POLITICS, FEASTS, FESTIVALS

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YEARBOOK OF THE SIEF WORKING GROUP
ON THE RITUAL YEAR
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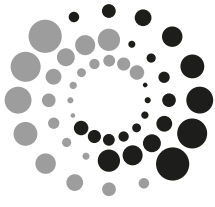

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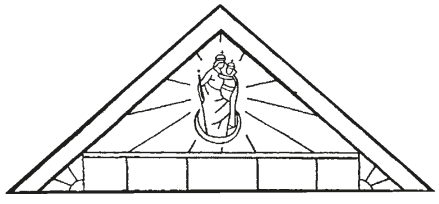
YEARBOOK OF THE SIEF WORKING GROUP ON THE RITUAL YEAR

Edited by
Gábor BARNA and István POVEDÁK



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POLITICS IN RITUALS

POLITICS OF FOLK RITUALS

FOREWORD

This is not the first time that the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Szeged, and – since July 2013 – the MTA-SZTE Research Group for the Study of Religious Culture have dealt with the connections between politics and festivals. Back in 1999 the Department organized the 3rd conference of the SIEF's Working Group on Ethnology of Religion under the title *Politics and Folk Religion*.[1] The narrower topic of feasts, festivals and religion has always been a focus of interest in our researches. This is also reflected in the publications of the Department. One of our series of publications is devoted to textual and visual sources on religious life, another series publishes analyses, monographs and conference papers. In the 1990s and the early 2000s the Department published a large number of books on the subject of rites, rituals, customs, ceremonies, feasts, national/state/political festivals.

Calendar feasts, or in a wider interpretation, the ritual year are traditional topics of the research activity of the Department. The roots of this interest go back to the early 1930s when Sándor Bálint (1904-1980), the later professor of the Department, became assistant and then Privatdocent at the Ethnographical Institute which was established some years earlier, in 1929. In the second half of the 1930s he published the first writings and books on calendar feasts. The topic remained his main field of interest in the following decades, too.

Sándor Bálint's seminal comprehensive work, *Karácsony, húsvét, pünkösd* [Christmas, Easter, Pentecost] and the two volumes of *Ünnepi kalendárium* [Feast Calendar] appeared in the 1970s. These books are considered to be his chefs-d'oeuvre. They are dazzling displays of his knowledge of ethnology, folkloristics, cultural history, ecclesiastical history, literary history, heortology, theology, liturgical history, music history and linguistics. He places everything in a historical and Central European context and takes into consideration the Romanian, Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Slovakian, Czech, German and Austrian material. *Karácsony, húsvét, pünkösd* surveys the traditions related to the major church feasts and the liturgical and paraliturgical phenomena that infiltrated into everyday life. The two volumes of *Ünnepi kalendárium* review the feasts of Mary and the saints in the order of the church year, month by month. These offer a rich source material of an almost forgotten world.

As a result, multi-directional research on religion and festivals continues to be an important part of the department's teaching and research activity. Over the past 20 years, through its publishing and conference activity, our department has become an important workshop of ethnology of religion, including also feasts and festivals.

National feasts have also been examined. We especially studied our new national feast, 23rd October, the commemoration day of the 1956 revolution which

1 The contributions of the conference were published in a volume edited by Gábor Barna: *Politics and Folk Religion*. Szegedi Vallási Néprajzi Könyvtár 6. Szeged, 2001.

before the change of political system in 1990 was an alternative but prohibited feast.

At first glance politics and culture are two different spheres of human culture. However, if we make a deeper analysis several intersections emerge. Feasts in particular can express political, cultural, religious or ideological contents with individual and communal variants, thus they often use symbolic forms. Both the system and the content of feasts change from time to time, manipulated by political ideologies. Feasts as extraordinary time offer a possibility for the connection of high and low tradition, the accommodation of elements of folklore and/or popular culture and their association with local or high politics. Therefore politics and political regimes always want to control the world of feasts, have a special feast-policy and may have different attitudes toward feasts. The concept of (folk) culture played a diverse role in the historical development of national/patriotic, religious/church, and regionalist movements as well as in processes of community-, nation- and region-building directed by the society/state.

In recent decades the intersection between politics and (folk) culture greatly intensified, creating a strong emphasis on the political aspects of the appropriation of the elements of folklore, stressing its contemporary uses by cultural activists and policy makers, and by national, regional and ethnic movements. All these aspects and transformations can be best analysed on the basis of rituals, the changes in the structure, function, and symbolic meaning of folk/political and newly invented rituals. That is why we held the conference on the biggest Hungarian national day, March 15th, the anniversary of the 1848 bourgeois revolution and war of independence.

Gábor Barna

POLITICS AND THE REMEMBRANCE OF THE PAST

MODIFICATIONS OF THE FESTIVAL CALENDAR IN 1600 AND 1605 DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES VI AND I

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Abstract: James VI, one of the line of Stuart kings of Scotland, became king of England (as James I of that country) on the death of Queen Elizabeth of England in 1603. Two modifications to the festival calendar were introduced during his reign.

1 January became the beginning of the year in Scotland in 1600. Both Scotland and England before that time began the year at the Annunciation on 25 March. When the Gregorian calendar was introduced in 1752 in the whole of Britain, England adopted the 1 January year-beginning, but no change was required in Scotland.

5 November is Guy Fawkes Day, the main festival for bonfires and fireworks throughout Britain. There were a number of points in the year traditionally celebrated with bonfires, but these have all died out as general celebrations leaving this historically founded festival as a focus for private parties and municipal festivities. The annual bonfires celebrate the foiling of the Gunpowder Plot which aimed to blow up King James and his parliament at Westminster in London on 5 November 1605. Guy Fawkes was arrested when about to set light to the gunpowder stored under the parliament building.

Keywords: bonfires, Catholics, commemoration, England, fireworks, Gunpowder Plot, Guy Fawkes Day, James VI, New Year, Scotland

Acknowledgement: I should like to thank Anne Seitz for supplying the photograph included as Figure 1.

Introduction

Two high points in the festival calendar in Britain can be related to the early seventeenth century during the reign of King James VI of Scotland who became James I of England in 1603. I shall consider first the introduction in Scotland in 1600 of an official year-beginning on 1 January which had some impact on international politics at the time, and then go on to a historical incident on 4-5 November 1605 which has had repercussions at the national and local level in Britain in the religious and secular realms up to the present day through the annual commemoration on 5 November.

The Marking of the Official Beginning of the Year on 1 January

Both Scotland and England had marked the year-beginning on 25 March, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, which was referred to as Lady Day. However, the Roman year-beginning on 1 January, which had been the occasion of pagan midwinter celebrations, had not been forgotten and the authors of a handbook on the ritual year draw attention to the situation that this gave rise to: "Partly because of these Roman customs, the Church was long reluctant to count the year from 1 January; nevertheless, the day retained the title of New Year's Day and its counterpart in other languages irrespective of the day on which the number of the year changed."[1] They note that "in Scotland the 1 January style was adopted in 1600" and that "by then it was normal in continental Western Europe outside Italy". We have the opportunity in Scotland of observing how the change was made through a simple regulation at the highest level of government.

