

**THE FESTIVAL OF DALMATIAN KLAPA IN OMIŠ
AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE FESTIVALIZATION OF
CROATIAN TRADITIONAL MUSIC**

Joško Čaleta¹

**Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research,
Zagreb, Croatia**

**ФЕСТИВАЛ ДАЛМАТИНСКИХ КЛАПА У ОМИШУ
КАО ПРИМЕР ФЕСТИВАЛИЗАЦИЈЕ
ХРВАТСКЕ ТРАДИЦИОНАЛНЕ МУЗИКЕ**

Јошко Чалета

**Институт за етнологију и фолклористику,
Загреб, Хрватска**

Received: 10 September 2023

Accepted: 8 December 2023

Original scientific paper

АБСТРАКТ

The term 'folk music' in Croatia is closely related to the history of its performance at festivals and other related public events. Festivals (*smotre*) were an appropriate field of application in the place of canonization of traditional music. Through their existence and activity, various musical genres, styles, and performers were profiled. All of the above will be defined and analyzed through the example that is the focus of this research – the Festival of Dalmatian *klapa* in Omiš, a festival that formatted, institutionalized, and popularized *klapa* singing.

KEYWORDS: festivalization, festivals, Croatian traditional vocal music, *klapa* singing, Dalmatian *klapa* festival in Omiš.

АПСТРАКТ

Појам народне музике у Хрватској уско је повезан са историјом њеног извођења на фестивалима и другим сродним јавним догађајима. Фестивали

1 josko@ief.hr.

(смотре) били су одговарајуће поље примене и канонизације традиционалне музике. Кроз њихово постојање и деловање профилисали су се различити музички жанрови, стилови и извођачи. Све наведено биће анализирано на примеру који је у фокусу овог истраживања – Фестивал далматинских клапа у Омишу, који је својим постојањем и деловањем форматирао, институционализовао и популаризовао клапско певање.

Кључне речи: фестивализација, фестивали, хрватска традиционална вокална музика, клапско певање, Фестивал далматинских клапа у Омишу.

FESTIVALS AND FESTIVALIZATION VS. FOLKLORE AND FOLKLORIZATION

This article aims to present the process of changes in the relationship to traditional music in the 20th century, which is, to the greatest extent, manifested through the appearance and existence of the process of festivalization. This process is based on a network of public events collectively called festivals, events that are determined in time and space. In our time, discussion about traditional (vocal) music through the prism of idyllic village life where everything works perfectly and the music is contextually present through the performances of various archaic genres and styles, is simply an impossible mission. Like many cultural processes established in the past, in times of different social, economic, and social circumstances, traditional idioms (music, dance costumes...) are subject to changes through which they find new ways of survival in the present time. All the mentioned circumstances influenced the development of musical life, especially the vocal (polyphonic) tradition in small towns and rural areas, whose traditional musical life continues in the context of various traditional customs, secular and sacred, as well as through various vocal, instrumental, and dance forms.

The ways of preserving and transmitting traditions left their mark on the wider European area and were clearly reflected in the situation in our region. The second half of the last century of European traditional music was marked by the processes of “festivalization, orientation towards public performance, professionalization, internationalization, institutionalization, and mediation” (Lundberg, Ronström, and Malm 2000, 149); among them, the processes of festivalization and related institutionalization of the bearers of traditional music occupy the most prominent place in Croatian traditional music.² Festivalization and institutionalization represent the most important fields of application of ethnomusicological, ethnochoreological, folkloristic, and ethnological knowledge. Festivals, as a great product of the aforementioned processes, have a wisely selected presentation theme as well as the purpose of existence. They also have a network of prominent individuals or organized

2 This processes in Croatia started much earlier – in the period between the two world wars (see more in Ceribašić 2003).

groups as leaders in the realization of the theme/idea of the festival. These events represent an important part of social life for different local regional, national, and international communities.

Among the vast selection of festival divisions, the one that attracts attention is by Mišetić and Sabotič (2004, 1–4), who divide festivals into three types: cultural festivals (classical music, theater, and film), festivals that focus on tradition, and political festivals. The category of interest is the second category which focuses on festivals that thematize tradition. Due to their number, quality, and continuity of events, such festivals deserve the special attention of researchers.

The first problem we encounter when presenting the terminology of traditional festivals in another (English) speaking area lies in the fact that the most common term for traditional public events and performances (*smotra*) has no relevant translation.³ Among the numerous interpretations of the term *festival* in Croatian dictionaries, we single out the Croatian lexicon, which brings the terms festival and *smotra*, while distinguishing their features: “Festivals mainly have an electoral role and a competitive nature... and ‘smotre’ are predominantly non-competitive events” (Vujić 1996, 343).

During the 20th century, festivals (*smotre*)⁴ were an appropriate field of application in the place of canonization of traditional music. Through their existence and activity, various musical genres, styles, and performers were profiled. Their performances brought up generations of audiences and attracted new generations of future prominent performers. Countless experts gained the status of recognized connoisseurs of tradition by actively participating in the aforementioned processes. Their recommendations and judgments were trusted throughout the 20th century and even today, especially during the year-long preparations for performances at festivals, which emphasize the dimension of preservation necessary for the quality and survival of traditional culture.

The emergence of the two prominent terms that have been discussed so far, festival and festivalization in the context of traditional culture, could be compared to the processes of change in Croatian traditional culture in the 20th century. According to Naila Ceribašić, the changes occurred “through the interweaving of high and low culture, state regulations, institutionalized culture bearers and experts as connoisseurs of tradition and, of course, the festival presentation and renewal of traditions”⁵ (2009, 244). Their role stood out in the canonization of traditional music, especially the profiling of genres and styles that, by putting them on stage, stood out in contrast to those that were not. Ceribašić bases her statements on the theoretical assumptions of the relationship between the terms folklore and folklorism presented in the

3 According to Kelemen and Škrbić Alempijević (2012), the lack of theoretical consideration of nomenclature related to festivals is brought by Alessandro Falassi (1987), pointing out that throughout history very little explicit theory has been devoted to nomenclature or the definition of the term itself taken from everyday language, where it generally covers a collection of terms for diverse events, sacred and profane, private and public... (2012, 25–26).

4 Using specific examples, we will try to explain the difference and indicate specifically where it is a *smotra* and where it is a festival.

