine starting in the second half of the 19th century. It was a political and cultural movement that was strongly connected to creating interest in Ukrainian language, folklore and tradition. For a nation under imperial rule, this ideology reasserts the importance and difference of one's culture. The early Romantics in Ukraine were mostly members of the intellectual elite. While the first wave of immigration brought mostly peasants to Canada, the second wave brought, as was noted earlier, more educated people. Furthermore, Romantic Nationalist ideology in Ukraine was greatly strengthened by the experiences of the First World War, the collapse of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and a short lived political manifestation of Ukrainian statehood. When the second wave of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Canada, they generally had these experiences as part of their intellectual baggage.

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peinture, dessin, 1750-1848 (Cologne: Köneman, 2000).; Helen Gardner, Fred S. Kleiner, Christin J. Mamiya, Richard G. Tansey, and Kings, eds., *Gardner's Art through the Ages: The Western Perspective* 11th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2003).

[90] Jean-Jacques Rousseau discuss the relation of peasants as 'pure' because closer to nature. They became known in popular culture as the 'Noble Savage.' See Jean-Jacques Rousseau. *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les Hommes, suivi de La Reine fantasque. Introd. et notes de Angèle Kremer-Marietti,* (Paris: A. Montaigne, 1973).

The second wave of Ukrainian Immigrants coming to Canada experienced the bebefits of a community that was already somewhat organized. Ukrainian Canadians had already built churches and community halls, Ukrainian newspapers. They had access to easier transportation, and higher education. It is during this period that Ukrainian dance was organized in Canada, as were other Ukrainian performing arts that are thought of as hallmarks of Ukrainian-Canadian identity.

Romanticism was an ideology that was growing in Québec and Canada too. In a new national aesthetic led by people like the Group of Seven, the question of national identity rose at the same time as many racial questions that surrounded Francophones and Anglophones, natives and immigrants. The 1920s were characterized by hope and promises that abruptly ended with the economic crash of 1929. The communist ideology and its party, founded in the 1920s, raised hopes among some for an equal society. During the economic crisis, the party got the support of the people who had lost their jobs in the mines or in the textiles industries where salaries were especially low. However, this group constituted a minority. Québec presented a similar situation: "[…] quelques partisans au Québec, mais très peu chez les francophones. En effet, le clergé condamne le socialisme sous toutes ses formes; il lui préfère le corporatisme, qui se pratique dans certains pays catholiques come l'Italie, le Portugal et l'Espagne."[91] The

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[91] "[…] few partisans in Québec but very little within the francophone groups. Indeed, the clergy condemns all forms of socialism and prefers corporatism that was practiced in some other Catholic countries like Italy, Portugal and Spain." Craig Brown, ed., *Histoire générale du Canada* (Montmagny: Éditions du Boréal, 1988), 544.

recession was changed by the outbreak of the Second World War. Canadians took part in the war with reluctance.

It took Canada several years to join the war of 1939-1945. The government wanted to keep its neutral position to help maintain national unity. Its own anti-communist feelings helped foster a *naïve* image of Hitler. "Hitler's authoritarianism and aggressive tactics might be questionable, but a stable Germany was desirable as a counterweight to the power of Stalin's Soviet Union. Better the Nazis than the Communists."[92] The war period brought back xenophobia. Again, the government created internment camps for "enemy aliens" (Germans and Japanese) and sent some of its own immigrant population there. While the post-war period produced a period of prosperity in Canada, the hard feeling against Germans, Japanese and the USSR remained in the minds of many.

The third wave of immigration from Ukraine came to Canada after the Second World War. The war created a favourable economic situation again and with most of Europe destroyed, the trans-Atlantic countries seemed more welcoming to immigrants. Coming from all strata of society, the Ukrainian immigrants of this period were mostly displaced persons who were strongly nationalistic, identifying themselves clearly as 'Ukrainians,' and strongly anti-Soviet. Many were hoping to return to their homeland eventually as an independent state. In 1945, Antony Hlynka, a member of the Canadian parliament, visited camps of displaced persons to familiarize himself with the reasons why so many Ukrainians refused to go

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[92] Brown, *Illustrated History of Canada*, 461-462.

back to Ukraine. Some expressed the political inclination of these immigrants: because they are Western-oriented people seeking freedom rather than dictatorship, because they wanted freedom of religion, because of the danger of the NKVD, because they were afraid to be deported to Siberia.[93] The general Canadian fear of communism helped support their ideology. The after-war period and its economic growth led to the baby boom and to the boom of consumption. In this context, entertainment such as literature, cinema, theatre and dance flourished.

The Ukrainian Community in Montréal

The settlement of immigrants in an urban context follows the movement and development of the industries that would employ them.[94] The first Ukrainians settling in Montréal chose areas such as Pointe St-Charles, Frontenac, Parc Extension, and Côte St-Paul, where industries flourished and rent was cheap.[95] Ukrainians in Montréal were mostly employed as unskilled labourers that were working in the steel factories, foundries, railway companies, abattoirs, rubber factories, gas plants and street work. Most Ukrainians who settled in Pointe St-

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[93] The NKVD, (Народный Комиссариат Внутренних Дел, Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del) or the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs was the name given to the police in the Soviet Union. It was later known as the KGB, (Комитет государственной безопасности, Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti) or Committee for State Security. Mykhailo H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* 2nd ed. (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (UVAN) in Canada, 1982), 561-562.

[94] Robert Lewis, *Manufacturing Montreal : The Making of an Industrial Landscape, 1850 to 1930* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Raoul Blanchard and Gilles Sénécal, *Montréal: esquisse de géographie urbaine* (Montréal: VLB, 1992).

[95] Côté, "Transplantation humaine," 29; Mamchur, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada," 63.

Charles worked in the metal sector.[96] In other areas of the city, men worked in the tobacco factories and women worked in clothing factories or in the cotton mills. The Boulevard St-Laurent (also called the Main or the Central Slum Area) attracted mainly single immigrants. This area was a corridor of immigrants separating the francophone from the anglophone communities. The corridor was also known for its high Jewish concentration.[97] The Montréal Ashkenazi Jewish community was important for the Ukrainian and for the dancing communities. Most Jewish people were from Eastern Europe and Germany and had knowledge of either German or one of the Eastern European languages, thus making communication easier with Ukrainians.   Furthermore, they were and still are consumers of Eastern European performing arts. The Ashkenazi Jewish families hired many unmarried Ukrainian women who lived on Boulevard St-Laurent to work for them as maids.[98]

> [The Frontenac area] became the central institutional area of Ukrainians. Even the temporary church erected on Paul street was abandoned for the new one on Iberville street. The central slum section, while retaining some of its former Ukrainian inhabitants, became a refuge for homeless men […]. The war boom in building construction, the gradual extension of the city north […] as well as industrial expansion in the same direction, were largely responsible for the beginning of the post-war [World War I]

[96] Lewis, *Manufacturing Montreal,* 149.

[97] Park Canada, "Boulevard Saint Laurent", http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/culture/proj/main/intro.aspx

[98] Mamchur, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada", 152.

Ukrainian settlement at Mile End and Park Extension. Opportunity for employment and the possibility of securing a detached home were important drawing factors. […] The Rosemont area, however, is mainly a second settlement area, composed of those who, having achieved economic success, have moved to new attractive homes of their own in an area which is almost exclusively residential.[99]

The Ukrainian settlements, as was previously stated, followed industries first. After the first church building was organized in Iberville, the community followed the construction of the churches, associations and halls. Since the churches and halls were not built in the industrial areas, this tended to disperse the Ukrainian community. Later Ukrainians settled in two other sections of the city; Rosemont and Ahuntsic. These were the suburbs where 'successful' Ukrainians lived. They were also desirable because the air is cleaner, one can cultivate a small garden and taxes are affordable.[100]

The Montréal Ukrainian elite essentially consisted of priests, ministers and teachers who tried to make the uneducated Ukrainians aware and proud of their ethnic background.[101] Churches and associations were the centre of activity of their urban settlements: "Each of these sectors [churches and organizations] of

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[99] Ibid., 68.

[100] Côté, "Transplantation humaine", 49-50.

[101] Ibid., 87.

Ukrainian society also maintains its own choir master and teachers of drama and music."[102]

For a long time, these geographically separate Ukrainian subcommunities functioned mostly independently from one another.

> You see, at that point, especially with public transit not being what it is today, the Lachine Ukrainian community was IN Lachine. We didn't know them, we had no contact with them. The Rosemont, St-Michel [of the 1950s] area was the Ukrainian community that I grew up with primarily but I knew nothing of what was going on in Lachine. It was very small pockets of Ukrainian community at that point.[103]

Montréal's Ukrainian community changed again during René Lévesque's mandate when the separatist question rose. It created a lot of tensions between separatist Québécois and the Ukrainian community.[104] "A lot of people [Ukrainians] left Québec because of the separatist question. When René Lévesque won, a lot of people left. The community changed drastically."[105] This situation affected Ukrainian dance, which declined during this period.

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[102] Ibid., 88.

[103] Mota, personal interview, January 2010.

[104] I mention separatist Québécois but I am aware that other minority groups, Francophone or not, might have supported separatism. This situation was not exclusive to Ukrainians. I mention only the Ukrainian community for the purpose of this research.

[105] Yurij Luhovy and Zorianna Hrycenko-Luhova, personal interview, December 2009.

History of Montréal Ukrainian Dance

Ukrainian Dance in the Ukrainian Community

First Organized Ukrainian Dance

Vasile Avramenko is the 'Father of Ukrainian national dance' for Ukrainians in North America. Although Ukrainian dance probably existed before, Avramenko serves as the starting point of reference for Ukrainian dancing in Canada. Because of his efforts and popularity, and also because he carefully documented his travels, his legacy has been preserved.

Figure 5 Vasile Avramenko, Postcard. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Avramenko was born in 1895 in Kyiv Oblast', when that part of Ukraine was part of the Russian Empire. Around the age of 20, he served in the Russian Army, and later in the Ukrainian Army. He attended the School of Dramatic Art in Kyiv. Avramenko studied under Vasyl' Verkhovynets, "a Galician-born expert on

Ukrainian dance, who was […] the author of *Teoriia ukrains'koho narodnoho tanku* (Theory of Ukrainian Folk Dance) [1919-20]."[106] He founded his first Ukrainian dance school in 1921. From this date on, Avramenko organized dance performances in Europe until he moved to Canada in 1925. It did not take long for him to repeat his well-received 'dance recipe' and to continue working for the national cause.[107] Avramenko moved to the United States in 1929 after extensively touring and teaching around Canada. His zeal for dance led him to create his own film production company (the Avramenko Film Company), to publish books, to teach, perform and travel extensively for the Ukrainian cause.[108]

The success in spreading the Ukrainian dance fever to Canada was, according to some researchers, due to "the charismatic personality of Avramenko, to his seemingly boundless energy and to his fanatical approach to Ukrainian dance."[109] Avramenko's dance classes followed a strong political agenda. Lectures about national dance preceded the dance classes and set a strong national ideology for his potential consumers. Dance was presented as the: " […] language through which we [Ukrainians] express our soul."[110] He spoke about patriotism and the

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[106] Martynowych, "Avramenko Chronicles to 1937," 4.

[107] Knysh, *Zhyva dusha narodu,* (1966); Pihuliak, *Vasyl' Avramenko a viddrodzhennia ukrains'koho tanku* (1979); Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada," (1977); Pritz, "Ukrainian Dance in Canada in the First Fifty Years" (1983); Balan, *Vasile Avramenko*, (2006); Martynowych, "Avramenko Chronology to 1937," manuscript (2009); Martynowych, "Avramenko Chronology from 1937," manuscript (2009); Martynowych, "All That Jazz!", (2003).

[108] Avramenko, *Ukrains'ki natsional'ni tanky,* (1947); Avramenko, *Ukrains'ki natsional'ni tanky,* (1928).

[109] Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada," 161.

[110] Ibid., 162.

necessity of children to learn national dances. He highlighted the Cossack as a symbol of an independent Ukrainian nation-state and dressed up like a Cossack for public appearances. Avramenko told stories about Cossack's adventures, provoking his students' imagination while still playing the knowledgeable figure. Lesya Pritz studied Avramenko's work methods. He would first produced a large public advertisement in an area he was planning to visit. As noted earlier, he began his program with a lecture to encourage 'patriotic duties.' He charged a modest set fee to cover classes. The community would support him in offering facilities to work, funds to rent halls, and lodging for the 'Maestro.'[111]

The first time the Avramenko School of Ukrainian Dance came to Montréal was on 13 January 1929, when Ivan Pihuliak, Avramenko's former student and active instructor, gave a nationalistic lecture named "The Renaissance of Ukrainian Folk Ballet" in the Frontenac Hall and later to the Shevchenko Hall.[112] A week after the lecture, on January 19, dance classes were organized in the same area. The classes, as the poster claimed, were offered to Ukrainians of "all religions and all political orientations."[113]

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[111] Ibid., 164

[112] Although Vasyl' Avramenko himself came several times to Montréal, it was mostly for administrative purposes. It is not clear if he ever taught dance in the city.

[113] "На курс вписатись можка всім Українцям вез ріжниці релігійного або політичного переконання" poster, National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond , MG 31 D87 vol. 22 file 84.

Figure 6 Poster announcing Avramenko's dance classes in Montréal, 1929, National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond, MG 31 D87 vol. 22 file 84.

Figure 7 Ivan Pihuliak. From Ivan Pihuliak, *Vasyl' Avramenko a vidrodzhennia ukrains'koho tanku*, 1979.

Classes were given two or three times a week for a period of two months. A repertoire of 18 different dances was announced and consisted of the following: *Hey, nu khloptsi do zbroi!*; *Tyzh mene pidmanula*; *Kozachok podil's'kyi*; *Kolomyika*; *Hopak*; *Zhuravel'*; *Chumak*; *Kateryna Khersonka*; *Arkan*; *Velykodna haïvka*; *Zaporozhets'*; *Metelytsia*; *Hrechanyky*; *Kolomyika zahal'na*; *Hony-viter*; *Vil'nyi hutsul*; *Hutsulyk*; *Zhenchychok*. This list of classes matches the repertoire published in Avramenko's books quite closely. Eighty six dancers are visible in one photograph of the school. Considering the number of classes (about 25 classes of 2 hours each, 12 focusing on dance steps and 13 on dances,) Pihuliak seemed to have taught about 1½ dances per class.[114] Teaching such a huge repertoire to such a large group of unskilled dancers, it seems that Mr. Pihuliak did not place high priority on advanced technical achievements in dance. "In his teaching, Avramenko preferred quantity rather than quality; it was in numbers that he measured his success. It was never his intention to turn out trained dancers, but to teach as many people as possible how to dance."[115]

The first dance school was located on the third floor of the Frontenac Hall in the east side of Montréal. The second school was possibly held in the Shevchenko Hall, in the west. It seemed that at the time when Pihuliak was teaching, another

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[114] Martynowych. "Avramenko to 1937," 103.