James VI, King of the Scots, had scholarly leanings and an enquiring mind,[2] and he probably played a leading role personally in the adoption of the new year-beginning in his kingdom at the beginning of a new century. There may have been religious influences before this time that would have supported the change. The reformation in Scotland, which occurred in 1560, took a Calvinist form that brought about the destruction of the Church festival year.[3] A year-beginning at the Annunciation might have seemed anomalous in a country that forbade the celebration of any Church festivals including Christmas and Easter. However, I have not seen this discussed, and the proclamation by King James does not include any reference to religion. It makes three points. One is that the change will harm no one. A second is rather vaguely worded but seems to imply that a year-beginning at 1 January would be natural and appropriate in the sense that it is close to the solstice and at a point when light begins to increase. The main reason given for making the change, however, is that it would bring Scotland into line with the practice of continental Europe. This is stated in terms of doing what is done in "all other well-governed commonwealths and countries", and this was rather insulting to England, which was following the 25 March practice. Politically, the move that was positive towards continental Europe in general was antagonistic towards England, the southern neighbour within the same island.

The introduction of the new year-beginning was made by the following proclamation, which gave two weeks' notice of the change. Within the following fortnight, the news was to be carried throughout the kingdom and announced at the market crosses which stood in the town centres. This "Ordinance of 17 December 1599 at Holyrood House, Edinburgh" is given from the register of the Privy Council of Scotland[4] and the text is followed by my translation into modern English.

1 Blackburn and Holford-Strevens 1999. 7, cf. 784.
2 Croft 2003; Stilma 2012.
3 Cameron 1972. 88-89.
4 Masson 1884. 63.

> The Kingis Majestie and Lordis of his Secreit Counsall undirstanding that in all utheris weill governit commoun welthis and cuntreyis the first day of the yeir begynis yeirlie upoun the first day of Januare, commounlie callit new yeiris day, and that this realme onlie is different fra all utheris in the compt and reckning of the yeiris; and his Majestie and Counsall willing that thair salbe na disconformitie betuix his Majestie, his realme and leigis, and utheris nichtbour cuntreyis in this particular, bot that thay sall conforme thameselffis to the ordour and custum observit be all utheris cuntreyis, especiallie seing the course and seasoun of the yeir is maist propir and ansuerabill thairto, and that the alteratioun thairof importis na hurte nor prejudice to ony pairtie: thairfoir his Majestie, with advise of the Lordis of his Secreit Counsall, statutis and ordanis that in all tyme cuming the first day of the yeir sal begin yeirlie upoun the first day of Januare, and thir presentis to tak executioun upoun the first day of Januare nix to cum, quhilk salbe the first day of the j^{m} and sex hundreth yeir of God; and thairfoir ordanis and commandis the clerkis of his Hienes sessioun and signet, the directour and writtaris to the chancellarie and prevey seall, and all utheris jugeis, writtaris, notaris, and clerkis within this realme, that thay and everie ane of thame in all tyme heirefter date all thair decreittis, infeftmentis, charteris, seasinges, letteris, and writtis quhatsumevir, according to this present ordinance, compting the first day of the yeir fra the first day of Januare nix to cum; and ordanis publicatioun to be maid heirof at the mercat croceis of the heid burrowis of this realme, quhairthrow nane pretend ignorance of the same.[5]

Clearly James and his lords had in mind only the practicalities of dating in this way, but the change probably facilitated the keeping of customary practices like divination at this time of year. The celebration of New Year's Eve, called Hogmanay, is strongly marked in Scotland at the present day.

Scotland and England differed in the matter of the year-beginning up the time of the more radical calendar revision when Great Britain adopted the Gregorian reform in 1752. As this date was after the Union of the Parliaments, which took

5 The King's Majesty and Lords of his Privy Council understanding that in all other well-governed commonwealths and countries the first day of the year begins yearly upon the first day of January, commonly called new year's day, and that this kingdom only is different from all others in the count and reckoning of the years; and his Majesty and Council desiring that there shall be no lack of conformity between his Majesty's kingdom and subjects, and other neighbouring countries in this particular, but that they shall conform themselves to the order and custom observed by all other countries, especially seeing the course and season of the year is most proper and appropriate, and that the alteration causes no harm to any party: therefore his Majesty, with advice of the Lords of his Privy Council, ordains that in all time coming the first day of the year shall begin yearly upon the first day of January, and these provisions to be put into effect upon the first day of next January, which shall be the first day of the one thousand and six hundredth year of God; and therefore ordains and commands the clerks of his Highness's session and signet, the director and writers to the chancellery and privy seal, and all other judges, notaries, and clerks within this kingdom, that they and every one of them in all time to come date all their decrees, investments, charters, feudal grants, letters, and writs, according to this present ordinance, counting the first day of the year from the first day of next January; and ordains proclamation to be made of this at the market crosses of the main towns of this kingdom, so that no one may claim ignorance of it.

place in 1707, the calendar legislation now applied to both England and Scotland. In the act of parliament 24 George II, c. 23, it was ordered that the eleven days 3-13 September should be omitted in 1752. Provision was also made for the reckoning of the year to run from 1 January from 1752 in England, as it had already done in Scotland since 1600, as we have seen. An intriguing point is that the 1 January year-beginning was not applied to the tax year which still runs from Old Lady Day, currently reckoned as 6 April, although this is normally understood simply as an arbitrary starting date without any sense of its history.[6]

We can now return to King James VI for the consideration of our second special date, 5 November. James succeeded to the throne of England as James I on the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603. In London, he soon became the focus of an addition to the festival calendar which celebrates the failure of an attempt at mass assassination in which he was to have played the role of principal victim.

The Commemoration of the Failure of the Gunpowder Plot on 5 November

David Cressy has explored the creation of historical celebrations in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1989) and has paid particular attention to the Gunpowder Plot. He comments on its special place in the English ritual year,[7] noting that "unlike new nations that celebrate their independence, or old nations that commemorate their revolutions, the English observe no national anniversary to focus and express their patriotism" and that much of the "festive energy" available for such occasions as the Fourth of July in America or the Fourteenth of July in France "has been devoted, instead, to commemorations of the Fifth of November".

It is strange but true that a historical event of 1605 has succeeded in giving its commemorative date to a major fire festival widely celebrated throughout Britain today. There is an associated rhyme which refers to remembrance:[8]

> Remember, remember, the Fifth of November,
> The Gunpowder Treason and Plot.
> I see no reason why Gunpowder Treason
> Should ever be forgot.

The question is rather why this particular event should have been ritually remembered for over four centuries. Steve Roud comments in a recent survey of English ritual and customary practice[9] that "the enormity and astounding audacity of the plot to assassinate the sovereign and all the ruling elite of the country in one fell swoop was bound to mark the day as significant in the history of the nation." He notes that

6 Blackburn and Holford-Strevens 1999. 149, 687; Poole 1995. 110, 117.
7 Cressy 1992. 68.
8 Cressy 1989. 141.
9 Roud 2006. 334.