5 About festivals and the festivalization of Croatian traditional culture see Ceribašić 2003.

work of Maja Bošković-Stulli (1971), who understands folklore as an art that develops freely and independently in local rural areas, while folklorism arises at the moment of general interest in folklore, an interest that supports the transfer of folklore beyond the local and regional framework. The processes that occur during this event – cultivation, stylization, free artistic transformation – give the basic folklore template a new, presentational life that distances it from its basic contextual peculiarities.

Festivalization knows no such dichotomy; its basic quality is performativeness instead of the routine assumed by everyday life. It supports the variability and heterogeneity of the cultural experience within the local community as well as the variety of identities that are crystallized in these processes. Festivalization is a historical process that began in Croatia in the 19th century and took strong root in the 20th century, but at the same time, it implies an irreversible transformation of expressive culture.⁶

In ethnomusicology, the concept of festivalization as a process of change in traditional culture was first introduced by Mark Forry in his report from 1986, based on the analysis of changes in the traditional tamburitza music of Vojvodina. Analyzing the process that he calls festivalization, Forry tries to show festivals in the contemporary context of traditional music, which have their own rules that influence the development of the content placed in them, legitimize musical traditions and become institutions of social control (1986, 2). Forry identifies several components of the festivalization process (Ibid., 6–13), through the reevaluation of traditions and the bearers of traditions through the action of key external actors: expert institutions, cultural organizations, commissions at state and local government bodies, and the media. During the process of festivalization, external actors model the criteria of excellence, encourage competition and promote the winners, support the orientation towards public performance, and format it according to the spatial, temporal, communication, and value requirements of a specific performance context. With this act, traditional music and dance become the property of folklore groups, the official bearers of the traditions of the local communities that they represent with their performances.

All of the above, we will try to establish and analyze through the example that is the focus of this research – the Festival of Dalmatian *klapa* in Omiš, a festival that, with its existence and active activity, formatted, institutionalized, and popularized the hitherto informal genre of urban traditional singing – *klapa* singing. Along with archival research, my personal experience greatly helped me reach a better understanding of the role of the Omiš festival in the process of creating the model of *klapa* singing as we know it today. Namely, I have been an active member of the *klapa* movement for 45 years. I started my activity as a singer of one of the most prominent

6 Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett points out that something understood as folklore is no longer habitus, custom or tradition, but is ready for heritage production, tourist use, or any other kind of transformation. These transformations are performative and not mimetic, i.e. what was once taken for granted, adopted for no particular reason as the routine of everyday life becomes, through conscious action, the object of ideological transformation. What seemed simple before is now performed (2001, 215).

klapas, the Trogir *klapa*, and continued as a *klapa* leader, arranger, composer, and festival organizer. The research of *klapa* singing is the last phase of my involvement in the *klapa* singing phenomena. The results presented in this article are the outcome of many years of participation, observation, and examination of the phenomenon of *klapa* singing, for which the Omiš festival is the starting point.

KLAPA SINGING

If one could select a single music-making phenomenon as being the most representative idiom of the Mediterranean as far as Croats are concerned, it would definitely be the phenomenon of *klapa* singing – “a combination of the urban, traditional and the popular with a positive tendency of spreading outside the imagined borders of the Mediterranean” (Čaleta 1999, 193).⁷ A recognizable style of singing was created under the influence of the organized musical activity of the revival period during the second part of the 19th century.⁸ At the time, the first organized sacral and secular choirs were founded, as well as the various brass bands (a legacy of Napoleon’s time) and tamburitza ensembles and orchestras. All of the mentioned musical phenomena directly influenced the creation and popularization of traditional multipart urban singing, known today under the common denominator – *klapa* singing. Unlike similar singing groups from the Croatian Littoral, Istria, or neighboring northern Italy, which stuck to an informal form of socializing, singing groups in Dalmatia managed to build a reputation based on a special repertoire and recognizable (formal) performance (Čaleta 2013, 276). The notion of the Mediterranean has an absolutely positive connotation in Croatia that makes *klapa* singing an excellent promoter of goodwill and positive attitude in the region (the rest of Croatia) and neighboring countries (Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia). This is one of the reasons for the present-day popularity of *klapa*, especially among the younger generation, and a sign of the future of *klapa*.

Considering all the musical and social circumstances, several phases of the historical expansion of *klapa* singing can be recognized – traditional *klapa*, festival *klapa*, and modern *klapa* (Čaleta 2003, 248). *Klapa*’s popularity began in the 1960s as the popularity and the growing interest in this type of singing led to the establishment of the first festivals of *klapa* singing, the network of the various *klapa* festivals and performing activities, and the establishment of the new *klapa* model – festival *klapa*.

7 The phenomenon of *klapa* singing has captured the attention of a large number of (mostly Croatian) ethnomusicologists. Nikola Buble wrote the most about *klapa* singing as a traditional musical phenomenon (1992; 2009). Information about authors and ethnomusicological, folkloristic and ethnological works important for the knowledge of the phenomenon of *klapa* singing see in Čaleta 1997, 2008).

8 From a musical point of view, it is a style of traditional a cappella homophonic singing that has developed from typical traditional singing (*klapa* song) and existence (*klapa* group) to expertly arranged, organized singing, which nowadays, due to its way of presentation, is more popular than traditional music (Čaleta 2013, 278).

The crucial incentive for the development of *klapa* singing in the 20th century was given by the first Festival of Dalmatian *klapa*, which has been held in Omiš every summer since 1967 (further: the Omiš Festival). After almost 60 years of existence, the Omiš Festival is still “the Olimp of *klapa* singing” (Grgić 2006,13) and the ultimate goal of every *klapa* singer. The competitive environment of the festival has led to the creation of various rules, definitions of the terminology, and standards of performances and “stage behavior”.

We will follow the development of the festival through the prism of the performance, but also through the factors that have participated in the creation, modeling, and continuous growth of this event from the very beginning: the reasons for its creation, the place of its creation, its initiators and organizers, the relationship between the organizers, performers and the audience.

FESTIVAL OF DALMATIAN *KLAPA* IN OMIŠ⁹

The first Omiš festival was held in the period from July 19 to August 19, 1967. The organization led by the members of the first voluntary organizing committee was signed by the Dalmacijaturist, a tourist agency from Omiš (Ganza 2017, 22). Its leader at the time recognized the importance of such events and supported it organizationally and financially.¹⁰ Organizationally, three qualifying evenings and one final were held in various city locations (city squares, terrace of a local hotel), which have become a recognizable toponymal of the festival to this day.¹¹ Financially, it was a modest budget that was compensated by the great sacrifice of numerous individual volunteers as well as work groups who were happy to help the newly founded event (Ibid., 25).