[115] Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada," 164.

Ukrainian dance class was being given by "Bolshevik instructors" who "charged less" and were teaching more dances.[116]

Pihuliak reportedly had trouble organizing dance schools in the city.

> The Ukrainian community in Montreal was deeply polarized along denominational lines. The Catholic priests had forbidden their parishioners to meet with or socialize with Orthodox Ukrainians. Pihuliak was penniless but would hold several lectures on Ukrainian dancing then try to register children for lessons in two schools.[117]

In addition, he had trouble getting paid by the students he had. At the end of January, he had to lower the cost of the dance registration because "workers in Montreal earned less than in other cities."[118] Pihuliak started to choreograph his own dances and it seems this added to the tension that was building between him and Avramenko.[119] At the time, Avramenko was supervising his Canadian legacy from New York City. By February, Pihuliak expressed the desire to close the school in the western part of the city and send the remaining students to the eastern one on Frontenac Street. It is unknown if the school did or did not close.

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[116] According to a letter from Pihuliak to Avramenko, the "Bolshevik" instructors taught 23 dances. National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond, MG 31, D 87, vol. 9, file 18.

[117] Martynowych. "Avramenko to 1937," 86.

[118] Ibid., 87; and National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond, MG 31, D 87, vol. 9, file 18.

[119] Ibid., 87.

Figure 8 Avramenko School of Dance in Montréal under Ivan Pihuliak, 1929. From Ivan Pihuliak, *Vasyl' Avramenko a vidrodzhennia ukrains'koho tanku***, 1979.**

In spite of the challenges, on April 14, 1929, the dancers were 'ready.' Pihuliak organized a show at Princess Theatre.[120] To his great consternation, the theatre had also booked Isadora Duncan the week following his performance and she was seen as a possible competitor. Pihuliak's show featured all his dancers, and solo numbers danced by himself. Although the performance was declared a success, Pihuliak did not make much money in Montréal. In April 1929, he joined Avramenko in New York. On July 31st 1929, Avramenko himself gave a lecture at the Ukrainian Orthodox Hall in Montréal. Pihuliak returned to Montréal several times but it is unknown if he or Avramenko ever taught dance there again. After Pihuliak left, numerous official and unofficial dance lessons were organized in the city by some of his students. Very little of this "post-Pihuliak period" has been documented up to the 1940s.

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[120] Princess Theatre was located on rue Sainte-Catherine in downtown Montréal. The theatre was well known since Houdini performed there in 1926.

Figure 9 Picture from a poster announcing UNO's dance concert, 1945, UNO's Archives, Montréal.

Dance in Prosvita Reading Society

It appears that Ivan Pihuliak also taught dance in the Prosvita Reading Society on Pointe St-Charles in 1929, at least for part of the run of the school. It is probable that dance lessons were organized in the different Ukrainian associations some time after the 1929 Princess Theatre performance, but almost nothing between 1929 and 1940s seems to have been documented.[121] Although the exact date is unknown, some of the subsequent oldest organized lessons were held in the Prosvita hall. In that facility, Anna Shtym and later Teodor Zalopaniy gave dance lessons.[122] By 1940, classes were given by Ivan Burych and his group performed

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[121] M. Prokaziuk, personal interview, Montréal, December 2009.

[122] Provista's records spell his name 'Teodor Zal'opanyi.' Many other different spellings are used as well. For this thesis and to avoid confusion, I use the modified Library of Congress transliteration system. Mariia, Davydovych, ed., *Zolotyi iuvilei tovarystva 'Prosvita' im. Tarasa Shevchenka v Montreali—Point St. Charlz* (Pointe St-Charles: "Prosvita" im. Tarasa Shevchenka v Montreali, 1963), 183.

at Monument National in 1940.[123] Pavlo Yavorsky also taught at Prosvita from 1938 until 1943, then Stefan Palij took over the dance classes from 1943 to 1955. Circa 1948, dance classes were also taught by Ivan Obukh.

Ivan (John) Obukh came to Canada in 1926 from Ukraine and soon started dancing in Prosvita, Pointe St. Charles with Avramenko's students: Teodor Zalopaniy, John (Ivan) Burych, Pavlo Yavorsky.[124] He mastered Avramenko's dances and soon became an instructor.[125] "Mr Obuch has loyally tried to follow Avramenko's school and system of dancing since that is the school and system in which he himself was trained and raised."[126] He was the main instructor of Ukrainian dance in 1954 when rehearsals were organized for one of Avramenko's shows called *Glory to Canada*.[127] Those classes were given at Prosvita in Pointe Saint Charles.

By 1963, Obukh was conducting three different schools; at Prosvita in Pointe Saint Charles, in Prosvita Lachine, as well as at the Hall of the Ukrainian Catholic Parish. By 1957 the dance instructor at Prosvita was Edward Dorozhowsky Sr.,

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[123] Monument National was build in 1893. It is located on Boulevard St-Laurent.

[124] Initially from Winnipeg, Pavlo Yavorsky worked under Avramenko as one of his instructors. He travelled extensively across Canada and was sent several times to Montréal. For more information about Pavlo Yavorsky, see: Darene Roma Yavorsky and Donna Yavorsky, eds., *'Show Them What You Can Do'~ Building the Ukrainian Spirit Across Canada: An Illustrated Biography of Pavlo Romanovich Yavorsky* (Hensall: SUS Foundation of Canada, 2008).

[125] Edward Dorozhowsky, personal interview, Montréal, December 2009.

[126] Program of the 45th anniversary of Vasil' Avramenko at Plateau Hall-Lafontaine Park, 27 October 1963. National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond, MG 31 D87 vol. 14 file 54.

[127] The event was sponsored by the Ukrainian National Federation (UNO/UNF) and the Ukrainian Folk Dance Jubilee Committee that was organizing the 25th anniversary of Ukrainian dance in America.

another former student of Avramenko School of Dance, who replaced Obukh while he was away.[128] It appears that activities at the Prosvita halls declined during the 1970s and eventually stopped.

Figure 10 Ivan Obukh. From Program of the 45th anniversary of Vasil' Avramenko at Plateau Hall-Lafontaine Park, October 27th, 1963. National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond, MG 31 D87 vol. 14 file 54.

Figure 11 Viktor Hladun. From Program of the 45th anniversary of Vasil' Avramenko at Plateau Hall-Lafontaine Park, October 27th, 1963. National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond, MG 31 D87 vol. 14 file 54.

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[128] Biega,. *Litopys Ukraintsiv v Kvebeku*, 27.

Dance in the Ukrainian Youth Association (CYM)

The earliest accounts of dance classes in the Ukrainian Youth Association (CYM) concern Viktor Hladun, a Ukrainian who immigrated first to Louvain, Belgium after World War II, and then to Montréal in 1952. Hladun participated in theatre and staged events in Ukraine and attended the Royal Opera of Liege, Belgium. Hladun had classical dance training and had a general interest in folk arts. In 1953, he started teaching in CYM and choreographing his own numbers: *Night in May*, *Dance of the Fairies*, *Persian Bazaar*, *Dolls*.[129] During the 1950s, this group was named Poltava. The group stopped its activities when Hladun moved away from Montréal.[130]

Figure 12 *Dolls* **by Viktor Hladun, 1950s. Courtesy of Ms. Halia Brodowych.**

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[129] Program of the 45th anniversary of Vasil' Avramenko at Plateau Hall-Lafontaine Park , 27 October 1963. National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond , MG 31 D87 vol. 13 file 36.

[130] The exact date of his departure is unknown.

Figure 13 *Persian Bazaar* **by Viktor Hladun. Courtesy of Ms. Halia Brodowych.**

Figure 14 Ballet choreography by Viktor Hladun. Courtesy of Ms. Halia Brodowych.

In the 1970s, dance in CYM was revived as *Ukraina* by Eric Kies, who later danced in Kalinka (see below). Dance lessons would sporadically stop and start again, depending on the availability and willingness of a knowledgeable instructor. Oles Tsap and Mr. Yakimiw were dance instructors there as well for a

time.[131] By the 1980s no more classes were available in CYM. In 1989, Bohdan Klymczuk revitalized dance instruction at CYM again, when he and some former dancers from the Marunczak Ukrainian Dance Ensemble (MUDE) created a new group that is still active today: Troyanda.

Dance in the Ukrainian National Organization Hall (UNO)

The earliest account of Ukrainian folk dance at the Ukrainian National Organization Hall (UNO) dates from 1936 under the direction of Antin Chaykovs'kyi.

Figure 15 UNO's dance group under Antin Chaykovs'kyi, circa 1936. UNO's Archive, Montréal.

[131] Apparently there were two brothers named Yakimiw who were active in the Montréal Ukrainian dance community. One of them, Evhen was the leader of Konoply. I was not able to learn the first name of the Mr. Yakimiw teaching in CYM. Yurij Luhovy and Zorianna Hrycenko-Luhova, personal interview, Montréal, December 2009; Klymczuk, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

One of Montréal's greatest leaders in Ukrainian dance, Peter Marunczak Sr., started his early dancing in UNO.[132]   Marunczak participated in the *Ukrainian Cavalcade*, a series of Ukrainian variety show presented across Canada by UNO after World War II.[133]

He eventually assembled dancers from various associations and by 1954 he was the main instructor of his own group. The year 1954 coincides with Avramenko's Montréal show *Glory to Canada*, which most certainly provoked a new interest in folk dancing.[134]

Figure 16 "First dance group -formed in 1945." Peter Marunczak is in the first row, center. UNO's Archives, Montréal.

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[132] Peter Marunczak Sr. was born in Ukraine. He immigrated with his family to Canada when he was five years old. He started dancing at age seven. See "Marunczak Ukrainian Dance Ensemble" http://www.marunczak.com/   Although many of my interviewees asserted Peter Marunczak Sr. learned to dance at the Avramenko school of folk dance, I could not confirm this information.

[133] Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada," 220.; and *Ukrainian Cavalcade* Program, Plateau Auditorium, 6 December 1947, Montréal, UNO Archives.

[134] I was not able to confirm whether Avramenko himself was in Montréal in 1954 or if he taught dance then. *Glory to Canada* program, 28-29 May 1954, National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond, MG 31 D87 vol. 14 file 12.

For a few years, Peter Marunczak Sr. had a monopoly of Ukrainian folk dance instruction in Montréal. During the 1950s he gave dance classes at the Ukrainian Saturday school (*Ridna shkola*) and in churches, continuing the legacy of Chaykovs'kyi. The Marunczak Ukrainian Dance Ensemble (MUDE) website asserts that he learned both folk and character dance from instructors such as Ludmilla Cheriaeff, the founder of Les Grands Ballet Canadiens de Montréal, and Elizabeth Leese.[135] He also attended Winnipeg's Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre for Ukrainian Summer School.[136] Marunczak re-interpreted the traditional folk dance that was known in Montréal: "The steps Mr. Marunczak uses for his dances are basically of the Avramenko School but the majority of the dances are of his own creation and composition, often most lively and intricate. He thus relies mostly on his own choreography."[137] Marunczak was seen as perhaps the most important character for Ukrainian dancing in Montréal until his death in 1990. He made many major public appearances and he took on important responsibilities with major events such as Expo 67 (the Universal Exhibition). His repertoire included *Hul'visy* (The Gay Cavaliers), *Hamova* (Persisting), *Holubchyk*, *Kosari* (The Harvesters), *Zalytsiannia* (Flirtation Dance), *Lastivka* (Swallow) and *Hopak*.[138] In addition to those dances, his group also performed

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[135] "Marunczak Ukrainian Dance Ensemble" http://www.marunczak.com/

[136] The exact date of his participation to the Summer School is unknown. Program of the 45th anniversary of Vasil' Avramenko's at Plateau Hall-Lafontaine Park , 27 October 1963. National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond , MG 31 D87 vol. 14 file 54.

[137] Program of the 45th anniversary of Vasil' Avramenko's at Plateau Hall-Lafontaine Park, 27 October 1963. National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond , MG 31 D87 vol. 14 file 54.

[138] Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada," 188.

Chumak, *Arkan*, *Hrechanyky*, *Kateryna*, *"So You Fooled Me"*, *Zhentsi*, *Zaporozhets'* and *Hutsulka.*[139]

Figure 17 Peter Marunczak performing a split jump, 1960s. Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau and Les Sortilèges' Archives.

Dance in the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA)

Another group that was very active was the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association.[140] This association had communist orientation and was very active in cultural productions of all kinds: dance, theatre, choirs and music. As early as 1927, the ULFTA already included some dances along with their musical performance.[141] This concert then, may have been the setting for the first Ukrainian staged dance performance in Montréal. On 10 September 1927, the Prince Arthur Hall in Montréal staged "An Evening of Ukrainian Folk Dance" by

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[139] Programs *Ukrainian Concert Time*, Monument National; *B'nai B'rith Brotherhood Week*, 12 February 1967, Université de Montréal, UNO Archives, Montréal; Di Genova, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

[140] Petro Kravchuk, *The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada (1907-1918)* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1979); Petro Kravchuk, Mary Skrypnyk and John Boyd, eds., *Our History : The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Movement in Canada, 1907-1991* (Toronto: Lugus, 1996).

[141] Krawchuk, *Our Stage,* 83.

students of the school, directed by Stanley Weir.[142]   Because of its political

inclination, the association was often persecuted.

> ULFTA drama groups had to overcome other problems as well.
> The chief of police in Montréal censored the plays presented on the
> Ukrainian worker stage. It was enough for him to hear that the
> ULFTA drama group was going to present a play at the Prince
> Arthur Hall to put a ban on the production.[143]

In 1940, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) shut down the ULFTA.

Former members founded the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians

(AUUC) in 1942.   This new organization was literally a continuation of the

previous association with similar ideals.

**Figure 18 Ukrainian dancers, His Majesty's Theatre, Montréal, 1940s (probably 1946.)
Archives nationales du Québec, fonds Conrad Poirier, P48,S1,P13818.**

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[142] Krawchuk, *Our Stage*, 86.