"the fact that the plotters were Catholics gave the deed an added dimension", and that Parliament immediately decreed public celebrations to mark the "miraculous deliverance" which "took the normal form for that time – bell-ringing, bonfires, and special prayers and sermons." Cressy speaks of the act of Parliament 3 James I, c.1 as "one of the earliest examples of legislated memory",[10] and notes that it decreed "public thanksgiving to Almighty God every year on the fifth day of November [so that] this unfained thankfulnesss may never be forgotten, but be had in perpetual remembrance".

Bell-ringing was practised for a long time but it is now only the bonfires that survive, together with lavish firework displays. At a peak point, in 1980, it was estimated that the expenditure on fireworks was £14 million.[11] In recent years, the emphasis has shifted from family fireworks to public spectacles, like that in Edinburgh at Meadowbank Stadium in 2011, when the photograph included as Figure 1 was taken.

The evening of 5 November is called Firework Night or Bonfire Night. There were a number of dates traditionally celebrated by bonfires in the British Isles: the Celtic half-year markers when bonfires were lit on the days or eves of 1 May (Beltane) and 1 November (Halloween), and the solstices when bonfires were lit at Midsummer or St John's Eve, and Midwinter or 31 December (Hogmanay).[12] The traditional bonfire celebrations largely died out, although there were exceptions like the Clavie in Burghead on 11 January, Old New Year's Eve,[13] and it is always possible to create revivals such as those currently held in Edinburgh on Beltane, Halloween and Hogmanay. However, by contrast with these localised activities, Bonfire Night on 5 November is celebrated today all over Britain at both the civic and private levels and the sound and flash of fireworks going off are in evidence for several nights about this date.

Fire always has its dangers as well as its excitements and there were times when subversive activities and near-riots were a feature of Bonfire Night.[14] A celebration that had been established to commemorate the triumph of law and order when under threat was quite capable of turning into an occasion for chaos and licence. The survival and continued popularity of the celebration owes much to what Ronald Hutton has called "the symbolic flexibility of Gunpowder Treason Day".[15]

The day is also called Guy Fawkes Day from the name of the conspirator who took the most active role. The king was due to attend the opening of Parliament on 5 November 1605 and, on the night before, when the cellars under Parliament House were searched in response to a leak about a possible danger, Guy Fawkes was found with thirty-six barrels of gunpowder and preparations to set them alight. This planned explosion was a desperate measure by a group of Catholics

10 Cressy 1992. 71.
11 Hutton 1996. 406.
12 Sanderson 1980; Sprott 1980; Hutton 1996. 42-44, 218-225, 311-321, 366-369.
13 McKean 2012.
14 Cressy 1992. 83-84; Hutton 1996. 398-400; Roud 2006. 334.
15 Hutton 1994. 255-256.

disappointed in their hopes of improvement in their situation under the new ruler.[16] Fawkes and other conspirators were executed and Catholic repression continued.

The Guy Fawkes Day festival practice is one of great intricacy that has been explored in some detail[17] and only a very general outline can be given here. Recent reflections on the plot itself and the repercussions even today of the government response to it are to be found in a book published for the 400th anniversary.[18] One writer, David Cannadine, makes a comparison with 9/11 and points out that "the foiling of the Gunpowder Plot [was] an outstandingly successful pre-emptive strike against what would now be described as the forces of organized, fanatical, religiously motivated terrorism".[19] Another, Justin Champion, comments on the annual festival that "the tenacity of the ritual in the twenty-first century is a relic of an earlier and more brutal age" and that "it is a residual act of anti-Catholic hatred".[20] He adds: "Given the increasing public sensitivity about criticism and hostility towards other people's religious belief, it is surprising that Bonfire Night persists as a supposedly collective moment of cultural commemoration."[21]

In line with the "symbolic ambivalence of the day",[22] many people are simply out to enjoy a fireworks display or a party while some do display the anti-Catholic rancour complained of by Champion – and there may also be other targets of aggression. An effigy called a guy after Guy Fawkes is sometimes burnt on the bonfire and this may represent Guy Fawkes himself or the Pope or it may alternatively represent some unpopular political figure.[23] Historical memory can give way to current affairs.[24] Clearly, feelings can run high and violence can occur, and, in the light of the "increasing public sensitivity" mentioned above, we can wonder how long this aspect of the tradition will continue.

The surprising thing is that the custom has lasted for centuries through quite different political climates. The fact that both king and parliament had been in danger, meant that both royalists and parliamentarians could support the celebration of the failure of the plot.[25] After James's son, Charles I, was executed in 1649, the godly government that took over was opposed in principle to festivals but Gunpowder Day was an exception and it had the distinction of being "the only legal seasonal festival during the Interregnum".[26] It also continued to be celebrated during the short reign of James's Catholic grandson, James II (1685-1688). It was part of the flexibility of the day that prayers that had been directed against Catholic treason could be revised to condemn treason in general.[27] Observance of

16 Fraser 1996; Croft 2003. 161-163.

17 See, e.g., Cressy 1989. 141-170; Hutton 1996. 393-407; Blackburn and Holford-Strevens 1999. 448–449; Roud 2006. 333-341.

18 Buchanan 2005.

19 Cannadine 2005. 1-2.

20 Champion 2005. 80.

21 Champion 2005. 89.

22 Hutton 1996. 396.

23 Roud 2006. 336; Hannat 2011. 138-139.

24 Cressy 1992. 83.

25 Hutton 1994. 212.

26 Hutton 1996. 395.

27 Hutton 1996. 396.

the Fifth of November was eventually removed from the calendar of the established Church of England in 1859[28] and the celebration took a more exclusively secular turn.

In the twentieth century, it was especially a children's festival, with children making a guy and carrying it around asking for "a penny for the guy" and spending the money on fireworks.[29] This custom was more common in England than in Scotland where the children were more likely to be out a few days earlier on 31 October engaged in house-visiting in disguise in celebration of Halloween.[30]

"Tradition" takes many forms. The beginnings of a calendar tradition like Halloween, which signals the start of the dark half of the Celtic year, have to be located in prehistory,[31] while a tradition like that of Guy Fawkes Day can go back long before individual human memory and yet be fixed in time to a traceable source, which in this case is to be found in the history books under the reign of James VI and I.

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Fig. 1. A firework display at Meadowbank Stadium, Edinburgh, on 4 November 2011.
(Photo: Anne Seitz)

ST. VITUS DAY: A CONFLICTED NATIONAL HOLIDAY

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Abstract: When a new nation-state of Southern Slavs was established they had to introduce new state symbols and cultural forms in commemorations of historical personalities and events. As the Kingdom of Serbia played such an important role, Serbian symbols and commemorations were adopted for the purpose. This meant, that in the state of the 'nation with three names', they glorified the Serbian sacrifices and suffering, but denied the contribution of Croats and Slovenes to the establishment of the state community. Together with the provisions and spirit of the St. Vitus' Day Constitution, the glorification of Serbian mythology as the national mythology of the 'nation with three names,' which was meant to be the foundation stone for the bright future of the unified nation, became more and more of a stumbling stone.

Keywords: Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes; National Holidays; the Politics of Commemoration St. Vitus Day; Yugoslavia.