The beginning of the festival left a positive attitude in Dalmatia, the region where the *klapa* singing as it is known today originated. There is no written record or oral tradition from the early decades of the festival's existence which would give the impression that any community or organization in Dalmatia strongly resisted the festival's efforts. The launch of the Omiš Festival also encouraged the organization of numerous gatherings (*smotre*) and similar festivals in other places with the primary aim of promoting *klapa* singing. According to Miljenko Grgić, there was more order and respect in earlier times, mutual agreement about the date of the event, where the other organizers always respected the authority of the Omiš festival (Grgić 2006, 17).

9 Thanks to the fact that the festival has continuously cooperated with the media while achieving an enviable publishing activity, numerous verified sources are available that testify to the origin and development of this festival. The most relevant chronicles were created during the celebrations of the 40th (Grgić 2006) and 50th (Ganza 2017) editions of the Omiš Festival.

10 From the very beginning, a positive political connotation towards the festival marked the festival's efforts that enabled easy solving of the basic financial requirements which were increasing year by year.

11 As reported by the weekly Studio (August 26, 1967), due to a lack of funds, the festival was held in a different setting every night: the management of numerous socialist workers' resorts in the Omiš municipality agreed to lend chairs to the organizer free of charge thanks to the unexpectedly large turnout of “*klapa*”. Thanks to this, from the very beginning, the festival met the expectations of always full audiences (Ganza 2017, 25).

According to the archival and written sources (Ibid.; Ganza 2017), all those who participated in the preparation, organization, and performance of the first Omiš Festivals agree that everything would probably have remained an informal gathering of singing groups or possibly at the level of a local singing competition if, from the very beginning, Ljubo Stipišić Delmata had not been involved in the creation of the program ideas. Stipišić ‘shaped’ the festival by determining the initial guidelines for the future festival. Male singing groups, without or with instrument accompaniment, Dalmatian repertoire presented in the “*klapa* singing manner” were the basic propositions for entering the festival. During the first five years of the Omiš festival, Ljubo Stipišić Delmata devotedly worked as an expert presenter and a member of the expert jury for the evaluation of *klapa* performances and the selection of new compositions. His role also was a selector at the auditions of *klapa* that will participate in the festival as well as an organizer of professional gatherings. Stipišić vision, which grew into a recognizable formal festival, was transformed in a later period into a series of different manifestations of traditional musical heritage (smotre, festivals) in other places through Croatian coast (Ibid., 20).

Along with the artistic director of the Omiš Festival, organizational and management structures played an extremely important role. Initially, they failed to keep up with the sudden development and popularity of the festival. It was only in the third year of its existence that it got a firmer organization and with it, a management structure. In 1969 the Festival of Dalmatian *Klapa* Society was created in Omiš. The society had its assembly headed by the president, who had to be a prominent local businessman or a suitable socio-political representative. The structure of the festival's management was elected every four years. The executive body of the society was the Festival Board headed by the president, and since 1982 there has also been the function of vice president of the Festival Board. The board regularly includes distinguished intellectuals, professionals, and prominent political representatives of the local community. Their number varied, but mostly there were 8 committee members who performed their duties voluntarily, enjoying only minor privileges during the festival events (Grgić 2006, 27).

In the 1990s, the festival lost its independence, becoming a part of the Cultural Center of Omiš, only to become an independent organization again in 1998. Incidentally, that was the year the Omiš Festival acquired the title and attributions of an institution of national interest (Ibid., 30). From that time, the Festival has been managed by a director whose main collaborator is the artistic director of the festival (official position since the 1990s). Since then, their professional functions have been chosen by the administration of the city of Omiš through a public tender and confirmed by the Minister of Culture and Media of the Republic of Croatia. Their mandate lasts for four years and includes the organization and management of all festival activities and artistic programs, the selection of *klapa* that perform at festival events, the selection of expert associates, and expert commissions, and the implementation of all festival programs. Over time, the organizational and artistic functions became professional, although the festival reached its peak with the exceptional enthusiasm and voluntarism that has accompanied it since its very beginnings.

In addition to the most prominent leaders of the Omiš festival, there was a whole series of ordinary people who contributed their voluntary work to the progress and

improvement of the manifestation. Some of them worked with personal and political authority to acquire much-needed funds for the smooth running of the Omiš festival. The rest performed individual organizational tasks that, as a rule, required exceptional personal engagement. The hospitality and accommodation of the *klapa* during the duration of the festival used to depend on the goodwill of many Omiš residents who gave up their accommodation capacity without expecting any reward for it. After a thorough change in the management system of the Omiš festival, this part of the organization became professional, and today specialized agencies take care of it. Volunteers also helped organize and decorate the performing space. With their help, the Omiš squares were transformed into a concert stage in a short time. In the beginning, chairs for this occasion were borrowed from local schools and workers' tourist resorts. Over time, the Omiš Festival formed its own logistics. At the beginning of the 21st century, movable telescopic bleachers were built, so that present-time auditoriums look completely different and more comfortable. Due to its concert venues, the Omiš Festival could hold the title of the ambient festival.

Since its beginnings, the Omiš Festival has been well-covered by the media. Thus, in one of the first mentions of the festival, the local newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija* on August 22, 1967, published an article by Željko Rapanić¹² entitled "Justified amateurism".¹³ Rapanić states that in the flood of fabricated pseudo-folklore and folk music performances on radio, television, and various entertainment shows, the Omiš Festival has its own deep meaning due to nurturing the original Dalmatian songs as a traditional musical expression of specific ethnic features. Rapanić had complaints about the organization, which was not satisfactory in all elements. Therefore, he suggested greater seriousness, expertise, and precision while organizing the next festival (Rapanić in Ganza 2017, 27).

In addition to journalists who reported their observations through local and regional newspapers and magazines, a major role in the promotion of the festival was played by the formerly republic, and now state-owned public television (*Televizija Zagreb, Hrvatska radio televizija*). Since the second festival (1968) *Televizija Zagreb* filmed the final festival event and broadcast it live in Saturday's prime time slot. Numerous radio shows and broadcasts of festival programs have also helped to spread the word about the Omiš Festival to the present day, thus diffusing the positive spirit of the musical tradition, that from a form of informal traditional music becomes an exemplary model of formally organized urban traditional singing.