[143] Ibid., 105.

In 1946, a delegation from Soviet Ukraine came to Canada. The final stop of the delegation's tour of Canada was in Montréal. A concert was held for them at His Majesty's Theatre on August 31 featuring dancers, musicians and singers.[144] The following year, a Ukrainian Festival was held in Ville La Salle (Montréal). On June 3 1951, the Quebec Provincial Festival of Ukrainian Song, Music and Dance was held in Verdun by the AUUC. The most popular dances were reportedly *Arkan*, *Hopak kolom* and *Viz* (The Wagon).[145] In 1961 a concert celebrating the 100th anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's death was held at Victoria Hall on April 14. It combined dances and songs.[146] After World War II, a number of dance instructors from the association attended the Choreographic Institute in Kyiv in Soviet Ukraine.[147]

Other Dance Groups

The *Zaporizhs'ka Sich* Association also offered dance lessons. The first account of dance there dates from 1933 when Teodor Zalopaniy, one of Avramenko's students in Montréal, wrote to him to announce he was appointed the dance instructor for the Sich.[148] By 1934, Zalopaniy had 80 students.[149] No other information was found beside an undated photograph of a Hopak.

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[144] Ibid., 170.

[145] Ibid.,206-207.

[146] Ibid., 261-285.

[147] Ibid., 382.

[148] Martynowych. "Avramenko to 1937," 168.

[149] Ibid., 177.

By 1973 a folk dance group appeared directed by Evhen Yakimiw: Konoply Ukrainian Dance Ensemble. This group was formed for the purpose of a show called "The Family Circle," a major performance that included dancers, choir, orchestra, and a drama group.[150] The performance was presented at Sir George Williams University on March 25, 1973.[151]

In the early decades of the Ukrainian dance activity in Montréal, instructors organized "schools" of a limited duration. Dancers enrolled for a limited number of classes, often leading to a performance, and then the school's term would end. These classes were generally publicized only in the Ukrainian community, and so most of the dancers were from within the community as well. "[In the 1950s] Peter Marunczak [Sr.] was teaching Saturday afternoon at the Ukrainian school […] we did not have to be part of the language school to dance […] it was not a question of wanting to dance, it was just what everybody did."[152] The formation of permanent 'groups' or 'ensembles' appeared only later in the Ukrainian dance and the International Folk Dance communities.[153] Lesya Pritz explains: "Unlike earlier dance groups to whom stage presentations were secondary to the cultural, educational and social objectives of their parents organizations, the ensembles

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[150] *The Family Circle* program, 25 March 1973. National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond, MG 31 D87 vol. 14.

[151] Sir George Williams University and Loyola College joined in 1974 and are today known as Concordia University. The two different campuses kept their name.

[152] Mota, personal interview, Montréal, January 2010.

[153] For a deeper analysis of the formation of permanent 'groups' or 'ensemble'. See Pritz, "Ukrainian Dance in Canada in the First Fifty Years", 137-148.

were primarily performing companies."[154]   The concept of group appeared somewhere during the late 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s. At that time, the big professional dance companies from Eastern Europe started touring Canada and dancers wanted to imitate them. It is during this period too that non-Ukrainian International Folk Dance groups start getting seriously organized. These groups involved Québécois and dancers of other ethnic origins. They performed dances from all around the world.

Ukrainian Dance in the International Folk Dance Movement

The International Folk Dance community started when folk dance became a fashionable activity in Québec.[155]   Under the strict conservative politics of Maurice Duplessis, Québec medical and educative institutions were controlled by the Roman Catholic church. Folk dance was tolerated because there was not too much physical contact and the dances were more 'innocent.' "Ce qui était très mal vu aussi [avec le Swing et la Rock n' Roll] c'est le 'plain.' […] Si on le dansait, on devait être à une certaine distance [de sa partenaire]."[156] Québec nationalism was growing and the popularity of Québec's 'national' dances in the International Folk Dance groups was related to that nationalism.

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[154] Alexandra Pritz, "The Evolution of Ukrainian Dance in Canada," in *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians,* ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: CIUS, 1984), 89.

[155] For more information about how this movement started in the United States, see Anthony Shay, *Dancing Across Borders: The American Fascination with Exotic Dance Forms* (Jefferson, London: McFarland, 2008).

[156] "What was also not tolerated (with Swing dance and Rock n' Roll) was the 'slow dance'. […] if you danced it you needed to keep a specific distance [from your female partner]." Di Genova, personal interview, Montréal, July 2009.

Figure 19 "Folkmown" (a week-end of folk dance), 1960s, Montréal.   Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau.

Les Feux Follets

Les Feux-Follets was formed in 1952 by Michel Cartier.[157] "The patriarchal Duplessis government, in combination with the Catholic Church, led a cloistered society just waiting for a revolution. For a good Catholic boy, folk dances held in the local parish were a suitable background for mingling with the opposite sex."[158] The group was named after the beliefs about fireflies in Québécois folklore. In 1957, Cartier was asked to judge a folk dance competition in the USSR. Eventually, Les Feux-Follets developed a repertoire of 100 dances, including

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[157] Amy Bowring, "Les Feux-Follets: A Canadian Dance Enigma," in *Dance Collection Danse Magazine*, issue 60, (Fall 2005), 16.

[158] Ibid.

Ukrainian dances.[159] I found one program announcing they were presenting a *Hutsulski kozachok*. They became the official dance group of Expo 67.[160]

La Troupe Nationale de Danses Folkloriques Les Sortilèges

This group started in 1966 as an after-school activity offered by Saint Stanislas high school and existed until they officially became Québec's National Dance Group of International Dance. The founder of Les Sortilèges explains how he first started to teach Israeli dances: "[Israël] c'était à la mode […] ça correspondait à une époque où l'ideal de la jeunesse c'eat Israël; le nouveau pays, le pays qui fait couler l'eau et le miel dans le desert."[161] With the influence and popularity of groups like The Red Army Chorus and Moiseyev, as well as the contacts with Peter Marunczak Sr., Ukrainian dance was added to the repertoire of the group in its first years of existence. The first dances to be added to the repertoire were *Arkan*, *Chumak* and *Hrechanyky*. It was easy for the International Folk dancers to learn the Ukrainian dances, because Ukrainian dance was already established in Montréal with its dancers and dance leaders. Furthermore, high schools were enabling youth of different background to interact. In the case of Les Sortilèges, young Ukrainians dancing with Peter Marunczak Sr. taught their schoolmates some of Avramenko's choreographies that Marunczak was using at

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[159] Ibid. There is no information as to which Ukrainian dances they were performing.

[160] See also Amy Bowring, "Les Feux-Follets Part II: Popularizing Canadian History," in *Dance Collection Danse Magazine*, issue 61, (Spring 2006), 28-35.

[161] "[Israel] was in fashion […] it corresponded to an era where Israel was an ideal for the youth: it was the new country, the country that poured water and honey from the desert." Di Genova, personal interview, Montréal, July 2009.

the time.[162] In the 1980s a former dancer from the Soviet Union, Mikhail Berkut, was hired to teach the group a new *Hopak*.[163] While the director and founder of the dance troupe at the time, Jimmy Di Genova, was not completely satisfied with the result, the dance has remained in their repertoire.[164]

Kalinka

The Montréal dance scene changed in the 1980s when Mikail Berkut came to Québec and became active in folk dance. Berkut was " […] a Ukrainian Jew… finished choreography institute and came to Canada; he knew there was a lot of immigrants and a lot of wealthy Ukrainian Jews and huge community, that wanted to learn about their 'roots.'"[165] Berkut opened Les Ballets Russes de Montréal, a ballet school specializing in Russian style ballet. With his best students, he formed an Eastern European dance group named Kalinka.[166] Based on the style of the state sponsored dance troupes of the USSR, except with a smaller cast, Berkut offered a dance and music show to the public with live musicians, singers and dancers. Just like the state sponsored dance troupes, his repertoire presented many cultures from the USSR and finished with a Russian choreography to the song Kalinka.[167] His group performed few Ukrainian dances: a *Kozachok*, a

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[162] Di Genova, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

[163] Ibid.

[164] Ibid.

[165] Rick Wacko, personal interview, Montréal/Salt Lake City, December 2009.

[166] Pierre Hardy, personal interview, Montréal, July 2008.

[167] Berkut, Mikhail, *Character Dance*, VHS, Kalinka, (Québec: Kalinka) 1985.

Hopak and an *Encore* to the *Hopak*. The group was constituted of about 10 to 12 dancers.

Kalinka lasted for three to four years before fading away, not because of a lack of interest but because of a lack of funds.[168] During that time, they organized several performances and enjoyed some popularity. The dance school Les Ballets Russes de Montréal closed too.

Figure 20 Kalinka performing *Hopak*. Soloist: Pierre Hardy. Montréal, circa 1984. Courtesy of Mr. Pierre Hardy.

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[168] Hardy, personal interview, Montréal, July 2008.

Figure 21 Poster announcing Kalinka, unknown date. Courtesy of Mr. Richard Wacko.

Special Events in the Dance Community

The dance community was certainly influenced by some events that raised the profile of Ukrainian dance in Montréal. One of them was a visit by Avramenko to Montréal on 27 November 1938 for the promotion of his film *Zaporozhets' za Dunaiem*.[169] The film *Marusia* was screened at the Arcade Theatre in 1-3 December 1938.[170] *Zaporozhets' za Dunaiem* was screened in Montréal on 16 December 1938.[171] Avramenko delivered a presentation about Ukrainian dance

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[169] Martynowych, "Avramenko from 1937," 48.

[170] Arcade Theatre was located on rue Ste-Catherine on the east end of Montréal. It was open from 1915 to 1950.

[171] Martynowych, "Avramenko from 1937," 56.

and nationalism before the movie that lasted more than an hour.[172] The movie *Zaporozhets' za Dunaiem* was screened for a second time the following year at the Arcade Theatre. After 1938, Avramenko was rarely seen in the city. Because of several debts, local public opinion was very hostile to his person.[173] One can read in a letter to Avramenko from one member of the community: "Справа супорти Вашої особи тут між громадянами дуже противна, всьо ж як ті дикі коти на Вашу особу [...] кажуть Авраменко брехав а я побріхував, і витягав гроші від людей, на вічне виддання [...]"[174]

For Avramenko's 45th anniversary in 1963, a special show was produced. Performances were organized by Viktor Hladun, Ivan Obukh and Peter Marunczak Sr. at Plateau Hall-Lafontaine Park. They performed mostly Avramenko's repertoire as well as their own dances. Other dance schools or instructors may have also participated in that event. Avramenko was personally invited but it is not clear if he attended.[175]

An important event, the Universal Exhibition – Expo 67 – brought the Ukrainian and the International Folk Dance communities together. Expo 67 was an opportunity for both dance communities to perform. The large number of

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[172] Ibid., 61.

[173] Ibid., 62.

[174] "The situation regarding your person here is quite negative. They are like wild cats against you […] they say that Avramenko lied and I repeated small lies, and took money from people, to be returned after eternity […]" Letter from Mr. Vozniak to Avramenko, 20 January 1939, National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond, MG 31, D 87, vol. 4, file 14.

[175] Ibid., 135.

international visitors coming for the exhibition were eager to learn and see different ethnic communities, and ethnic dances were an important attraction.[176]

Running from April 28th to October 27th 1967 with the theme 'Man and His World', the exposition was located on 400 hectares of man-made islands in the St Lawrence River adjacent to Montréal. It involved six theme-pavilions, 48 national pavilions, four provincial pavilions, as well as 27 private-industry and institutional pavilions. It also had a 54-hectare entertainment complex (called La Ronde) of theatres, midway attractions, bars, and restaurants, as well as numerous bandshells, open-air stages, plazas, and small theatres scattered throughout the site.[177] During its run, 6000 free concerts were organized as well as another 672 indoor events featuring 25,000 performers. Expo 67 received enormous media attention and celebrities such as Queen Elizabeth II, Marlene Dietrich, Jackie Kennedy and General Charles de Gaulle brought an aura of glamour to the event. Expo 67 acted as a tool for educating the masses and even after its closure, the craze for ethnic consumption remained.

While Ukraine was not an independent country at this time, it was still visibly represented throughout the event. Singers, for example, were announced as

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[176] *Expo 67; the Memorial Album of the First Category Universal and International Exhibition Held in Montreal from the Twenty-Seventh of April to the Twenty-Ninth of October, Nineteen Hundred and Sixty-Seven* (Canada: Nelson, 1968); Expo 67 (Montréal, Québec); *Theatre and Bandshell: Performances* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967).

[177] Thomas C. Brown, Expo 67 in *The Canadian Encyclopedia/ The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada.* http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/ (accessed February 2010)

Soloistes de l'Ukraine.[178]   Furthermore, the Ukrainian diaspora was actively involved during Expo. Les Feux-Follets was the official Canadian folk dance company of the event and performed twice a day. Like Les Sortilèges, which regularly performed at Place des Nations, they presented their repertoire that included the gigue québécoise, Israeli, Ukrainian, and other ethnic dances. The Marunczak Ukrainian Dance Ensemble also performed regularly.   Finally many Ukrainian folk dance groups from all around Canada traveled to Expo 67 and performed there.

Eastern European diaspora communities were represented prominently because of the Cold War and the general anti-communist feeling. Peter Marunczak Sr. was able to negotiate a *Ukrainian Week* at the Exposition. "A lot of the first days of Expo were dedicated to specific countries. Ukraine was the only country of the Soviet Bloc that had its own day and surely Peter had something to do with that… we [MUDE] performed there weekly."[179]

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[178] Program *Soloistes de l'Ukraine*, Place-des-Arts, Montréal, August 1967, Bibliothèque de la danse, Montréal.

[179] Mota, personal interview, Montréal, January 2010.

Figure 22 Les Sortilèges performing *Chumak* Expo 67, Montréal. Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau and Les Sortilèges' Archives.

Figure 23 Les Sortilèges performing *Hrechanyky* at Expo 67, Montréal. Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau and Les Sortilèges' Archives.