The Serbian church and national holiday, St. Vitus' Day, is relatively new. It was only in *Šematizam za 1864 (the 1864 Schematism)*, that 15 June was recorded for the first time as St. Vitus' Day, instead of a holiday devoted to Amos the Prophet and Prince Lazar. It became a holiday only in 1889, the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo. After the Battle of Kumanovo, in 1912, it was added to the calendar of the Kingdom of Serbia as one of the nine holidays officially celebrated every year. Since 1919, the day has been devoted to remembering the soldiers who fell in the First World War.[32]

During the First World War, the holiday began to spread among the South Slavs. In the spring of 1916, the Yugoslav Committee in London declared St. Vitus' Day as a national holiday of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.[33]

The Committee used the so-called 'Kossovo Day' as an opportunity to familiarize the British public with the position of Serbia and other South Slavic countries in order to gain its support in the battle for the liberation of a nation which had lived for centuries under 'Turkish' supremacy, enabling the Christian nations of Western Europe to be free and to develop.

32 Popović 2007. 157-158; Zirojević 2002. 251.
33 Županić 1917. 9.

National Holiday

In 1916, the members of the Yugoslav Committee and all their British supporters organized a series of meetings, lectures and concerts in London and other British cities and printed flyers, published newspaper articles and sent letters to editorial boards. As part of the Kossovo Day celebrations, Bogumil Vošnjak, a member of the Yugoslav Committee, gave a lecture on Kosovo and national unity at the University of Leeds. Vošnjak began his lecture with these ambitious words:

> Kossovo is the past, the present, and the future of the nation. It is the dream of the shepherd, the political ideal of an unquiet student and the intellectual, the action of the man. Kossovo is more than a battle – it is a programme, a political ideal; it is the state of the morrow; it speaks of resurrection and national happiness.[1]

National holidays play an important role in the formation of common memories of the past, as they are the very sign that marks historical events and figures that must be known to all citizens, thereby establishing the symbolic unity of all the members of the nation.[2] The holidays of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes emphasized the national unity of the 'three tribes', and St. Vitus' Day was thus added to the otherwise short list.

At the beginning of December 1919, the Minister of the Interior of the newly formed national state of the 'nation with three names' declared three new national holidays: 1 December as the 'day of the unification of our "nation with three names"'; St. Peter's Day on 12 July as the birthday of King Peter I.; and St. Vitus' Day on 28 June as a 'day of commemoration for those who had died fighting for the faith and the homeland'.[3]

Among the new national holidays, St. Vitus' Day held the most emotional and shocking historical memory. St. Vitus' Day had long been considered to be a particularly fateful day in Serbian history: in 1389, it had been the day on which the fateful Battle of Kosovo had taken place; in 1914, in Sarajevo, Gavrilo Princip had assassinated the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Franz Ferdinand, and his wife, which had led to the First World War;[4] in 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was signed; and on 28 June 1921, King Alexander I had promulgated the new constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, known later as the Constitution of St. Vitus' Day. In the years between the two World Wars, tens

1 Vosnjak 1916. 7.
2 Elgenius 2007. 79.
3 Anon 1919. 444.
4 That it is no coincidence that the assassination had been carried out on this date is proved by the fact that Nedeljko Čabrinović, one of the accomplices, was later found to be in possession of copies of the Serbian *Narod*, including a holiday issue on St. Vitus' Day. Anon 1914b. 3.

of thousands of St. Vitus' Day celebrations were held throughout the Kingdom, with King Alexander himself attending numerous ceremonies.[5]

The Muslim religious community was excluded for most of the time. In 1923, the State Minister of Religion, Dr. Vojislav Janić, issued an edict in accordance with which Muslims were not obligated to perform 'any sort of prayers in their mosques (Turkish churches), but need only to close their stores and not send their children to school' on the 24 May holiday of St. Cyril and Methodius and on St. Vitus' Day, as Muslims cannot hold requiems for non-Muslims.[6]

In the period before the World War, the Kingdom of Serbia had participated in two Balkan Wars (1912 and 1913), emerging victorious from both and nearly doubling its territory (from a surface area of 48,000km² to a surface area of 87,000 km²), so that it encompassed a good third of the later established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Of even greater value than the territorial gains, however, was the 'satisfaction that the entire nation felt having, after more than 500 years, finally avenged Kosovo and freed the last Serb from Turkish rule'.[7]

Its success in the Balkan Wars and its glorious victory in the World War greatly improved the reputation of the Kingdom of Serbia among the Slavic population of southern Austria-Hungary; they saw in it a hope for attaining their national freedom:

> And therefore, we Slovenes, were also set free, not so much due to our own efforts, but mainly owing to the triumphant arms of the allies – the glorious arms of Serbia and the martyr-like self-sacrifice of the Serbian nation and the work of the 'Yugoslav Committee in London'.[8]

As the unification of the 'nation with three names' was predominantly the result of Serbian heroism and selflessness, it was somehow logical for Serbs to contribute their symbolic national holiday, which was to support 'our developing unified Yugoslav, i.e. Serbian, Croatian and Slovene, national consciousness'.[9]

The Yugoslav Piedmont

It seemed for centuries that Montenegro would take over the role of the Serbian Piedmont; the 'first Serb', Prince Nikola, in particular was considered as the controller of Serbian national politics.[10] In this period and in this spirit, a romantic story emerged in Montenegro which spoke of a handful of Serbian noblemen who had taken refuge in Montenegro after the defeat on the Plain of Kosovo in

5 Bokovoy 2001. 251.
6 Anon 1923b. I.
7 Kranjec 1927. 248.
8 Zupanič 1922. 2; see also Govekar 1922. 1.
9 Anon 1934. 1.
10 Ćorović 1924. 58–60.

1389. There, these 'children of freedom' had defied the inhospitable environment and their hereditary enemies, the 'Turks', on their own for five hundred years. Although the story was widely accepted, it was but a work of fiction shrouded in folklore, whose purpose was to strengthen Montenegrin patriotism in support of Prince Nikola, who dreamt of restoring the former Serbian Empire.[11] How good Prince Nikola was at drawing out the Montenegrin patriotism and selflessness using the Kosovo myth is more than apparent in the proclamation he issued in Cetinje on St. Vitus' Day in 1876. In his proclamation, the Prince called for vengeance for the lost Kosovo as follows:

> Montenegrins! The flag of freedom and independence which stood proudly and exclusively on our ruins even after Kosovo was not only the flag symbolizing the freedom and independence of Montenegro, but also a symbol of the future freedom and independence of all people. Our enslaved brethren have always looked at Montenegro as a sun which would one day enliven and revive them with its warm rays.
>
> I will not embolden you further, as I know that your courageous chests already swell with the desire to fight the Turks, the desire to avenge Kosovo and resurrect from it the long-buried freedom of the Serbian nation.
>
> Nor will I remind you of the order and obedience associated with soldiership, as you have demonstrated them to me excellently on every occasion. Nor will I tell you like Prince Lazar: Whoever comes not to Kosovo to fight! ... There is no need for me to do so, as I know: you will all follow me!
>
> There was once disunity, but now there is unity!
>
> Murat has taken our empire – it must be taken back from him![12]