From the earliest days, systematic care was taken to create a festival identity through posters, program flyers, brochures, and catalogs. The first brochures (*Bulletins of the Omiš festival*) printed in the period from 1970 to 1988 brought relevant information to festival participants and media followers as well as discussions about basic undefined questions from the conferences (*savjetovanje*) organized by the festival.¹⁴

12 Željko Rapanić, art historian and respected music critic, since the beginning for a long time has been a professional associate of the Omiš Festival.

13 The article was published in *Omiš Festival monography* (Ganza 2017, 27).

14 An interesting assertion from the early bulletins: "There are absolutely no precise criteria that

From 1973 until today, each festival year has been accompanied by a quality-designed catalog that represents the participants of the event as well as the sponsors of the festival, without whom it would be impossible to qualitatively manage this event. Since the fifth Omiš Festival (1971), this method of communication, along with *klapa* singing, has been a recognizable symbol of the Omiš festival. The same happened with the creation of the festival paraphernalia, souvenirs (T-shirts, pens, mugs...) as well as the awards that are traditionally given to the best participants according to the evaluations of the expert jury (Golden shield with the historical coat of arms of the city of Omiš) and the audience (Golden nave).

Significant promotion was also played by numerous recordings (vinyl singles and LPs, cassettes and CDs) that the Omiš Festival cultivated from the first days. In the same way, attention was paid to sheet music editions. Thus, the festival, in addition to three basic anthologies,¹⁵ printed numerous original compositions and musical arrangements performed at the Omiš Festivals as an incentive for the *klapas* to choose the repertoire they would present at the festival. Likewise, the Omiš Festival was the initiator of the first South Croatian ethnomusicological journal (*Bašičinski glasi*), which, among other things, published numerous articles and studies on *klapa* singing.

The previously mentioned first artistic director Ljubo Stipišić Delmata was the first in a series of prominent musicians who left a significant mark with their participation in the creation and implementation of the festival. The fact that at the first festivals, the term *klapa* rarely appeared in the titles of performing groups shows the role of the profession in the development of the festival as well as in the recognition of *klapa* singing as a musical phenomenon. Controversies about the rules for the number of performers, the repertoire that would be performed at the festival, and the methods of performance (vocal, vocal-instrumental) were also a part of the fiery discussions among specialists and singers.¹⁶ Thus, at the first festivals, *klapa* performed in different formations. Instrumental accompaniment¹⁷ was allowed while exclusively male singing groups performed. Already next year, a concert dedicated to the new compositions was organized, which encouraged authors to create in the spirit of Dalmatian, urban, later called, *klapa* songs. That evening event, which continues to this day, presented a large number of new songs, only a small number of which became part of the standard *klapa* repertoire.¹⁸ The second conference

would determine what is and what is not an original Dalmatian song. The festival is aimed at the process of creating folklore, not closing it in musicological schemes and closing it in museums" (Bombardelli 1971, 4).

15 For more information, see *Zbornik dalmatinskih klapskih pjesama izvedenih na festivalima u Omišu I, II, III*.

16 From 1970 Omiš festival organized several conferences where composers, leaders and ethnomusicologists, discussed basic rules, terminology, and other important issues.

17 *Mali mediteranski orkestar* (Small Mediterranean Orchestra) was a term that Ljubo Stipišić Delmata used for describing the string instrumental ensemble of two mandolins, mandola, guitar and double bass at the first conference on *klapa* singing organized in December of 1970 by Omiš festival (Stipišić 1970).

18 More about new compositions on Omiš festival see in Milin Čurin 1990.

(*savjetovanje*) organized by the Omiš Festival (Ruskamen 1971) brought together prominent music experts and previous professional collaborators of the festival, who on that occasion determined the terminology (*klapa*, *klapa* singing) and the number of performers (4–8 singers), emphasizing the a capella performing manners of this traditional vocal genre, without instrumental accompaniment. These conclusions became the basic rules for the organization of the Omiš Festivals that followed. Thanks to them and the festival activity, a performing model of the *klapa*, which I call the festival *klapa*, was profiled.

FESTIVAL KLAPA

The term *festival klapa* is directly connected with the beginning of Omiš Festival where amateur singing ensembles had a chance to officially demonstrate singing skills in front of an eager audience. The Omiš Festival initiated the creation of many *klapas*: from about 15 organized *klapas* in the 1960s to more than 200 registered *klapas* at the end of the 1980s and more than 400 *klapas* at the end of the century. Most *klapa* singers and presenters in that period measured their results by success at the Omiš festival.

The festival *klapa*, a bond between amateurs singing and scholars directing, is a formally organized group of amateur singers, with clear aims and intentions, who share the joy of making music together in a quality performance for the public performance (Čaleta 1997a, 130). All the songs of the *klapa* repertoire are sung in the local čakavian dialect. The singers started performing in uniformed stylized national costumes, white shirts with characteristic parts of national costumes (linen belts, hats) that symbolize the region they come from, or in sailor T-shirts. With the help of the Omiš Festival and the media, the *klapas* have felt the charms of singing on stage, which then becomes an almost exclusive place for performing. Microphones, stage lights, and TV broadcasts become an integral part of the *klapa* singing ritual while *klapa* singers become better stage performers. Besides performing on stage, they continue singing on informal occasions in the manner of traditional *klapa*.¹⁹ Festival *klapa* ensemble can sing using a combination of singing styles depending upon their musical preferences as well as the selection of repertoires from different regions of Dalmatia.²⁰ The main aim of the singers is to achieve the best possible blend of chords. This is of primary importance to the prestige of *klapas*, in their competition to win audience support. Over the years, *klapas*, singers, leaders, composers, and repertoire have become increasingly well-known not only among Dalmatian population but also outside of the borders of the local and regional communities. At the same time, *klapa* ensembles started to accompany the singers of *zabavna glazba* (pop entertainment music) during their festivals and started to sing the arrangements of their successful songs.²¹

19 It is not always possible to draw a clear dividing line between the *klapa* models mentioned above.

20 *Klapski bazeni* (*klapa* pools) is the term that describes different regions where interpretative *klapa* styles have similar characteristic. More about this see Čaleta, Bošković (2011).