Expo 67 was an opportunity for all of Montréal's ethnic communities to participate in the event and represent their nations to the world. A special Ukrainian women's committee organized the Ukrainian Week from July 24 to July 28. Twice daily, the public could see a fashion show that presented historical and national costumes of Ukraine, Ukrainian songs, Ukrainian musicians, children's opera, Ukrainian dances, demonstrations of *pysanky* making, wood carving, embroidery, presentations of the film *Treasures of Ukraine,* a display of

35 dolls in Ukrainian costumes, and exhibits of books, art, sculpture, handicrafts and historical church artifacts from Ukraine.[180]

Ukrainian Week was run by the Catholic and Orthodox Ukrainian associations while the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC) was completely excluded. AUUC performers did make presentations during Expo, but generally this pro-Soviet organization was marginalized.

Peter Marunczak greatly increased the opportunities for exchange between the Ukrainian dance and the International Folk Dance communities through dance events of all sorts. He played the role of mediator between both communities, helping his own group to gain exposure outside of the Ukrainian community. By 1967, Viktor Hladun, John Obukh and other important dance leaders of the 1950s had ceased their activities. When Marunczak started initiating contacts with the International Folk Dance groups, their Ukrainian repertoire consisted of Avramenko's dances. Marunczak also created his own choreographies. For example, Ms. Mota remembers a Caucasian dance choreographed by Marunczak and performed by girls only, dressed as men.[181] None of these novelties were taught to Les Sortilèges. Finally, Mikhail Berkut joined the dance scene in the 1980s and brought his own vision from Ukraine.

Ukrainian dance as a whole created a taste for Eastern Europe that was stronger than had existed before in Montréal. Montréal had restaurants like 'Kalinka,'

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[180] *Canadian Ukrainian Week*—Natural Gas Hospitality Pavilion, Expo 67' Program, National Archive of Canada, Avramenko Fund, MG 31 D87 vol. 13 file 26.

[181] Mota, personal interview, Montréal, January 2010.

'Troïka' and 'Café Sarajevo' that offered and still offer a wide range of Eastern European food, featuring musicians and sometimes dancers. Furthermore, each year since 1999, a Ukrainian Festival is organized in Montréal.

Ukrainian dance in Montréal started with Avramenko's aesthetics, dominant for a long period. An important shift in aesthetics occured in the 1950s. Teachers like Peter Marunczak Sr. used Avramenko's steps to create new dances. Other instructors in that period, like Viktor Hladun, were new immigrants from Ukraine. They added elements of classical ballet and new choreographies such as the *Gypsies*, the *Persian Bazaar* and *Dolls*. These dances engaged new aesthetics, based on different theatrical techniques, having the dancers face directly out to the audience more often, using identical costumes, increasing the use of acrobatics, and other practices. The change in aesthetics coincided with the tours of the state sponsored dance groups from Eastern Europe in North America. In the 1980s, Montréal Ukrainian dancers shifted aesthetics again, embracing the more spectacular ideals that were displayed by the Soviet state sponsored dance groups.

The National Dance Paradigm

Dance can have a variety of styles or paradigms, each focusing around different priorities of the given dancing community. Literature on Ukrainian dance and others has identified at least three main ones: national, recreational and spectacular. Each paradigm is related to specific tendencies in the meaning, context and form of the dancing that is performed. The "national dance paradigm" is related to the concepts of nationalism and cultural nationalism.[182] If it does not explicitly express loyalty and support to a specific state, it is at least, performed as part of a positive symbol of a national group.[183]

It is clear in the Ukrainian dance brought by Vasile Avramenko to North America that nationalism was a key factor that pushed people to dance. It is possible to see his dedication to the national cause in the lectures such as "The Rebirth of Ukrainian National Dance" that he and his students presented.[184] These nationalist dance leaders felt the need to tell tales of Cossacks to children and to link their legacy to the dances. Furthermore, the fact that those classes were targeted specifically to Ukrainians, shows the nationalistic approach used by Avramenko, Pihuliak and the next generation of Ukrainian dance teachers in Montréal.

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[182] Nahachewsky, "Dance Across Cultures," 157.

[183] Nahachewsky, "Shifting Orientations in Dance Revivals," 165.

[184] Martynowych, "Avramenko Chronicles to 1937," 11.

The national dance paradigm is characterized by standardized and symbolic dances. Performers following this paradigm see dance as timeless and unchangeable, connected to the story of the national group. Dance leaders and supporters understand them to be antique because of their link to the past.[185] Avramenko demonstrated such an orientation to the past by referring to the Cossack era (1500-1775) and linking history to dance movements. Dance anthropologist Anthony Shay would argue that such a past orientation is part of a pattern of 'invented tradition' that emphasizes continuity with the past.[186] The desire to establish continuity with a suitable historic past is noticeable in Ukrainian dance. When researching Ukrainian dance, one notices that a lot of the literature describes dances as connected with the Cossack era and these documents influence choreographers: "What are the roots of Ukrainian dancing as we see it? Well we have to go down to the character of it. […] *Kozaky* from *Zaporyzhzhia* used it as preparation to combat. Take a look at how they fought, that's the root of Ukrainian dancing."[187] Other sources associate circle dances with pagan religion and with the cult of the sun.[188] In her PhD thesis, Patricia Christiansen Jubinska links the step *prysiadka* to old Scythian statues found on Ukrainian territory.[189] Within the national dance paradigm, belief in continuity

[185] Nahachewsky, "Shifting Orientations in Dance Revivals," 2006.

[186] For a detailed analyis of what is an 'invented tradition' see E. J. Hobsbawm, and T. O. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[187] Klymczuk, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

[188] M. Pasternakova, "The Folk and Art Dance" in *Ukraine: a Concise Encyclopaedia. Volume 2 .* ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyc, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 603.

[189] P. Jubinska Christiansen, "The Evolution of Ukrainian Traditional and Theatrical Classical

with a past validates the dance performances. By using references to a historical

past, the participants produce a national discourse through folk performances.

National dances function as symbols of the nation. Most of the time national

dance leaders restrict their repertoire to a narrow selection of standardized dances.

This is shown in the Avramenko repertoire.

> […] 99 percent of the vival repertoire remained unused by his
> [Avramenko] national dance movement. In spite of what they
> claim, the object for the builders of the national dance tradition is
> not to save the entire corpus of traditional dances, but rather to
> promote a selected few of them to serve as symbols of the rest. In
> this respect, national dances act somewhat like commercial
> logos.[190]

Avramenko and his students taught a repertoire that consisted of the same 18 or

19 dances wherever they travelled.[191] Most communities learned only part of that

list.

Not only do national dance leaders select the symbols for the nation but they also

present the dances as part of a historical past. The national repertoire should

consist of the "unspoiled elements" of the nation (ie. uncontaminated by elements

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Dance and its Preservation in the United States" (PhD diss., The Union Institute, 1999), 33-34.

[190] In this context, Nahachewsky is using "vival" to refer to the traditional un-self-conscious social and ritual dances of Ukrainian peasants. Nahachewsky, "Shifting Orientations in Dance Revivals," 168.

[191] Poster announcing Avramenko's dance classes in Montréal, 1929, National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond, MG 31 D87 vol. 22 file 84.

borrowed from other nations). Dance should be ancient as well as "timeless and permanent."[192]   In the film showing Avramenko's performance at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York (April 25, 1931) the show is introduced as:

> […] a 'pantomine folk opera in scenes' [that] comprises a series of Ukrainian National dances symbolizing Ukrainian's Art, Culture and historical past. The dances possess a natural freedom, exhilaration, vigor and elegance, and breathe the very spirit of Ukraine. [193]

By linking the dances to the past, Avramenko was clearly and actively showing his Romantic Nationalism. Furthermore, his dances are set in imputed settings of villages in Ukraine and are linked to a natural landscape.[194]

Finally, the national dance paradigm tends to focus on the idea of community. "The dances are typically complex enough to give the national symbol an air of respect and sophistication, but simple enough that they appear natural and are somewhat accessible to the whole population."[195] Avramenko's choreographies fit this characterization well. They are typically composed of 10-12 figures of 8 or 16 measures each. Steps are generally repeated for 8 or more counts. They are

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[192] Nahachewsky, "Shifting Orientations in Dance Revivals," 173.

[193] Vasile Avramenko, *[Avramenko Folk Ballet at the Metropolitan Opera House]*, reel, (New York, 25 April 1931), National Archives of Canada, Avramenko fond, V1 8811-0007.

[194] Imputed setting refers to the space on stage where the dancers pretend to be. Nahachewsky, "Shifting Orientations in Dance Revivals," 164-165.

[195] Ibid., 174.

complex enough to appear impressive to most audiences in the 1920s and 1930s. On the other hand, they are not so virtuosic to become elitist. Almost anyone who wanted to participate could learn to dances with a bit of practice.

The idea of community is very clearly expressed in dances such as *Metelytsia* and *Hopak kolom,* captured on film at the Metropolitan Opera House in 1931. The footwork in these dances is simple and very repetitive. They leave a strong impression with the audience of the massive group of dancers on stage. The dancers actually fill the entire space of the stage. Although solos exist in Avramenko's repertoire, they are usually presented as entire solo dances rather than being a part of a dance. During group dances, soloists rarely separate from the group to perform by themselves. This reinforces the idea of community in Avramenko's repertoire. Furthermore, during the show presented at the Metropolitan Opera House, all dancers stay on stage. Throughout the entire film, they sit around the end of the stage and watch the performance when they do not dance. This puts them in the situation of performers and audience members both at the same time. It is interesting to note that this performer-audience formation is similar to the one used during solos in the spectacular dance paradigm from the Soviet state sponsored dance groups.

It is important to notice the dancers' costumes during the dances. The dancers wear central Ukrainian costumes for some dances, and Hutsulian costumes for the Western Ukrainian dances. Dancers do not wear identical costumes on stage. One notices the different textures of fabric and details in the costumes, especially in central Ukrainian costumes. On a practical level, this visual appearance

reflected the reality that each dancer was responsible for assembling their own clothing for the stage. Although it might work against visual unity on careful inspection, it certainly presents the richness of the Ukrainian costumes.

Finally, it is worth examining Avramenko's use of dance formations and gaze. The dancers' gazes are are sometimes oriented toward the audience and sometimes towards their fellow dancers. Much of the time, the dancers present their profile to the audience. For example, in *Kolomeyka v dvi pary*, for several figures the two couples dance on stage in a square formation, each dancer representing one corner of a square. They face the center of the square, orienting themselves towards the other dancers. However at the beginning and especially at the end of the dance, the same dancers face the public as they exit the dancing space. This way they reassert the presence of the audience by restoring eye contact with the people outside the imputed setting. In the national dance paradigm, especially in Avramenko's compositions, there is a strong emphasis on the dancers as participants. This supports the idea of nationalism though community. It presents the dance partly in a context of stage presentation, but continues to acknowledge the imputed context of a recreational, where the dancers would have been dancing for themselves rather than for any outside audience. This orientation is present also in the *Arkan*, where male dancers face the inner side of a circle (and thus sometimes dance with their backs to the audience); and in *Hrechanyky,* where dancers are oriented toward the center of a square like in *Kolomeyka v dvi pary.*

Figure 24-25 Les Sortilèges performing *Hrechanyky* at Théâtre du Nouveau Monde, 16 June 1975, Montréal. Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau and Les Sortilèges' Archives. Note the dancers are not facing the audience.

Similar dance strategies are used in the earlier dance in Montréal. The Ukrainian community was performing Avramenko's repertoire with a few changed choreographic elements. Earlier groups were performing *Hrechanyky* the same way Avramenko's students did. This dance was performed in UNO and in Prosvita. Peter Marunczak Sr. taught the same dance to Les Sortilèges. Thus, it is possible to see similar orientation in Montréal's International Folk Dance Movement. However, Ukrainian dancers performed dance for national reasons

while the International Folk dancers performed Ukrainian dance to create a more diverse repertoire.

Ukrainians were attracted to staged Ukrainian dance because of their support for the Ukrainian national cause. Immigrants from Ukraine were living in a new Canadian context and society. A researcher today can see how these dances communicated idealized social roles for women and especially men as athletes. It presented male dancers as strong and athletic. Dance was used as a tool for presenting the Ukrainian culture as important in Canadian life. Dancing became quite deeply engrained as a component of Ukrainian culture, so the next generation grew up feeling that being a dancer is 'normal.'

Ukrainian dance offers a positive representation of this cultural minority in Montréal, as well as a strong visual impact on audiences. It enhances the visibility of the Ukrainian culture in Montréal and it always leaves a positive impression on the public. Most are impressed by the male solos, the female beauty and the performance as a whole. The symbolic positive representation of community and unity also served the Ukrainian community. The dance groups bring all religious and political groups together both in dancing and as audiences. For a small Ukrainian community like Montréal's, Ukrainian dance is a visual proof of their presence and strength in a growing, multicultural city.

As we will see in the next chapter, the aesthetic used in national dance are different in the spectacular dance paradigm, where dancers are almost always oriented towards the audience.

The Spectacular Dance Paradigm

In several respects, the spectacular dance paradigm is opposed to the national dance paradigm described above. Spectacular dance was developed long ago. Ballet and many other traditions of dance around the world are quite spectacular. The main focus of spectacular dance is to create an aesthetically appealing product. This dance is a form of art. Beauty, novelty and virtuosity are central priorities in the spectacular dance model.[196] As Ukrainian dance changed over the decades in Montréal, the spectacular element has become increasingly important.

This opposition between the national and the spectacular is not complete, however, and it is important to remember that both concepts will always overlap in Ukrainian folk dance. After all the national element cannot be absent as long as the dance is marked as specifically Ukrainian, while the dances are performed generally on stage, so some element of spectacle is also fundamental.

Like in the national dance paradigm, Ukrainian dance is performed as a symbol of Ukrainian

culture. However, because novelty is so important, standardization is de-emphasized. The community tends to tolerate and even demand more diversity from one dance group to another.[197] Again, because the goal is to create novelty and art, the choreographies are not praised as much for their purity or authenticity.

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[196] Nahachewsky, "Shifting Orientations in Dance Revivals," 161-178.

[197] Ibid., 169.

Spectacular Ukrainian dances incorporate many elements of ballet in their vocabulary, technique, movement styles and theatricalization. "The strategy of bringing ballet into Ukrainian dance is attractive to those people who aspire to connect the folk tradition with the high status of an elite art form."[198] In spite of the ballet influence, Ukrainian spectacular dance had developed a different ideal for female and male dancers. This model is not unique to Ukrainian spectacular dance but it constitutes a large part of its aesthetics. The ideal surrounding female and especially male dancers is important for the study of Ukrainian dance in Montréal. Gender roles are a factor in the decision by the International Folk dancers to use Ukrainian dance as part of their repertoire.