The Kosovo myth proved to be a very successful motivator even after the role of Piedmont had been taken over from Cetinje by Belgrade. Wanting to avenge the lost Kosovo, Serbian soldiers fought selflessly from 1912 to 1918. Kosovo became nothing short of a 'sacred word', the role of the Yugoslav Piedmont was definitively taken over by Serbia:

The role of Serbia in this great effort for national unification was always the most active and the most difficult. Everything depended on it, in fact. Within its state structure, the foundation was laid for the creation of the national idea. This idea developed and grew ever stronger with it. After the Kosovo disaster, the mythical flower of *gusle* music, which, with its tragic heroic ethics, raised entire generations of the nation and has had a great influence even up to our current times, sprouted up from its blood.[13]

The establishment of the nation state of the 'nation with three names' raised the question of the identity of the citizens. The first obstacle on this path was represented by the very name of the unified nation. Two points of view were

11 See e.g. Jezernik 2004. 105–106.
12 Nikola 1876. 2.
13 Ćorović 1924. 92.

formed on this subject. The Serbian government, headed by Nikola Pašić, supported the view that the countries of the former Austria-Hungarian Empire had been annexed to the Kingdom of Serbia, just as six *nahiyas* had been annexed during the time of Prince Miloš, the Province of Niš in 1878 and Old Serbia and South Serbia (Vardar Macedonia) in 1913.[14]

According to this view, the new country was to be named Serbia, 'because the Serbian tribe is the strongest and had fought for freedom for centuries, finally emerging victorious through the help of its allies, which led to the unification of all three tribes'.[15] Still others wanted to use the name Yugoslavia and refused to adopt the name of the 'big brother' as their own, and thus the new nation state received its triple name.[16]

The first constitution of the unified state, passed on St. Vitus' Day in 1921, adopted the triple name of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. With it, the 'unification of all three Yugoslav tribes into a unified state entity' gained its legal foundations, and 'Serbian-Croatian-Slovene' was declared as its official language.

When the first Southern Slav nation-state was established, nobody spoke Serbo-Croatian-Slovene language, and the leading political parties had not strived to make Yugoslavs, but Slovenes, Croats and Serbs.

Supporters of the national unity of the 'nation with three names' welcomed the adoption of the constitution enthusiastically. Upon its adoption, the daily *Jutro* reported enthusiastically that with it, St. Vitus' Day, for the first time, appeared as 'a milestone marking an important period in the lives of the Yugoslav people': 'Today, the Kosovo St. Vitus' Day of 1389 is avenged and the Sarajevo St. Vitus' Day of 1914 is rewarded'.[17]

The triple name of the newly formed state was therefore adopted as a compromise, one the political opposition was unwilling to accept, saying that the St. Vitus' Day Constitution established Serbian hegemony within the nation-state. In his speech at the National Assembly on 7 June 1923, Ante Trumbić expressed his opinion that 'a special concept of the national unity of S-C-S' has formed within the state of the 'nation with three names' 'with the political aim and principle of the state being governed by the majority, which the minority must obey'. In practice, this meant: 'Because Serbs constitute the majority, they must run the state, and Croats and Slovenes, as the minority, must submit'.[18]

The political opposition therefore saw the St. Vitus' Day Constitution in an entirely different light. For the *Slovenec*, the adoption of a constitution that did not recognize the national individuality of Slovenes, was a day of national tragedy:

14 Trumbić 1923. 6–7; cf. Kazimirović 1990. 434–443; Suppan 2003. 116.
15 Anon 1923a. 2.
16 Dulibić 1921. 3; Trumbić 1923. 6–7.
17 Anon 1921. 1.
18 Trumbić 1923. 19.

> On St. Vitus' Day in 1389, Serbs lost their freedom on the Plain of Kosovo. On St. Vitus' Day in 1921, Slovenes and Croats lost their freedom in Belgrade. There is now all the more reason for all three tribes to celebrate St. Vitus' Day.[19]

In France, in the process of creating the nation-state, they turned–in a famous phrase of Eugene Weber (1977)–'peasants into Frenchmen'.

When, in 1866, Italy was unified less than 2.5% of the population used Italian as their first language, the vast majority employing a wide range of dialects. This accounts for Massiomo d'Azeglio's call at the time of Unification: 'Ora che l'Italia è fatta, bisogna pensare a fare gl'Italiani!' ('We have made Italy, now we have to make Italians!').[20]

By the contrast, in the nation-state of Southern Slavs the respective (national) elites continued to regard the peasants as Slovenes, Serbs, and Croats.

Because creating citizens is, 'to a significant degree, a process of institutionally organized impersonation',[21] it was necessary to invent historical events and figures which best represented the 'imagined community' as the result of long-standing historical efforts. In the 'nation with three names', the St. Vitus' Day mythology became such a symbol and was given the task of strengthening social and cultural cohesion through its semantic content and its interpretation. After the bloody Great War, the people, veteran groups and the nation-state of the 'nation with three names' tried to interpret both the people's heroism and their sacrifice through the images and symbols of the Kosovo myth.

The formation of memories of the 'common' past of the members of the imagined community of the historical events and figures that led to its formation, is an important connecting element. The very selection of the events and personalities that were important for the formation of the common past was closely connected to forgetting, as public forgetting promotes or enacts a dramatically new communal perspective on the past in which former works, words, and deeds undergo radical alteration, losing their previous meaning and authority. This means that the villains of yesterday can become the heroes of today, and the heroes of yesterday can turn out to be the villains of today.

The most illustrative example of such a dramatically changed view of the past after 1918 is the image of the Serbian hero, Gavrilo Princip (1894–1918), who was labelled unanimously by Slovene press after the Sarajevo assassination on 28 June 1914 as a criminal who had 'lost all reason and human feeling'.[22] At the condolence ceremony organized by the Slovene People's Party in Ljubljana on 5 July 1914, the Provincial Governor of Carniola of the time, Dr. Ivan Šušteršič, said that 'the heavy fist of the Slovene soldier, the Slovene lad will crush the skull of the megalomaniac Serb'.[23] The governor's view was evidently shared by a great

19 Nikola 1921. 295.
20 Ušeničnik 1914. 296.
21 Luke 2002. 13.
22 Anon. 1914a. 1.
23 Lončar 1921. 92.

majority of the population. After mobilization was ordered, the *Slovenec* reported about 'our nation's tremendous enthusiasm for war'. The enlisted had arrived at the meeting point 'happy and ready for battle'.[24]

After the end of the Great War and the defeat of the Central Powers, the Sarajevo assassination grew from a crime into an act of heroism not only in Serbia but throughout the state of the 'nation with three names', and Gavrilo Princip and his collaborators became 'St. Vitus' Day Heroes'. The beginning of 1920 saw the formation of the Committee for the Return of the Bones of the St. Vitus' Day Heroes, which set itself the task of returning the mortal remains of Princip and his colleagues to Sarajevo and bury them ceremoniously with the highest honours.[25]

The exaltation of the St. Vitus' Day assassins into heroes was not accepted with the same enthusiasm by all.