21 The most important festivals of popular music (*zabavna glazba*), modeled on the famous San

Unlike traditional *klapa*, the members of the festival *klapa* are not brought together by common work and friendship but by love for music interest in performing on stage, interest for competing and in newer times for economic reasons. The pursuit of beautiful and cultivated singing and the desire for performances that validate themselves in their own environment are common reasons for singing in the *klapa*. While the traditional *klapa* performances relied heavily on the musical creativity of the singers, leaving them to a certain extent the possibility of freedom and improvisation in interpreting the traditional template, the festival *klapa* performances rest on carefully rehearsed notations of traditional song arrangements, with all the details and nuances of the performance worked out beforehand. Possible age and professional differences, including those regarding the musical taste of individual members, are bridged by the leader of the *klapa*, who selects and often processes the tunes and trains the *klapa* singers. Omiš Festival established the role of the first tenor as the most appreciated of all *klapa* singers' voices²² and fixed both the number of singers (4–8) and number of voices (four-part singing). Over the years, the Omiš Festival introduced the various repertoires of traditional and newly composed *klapa* songs, promoted leaders of *klapa* groups, created well-known composers and arrangers for the *klapa* group singing, and launched prominent singers. All in all, the establishment of the competitive *klapa* festival had a significant impact on the history of *klapa* singing. The high technical quality of the performance characterizes most of the *klapas* that the judging panels of experts choose for the performance and competition at the Omiš festival.

However, only a small number of those who, thanks primarily to the musical talent and individuality of their music leaders, but also of individual singers (especially the first tenors), developed their own, distinctive style of interpretation, which earned them not only the affection of the audience, but also a special reputation among other *klapas*.

All of this can be realized with the help of a professional leader who, in most cases, selects both the singers and the repertoire by regularly practicing with the *klapa* (rehearsals). One of the novelties that Omiš Festival brought to the festival *klapa* is the role of an expert *klapa* leader. Their importance and reputation grew parallel with the affirmation of the Omiš festival. *Klapa* singers on time realized that spontaneous gatherings and unorganized singing could hardly satisfy the serious criteria and requirements of the festival. In the beginning, it was an almost impossible mission. Although the rapid expansion of organized singing groups outside the city centers increased the need for their involvement, a few existing experts mostly lived

Remo festival of Italian *canzone* (1951) – Zagreb festival (1954), *Opatija* (1958) and *Melodije Jadrana Split* (1960), started few years prior to the Omiš festival. One could say that popularity of dalmatinske pjesme (Dalmatian songs), repertoire of dalmatian urban songs featured at the festivals, were one of the reasons for the beginning of the Omiš festival.

22 The names of leading voices (first tenor): Vinko Coce (*klapa* Trogir), Joško Prijić (*klapa* DC), Špiro Jurić (*klapa* Cambi), Tonči Milatić (*klapa* Ošjak), Ante Krolo (*klapa* Nostalgija), Radovan Baričević (*klapa* Vinčace), Stjepan Franetović (*klapa* Jelsa)... are known among the *klapa* singers and followers of the *klapa* singing. At the same time, the names of numerous other singers stayed anonymous as is the case in most of the traditional singing genres.

in the cities. The practice that the same leader leads several *klapas* was common at that time. Furthermore, terminology for the newly invented position was worded. Their leader's position was named "meštri o' *klapa*" (*klapa* masters), while the singers when addressed directly called them "maestro"²³ (Grgić 2006, 93). The music leaders took on the complex and responsible task of putting together a clear harmony. Since there was not enough *klapa* literature in the beginning, a large number of skillful musicians tried their hand at harmonizing and arranging existing, well-known tunes. Many of them also became melographers because there was a danger that many common melodies would be forgotten. Thanks to the successes at the Omiš festival, a certain number of prominent *klapa* leaders made a profile through recognizable performance styles as well as through the number of awards won at the festival. The names of prominent *klapa* leaders, arrangers and composers Dinko Fio, Duško Tambača, Krešimir Magdić, Ljubo Stipišić Delmata, Rajmir Kraljević, Mojmir Čačija have become part of the lexicon of the *klapa* world, and their musical works have become standard musical examples that every reputable *klapa* has in its repertoire.

From the beginning of its organized existence, the festival *klapa* has been a favorite to the politics of the system it has existed in. The amateur festival *klapas* have mainly been organized as part of the local KUDs (Cultural Artistic Society), and actively participated in all local cultural programs. That was one more reason why the Croatian Ministry of Culture recognized and sponsored the Omiš Festival as an event of regional significance (Marošević 1988, 86). This situation is explained by Jure Benić, singer of one of the best *klapas* of that time – Oktet DC, Solin. In the documentary series on the history of the *Klapa* movement (Varošanec 2017, 1), Benić made a statement that could describe that time:

We didn't even earn money to buy the shoes, we did it all for nothing!
Whoever called us, we went and sang and that was our real pleasure! We never asked anyone to pay for it! If they honored us, we were happy!

(Jure Benić, *klapa* singer 2017)

KLAPA GATHERINGS (SMOTRA) VS. KLAPA FESTIVALS

The Omiš Festival was not the only place where *klapa* could perform. From the very beginnings of the festival *klapa*, various events where several *klapas* performed (*smotre*) were equally important. The experience that *klapas* gain through this model of public performance is invaluable for their development - noticing the qualities and virtues of other *klapas*, they find a motive for work and progress. Parallel with the development of the Omiš Festival, a whole network of local gatherings was created, developed and disappeared. For centers with developed tourism, such an evening is an ideal combination of entertainment, presentation of indigenous traditional cultural heritage and enrichment of the cultural offer in the place. As a rule, the *klape* at

23 In early festival writings, the role of leader is recorded in several versions: musical leader, expert or artistic leader of the *klapa*, accompanist, *klapa* conductor (Bulletins of the Omiš Festival).

the *smotra* perform free of charge, while for the concert of a well-known *klapa*, the organizer, depending on its reputation, must provide a considerable fee. Continuity and recognition are features of most known *smotre* – Bibinje, Skradin, Klis.²⁴ Most of the *klapas* are privileged by invitation to perform at these events. The gathering of *klapas* on such an event always finished with a great feast where, while consuming the food and drinks, singers share the joy of singing in spontaneous performances.²⁵

It is clear that it would be impossible to list all *klapa* manifestations and events (*smotre*).²⁶ From Pula (Puna mi Pula), via the small Istrian village Trviž or St. Peter in Forest, Kostanje near Omiš or Donje Selo on the island of Šolta, where the whole place turns into a big stage on which the sound of *klapas* resounds until dawn. Beside Zagreb and its *klapa* manifestations, there are Sisak, Samobor, or Daruvar events (*smotre*) organized by local *klapas*. Going south through the hinterland, there are *klapa* events in Imotski, Sinj, and Vrgorac, and all to the far south – Dubrovnik (Ak-lapela) and Cavtat.