Spectacular dance was developed long ago. Ballet and many other traditions of dance around the world are quite spectacular. The Soviets inherited a variety of dance traditions from the Russian Empire. They inherited a popular and active Ukrainian dance tradition in Ukraine. They were arguably the world's greatest centre for spectacular Romantic and Realist classical ballet. They took these traditions and gradually adapted them for their own purposes. It is a bit ironic that they took a national folk dance movement (one that grew as part of an independence movement for Ukraine) and used it as propaganda in their campaign to argue that Ukraine should be ruled from Moscow, and that nationalism of any kind had been made obsolete by the Russian Revolution. It is also very ironic that they used the elitist ballet tradition in their arsenal of propaganda against the elites

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[198] Ibid., 171.

and for a classless society. Clearly, both of these traditions were appropriated and reinterpreted by their ideological opponents. Nonetheless, the spectacular Ukrainian dance tradition that most directly influenced Montréal Ukrainian dance was experienced through performances of Soviet dance ensembles, and our exploration of the shift from national to spectacular begins in the USSR.

Artistic Context in the Soviet Union

The Soviet government had a plan for its population that would enable their ideology to flourish under the banner of culture. Cultural institutions were financially supported but had to demonstrate a complete submission to the Party under a strict censorship. While the Soviet's cultural controls could be seen as an obstacle to the full growth of culture, they were successful at creating a culture that would represent their political agenda: a Soviet culture.

> Soviet authorities were never ashamed of their monopoly on culture. They considered the policy progressive. Culture was a weapon of class struggle, available to acquaint people with the socialist program. […] To debate the ethics of censorship was a waste of time; the Bolsheviks' concern was to mold popular values, and they needed a way to reach the masses, reflect the wishes of the state, and censure alien ideals.[199]

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[199] James Von Geldern, and Richard Stites, eds., *Mass Culture in Soviet Russia: Tales, Poems, Songs, Movies, Plays, and Folklore, 1917-1953* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), xi.

The Soviets wanted to industrialize and educate the totality of their society. Folklore was associated with peasantry and the Soviets wanted to demonstrate that they were a modernized nation. They tolerated folklore to a certain extent, as long as folk forms followed the Party's agenda. According to Clements, peasants were harder to propagandize because they were illiterate.[200] This had an effect on what was used to promote the new ideology. The use of folklore was a way to provide ideas through a medium they generally already knew. Thus the government was generally inclined to support production of folk tradition, especially visual and performative production of tradition that aimed at helping the Party's propaganda.

Socialist Realism is an aesthetic style in art that developed under Socialism in the USSR. It was the official art of the Soviet Union for almost 60 years.[201] Socialist Realism presents a style inspired from the realist and romantic aesthetic. The culture of the proletariat that glorified the regime and the people was the centre of artistic production. The Soviet man was the model used in visual imagery. "L'imageries sociale et révolutionnaire domine, ainsi que les sujets de la vie quotidienne privée et publique. Les peintres glorifient l'Armée rouge, l'ouvrier, le paysan, les sports et la famille."[202] The goals of this aesthetics were determined

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[200] Barbara Evans Clements, "The Birth of the New Soviet Woman*"* (Washington, D.C: Wilson Center, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, 1981), 6.

[201] It is important not to confuse Socialist Realism with Social Realism. Fride, Carrassat, and Marcadé, *Comprendre et reconnaître les mouvements dans la peinture*, 145.

[202] "Social and revolutionary images were dominant, as well as subject matter about private and public day to day life. Painters glorify the Red Army, workers, peasants, sports and family." Fride, Carrassat and Marcadé, *Comprendre et reconnaître les mouvements dans la peinture*, 145.

and adopted in 1934.[203] Morever, art had to present an image that contributed to the ideological transformations as well as to educate workers in the spirit of Socialism.[204] The slogan was "National in Form, Socialist in Content."[205] Of course, the truth depicted had to be the Party's official truth. Thus, from an outsiders' perspective, Socialist realism's reality became another chimera.

Socialist Realism tended to promote artistic forms that were appealing to the masses. The art and its message were easy to understand and to connect with. Furthermore, it helped convince people of the truth of Marxism-Leninism. "Confounded by lower-class indifference to their program, radicals sought ways to bring their city-slicker ideas closer to the common folk."[206] The Stalinist period was rich in folkloric production because this "innocent" although manipulated culture could also be attractive in foreign countries, more specifically, the western world. "But in that cult, real, authentic folklore hardly found a place; what was largely substituted for it were popularized adaptations of folk art."[207] Soviet folklore was produced for internal consumption as well as external propaganda. The field of dance under Socialist Realism demonstrated an

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[203] Vincent Pinel, *Comprendre et reconnaître les écoles, genres et mouvements au cinema*, (Paris: Larousse-Borduas, 2000), 186.

[204] Ibid., 186.

[205] Marina Frolova-Walker, "'National in Form, Socialist in Content':Music Nation-Building in the Soviet Repulics,' *Journal of American Musicological Society*, vol. 51, no.2 (Summer 1998): 331-371.

[206] Von Geldern and Stites, *Mass Culture in Soviet Russia,* xiii.

[207] Frank J. Miller, *Folklore for Stalin: Russian Folklore and Pseudofolklore of the Stalin Era* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1990), ix.

impressively high technical level. Although dance was not an industrialized society's art, staging it as they did allowed the Party to eschew pure elitism yet kept dance at a level that was high enough to sell tickets and tour around the world.

In the West after the Second World War, many eyes were turned towards the East. Media had brought attention to the Cold War and later, on the space race, in which the Soviets were represented as powerful. During that period, beautiful tourist books became available in the West in at least three languages.[208] They presented gorgeous colourful pictures of smiling people dressed in traditional costumes. According to this literature, the USSR mastered science and technology but kept tradition at the center of their life. The people of the Soviet Union were presented as a super nation that mastered the two elements that seemed irreconcilable: tradition and innovation.

During that period, Ukrainian staged folk dance flourished and the professional dance groups toured the world with their visual and acoustic propaganda. Audiences loved them. This propaganda in dance was popular because of its spectacle. This type of spectacular dance had an especially important impact on Montréal's International Folk dancers. They saw, in Ukrainian dance, a possibility to perform a strong heterosexual male dancer.[209]

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[208] It was impossible to get exact numbers as to how broadly distributed these books were. In Montréal, each public and university's library have a vast collection of those books, which were published for consumption by tourists or the general public.

[209] Di Genova, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

Ballet Aesthetics in Ukrainian Spectacular Dance

Spectacular Ukrainian dance borrows some of its training and theatricalization elements from ballet, a form of performing art. In this situation, ballet was used to refine a tradition that already existed. To be able to bring Ukrainian dance on stage as a form of art, its creators often chose to present it as an elite art. By accepting classical dance aesthetic values, the Ukrainian dance choreographers aspired to refinement. Similar processes were at work in several other nations as well. Anthony Shay writes of dance revival movements in Egypt, Iran and Uzbekistan:

> […] despite often considerable Western pressures for social and moral change, important and influential elements among native populations, especially the elite and the intelligentsia, frequently exercised considerable agency and influence on local attitudes because, […] Western modernity [was perceived] as the most important way of achieving political and social parity with the West.[210]

Ukrainian dance presents similarities with ballet aesthetics. In general, most of the choreographers borrow the same elements. However it does not imply that it sets the aesthetics in a rule. For example, most choreographers ask their

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[210] Anthony Shay, "Hypermasculine Dance Styles as Invented Tradition in Egypt, Iran and Uzbekistan," in *When Men Dance: Choreographing Masculinities Across Borders,* ed. Jennifer Fisher and Anthony Shay (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 289.

Ukrainian dancers to point their feet when dancing. In Montréal, this element is unanimous to all groups doing Ukrainian dancing. However, one can see Moiseyev is using flex feet for some of his choreographies. This aesthetic choice enables the audience to recognized Moiseyev's dancers simply by their way of dancing. A second borrowed element can be seen in the arm positions that follow ballet's arm positions. Finally, a similar use of lines in choreographies can be seen in the *corps de danseurs* both in ballet and Ukrainian dance.

The State Folk Dance Group of the USSR (Moiseyev)[211]

The Folk Dance Company of the USSR under the direction of Igor Moiseyev toured the United States and Canada in 1958, stopping in Montréal.[212] It was intended as "a good-will mission" that aimed at showing the "…rich beauty of […] socialist art."[213] The Moiseyev Dance Company was perhaps the first dance group in Montréal presenting multicultural dances from the USSR. Moiseyev's Ukrainian repertoire included a *Hopak* and *Vesnianky*, that were both part of the program in their North American tours.

Igor Moiseyev (1906-2007) was born in Kyiv and passed most of his childhood in Paris and Poltava. He then moved to Moscow where he studied at the Bolshoï

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[211] Also known under the names or State Academic Folk Dance Ensemble of the U.S.S.R., State Folk Dance Ensemble, Moiseyev Dance Company, Igor Moiseyev Ballet, State Academic Ensemble of Popular Dance and Igor Moiseyev Theatre of National Dance.

[212] Anthony Shay, *Choreographic Politics: State Folk Dance Companies, Representation, and Power* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2002), 57.; and Walter Terry, "Dancing Bear Is Everywhere," *The Herald Tribune*, 22 April 1963.

[213] Mikhail Aleksandrovich Chudnovskii, *Folk Dance Company of the U.S.S.R., Igor Moiseyev, Art Director* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959), 23.

Theatre. He graduated in 1924 and became a ballet soloist until 1939. Interested in folk dance form, Moiseyev created a professional folk dance company in 1937. His goal was to elevate folk dance to the level of high art. Through his years with the company, he choreographed approximately 300 dances.[214]

Moiseyev's choreographic art was organized around the idea that folk dance could portray real life as well as human feelings and activity.[215] The perception of the peasant as an essentially good person, was central to the Moiseyevian dances.

> Folk art, whatever its form, is always on the side of the good, always wholesome and optimistic. In folklore we find the vices denounced and held up to ridicule while praises are sung to man's better instincts. […] Folk art, the art of the people, is a splendid means of educating the masses, for it can speak their own language - simple, colourful, and replete with wisdom.[216]

According to this famous choreographer, dance is tied to the history of the people, peasantry and the landscape of their country.

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[214] "Moiseyev Ballet," http://www.moiseyev.ru/

[215] Chudnovskii, *Folk Dance Company of the U.S.S.R., 94.*

[216] Ibid.

The Ukrainian State Folk Dance Company (Virsky)[217]

The Ukrainian State Folk Dance Company was also established in 1937, slightly later than the Moiseyev Company. This group was created by Pavlo Virsky, Mykola Bolotov and others. Virsky was born in Odessa in 1905. Like Moiseyev, he had an education in classical dance and enjoyed a career as a ballet soloist. This company's mandate was to perform a repertoire that was essentially Ukrainian and to use a spectacular ballet-based style. Those strategies enabled Moiseyev and Virsky to support their Soviet ideology, based on Socialist Realism.

Both Virsky's and Moiseyev's choreographies presented a picture similar to that which was eventually seen in Soviet books available around the world: happy, young people who lived in harmony. Thus the show was organized around the utopian idea that all ethnic groups lived peacefully in the USSR. The dance model would project a utopian vision of the peasant life that Shay calls the "it's fun in the village" choreographies.[218]

The idea of a strong community is shown in the dance visual organization. Dancers generally wear identical costumes that emphasize monumentality. The use of uniforms in dance is visually powerful. Identical costumes can make a straight line and an identical movement repeated on numerous bodies lead the eye to a specific focus point.

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[217] Also known as Virsky, Ukrainian National Folk Dance Ensemble Named After Pavlo Virsky, Ukraine's Song and Dance Company, National Honored Academic Dance company of Ukraine, named after P.Virsky and The State Dance Company of Ukraine.

[218] Shay himself notes that these are not the only choreographies that were created. For example, a dance presenting the heroes of the Second World War is part of Virsky's repertoire. However, this study deals strictly with Ukrainian choreographies. Shay, *Choreographic Politics*, 57.

In some choreographies, those uniforms are presented with a variation. Different subgroups of the cast wear different colors. Even then, they still communicate that the dancers are part of the community. The colour scheme shows a sub-community within the larger group. While the multiple color scheme loosens the visual effect of monumentality, it adds to the colorfulness on stage. Thus it may evoke a higher level of spectacle. For example, in some group formations, the dancers separate into subgroups based on the color of their costumes. One can clearly see this approach used in Virsky's *Hopak* where male dancers enter the stage: the first eight dancers wearing blue *sharovary* (wide pants) enter the stage, then the next eight dancers wearing red, then another group of blue and finally, red again. The absence of soloists in this section of the dance supports the idea of the group members as equal.

The use of highly acrobatic elements in dance correlates the ideology the Soviets had of sport and physical culture.[219] Thus in folk dance, the performer becomes an artistic staged version of the Soviet Man

These strategies of representation in spectacular dance were brought to Montréal and influenced each dance group differently.

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[219] N. N. Shneidman, *The Soviet Road to Olympus: Theory and Practice of Soviet Physical Culture and Sport* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1978).

Figure 26-27 Virsky Performing *Hopak. My z Ukrainy: 100-richchiu vid dlia narodzhennia P. P. Virs'koho, Tanets', shcho obiymaje planetu.* **DVD, Ukrainian State Folk Dance Ensemble Virsky (2007). Note the colors, lines and frontal orientation.**

Spectacular Ukrainian Dance in Montréal

Between East and West: the Intermediaries

The Moiseyev Ensemble performed in Montréal in 1958.   The crossing of these artists from the USSR to North America was largely due to the efforts of a few impresarios.

Solomon Hurok (1888-1974) was a Jewish emigré from Pogar, Russia. He moved to New York in 1906 and became the manager of "S. Hurok Presents," a company that would bring major artistic figures to the United States from the dancing, musical and singing world of the USSR.   Hurok would often work with his Canadian counterpart: Nicolas Koudriavtzeff.

Nicolas Koudriavtzeff (1896-1980) was born in Odessa and immigrated to France in 1919 then to Canada in the 1930s. He founded "Canadian Concerts & Artists Inc." (CC&A) in Montréal and "American-Canadian Concerts & Artists" (ACC&A) in New York, with the aim of presenting artists, concerts, and shows in Canada.