With the commemorative ceremonies on national holidays, the ruling elite endeavours to shape the symbolic vocabulary of the nation; this process is termed by Dabrowski[26] 'symbolic integration'. The goal of the commemorations on St. Vitus' Day anniversaries was therefore the symbolic integration of the members of the 'nation with three names'. To the greatest extent possible, the symbolic integration of the 'nation with three names' drew on the rich treasury of Serbian historical mythology, which, in practice, meant that the public commemorations glorified the Serbian view of the past and disparaged the Slovene (and Croatian) view of the past, thereby exalting Serbs above their 'equal brothers', Slovenes and Croats; members of national minorities felt even more underprivileged.

Conclusion

In the state of the 'nation with three names', St. Vitus' Day mythology was given an important national task: to connect the new national citizens into an imagined community. Its contents and their interpretation were to strengthen the social and cultural cohesion of the citizens and encourage them to sacrifice themselves for the common goals. St. Vitus' Day mythology, established by Prince Bishop Petar Petrović Njegoš and perfected by Prince Nikola, was a product of the pre-modern age. The sacrifice of the individual for the community was concordant with tribal society ethics, and it was also possible to address the people on the basis of these ethics during the times of expansionist nationalism, when people were still able to believe 'that every year on St. Vitus' Day, the Sitnica, the Morava and the Drina run bloody and that this will continue until Kosovo has been avenged and until the shackles of slavery have been completely removed.'[27] But it was not possible to build a modern society on it.

24 Anon 1914c. 1.
25 Odbor za prenos kosti 1920. I.
26 Dabrowski 2004.
27 Bogosavljević 1897. 99.

Prior to the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, South Slavs had never before in history lived in a common state, and thus its 'national awakening' had begun decades before the unification into a nation sate; on top of that, they had fought in the Great War that had just ended as members of opposing armies on opposing sides of the front. Therefore, the triple name was perceived by many as a mechanism supporting the efforts of the nationalist Serbian Radical Party to turn peasants into Serbs.

The use of Serbian symbols and cultural forms in commemorations in the new nation-state meant that the commemorations in the state of the 'nation with three names' glorified the Serbian sacrifices and suffering, but denied the contribution of Croats and Slovenes to the establishment of the state community. Together with the provisions and spirit of the St. Vitus' Day Constitution, the glorification of Serbian mythology as the national mythology of the 'nation with three names', which was meant to be the foundation stone for the bright future of the unified nation, became more and more of a stumbling stone with each passing day.

The situation was additionally complicated in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by the fact that the Croatian and the Slovene national consciousness had been shaped before the establishment of the nation-state of the 'nation with three names'. In opposition to the Serbian hegemony, the Catholic Church radically insisted on the equation of nationality and religious affiliation.[28]

The citizens of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes who were unable to identify with the name, such as Albanians, Hungarians, Germans, as well as Bosniaks and Macedonians, were in an even worse position. The position of citizens belonging to the Muslim faith, i.e. 'Turks', was particularly untenable.

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PARK OF GRUNWALD BATTLE VICTORY, VISIONS AND REALITY

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Abstract: In Lithuania every year (since 1990) commemorations of the Battle of Grunwald are held in different areas. At this time mention is made of an important event in Europe, where on 15th July 1410 the alliance of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland decisively defeated the army of the Teutonic Knights near Grunwald (now in Poland). This victory became the pride of the Lithuanian nation. In 1990 an ambitious project – the creation of the park of the Grunwald Battle was launched in Kaunas district.

The article discusses the current situation of the park, also the main symbolic elements (monuments, symbols, records, etc.), as well as planned but not yet implemented ambitions. The question is why this project has not been fully implemented and why the park is floundering. The conclusion is that this park is not a place carrying a strong emotional significance, it is not an important historical site with cultural heritage, it has nothing to do with collective memory. For this reason the territory of the park is not meaningful and significant to the local inhabitants or wider society. This is the main reason why the park is doomed to flounder.

Keywords: Battle of Grunwald, symbolical monuments, memorial place, celebrations.

In Lithuania every year (since 1990) commemorations of the Battle of Grunwald are held in different areas. These commemorations mark an important event in Europe, where on the 15th of July 1410 the alliance of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland decisively defeated the army of the Teutonic Knights near Grunwald (now in Poland). This victory became a source of Lithuanian national pride.

In 1990 when commemorating the 580th anniversary of the victory of the Battle of Grunwald an ambitious project – the creation of the park of Grunwald Battle was launched in Kaunas district. The park is situated beside the Kaunas–Klaipėda highway, near the borough of Babtai. One may ask why this place was chosen. Does it have some connections with the Battle of Grunwald or maybe it preserves the memory of battle commanders, generals? Maybe it is significant for its historical or cultural heritage? The answer is – no, it has nothing to do with the Battle of Grunwald or its generals and commanders; it is not famous for cultural heritage either. This is only a huge empty field, which belongs to the state (that is why it was easy to get permission for creation of the park in this area) and it is situated near Kaunas city where the park's initiators have a club. The park has been built without any proper model and it has nothing to do with collective memory and cultural heritage. Already in the early 20th century French philosopher Maurice

Halbwachs noted that the landscape has embodied the tradition of the ancestors which gives support to the community identity and a "stable" material basis for collective memory. Memories of things past survive only if they adhere to the material milieu from which they originate.[1]

Thus the project of the memorial park of the Grunwald Battle victory was launched in this empty field (empty in all senses of the word – empty in the material sense, empty in connection with heritage and memory). The park is 10 hectares in size and triangular in shape, imitating the Lithuanian Reform Movement's[2] logo. In 1990 when the park was established, 580 oaks were planted – this number symbolizes the anniversary of the battle. The project's authors want the park to be seen from the air as the emblem of the Lithuanian Reform Movement and also as the word "Žalgiris"[3], made by planting trees. The initiator of this project was Grunwald victory club chairman Alfonsas Bajarskas, together with like-minded people.

Kaunas district municipality and the Grunwald victory club undertook a commitment to take care of the park. The club developed a design for the park, provided for sculptural accents and infrastructure. People supported the idea of this park. Significant funds were collected for the project realization. It has been argued that not everyone can go to the actual location of the Battle of Grunwald now in Poland, so it is very good that the most significant battle in the history of Lithuania is immortalized in Lithuania.[4]

So already in 1993 the funds collected were used to erect 11 sculptures of the Grunwald battle commanders here. They were carved by Lithuanian folk artists during a specially organized open-air camp in Babtai town. Over a thousand trees were also planted in memory of significant events in Lithuanian history and well-known personalities of Lithuania. Each of those trees has its own metrics and protectors.

This was the initial stage of the project. However, this ambitious project wished to achieve much more. The park's initiators had visions of building other important monuments there, symbolizing Lithuanian statehood and history.

The purpose of this article is to discuss the current situation of the park, also the main symbolic elements (wooden sculptures immortalizing the famous heroes of the Battle of Grunwald, symbols, records, etc.), as well as other planned but not yet implemented ambitions. The question is why this ambitious project has not been fully implemented and the park is floundering? The article is based on field research in this area in 2011 as well as on information provided by the media.

In Lithuanian historiography proper attention has not yet been devoted to this park as a separate object. So far only two statues standing in the park

1 Halbwachs 1971. 130; cited from Hrobat 2010. 42.

2 Lithuanian Reform Movement (Lith.: *Sąjūdis*) was the political organization which led the struggle for Lithuanian independence in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It was established on June 3, 1988 and was led by Vytautas Landsbergis. Its goal was to seek the return of independent status for Lithuania.