In addition to the Omiš Festival, there are several events that bear the name of the *klapa* festival. The competitive character is the same among all festivals; every *klapa* festival has a determined set of rules and propositions according to which they shape their primary activity. Some festivals are innovative or experimental, the others feature *klapa* singing with instrumental accompaniment besides regional festivals. The main goal of the regional festivals is to raise the level of performance quality and competitive spirit among the *klapas* in the area. Thanks to these festivals, *klapas* from other regions equally win prizes at the Omiš festival. In the last several decades the new regions of *klapa* singing have been having *klapa* festivals. The best examples are festivals in Perast (Montenegro) and Posušje (Bosnia and Herzegovina).

If we analyze the activities of these festivals, we will notice interesting moves by the organizers. The evaluation, counseling, and encouragement system, cash prizes, and winter seminars aroused great interest among the participants. The aforementioned leads us to think that the great burden of responsibility lies both on the capable organizer and on the artistic director of the festival and his ability to shape and steer the festival in the right direction. It is not just about financial resources, but the ability to come up with a concept and develop and realize all the planned plans and goals. That is the main reason for the variety of organizers of *klapa* festivals; organizers of Makarska and Opatija festivals (with instrumental accompaniment) are local tourist organizations that find their immediate interest in organizing such events. Local Amateur Artistic Society (KUD) is the organizer of the festival in Kaštel Kam-belovac (VDP Kaštela) featuring *klapas* interpretation of popular music expanding boundaries and possibilities of the newly adapted repertoires. Experimental (VDP Kaštela) and specialist festivals (Opatija, Makarska, Sinj – *Klape Gospi Sinjskoj*) promote the diversity of approaches to the *klapa* musical phenomenon. They develop as

24 More about *klapa* singing events in Čaleta and Bošković (2011).

25 New generations of the *klapa* singers have term for this event. They simply call this „after”. After is a *klapa* term for informal music by *klapa* singers after official, protocol performances (festivals, shows, concerts). More about after parties in Čaleta 2020.

26 All mentioned festivals and *smotre* are listed in bibliography.

a result of efforts to incorporate new styles and genres into “new clothes”, acceptable to performers and their consumers – the audience. Their task is even more complex, especially the organizational one. It is organizational problems that force certain festivals to change or, in the worst cases, to disappear.

The development of the event in Senj was interesting. The *klapa* festival in Senj began as its original name suggested – in the form of a revue event (*Smotra klapa* Senj). After more than a decade of activity, circumstances enabled the festival to grow into the North Adriatic *Klapa* Festival, which, thanks to unfavorable circumstances this time, was returning to its original form, a revue event (*smotra*). As one of the reasons for switching to the revue model, in our conversations with the organizers it was mentioned the frequent indignation and dissatisfaction of the *klapas* with the evaluation system (inadequate members of the jury) which started to turn them away from Senj. For them, the *smotra* model represents the pleasure of singing, while the festival implies that high singing skills that are rewarded. Pleasure vs. honor, on the scales of a *klapa* singer, does not seem like an easy choice.

Speaking of honor, it should be mentioned that the biggest *klapa* festival, the one in Omiš, does not always look indifferently at its competitive events that have the noun festival in the title. He perceives them as competitive and accordingly tries to reduce their importance by starting evenings of the same or similar thematic evenings or by taking an uncompromising attitude in changing the dates of performances. One of the controversial relations was precisely the one towards the experimental festival – VDP-Kaštela. The biggest losers, in this case, were the *klapa* singers, some of whom furiously drove 40 kilometers between cities to be able to perform in both places on the same evening. A similar relationship, rivalry, can be observed between the two specialist festivals in Opatija and Makarska. There isn't really room for both in this small space, so in this case, too, time will tell which festival was more persistent, more organized, more economically and media supported and which survived on the market because of these values.

MODERN KLAPA AND OMIŠ FESTIVAL

A great number of social, cultural, and political changes that occurred in Croatia at the beginning of the 1990s have provoked some changes in the movement of the *klapa* singing, a new type of *klapa* was modeled – the modern *klapa*. The modern *klapa* had different aims from the previous model – preserving itself by accepting and implicating various foreign styles and genres of traditional, classical, and especially popular music (Dalmatian pop songs, rock or even rap performers). This *klapa* model represents the time of popularization of the *klapa* movement to the widening of the circle of interest of audiences of all ages outside their local and regional limits (Čaleta 2003, 232). Omiš Festival still plays an important role in, the now, *klapa* movement that consists of several hundred organized groups spread in and outside of the Dalmatian borders.

Due to the new circumstances, the center is no longer Dalmatia where this particular vocal style originated. Urban centers such as Zagreb and Rijeka are now sites of the recent *klapa* singing activity. Although most of the singers in the new *klapa*

centers are not of Dalmatian origins, many of the *klapas* outside Dalmatia are named “Dalmatian” *klapa* singing groups. In most of the media, Dalmatia is still referred to as a main area of *klapa* activity. During the same time, an increasing number of *klapas* are being formed in the Croatian diaspora – among Croatian emigrants (in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, U.S.A., Argentina, South Africa, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland), but also among people fond of multipart singing. For years, the state organization Hrvatska Matica iseljenika (Croatian Heritage Foundation) promoted and supported folklore groups and tamburica music. The growing popularity of *klapa* singing among Croatians outside the country provoked changes in the cultural politics towards them.²⁷ At the same time, the Croatian Ministry of Culture recognized *klapa* singing as an important “Croatian cultural product” and started, with the Ministry of Tourism, an official promotion. Thanks to the UNESCO inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (2012)²⁸ the importance of *klapa* was “officially” confirmed and mentioning of the inscription became the usual way of describing the status of *klapa* singing. Omiš Festival played an important role in the process of preparing applications for the inscription and proudly emphasizing that fact.

While in the 1980s most *klapa* leaders and singers measured their work based on their success at the Omiš Festival, in the 1990s, media exposure was increasingly becoming an important measure of success. Until the 1990s, the number of female singers and female *klapas* was marginal. In the 1970s female singers started to join some of the male groups as a leading voice. During the same time, several mixed *klapas* as well as female *klapas* were founded. The first female *klapas* modeled after male (festival) *klapas* were established in the Dalmatian cities of Split and Zadar (Stermšek 1994, 198). The number of female *klapas* increased in the 1990s and the growing popularity of female *klapas* has forced the organizers of Omiš Festival to respond to these changes – the Omiš Festival in 1991 dedicated one festival night exclusively to female *klapas*. The rapid increase in the number of female *klapas* resulted in the formation of the female *klapa* festival as a part of the Omiš festival (from 1994), where they compete according to the same rules as male *klapas*. This is the most significant influence that the Omiš Festival had on the *klapas* in the 1990s.