> In the mid-1950s an active exchange of artists, initiated by Nicholas Koudriavtzeff, began between Canada and the USSR. Though exchanges were not always on an "official" basis, a cultural agreement was signed by the two countries in 1960. It may be said without exaggeration that Canadians abroad have had their most enthusiastic audiences in Moscow and Leningrad and that their Russian tours have brought them great

prestige at home. Conversely, Russian artists have enjoyed notable success in Canada.[220]

Koudriavtzeff's company organized tours in the Soviet Union for numerous Canadian artists. In 1976, CC&A declared bankruptcy after Mikhail Baryshnikov defected. Baryshnikov was a member of a troupe called *Bolshoi Ballet Stars,* which was touring Canada under CC&A management. He was the central figure in the troupe so when he defected, the tour could not continue. "The ministry wired that they would send another dancer but it never happened […]. Higher authorities suspected Koudriavtzeff of encouraging Baryshnikov's defection […]."[221]

Koudriavtzeff's tour was cancelled. That same year (1976), Koudriavtzeff founded "Concerts & Artistes Canadiens Inc.," which supervised the presentation of recitals and shows at the Place des Arts in Montréal. Its international exchange program was taken over by the Touring Office of the Canada Council in 1976. The company ceased its activities a few months after the impresario's death in 1980.

Many other impresarios worked to bring European culture to Canada and to the United States. Hurok and Koudriavtzeff were almost exclusively bringing Soviet dancers to North America. Other dance companies such as Kolo from Belgrade

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[220] Gilles Potvin, Nicolas Koudriavtzeff in *The Canadian Encyclopedia/ The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*. http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/. (accessed February 2010.)

[221] Eric McLean, "An Era Ends With the Death of a Great Impresario," *The Montreal Gazette,* 6 Sept 1980, Music section.

came prior to 1958 but it is with that year's major tour of the Moiseyev Dance Company that started the Eastern European cultural consumption.

Koudriavtzeff had the good luck of being at the right place in the right time. During 1960s, in addition to the Soviet visual propaganda, popular culture, especially from France, was oriented towards a Eastern European taste. Songs like Charles Aznavour's *Les deux guitares* (1960) or Marie Laforêt's *Ivan, Boris et moi* (1967) featured and popularized Eastern European culture in Montréal. Restaurants like *Troïka, Kalinka, Pogrebok* and *Café Sarajevo* opened their doors and were proposing Eastern European food, decor and performers and contributed to popularize Eastern European culture. The larger interest in USSR's culture reached its peak in 1967 during Expo 67.

Expo 67 was, as we demonstrated before, one of Montréal's biggest events and a major one for the Ukrainian community. Ironically, while Canadian-Ukrainians were working hard to demonstrate how their culture was Ukrainian and not Russian, the folk dances presented by local groups were showing increasing influences of the state sponsored dance ensembles from the USSR.

In addition to the Moiseyev 1958 performance in Montréal, they were invited again to perform on March 1965, July 1965 and June 1970 at Place-des-Arts. The *Festival Russe de musique et de danse* was organized in August 1959 both in Montréal and New York and featured dance and music shows. 1961 was the year of the first Canadian tour of the Red Army and was organized by CC&A. They performed at Montréal's Forum. The following year, Virsky's came for the first

time in Canada and performed 21-24 in Montréal. The show seems to have had a lot of success because they also performed in June 1962 at Montréal's Forum. It was organized by "S. Hurok presents" and CC& A. In 1966, Virsky was invited again to perform at Place-des-Arts on October and November. They also performed at the Capitole de Québec on November 1966. In 1967, the Red Army came to Montréal for its second Canadian tour. They were invited by CC& A and performed in Montréal, Québec (city), Chicoutimi and Sherbrooke. They came back in 1968 for their third tour to Montréal and Sherbrooke. They performed again on May 1970 at Place-des-Arts. 1971 corresponds to Pierre-Eliot Trudeau's official visit of the USSR and performances served as part of the political agenda between the two countries.[222] Regular performances of dance groups from the USSR were organized during Expo but the exact date and groups are unknown. Furthermore Le Mondial des Cultures, a large internationally known dance festival close to Montréal, booked many dance groups from the USSR and Western Canada. This event is important for Montréal dance scene because most of the International Folk Dance groups also participate in this prestigious festival.

The Spectacular Paradigm in Montréal's Ukrainian Dance

Ukrainian dance leaders in Montréal tried and try to avoid acknowledging the spectacular model in their choreographic strategies. For example, when asked, Bohdan Klymczuk admitted he did not like Virsky's choreographies because they were too military. However, later in the interview he said seeing Virsky's

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[222] Montréal's citizens pride themselves because the city had the only direct flight from Montréal to Moscow and direct boat line between Montréal and Leningrad.

performance had a huge impact on him. He later hired a dancer from Virsky to teach Troyanda dances.[223] Some try to emphasize inspiration from choreographies performed by American and Canadian-Ukrainian dance groups from western Canada such as Shumka.[224] However, one cannot help but notice the presence of Soviet influences in western Canadian Ukrainian dance as well. Even if the western Canadian groups are intermediaries, the Soviet influence is undeniable.

It is important to understand that borrowing from the state sponsored spectacular model does not make these dance groups Soviet like per-se. Clearly, the Canadian-Ukrainian groups can and did adopt elements of the dance forms without adopting elements of the earlier Soviet ideological message. It only highlights the significance and attractiveness of this particular model in both contexts. Looking at examples from each of the Montréal groups we introduced previously, we can see that they all borrowed elements from the spectacular dance groups.

The Marunczak Ukrainian Dance Ensemble has introduced the increased use of solos in choreographies. In MUDE's early years, one can see homogeneous dances with all dancers following the same steps.[225] As early as the 1960s Peter Marunczak introduced sections in his choreographies in which small groups of

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[223] Klymczuk, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

[224] Ibid.

[225] One can see this in the dances that Peter Marunczak taught to Les Sortilèges. Les Sortilèges' performance, Théâtre du Nouveau Monde, 16 June 1975.

dancers break from the *corps* to present the audience with a highlighted duo or trio combination. Furthermore, his *Hopak* dating from 1975 taught to Les Sortilèges shows a stronger orientation towards the audience. Similar to Virsky's *Hopak*, MUDE's dancers rarely perform solos but rather duos and trios. During the duos and trios, the remainder of the dancers generally wait at the back of the stage in one straight line or in a semi-circle, similar to the formation popularized by Moiseyev and Virsky. The formation of a solo or small group framed by a semicircle has become a classic in Ukrainian staged folk dance all across Canada.

MUDE's dancers are now oriented towards the public more strongly than in the early choreographies for that group. One can notice a clearer focus on audience awareness in today's dances. For example, in one of their dances, MUDE's female dancers form a closed circle and dance with their back to the audience.[226]

After a few counts, they break from their partners, turn their backs to the middle of the circle and continue dancing, now facing the public but still keeping their circle formation. I think this formation was choreographed specifically to acknowledge the public because of the 'unnatural' position of the dancers. Forced to move the circle in this position, their shoulders are pulled uncomfortably behind their natural body axis. In some performances, it is difficult for them to maintain a clean circle shape. Positive aspects of this inverted circle include the fact that it allows the dancers to make eye contact with the audience as they travel.

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[226] As mentioned before, MUDE's performances programs do not name the dances they performed.
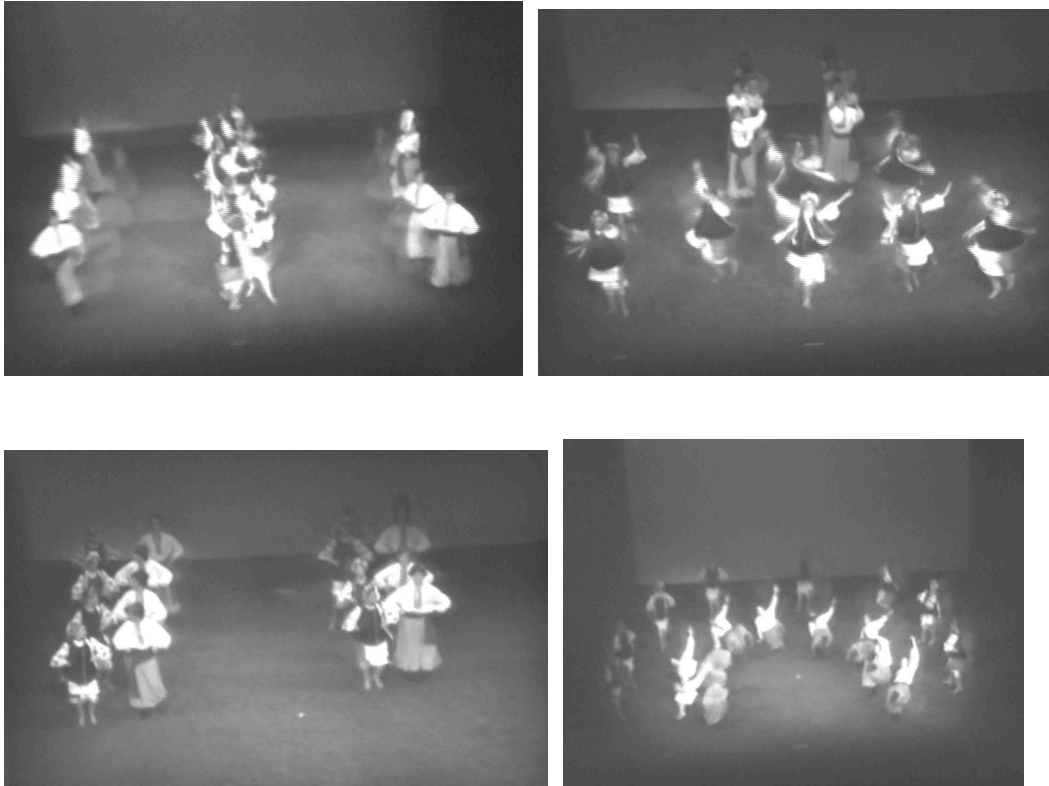
Figure 28-31 Les Sortilèges performing Peter Marunczak's *Hopak*. Théâtre du Nouveau Monde, 16 June 1975, Montréal, Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau and Les Sortilèges' Archives. Note how the dancers are facing the audience.

Troyanda Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, being younger than the Marunczak's group, has been influenced by the more spectacular theatrical style since its inception. Troyanda choreographies have always been more oriented towards the audience. One can notice a change in their central Ukraine costume over time: earlier photographs show the female dancers wearing black overcoats (*zhupany* or *korsetky*), while in recent years, they wear red, royal blue and emerald overcoats. These later costumes are much more similar to the costumes of Virsky. Dance figures are sometimes organized around the colors the dancers are wearing. For example, in their most recent *Hopak*, the female dancers enter the stage in smaller

groups according to the colour of their *zhupany*. This is almost exactly the same pattern that is used for the entrance of the female dancers in Virsky's *Hopak*. Admittedly, the effect is much stronger when Virsky's 24 women sweep onto the stage, in comparison to the five or six women in Troyanda.

The earliest photographs of **Les Sortilèges** I have seen date from Expo in 1967. Male costumes already use the two colour scheme introduced through Moiseyev and Virsky. Female costumes consisted of flower patterned skirts, which are much more reminiscent of costumes worn by dancers in the earlier Canadian-Ukrainian period. Only when the group could afford more elaborate costumes did they replace this skirt with a more 'mature' black *zhupan*.[227] The black *zhupany* are similar to those used by Troyanda in their first years.

The style of Les Sortilèges' Ukrainian choreographies changed depending on the choreographer. In their earliest years, Les Sortilèges presented a repertoire that came from Peter Marunczak Sr. and from the literature that was available at the time, mostly documented by Dick Crum, in English.[228] The choreographies were consistent with the Avramenko repertoire or slightly changed to allow for a smaller cast. Marunczak had started to choreograph his own numbers by this time, though he taught Avramenko's dances to groups like Les Sortilèges rather than his own new repertoire. It seems that this arrangement was desirable from

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[227] In traditional culture, age could be determined by the type of costume women were wearing. The *zhupan* was reserved for women over 16 years old. Di Genova, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

[228] Dick Crum was an American folk dancer and choreographer that distinguished himself by a sustained concern with authenticity. Di Genova, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

both perspectives; Les Sortilèges were more interested in the dances that were considered more authentic, and Mr. Marunczak could reserve the newer (slightly more spectacular) materials for his own Ukrainian group.

One can see major changes in the Les Sortilèges' later dances. Complex form patterns were used in some of their newer Ukrainian dances. This may have made these dances more appealing to both the dancers and audience, though it may have also been seen as compromising authenticity. For example, in the 1960s, one can notice a star shaped formation used in a couple dance named *Hrechanyky*. This figure was familiar from Avramenko's earlier all-male dance *Arkan*, and apparently transferred over into the mixed couple choreography.[229] Another example would be the dance *Chumak* that the group learned from one of MUDE's dancers. In the 1930s the Avramenko version of this dance was often performed as a man's solo. In the version performed by Les Sortilèges, the dance was adapted for group of male dancers and highlighted numerous acrobatic solos, rather resembling a contemporary *Hopak*. Male dancers in Les Sortilèges perform *Chumak* with tambourines.

Figure 32 Les Sortilèges doing *Hrechanyky*. Dancers are doing a star shape usually performed in *Arkan*, 1973. Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau and Les Sortilèges' Archives.

A new *Hopak* was choreographed for Les Sortilèges in the early 1980s by Mikhail Berkut. It is likely that Berkut taught the same dance he used with his own group Kalinka. The new dance is consistent with the typical Soviet style of spectacular dance. It is organized around complex patterns of lines and circles, ornamented with solos. Although the female dancers are more active as soloists in Berkut's choreography than in Virsky's *Hopak*, the solos are still danced mostly by the male dancers. The main difference between the choreography done for Les Sortilèges and the one for Kalinka is the absence of a drunken Cossack character dancer that appears in the latter. The solos were present in Les Sortilèges' *Hopak* but do not appear on the written manuscripts depicting the dance.[230] Berkut version of the dance was generally performed by Kalinka with live musicians.

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[230] Berkut's *Hopak*, manuscript from the repertoire of Les Sortilèges, Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau.

The main instrument was the Russian balalaika. Les Sortilèges generally danced to pre-recorded music performed by an orchestra. The international dance group did not retain Berkut's dance in their repertoire for long.[231]

By 1986, when Les Sortilèges performed at the Universal Exhibition in Vancouver, they performed their third version of *Hopak*.[232] The dance mixed movements used in their first *Hopak* with new line and circle patterns. This choreography incorporated some of the impressive movements from Moiseyev's. *Hopak*. For example, in both Moiseyev's *Hopak* and *Night on Bald Mountain*, the female dancers create a frontal line across the stage to cover-up what the male dancers do behind them.[233] At one point, the female dancers all bend their knees and lower themselves just as one of the male dancers is catapulted in the air over their heads. He lands in front of the girls and begins to perform a solo. Di Genova used this movement as early as the 1960s.