3 Žalgiris (Lith.) means *Grunwald.*

4 Andriuškevičius 2001.

– Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas and the Polish King Jogaila, have been discussed in one article.[5]

Referring to the concept of "invented tradition",[6] I seek through this case study to demonstrate that an artificially created (or *invented*) memorial place, unrelated to the collective memory, the cultural and historical heritage, which according to David Lowenthal means a symbolic link between the imagined ancestors and modern man,[7] is not significant to people and does not acquire functions intended for it, but just flounders.

Symbolic Objects in the Park

In 2001 a concrete platform was built in the middle of the park for the future monument of one of the symbols of Lithuanian statehood– Gediminas columns[8] – as the central and one of the most important symbolic focuses of the park. Gediminas columns were selected as an important symbol of Lithuanian statehood and the ruler, used by Gediminas and the Jogaila dynasties. Therefore, it refers to the fact that regiments recruited by Grand Duke Vytautas marched with flags marked with this symbol in the Battle of Grunwald. In the designers' visions the height of this Gediminas columns monument must correspond to the year of the Grunwald battle, i.e., it must be 14 meters 10 centimetres high. The monument must be made of concrete and painted white. At the monument an altar was built as well. A metal capsule with a letter for posterity has been bricked into the foundation of this monument. A second copy of this letter has been deposited at the Vytautas the Great War Museum.[9] The architect of the monument, Stanislovas Kalinka, hoped to succeed in finding funds to complete works by 2010, the year of the 600th anniversary of the battle.[10] Besides the main memorial it has been planned to construct a "Historical Memory Books" monument. Each "book" should recall important events for the Lithuanian State – from ancient times to the present day.[11] According to the plan, the avenue of struggle for independence – yet to be created in the park – would terminate in a tumulus with a sculpture of the pagan high priest – *Vaidila*. But unfortunately only rusting reinforcement rods stick out of the foundation instead of the huge Gediminas columns monument and other symbols…

Currently, 11 wooden monuments designed for the Battle of Grunwald generals stand in the park: Rumbaudas (Samogitia dean, Samogitian army

5 Urbonienė 2012. 403–426.

6 See Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.

7 Lowenthal 1996. 44.

8 The Columns of Gediminas or Pillars of Gediminas (Lith.: *Gediminaičių stulpai*) are one of the earliest symbols of Lithuania and one of its historical coats of arms. They were used in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, initially as a rulers' personal insignia, a state symbol, and later as a part of the heraldic signs of the leading aristocracy. During the period between World War I and World War II they were used by the Lithuanian Republic as a minor state symbol, e. g. on Litas coins and military equipment.

9 Kalesinskas 2010.

10 Andriuškevičius 2001.

11 Andriuškevičius 2001.

commander), Kristinas Astikas (separate unit commander), Stanislovas Čiupurna (marshal), Jonas Nemyra (separate unit commander), Sungaila (Kaunas Dean), Jurgis Lengvinaitis (commander of the Smolensk and Mstislav regiments), Jonas Žadvydas (separate unit commander), Jurgis Gedgaudas (vicegerent of Kiev), Jonas Goštautas (separate unit commander), Mykolas Kęsgaila (vicegerent of Ukmergė), Albertas Manvydas (vicegerent of Vilnius and the Lithuanian Armed Forces Commander). During preparation for the 600th anniversary celebration some funds were received and in 2010 two sculptures of the main battle commanders – the Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas (1350–1430) and Polish King Jogaila[12] (1386–1434) were erected.

Folk artist sculptor Adolfas Teresius created the statue of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas. The sculptor portrayed the duke dressed in ruler's robes with a ducal crown. The coat of arms – *Vytis*[13] – is carved at the bottom of the monument. Vytautas' figure is framed by spears, behind his head a large shield is carved and at the top of the roof covering the sculpture – is the royal crown, which Vytautas was prepared to receive, but was never crowned. In this sculpture the artist treated Vytautas not only as the victor of the Battle of Grunwald, but as the ruler who aimed to become a king. This desire is symbolized by the royal crown at the top of the monument, but not on Vytautas' head.

Another folk artist sculptor Ričardas Gaška carved the statue of the Polish King Jogaila (Polish: *Jagiello*). The artist emphasized the ruler's signs – the royal crown, which is even depicted twice: one on the crowned head of Jogaila, the second raised high above the roof. King Jogaila holds royal regalia – the orb topped with a cross (*globus cruciger* in Latin). Meanwhile, only the grip of the sword is seen. So, consciously or not, here Jogaila is not represented as a military leader.

Following research by historians, the initiators wanted to enhance the underrated role of Jogaila in the battle. Sculptors have been given the task to create two main generals to stand at either side of the future Gediminas columns monument as equally important leaders in the battle of Grunwald. As stated by the director of the Vytautas the Great War Museum, Juozapas Jurevičius: "Jogaila was an important persona of this battle. After all, we cannot escape from history".[14] Sculptor Gaška, perhaps unintentionally, as we have seen, created an image of Jogaila, showing him not as an important commander, but only as a ruler. Meanwhile sculptor Teresius stressed the images of warrior and ruler in Vytautas' sculpture, and this was the most important aspect in the development of the Grunwald Park. Besides, these two monuments standing in one line are different in proportions. The statue of Vytautas is much more monumental, more majestic and even from a distance it can be seen that it depicts a soldier with a sword. Meanwhile, the image of Jogaila is not as majestic as that of Vytautas and from a distance it is difficult to tell what is really depicted over there. The monument itself looks

12 Jogaila in the period 1377–1401 was also a grand duke of Lithuania.
13 The coat of arms – *Vytis* (in Lith.) – the armored knight with sword and shield.
14 Andriuškevičius 2001.

smaller, even though the second crown at the top makes this monument visually higher.

So these two sculptures depicting rulers and especially their composition reflect certain stereotypes entrenched in Lithuanian society. It should be noted that in the minds of Lithuanians Vytautas is the main character who led the victory in the Battle of Grunwald. Vytautas in the public opinion is a symbol of the greatness of the Lithuanian state and its "golden age", he remains a permanently relevant symbol of Lithuanian identity.[15] Ignorance of Jogaila is still fed by a negative opinion of him which was formed in the 19th to the early 20th century. According to Lithuanian historian A. Nikžentaitis, even today many Lithuanians regard Jogaila as a traitor of the Lithuanian nation, who "sold" Lithuania to Poland and destroyed the old pagan Lithuanian culture.[16]

In the process of creating the images of commanders, the main goal was to link the sculptures with the symbols of the battle of Grunwald. Self-taught sculptors sought to find certain traits, attributes, symbols for each military leader, and used the records from which the persons can be identified. Characterizing signs are found for almost all images; in most cases, this is their family coat of arms or weapons of that period. Almost every monument is crowned with the iron peak with the date 1410 (Fig. 3). A sign of Gediminas columns, a sword, and a battle axe are also integrated in the tops of the monuments. However, the key element for the identification of these persons remains inscriptions – the engraved name of the military commander.