Changes have also occurred in the formal organization of the *klapas* themselves. Although the leader of the *klapa* (a role established during the festival *klapa* period) is still very crucial for the quality of performance and accomplishments, there are an increasing number of *klapas* without a permanent leader. There are many successful *klapa* leaders who share their knowledge and experience with several *klapas* through various short-term programs that result in festival performances, studio recordings,

27 The best example was “First Encounter of Klapas from Diaspora” (26 June – 3 July 2006) where nine *klapas* from outside Croatia (U.S.A., Argentina, New Zealand, South Africa, Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, Montenegro) were invited to promote their singing to Croatian and, at the same time, to encourage *klapa* singing among Croatians emigrants (on *klapa* singing in diaspora see Čaleta (1997b). Omiš festival organized the final concert as a grand finale of the tour satisfying their hopes to perform at the “Olimp” of *klapa* singing! (Grgić 2006, 13)

28 <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/klapa-multipart-singing-of-dalmatia-southern-croatia-00746>. Accessed on 4.10. 2023.

or individual concerts. What causes a change in the relationship between the leader and the *klapa*? Most singers of the festival *klapa* type have had direct contact with the tradition of *klapa* singing.

In modern *klapa*, the singers are young, educated people who have acquired their experience through listening to the performances of certain *klapas* and mostly to numerous recordings of various *klapas*. The singers of a modern *klapa* are more aware that dedicated and serious rehearsals are a certain way to success, as well as the choice of the repertoire and the singing style. The modern life of the new generation of singers has led to new ways of communication. Over the last few decades, most of the *klapas* organized personal websites with information about the singers, future and past performances, recorded albums, and individual and group aspirations. The purpose of the website is to be in contact with the world, especially with the people who sing (and not exclusively *klapa* singing).

* * *

Omiš Festival is trying to follow the same trends and rules with less success than individual *klapas*. Despite all the changes and extremely fast progress, the performance at the Omiš Festival, as well as the recognition received, remains the ultimate reach of every *klapa*. What started as a spontaneous manifestation in the last century, has managed to preserve its importance until today, to the great satisfaction of all those who participate in the organization, and festival performances, as well as the audience that has faithfully followed the events in Omiš festival for all these years.

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Bombardelli, Silvije. 1970. "Neke karakteristike gradske dalmatinske pjesme". In: *Bilten 1*. Omiš: Festival dalmatinskih klapa – Omiš, 4–21.
- Bošković-Stulli, Maja. 1971. "O folklorizmu". In *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena* 45: 165–186.
- Buble, Nikola, ed. 1991. *Zbornik dalmatinskih klapskih pjesama izvedenih na festivalima u Omišu od 1977. do 1986.*, sv. II. Omiš: Festival dalmatinskih klapa.
- Buble, Nikola, ed. 1992. *Zbornik dalmatinskih klapskih pjesama izvedenih na festivalima u Omišu od 1987. do 1991. i novih skladbi od 1968. do 1991.*, sv. III. Omiš: Festival dalmatinskih klapa.
- Buble, Nikola. 2009. „Dalmatinsko klapsko pjevanje“ In *Hrvatska glazba u 20. stoljeću*, edited by Jelena Hekman i Vesna Zednik, 267–304. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.
- Ceribašić, Naila. 2003. *Hrvatsko, seljačko, starinsko i domaće. Povijest i etnografija javne prakse narodne glazbe u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku.
- Ceribašić, Naila. 2009. "Festivalizacija hrvatske tradicijske glazbe u 20. stoljeću". U *Hrvatska glazba u 20. stoljeću*, uredile Jelena Hekman i Vesna Zednik, 241–266. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.
- Čaleta, Joško. 1997a. "Klapa Singing, A Traditional Folk Phenomenon of Dalmatia". *Narodna umjetnost. Croatian Journal of Ethnology and Folklore Research* 34(1): 127–145.
- Čaleta, Joško. 1997b. „Klapa u dijaspori: klapa ‘Zvonimir’ Vancouver, Canada“. *Bašćinski glasi* 6: 71–93.
- Čaleta, Joško. 1999. "The Ethnomusicological Approach to the Concept of the Mediterranean in Music in Croatia". *Narodna umjetnost. Croatian Journal of Ethnology and Folklore Research* 36(1): 183–195.
- Čaleta, Joško. 2003. "Klapa Singing and ča-val. The Mediterranean Dimension of Popular Music in Croatia". In *Mediterranean Mosaic - Popular Music and Global Sound*, edited by Goffredo Plastino, 241–267. New York: Routledge.
- Čaleta, Joško. 2004. „Klapsko pjevanje i ča-val - mediteranske dimenzije popularne glazbe u Hrvatskoj“. *Bašćinski glasi* 8 (1): 225–248.
- Čaleta, Joško. 2008. "The 'klapa movement' – multipart singing as a popular tradition". *Narodna umjetnost* 45(1): 125–148.
- Čaleta, Joško and Jurica Bošković. 2011. *Mediterranski pjev: o klapama i klapskom pjevanju*. Zagreb: Večernji list.
- Čaleta, Joško. 2013. „Klapsko pjevanje, tradicijski glazbeni fenomen urbane Dalmacije“. In *Blaga Hrvatske: Neprocjenjiva prirodna i kulturna baština*, edited by Vid Jakša Opačić, 276–284. Zagreb: Mozaik knjiga d.o.o.
- Čaleta, Petra. 2020. „Klapsko pjevanje u gradu Splitu: Paradigmatski konteksti izvođenja i izgradnja klapskog identiteta grada“. Master thesis, University of Zagreb.
- Falassi, Alessandro. 1987. „Festival: Definition and morphology.“ In *Time out of Time. Essays on the Festival*, edited by Alessandro Falassi, 1–10. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Forry, Mark. 1986. "The 'festivalization' of Tradition in Yugoslavia". *Report on 31st Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology*, Rochester, New York, 14–19 October 1986.
- Franklin, Adrian. 2001. "Performing Live: An Interview with Barbara Kir-shenblatt-Gimblett". *Tourist Studies* 1 (3): 211–232. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/146879760100100301?icid=int.sj-full-text.similar-articles.5>.
- Ganza, Herci. 2017. *Festival dalmatinskih klapa Omiš 1967.–2016*. Omiš: Festival dalmatinskih klapa.
- Grgić, Miljenko. 2006. *Ljetopisi Festivala dalmatinskih klapa Omiš 1967.–2006*. Omiš: Festival dalmatinskih klapa.
- Kelemen, Petra i Nevena Škrbić-Alempijević. 2012. *Grad kakav bi trebao biti. Etnološki i kulturnoantropološki osvrti na festivale*. Zagreb: Naklada Jesenski i Turk.
- Kljenak, Krešimir i Josip Vlahović. 1979. *Zbornik dalmatinskih klapskih pjesama izvedenih na festivalima u Omišu od 1967. do 1976*, sv. I. Omiš: Festival dalmatinskih klapa.