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[231] I am not sure if Les Sortilèges changed their *Hopak* because they did not like it or because Kalinka was active in the early 1980s and they wanted to avoid using the same choreographies.

[232] I do not know if it was choreographed by Mr. Di Genova himself, or commissioned.

[233] *Moiseyev: A Gala Evening,* DVD, The State Folk Dance Group of the USSR (1989); *Moiseyev Ballet,* VHS, Moiseyev Ballet Company, (Kultur Video,1994).

Figure 33 Moiseyev's dancers performing *Hopak*. National Archives of Canada, Nicolas Koudriavtzeff fond, e010767663.

Figure 34 Les Sortilèges performing *Hopak* at Universal Exibition in Vancouver, 1986. Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau and Les Sortilèges' Archives.

Moiseyev's legacy is also seen in contemporary international folk dance ensembles like ***Les Bons Diables*** who borrowed other dance motif from the *Night on Bald Mountain* dance. In particular, Les Bons Diables' *Vesneani Zabavi* features dancers jumping over a fire. Les Bons Diables performed their *Vesneani Zabavi* without singing, and the girls danced with flowering branches in their hands, two other motives that were used by Moiseyev. After this section of the dance, male dancers came on stage and the music accelerated. In Les Bons

Diables' repertoire, the *Vesneani Zabavi* became a kind of reinvented *Hopak,* again featuring acrobatic solos.

Kalinka was the group that was the closest to the Soviet model of spectacular dance. Kalinka's shows were organized around an idea of a variety show with a pan-Slavic taste. Musicians, opera singers, folk singers and dancers combined to create the entertainment.[234] Kalinka offered an Eastern European version of it. Kalinka received wider attention because of its affiliation to Les Ballets Russes de Montréal. Although Kalinka had a small number of dancers, their dances involved complex linear and circular patterns. They presented a highly stylized dance and its strong connection with ballet was obvious. In some choreographies like *Kozachok,* non-traditional colours were used in the costumes to emphasize the theatrical aspect of the performance. The repertoire consisted of a few folk dances from Ukraine, Poland and Russia; a few lyrical dances like *Lebyodoushka*/Princess Swan or *Matrioshki*/Wooden dolls that kept a folkloric appearance; and finally a few dances that might remind a viewer of Moiseyev's choreographies *Partisan* and *The Navy Suite.* While Berkut did not seem to put an emphasis on the national aspect of the latter dances, the costumes did reflect those of the state dance ensembles from the USSR.

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[234] The variety show 'recipe' has been popular in Montréal as early as the 19th century when vaudevilles were in fashion. They re-emerged during the depression and later took on an ethnic taste. See Iro Tembeck, *Danser à Montréal: Germination d'une histoire chorégraphique* (Sillery, Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1992); Yvan Lamonde and Raymond Montpetit, *Le Parc Sohmer de Montréal 1889-1919: un lieu de culture urbaine* (Ville St-Laurent: Institut Québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1979).

Synthesis

It seems rather ironic that the Ukrainian dance leaders chose to use a stage model that was similar to the Soviets. Their political orientation as well as their tight ties to Russia made representatives of Soviet Ukraine the 'enemy' of the Ukrainian diaspora's nationalists. Furthermore, the theatricalization and visual strategies the Soviets used for their choreographies were symbolically compatible with the idea of communism and socialism. However, as is often the case in art, there is no wrong interpretation. The Ukrainian community chose the spectacular model for its visual efficacy. The aesthetic was reinterpreted to serve the diaspora's perception of their own background. The techniques that had been used to promote the USSR as cohesive were now being used to support the Montréal Ukrainian community as strong and united. The new style of Ukrainian dance was perhaps perceived as more desirable artistically because of its stronger ties to ballet, in the formations, symbolic gestures and theatrical strategies. The newer folk dance style was also attractive to some because it facilitated creativity and novelty within a traditional frame. In this way, Ukrainian culture was portrayed as embracing both the past and the present.

The international dance community was attracted to the spectacular model for somewhat different reasons. International Folk dancers were not particularly motivated by feelings of national allegiance or patriotism to Ukraine, but generally did not feel any special ties with the nation they were representing. Between 1950s and 1970s, the Soviet Union worked hard to promote its

Republics and to give them a positive image.[235] At that time, many socialist ideas were appealing to many Québécois who were fighting for their culture, language, and better living conditions. Most of them were "petits travailleurs" (little workers) who did not speak English, and thus could not access the better jobs. Communism and its idea of equality was a utopia that seemed like a possibility for many of them. So they felt some comfort in borrowing ideas for choreography from a country that was proposing changes that seemed so wonderful.

Nationalist feelings may have motivated the International Folk Dance enthusiasts in a different way. Like the Ukrainians, Québécois saw themselves as a minority in a large and powerful multi-national state (the USSR on the one hand, and Canada on the other). The increasing Québécois interest in Ukrainian dance (and other forms of state sponsored dance) coincided with the rise of nationalism in Québec. The desire to define oneself came hand in hand with the desire to define the Others. It seems that there was a search for strong social models to represent their reality: a city populated with many communities. It also proposed, like the Soviet model of the USSR, many ethnic groups living together in harmony. International Folk Dance functioned as light propaganda, serving the Québécois national question by embracing all other cultures while specializing in gigue québécoise.

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[235] The Moscow-based propaganda worked partially because the Soviets bothered to translate the documents they provided. Anti-Soviet and Ukrainian nationalist feelings were strong in the Ukrainian community. However, their political publications never reached outsiders because they were mainly only available in a language that was foreign to Québécois.

The visually spectacular aspect of Ukrainian dance also drew International Folk Dance choreographers to add it to their repertoire. Some choreographers were interested in the colors and lines of the dances. Choreographer Monik Vincent describes Ukrainian dance as represented by acrobatic male dancers, beautiful lines, virtuosity, spectacular colorful and happy dancers.[236] As we have already seen, those are part of the spectacular state sponsored aesthetics in the USSR.

The gender representation in Ukrainian dance has long been attractive to some International Folk Dance enthusiasts. Jimmy Di Genova used the Ukrainian repertoire in his dance company to reassert the idea of a strong man figure dancing.

> J'utilise la danse ukrainienne [pour] donner une image de virilité
> […] à l'époque [1960s] on parlait beaucoup de la question des
> gays. Je dois contrecarrer cette image. [La danse ukraienne], c'est
> viril, c'est acrobatic, etc. […] Les gars sont habitués à faire de
> l'éducation physique, alors ils peuvent s'identifier avec la danse
> ukrainienne. C'est une époque où l'Armée Rouge et Moiseyev
> […] font parti du décor.[237]

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[236] Vincent, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

[237] "I used Ukrainian dancing because I need to show an image of virility [for the guys dancing]. At the time [1960s] the question of gay rights was discussed. I need to break that images [of the gay dancer]. Ukrainian dance is viril, it is acrobatic, etc. Because guys are used to do physical education, they can associate with Ukrainian dance. It was a time when the Red Army and Moiseyev are very present in the culture." Di Genova, personal interview, Montréal, May 2009.

Through their years of existence, Les Sortilèges have kept Ukrainian choreographies in their repertoire. The only dance that survived those years was their *Hopak* which in the 1980s showed similarities to the spectacular dance model used by the state sponsored dance groups of the USSR. The dance shows a complex pattern lines and circle as well as using the famous Moiseyev jump that we described above. However, M. Di Genova also mentions he does not enjoy contemporary Ukrainian dance groups because they are too spectacular. He clearly stated he wanted to present dancers to the audience rather than acrobats. This situation demonstrates an incomplete shift from national dance to spectacular dance.

Ukrainian spectacular dance is largely used by the International Folk Dance Movement because of the impressive male solos the state sponsored dance groups from the USSR had a big impact on dance aesthetics. For the Québécois dancers performing in a folk dance group, the image of the Soviet man in dance presents appealing features: strength, virtuosity, grace. Ukrainian dance enables them to use grace and still look masculine. Ukrainian dancing reasserts their virility in a society that even today sees dancing as a girlish activity.

Conclusion

I had two initial hypotheses for this research. The first one was that over the years, the dance groups in Montréal developed different styles of Ukrainian dance. The second hypothesis was that those groups were influenced by the state sponsored dance companies coming from the Soviet Union. Even if these state sponsored dance groups had strong visual elements, it seemed intriguing to me that Ukrainian dancers would orient their choice towards an aesthetic created by the people whose politics were strongly opposed to theirs. This study has demonstrated that the processes are much more complex that I thought.

I demonstrated how Ukrainian dance in Montreal, first used for nationalistic purposes, changed with time into a more spectacular model. Avramenko was dancing and teaching to demonstrate his support of the Ukrainian nation. Years later, dance shifted to a more spectacular purpose when Ukrainian dance was performing to entertain audiences. It also became obvious that Ukrainian dance, even when clearly spectacular, always involves an element of national dance and vice versa.

One can see this shift in the form of the dance. For example, the dancers are using a frontal orientation less often in the earlier national dances than in the more recent spectacular dance activity. Likewise, identical costumes, like uniforms, are used to promote monumentality. In dances that fit the spectacular model, masculinity and femininity reach a stereotyped opposition. Furthermore, ballet is used more in the spectacular dance model.

Though the general tendency towards spectacle is clear, it is also clear that the transition from national to spectacular is not universal or complete. The choice of not completely embracing the spectacular aspect of dance is related to the leaders' personal taste, ideological inclination, the priorities of the dance group, the knowledge they have of the culture, as well as their technical ability to change the repertoire. Monetary issues play an important role in the change from national to spectacular dance. Since spectacular dance involves so many technical and visual elements, achieving it depends on costumes, venues, technical lighting, special effects, music, and the like. It also depends on the access to a large number of skilled and willing dancers.

While Avramenko's dances were oriented both towards the dancers as well as towards the audience, Marunczak's dances show a stronger sense of frontal orientation. However, compared to groups like Troyanda and Kalinka that embrace spectacular dance aesthetic more and perform dances almost exclusively to the front, Marunczak's frontal orientation is still weaker. I interpret this as a symptom of their commitment to the older national model.

Costumes have also changed: Avramenko's dancers performed in costumes that varied somewhat in fabric, colors and motifs. In a nod towards spectacular aesthetics, MUDE is demanding that all dancers wear identical costumes (although it is still possible to see little elements that differ form one costume to another, especially in the *vinok*). Each MUDE dancer continues to own his or her personal costumes, as was normal in earlier years. In groups that were founded later, and are situated farther down the scale into spectacular dance, like

Troyanda, Kalinka and Les Sortilèges, the organizations own the costumes rather than the dancers. Dancers borrow them for performances. The emphasis on uniformity is thus much stronger in those later groups.

By adopting a technique from spectacular ballet where the corps of dancers moved identically in identical costumes, Soviet spectacular dance communicated a sense of unified masses in their large group dances. Even when the costumes involved subgroups wearing different coloured variants of the uniforms, they still subordinated the individual to the collective on the visual level. Monumentality, uniformity and mass connect with political power and might. On the other hand, the collective was balanced by the idea of individualism when dances featured solos and demontrated an idea of the extra-ordinary man. It somehow complicates the idea of monumentality because it takes away from the anonymity and uniformity of what the mass of dancers was demonstrating before. However, the sense of prowess and impressiveness showing in the acrobatic solos is also connected somewhat with political power and might. State sponsored groups balanced these two opposing strategies by showing a dancer demonstrating his abilities, then disappearing back into the *corps de danseurs*.

This spectacular dance model borrowed from the Soviets served now as a national ethnic symbol for Ukrainians. The Ukrainian dance leaders choose this model for its aesthetic appeal and visual effectiveness. It does not matter for the dancers that some of the strategies used in Soviet spectacular dance were invented or manipulated by Soviet authorities to support a specific ideology. Just as it did not matter for Soviets that they borrowed a dance genre that had been developed to

support nationalism a long time before them. Because the actual form of the dance is not explicitly ideological, it can be used and re-used by diverse people to support diverse ideologies. The Soviets used uniformity and mass presentation (that existed before) to their advantage, re-interpreting it. Then this spectacular technique was given a political bite. Later the Canadian- Ukrainian nationalists re-re-interpreted this technique for their own political purposes. In the Ukrainian community, we can observe an effort towards continuity in the aesthetic form of Ukrainian dance they saw with the Soviets but a change in the meaning of the dances.

The same spectacular Ukrainian dance was used by the International Folk dancers in a somewhat similar manner, but with different meaning. One specific aspect of spectacular dance strategy interested them most: the role of men in dance. Ukrainian ethnic identity is put on by the dancers like a costume, and is adopted only for a few minutes each performance. The dancers perform multiple identities on stage from dance to dance in their repertoire. It is clear in the discourse of some informants that they are working hard to "look like" whichever ethnic group they represent in dance. In some senses, they remain more engaged with issues of authenticity than the Ukrainian community itself. This fascination with exotic forms of dance serves to define oneself as well as the others.

For both these dance communities, shifting to a more spectacular model meant separating themselves from the institutions that they had been part of. Groups like MUDE and Troyanda dissociated themselves from the Ukrainian associations to be able to progress in the spectacle they were working to create. The same

happened within the International Folk Dance Movement. The more the people in Les Sortilèges became attracted to staged performances, the less interested they were to continue as an after-school activity. Since dance changed from a national purpose to a spectacular purpose, the meaning of the dance changed too. The reasons for being associated with a specific association seem to fade. Using spectacular aesthetic elevates dance as an independent form of art. Even in the Ukrainian dance community, a degree of separation from the community seems to be desirable to achieve dance as art. Of course, this does not mean the dancers never participate in community events with the various Ukrainian associations. On the contrary they are often very active participants. But the responsibility of being a dancer for a specific association, and having to perform for their events disappears. Because they are not part of the association means the group can freely choose to dance at any given event, or not.

This shift which had led to a separation between cultural association and dance groups has changed the community. As we saw earlier, the community was spread all over the island of Montréal, mostly in the neighbourhoods of Rosemont in the east and Verdun and Lachine in the west. Since the 1980s, one can notice a shift in the Ukrainian culture from the western part of the city to the eastern part of the city. Most cultural events are now held in the Rosemont area.

Both these communities could have chosen any spectacular dance to represent Ukrainian culture. They show influence from other Canadian-Ukrainian and American-Ukrainian dance groups, theatre, combat, ballet and other performing arts genres. Strong influence from the state sponsored dance groups from the

USSR is demonstrated their dances. As we showed in this thesis, dance groups in Montréal borrowed a lot of elements from the Soviet dance groups. This is not surprising because of the visual effectiveness of the Soviet staged dance. However, the irony lays in that they choose inspiration in a dance tradition that was earlier used to support socialism. As we saw in chapter 2, Ukrainians demonstrated a nationalism that was, and still is, characterized by strong anti-Soviet feelings and influenced by romanticism. This situation suggests that even in spectacular ethnic dance, aesthetics and art become more important than coherence of a national discourse or authenticity. Very little 'authentic' cultural elements were kept in dance. In spite of that, it is still seen as an ethnic symbol. One last interesting element that is specific to the Ukrainian community is that dance became less and less recreational and social as it tried to imitate the spectacular dance groups from the USSR.

It was demonstrated in this thesis that the national orientation of Ukrainian dance is slowly changing toward a more spectacular mode. This general trend has already identified by scholars such as Andriy Nahachewsky, Lesya Pritz and Anthony Shay. My research applies this broad trend to the study of Ukrainian dance in Québec. My work also explores new territory when it demonstrates that each group did not embrace the newer model completely. The shift from national to spectacular is often incomplete and tentative. It also explores the motivations for Ukrainians in contrast to non-Ukrainian dancers. They chose a similar dance model to represent Ukrainian dance as part of the Montréal dance tradition, but they chose it for somewhat different reasons.

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Annex A

Maps of Montréal

Map of Montréal after World War II

Claire McNicoll, "L'évolution spatiale des groupes ethniques à Montréal, 1871-1981." (Ph.D. diss., École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1986), 670.

1 - SAINT-ÉDOUARD
2 - MONTCALM
3 - SAINT-MICHEL
4 - LAURIER
5 - SAINT-DENIS
6 - SAINT-JEAN-BAPTISTE
7 - LAFONTAINE
8 - SAINT-LOUIS
9 - SAINT-LAURENT
10 - CRÉMAZIE
11 - SAINT-JACQUES
12 - BOURGET
13 - DELORIMIER
14 - SAINT-EUSÈBE
15 - PRÉFONTAINE
16 - HOCHELAGA
17 - SAINTE-MARIE
18 - PAPINEAU
19 - VILLE-MARIE
20 - SAINT-GEORGES
21 - SAINT-ANDRÉ
22 - SAINT-CUNÉGONDE
23 - SAINT-JOSEPH
24 - SAINTE-ANNE
25 - SAINT-GABRIEL
26 - SAINT-HENRI

POINTE-CLAIRE

SAINT-LAURENT, PAROISSE

NOTRE-DAME-DE-LIESSE

VILLE
SAINT-LAURENT

VILLE
MONT-ROYAL

SAINT-
JEAN

SAINT-JEAN-
DE-DIEU

MERCIER

MAISONNEUVE

ROSEMONT

MONT
ROYAL

OUTREMONT

LA PRÉSENTATION-
DE-LA-TRÈS-SAINTE-
VIERGE

DORVAL

CÔTE-
SAINT-LUC

LACHINE

HAMPSTEAD

WEST-
MOUNT

NOTRE-DAME-
DE-GRÂCE

MONTRÉAL-OUEST

SAINT-
PAUL

ÎLE DES
SOEURS

VERDUM

SAINT-PIERRE
AUX LIÈRES

LASALLE

FLEUVE SAINT-LAURENT

UKRAINIENS 1931

VALEUR ABSOLUE DE 70%
DE LA POPULATION DU GROUPE
DANS L'ÎLE: 2 634

TOTAL DES ZONES ⊞ = 50% DE LA POPULATION DU GROUPE

TOTAL DES ZONES ⊞ + ☐ = 70% DE LA POPULATION DU GROUPE

0 1 2 3 4 5 km

UKRAINIENS 1951

VALEUR ABSOLUE DE 70%
DE LA POPULATION DU GROUPE
DANS L'ÎLE : 7 887

TOTAL DES ZONES = 50% DE LA POPULATION DU GROUPE

TOTAL DES ZONES + = 70% DE LA POPULATION DU GROUPE

0 1 2 3 4 5 km

Claire McNicoll, "L'évolution spatiale des groupes ethniques à Montréal, 1871-1981." (Ph.D. diss., École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1986), 811, 813,-815.

MONTREAL: Ukrainian
Churches &
Institutions

MONTREAL

11. Ukrainian National
Credit Union and
Ukrainian Mutual
Aid of Montreal Inc.

12. Ukrainian Youth Hall and
Caisse Populaire
Ukrainienne

13. St Sophie's Cathedral

14. Church of the Assumption
of the Blessed Virgin Mary

15. Church of St. Michael
the Archangel

9. Ukrainian Residence
and Villa

10. St. Joseph's Institute

5. Taras Shevchenko
Reading Room

6. Church of the Holy
Ghost

7. Ukrainian National
Federation

8. Church of St. Mary the
Protectress

1. St. George's Church

2. St. Basil's Church

3. St. Josephat's Church

4. Church of St. John the
Baptist

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Annex B

Table A: Ukrainian Dance in Montréal: Chronology and Instructors

Name of the group	Leader /Instructor	Association	Ethnic affiliation	Years of existence
	Ivan Pihuliak	Frontenac Hall/another school in the West (Shevchenko Hall?)	Ukrainian	1929
	?	Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Hall	Ukrainian	1927-?
	Ivan Burych	Prosvita, Pointe St. Charles	Ukrainian	c. 1929-?
	Theodor Zalopanyj (Teodor Zal'opanyi)	Zaporizhs'ka Sich Association	Ukrainian	1933-?
	Antin Chaykovs'kyi	UNO	Ukrainian	1936-?
	Pavlo Yavorsky	SUMK	Ukrainian	1937-?
	Anna Shtym / Teodor Zal'opanyi (Theodor Zaliopany)	Prosvita (which one?)	Ukrainian	After 1930-?
	Ivan Burych	Prosvita (which one?)	Ukrainian	c. 1940-?
	Ivan Obukh	Prosvita, Pointe St-Charles	Ukrainian	c. 1948-1957
Poltava	Viktor Hladun	CYM (Rosemont)	Ukrainian	c. 1953-1970s
UNYF Dance Ensemble	Peter Marunczak Sr.	UNO	Ukrainian	c. 1945-48
	Peter Marunczak Sr.	Ridna Shkola (Rosemont)	Ukrainian	c. 1950s-?
Les Feux-Follets	Michel Cartier		Non-Ukrainian	1952- c. 1980
Marunczak Ukrainian Dance Ensemble (MUDE)	Peter Marunczak Sr.	UNO	Ukrainian	1954- 1990
	Edward Dorozhowsky Sr.	Prosvita, Pointe St-Charles	Ukrainian	c. 1957-1959
	Ivan Obukh	Hall of the Ukrainian Catholic Parish, Pointe St-Charles	Ukrainian	c. 1963-1970s
	Ivan Obukh	Prosvita, Pointe St-Charles	Ukrainian	c. 1960-1970s
	Ivan Obukh	Prosvita, Lachine	Ukrainian	c. 1963-1970s
Les Sortilèges	Jimmy Di Genova	École Secondaire St-Stanislas (later the group became independent)	Non-Ukrainian	1966- on
Ukraïna	Eric Kies	CYM (Rosemont)	Ukrainian	c. 1970s-?
	Oles Tsap	CYM (Rosemont)	Ukrainian	c. 1970s-?
	Mr. Yakimiw	CYM (Rosemont)	Ukrainian	c. 1970s-?
Konoply Ukrainian Dance Ensemble	Evhen Yakimiw	?	Ukrainian	1973-?
Kalinka	Mikhail Berkut	Les Ballets Russes de Montréal		1980-1984?
Troyanda	Bohdan Klymczuk	CYM (Rosemont)	Ukrainian	1989- on
MUDE	Donna Marunczak	UNO	Ukrainian	1990- on
Mria	Elena Vaselenko	Zustrich (St. Sofia Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, Rosemont)	Ukrainian	2005-on

Table B: Number of Ukrainians in Montréal

Years	1908	1921	1945	1951	1971	1981	1986	1991	1996
Number of Ukrainians in Montréal	4.000	10,000	8,006	11,154	17,715	14,640	12,220	11,475	9,565

Based on the data available through V. Kukushkin, *From Peasants to Labourers.* 40-41, 96; Bohdan S. Kordan, *Ukrainian Canadians and the Canada Census, 1981-1996.* (Saskatoon: Heritage Press, 2000), 22; N. J. Hunchak, *Canadians of Ukrainian Origin; Population.* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1945), 9; and data collected by Dr. Dany Fougères and his research team at the Institut national de recherche scientifique de Montréal.

Table C: List of key performances in Montréal.

Company	Provenance	Date	Year	Venue
Moiseyev	USSR		1958	
Festival Russe de Musique et de danse			1959	
Red Army	USSR		1961	Forum
Virsky	Ukraine SSR	21-24 May	1962	Forum
Moiseyev	USSR	20-23, 25 March	1965	Place-des-Arts
Moiseyev	USSR	4 July	1965	Place-des-Arts
Virsky	Ukraine SSR	25 October- 6 November	1966	Place-des-Arts
Red Army	USSR		1967	Place-des-Arts
Don Cossacks	USSR	27 March	1967	Place-des-Arts
Red Army	USSR		1968	Place-des-Arts
Red Army	USSR	20-30 May	1970	Place-des-Arts
Moiseyev	USSR	18-25 June	1970	Place-des-Arts
Don Cossacks		24-25 March	1971	Place-des-Arts
Red Army		5-8 October	1989	Place-des-Arts
Shumka	Alberta	25-26 April	1991	Place-des-Arts
Hopak Ukrainian Dance company	Ukraine	24 September	1993	Place-des-Arts
Shumka	Alberta	28-29 April	1995	Place-des-Arts
Virsky	Ukraine	3 May	1998	Place-des-Arts
Virsky	Ukraine	23 September	2001	Place-des-Arts
Red Army	Russia	?	2005	Mondial des Cultures
Russian Cossack State Dance Company	Russia	20-21 August	2010	Place-des-Arts
Virsky	Ukraine	1 November	2010	Centre Pierre-Péladeau

Table D: List of performances at Mondial des Cultures.

Company	Provenance	Year	Country representing
Ensemble Ukrainien Odessa	Montréal, Québec	1982	Ukraine
Ensemble Folklorique Lyavonikha	Viteksk, USSR	1984	USSR
Ensemble Folklorique Cazatchca	Moscow, USSR	1985	USSR
Kupalo	Edmonton, Alberta	1985	Ukraine
Dnipro Ukrainian Dance Ensemble	Ontario	1986	Ukraine
Ensemble Populaire de Chants et de Danses Mertsishor	Moscow, USSR	1986	USSR
Kouzbass	Kemerovo, USSR	1987	USSR
Tyra	Burlington, Ontario		Ukraine
Dildor	Ouzbekistan, USSR	1988	USSR
Choeur Populaire Russe de Ryasan	Moscow, USSR	1989	USSR
Artim Folk Dance Ensemble	Moscow, USSR	1989	USSR
Ensembles des Tchouktches et Esquimaux Erguyron	Moscow, USSR	1990	USSR
Poltava	Regina, Saskatchewan	1990	Ukraine
Vesselia	Moscow, USSR	1990	USSR
Sibirski Souvenir	Oulan-Oudé, USSR	1991	USSR
Zustrich	Edmonton, Alberta	1991	Ukraine
Vesnyanka	Marioupol, Ukraine	1993	Ukraine
Sonyashnyk	Chatham, Ontario	1997	Ukraine
Suzirya	Irpen, Ukraine	1998	Ukraine
Arkan Dance Company	Toronto, Ontario	2001	Ukraine
Kupalo	Edmonton, Alberta	2003	Ukraine
Arkan Dance Company	Toronto, Ontario	2004	Ukraine

Le Mondial des Cultures de Drummondville. http://www.mondialdescultures.com/

Annex C

Questionnaire

NB: This questionnaire is to serve as a basis for questions to be asked. I intend to use a semi-structured pattern, and thus am prepared to adapt my questions as the need arises.

<u>Part A</u>

-When did you start dancing?

-What is your first encounter with Ukrainian dancing?

-What did it mean to be a Ukrainian dancer at the time?

-Can you please describe in which context the group and practices were set?

-Did you have to be part of a certain cultural association to be able to join the group?

-How much did it cost?

-Did you perform?

-Which kind of show was it? In what kind of venue?

-Did you have costumes? Made by whom?

-Do you remember the dances you were doing?

-Who was your teacher and how did he teach?

-Do you remember any particular group or event that influenced dancing? (Expo 67…)

-Were the dancers all Ukrainian?

-Did they all spoke Ukrainian?

-What was their second language? (French or English)

-Do you remember any problem related to the language issue between the members?

<u>Part B</u>

-When I say "Ukrainian folk dancer" what do you see?

-What is a dancer supposed to look like?

- Which kind of attitude is he/she supposed to project to other Ukrainians?

-Are the same attitude should be shown to people that are not Ukrainian?

-How do you teach this to other dancers?

-Where do you look for inspiration? (Where did you learn first?)

-Is authenticity a problem when creating Ukrainian dances?

-How to make it look Ukrainian is you are not yourself?

Part C

-Were there any other groups than yours?

-Was there any competition between groups?

-Can you name something typical of Ukrainian dance groups in Montreal?

-How do you perceive dance today?

-What do you think of Shumka or Virsky? Is ballet an asset to the dancers of no?

-Why do you think Montreal has such little dancing beside the population that is smaller?

-What do you think of Ukrainian Festivals? Is the dancing authentic to you?

-The style of Ukrainian dancing performed on stage has been influenced directly from the Soviet style. Do you think dancing should represent a more village type dance, less impressive or should we continue to imitate the Soviet aesthetics?

-In the Canadian context, most children are enrolled by their parents in a dance group. In Ukraine, most people don't dance and Ukrainian dancing is reserve for a small selected amount of people. What do you think of that situation?

-Do you think dancing still represents what it is to be Ukrainian?

-Do you see any reason to explain the decline of Ukrainian dancing in Montreal?

-What should we do to avoid the disappearance of dancing?