- Lundberg, Dan, Krister Malm and Owe Ronström. 2003. *Music Media Multiculture. Changing Musicscapes*. Stockholm: Svenskt visarkiv.
- Milin-Ćurin, Vedrana. 1990. „Komponirana klapska pjesma na omiškom festival”. U *Rad 37. kongresa Saveza udruženja folklorista Jugoslavije – Plitvička jezera 1990*, uredio Tomislav Đurić, 230–236. Zagreb: Društvo folklorista Hrvatske.
- Mišetić, Anka and Ines Sabotić. 2004. “A brief history of Croatian Festivals: from real socialism to postmodernity”. In *Journeys of Expression III: Tourism and Festivals as Transnational Practice*. Innsbruck, Austria, 5–7 May 2004: Conference proceedings. Sheffield: Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change, Sheffield Hallam University.
- Stermšek, Maja. 1994. „Ženske vokalne skupine na Festivalu dalmatinskih klapa u Omišu”. *Bašćinski glasi* 3: 197–217.
- Stipišić, Ljubomir. 1970. „Mediterranski mandolinski sastav”. U *Bilten 1*. Omiš: Festival dalmatinskih klapa – Omiš, 23–31.
- Vujić, Antun, ed. 1996. *Hrvatski leksikon (I)*. Zagreb: Naklada Leksikon.
- Varošaneć, Zvonimir. 2017. *Od konobe do svjetske baštine 1–7*. Zagreb: HRT. Accessed October 4, 2023. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IPJl7O7lbaM>.

WEB PAGES

- Festival dalmatinskih klapa, Omiš. Accessed October 4, 2023. <https://fdk.hr/>.
- Večeri dalmatinske pisme, Kaštel Kambelovac. Accessed October 4, 2023. <https://www.vdp.hr/>.
- Festival klapa uz mandoline i gitare – Makarska. Accessed October 4, 2023. <https://www.facebook.com/festivalklapaumig/>.
- Festival klapa i mandolina – Opatija. Accessed October 4, 2023. <https://www.visitopatija.com/festival-klapa-i-mandolina-n441>.
- KiK festival in Buzet, Istria. Accessed October 4, 2023. <https://www.poubuzet.hr/manifestacije/kik-fest-festivala-klapa-istre-i-kvarnera/>.
- Jelsa od versa in Jelsa, island of Hvar. Accessed October 4, 2023. <https://visitjelsa.hr/hr/dogadanja/jelsa-od-versa/>.
- Festival klapa Dubrovačko-neretvanske županije Blato, island of Korčula. Accessed October 4, 2023. https://tzo-blato.hr/images/dokumenti/pravilnik_festivala_klapa_dub_ner_zupanije2018.pdf.
- Smotra klapa u Senju. Accessed October 4, 2023. <https://www.lika-online.hr/smotra-klapa-senj-priredba-za-glazbene-sladokusce-istanacanog-ukusa/>.
- Međunarodni festival klapa, Perast. Accessed October 7, 2023. <https://festivalklapaperast.com/wpfest/>.
- Klapa multipart singing of Dalmatia, southern Croatia. Accessed October 4, 2023. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/klapa-multipart-singing-of-dalmatia-southern-croatia-00746>.
- Festivity of Saint Blaise, the Patron of Dubrovnik. Accessed October 8, 2023. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/festivity-of-saint-blaise-the-patron-of-dubrovnik-00232>.

ЈОШКО ЧАЛЕТА

ФЕСТИВАЛ ДАЛМАТИНСКИХ КЛАПА У ОМИШУ
КАО ПРИМЕР ФЕСТИВАЛИЗАЦИЈЕ
ХРВАТСКЕ ТРАДИЦИОНАЛНЕ МУЗИКЕ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Појам народне музике у Хрватској уско је повезан са историјом њеног извођења на фестивалима и другим сродним јавним догађајима. Смотре фолклора и сличне јавне манифестације на којима се представља традиционална култура су вековна традиција у Хрватској. Кроз њихово постојање и деловање профилисали су се различити музички жанрови, стилови и извођачи, а управо су фестивали (смотре) током 20. века били одговарајуће поље примене и канонизације традиционалне музике. Јавна извођења на фестивалима и смотрема одгојила су генерације публике и привукла нове генерације будућих истакнутих извођача. Небројени стручњаци, етномузиколози, етнологзи, етнокореолози, стекли су статус признатих познавалаца традиције активним учешћем у наведеним процесима. Њиховим препорукама и проценама верује се током целог 20. века, па и данас, посебно током припрема за наступе на смотрема преко читаве године, чиме се истиче димензија очувања неопходна за квалитет и потпуни опстанак традиционалне културе.

Оснивањем регионалних смотри и Међународне смотре фолклора у Загребу започео је процес који се огледа и у темељном научном дискурсу кроз „*suvremeno propitivanje folklor i folklorizma, izvornosti i stilizacije, estetike prezentacije, odnosa tradicijskih i suvremenih vrijednosti, slobode kreativnog izražavanja, odnosa između stručnjaka (...)*” (Ceribašić 2003, 405). Важно је напоменути да је и у тим процесима однос према вокалној музици и јавном представљању вокалне музике имао велики утицај на развој касније фестивализације традиције.

Све наведено утврђено је и анализирано кроз пример који је у фокусу овог истраживања – Фестивал далматинских клапа у Омишу, који је својим постојањем и деловањем форматирао, институционализовао и популаризовао клапско певање. Спонтана, неорганизована урбана вокална традиција оснивањем фестивала постаје организована, фестивалска творевина која свој даљи историјски ток заснива на канонима које је Фестивал далматинских клапа у Омишу успоставио и промовисао својим вишегодишњим деловањем. Клапско певање од локалне урбане вокалне традиције тако постаје национални, па и интернационални организовани вокални музички феномен.