Monuments of generals are arranged in a semicircle, and two shrines on pillars stand at the sides of this semicircular line of monuments. One of them has the sculpture of the Pensive Christ and the inscription "Lord, bless those seeking light, honesty and justice". It was the idea of the park's creators that this monument with the figure of the Pensive Christ symbolizes the sufferings of the Lithuanian nation and the difficult path leading to the independent state. The second monument has a small statue of the Sorrowful Mother of God and the inscription: "Holy Virgin Mary, protect us from violence, greed and strife". As we have seen earlier, various symbols associated with the Battle of Grunwald and with the idea of an independent Lithuanian state and Lithuanian history and culture were very important for the founders of the park. According to this vision the images of the Virgin Mary and Jesus, the most significant in their historical meaning were chosen for these shrines. Images of the Pensive Christ and the Sorrowful Mother of God were traditionally part of monuments symbolizing the pain and sufferings of the Lithuanian nation, or tragic events in the history of the State.

15 Nikžentaitis 2002. 25–40.

16 Nikžentaitis 2002. 68.

Celebrations in the Park of the Grunwald Battle Victory

In the first years after the establishment of the park annual anniversaries of the Battle of Grunwald were observed here quite solemnly. The 585th, 590th, 595th anniversaries of the battle were celebrated with special ceremony. But euphoria gradually diminished, and the lack of funds meant that the vision has not been implemented. In 2007 during the preparation for commemoration of this date the initiator of the park, Alfonsas Bajarskas, complained that the celebration would be much more modest than in the previous year.[17]

Usually the ceremony was organized as a purposefully formed ritual of such celebrations: the participants listen to solemn speeches, soldiers stand in a guard of honour, a military band plays and cannons are fired, candles are lit at the shrines, flowers are placed, finally folk music groups give a concert. But already in 2007 soldiers, military band and cannon were absent. The few participants of the celebration were welcomed by Kaunas district authorities, candles were lit, flowers were placed at the shrines, and a folk music ensemble performed.

However, thanks to the Grunwald park enthusiasts club, in 2010 when commemorating the 600th anniversary of the battle a truly grand celebration was held. During the fieldwork respondents interviewed remembered this event very well. They argued that despite the heat (July), many people had gathered in the park – not only from Kaunas city and district, but also from other neighbouring districts and even distant locations. People claimed that there have never been so many people in the park and hardly ever will be.

The event was attended by the mayor of Kaunas district, municipal officials, Kaunas city administrative director, and many others. The celebrations scenario was slightly expanded. The festival began by solemnly lighting a flame on the altar with fire brought from the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (in Kaunas). After that the Lithuanian national anthem was sung and the Lithuanian army brass band played. All the guests were greeted by the mayor of Kaunas district municipality. The most impressive part of this festival was the Lithuanian Air Force flypast. At the end of this event as usual a concert was held and people were treated to military porridge.[18]

In 2011 the (601st) anniversary of the battle, according to the respondents, did not resemble the event of 2010. Some respondents did not remember this event; they even claimed that in 2011 no commemoration of the battle was organized in this park.

17 Tvirbutas 2007.
18 Žulys 2010.

Concluding Remarks: the Future of the Park

This memorial park has been cherished for a long time only due to a small group of enthusiasts. They have not lost hope of achieving their vision, they also welcome any initiative taken or support provided. According to the park's club members, the crucial obstacle to the implementation of the park idea is lack of resources, particularly exacerbated by the economic crisis.

Yet seen from today's perspective, it is evident that this ambitious project is collapsing. Why? Probably there is no unambiguous answer. It is clear that without the initiative of local people, without local government support and sufficient funding the idea of the park cannot be implemented.

But the most important reason for non-viability of the park, apparently, is not the finances, lack of initiative, and so on. The reason is the place itself, a place which is not related to the Battle of Grunwald, a place which has no memory of this great event. This park is not a place carrying a strong emotional significance or it is not an important historical site with cultural heritage for the local inhabitants or wider society. One could say a place without "aura" of battle victory. According to researchers, a landscape not related to the collective memory of the community and its past will not be meaningful for the local community.[19] So the artificially memorialized space without connection to the real event and with the culture of memory, notwithstanding all the symbols important to the nation and state history placed in the territory, is doomed to flounder as this case study has shown.

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Fig. 1. Grand duke of Lithuania Vytautas.
Photo: S. Urbonienė, 2011.

Fig. 2. King of Poland Jogaila.
Photo: S. Urbonienė, 2011.

Fig. 3. Vicegerent of Ukmergė Mykolas Kęsgaila. Photo: S. Urbonienė, 2011.

CONTESTING PASTS?

POLITICAL RITUALS AND MONUMENTS OF THE 1956 REVOLUTION IN A HUNGARIAN TOWN

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Abstract: The documentation and interpretation of the political rites linked to the anniversary of the 1956 revolution and freedom struggle provides an excellent opportunity to interpret several phenomenons (political rituals, construction of memory, use of the past). The example the author had analysed is a good illustration of the process whereby constructed knowledge of the past acquires a visible form. The different memorial places are mainly associated with particular locations but they owe their real life to their use that is gained above all from the rites. He tried to point out how different political parties at local level appropriate memory, and how these constructed memories compete with each other.

Keywords: monuments, memory, political rituals

Since the collapse of communism the celebration of October 23, its filling with symbolical contents has been taking place practically before our eyes in the political system that bases its legitimacy precisely on the revolution and strengthens it with the revolution.[1] Since 1997 the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the University of Szeged has been carrying out research with varying intensity on the rites, symbols and memory associated with the state feasts. A volume of studies edited by Gábor Barna, containing articles by students, appeared on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the 1956 revolution.[2] The articles analyse the October 23 celebrations and recollections related to the events of that time.

The topic arose again as a research possibility in 2011 when in the frame of the International Student Seminar organised every two years by our department we examined the local festival of a small town in the south of Hungary and the strategies for the use of urban space. Tourists visiting Szentes, a town with a population of 30,000 may notice the group of monuments in the centre of the city, next to the Calvinist Great Church, that is closely related to local memory of the 1956 revolution. Outsiders and even local people often ask themselves: Why have

1 In Hungary new feasts took shape with the change of the political system in 1989–1990. Those with socialist and communist ideological connections disappeared and there has been a strengthening of national feasts. Special emphasis was placed on the celebration of 15th March, 20th August and 23rd October, that had been opportunities for alternative celebration. Barna 2011. 112.

2 Barna (ed.) 2006.

three monuments to the same historical event been erected in close proximity to each other, and why are memorial rites still held at all three of them? In my paper I will try to show how different political parties at local level appropriate memory, and how these constructed memories compete with each other. The symbolical struggle waged for the possession of memory reveals social conflicts that otherwise remain hidden or barely perceptible to the outside observer on ordinary weekdays.[3]

My research was based not only on interviews with the organisers and participants in the commemorations and on personal observations, but also on analysis of press reports on the topic that enabled me to reconstruct the way the rites of remembrance were shaped from the late 1980s up to the present as well as the process of erection of the monuments.[4] I continued the fieldwork after the conference making possible a more thorough interpretation of the phenomenon in a broader context.

The Monuments

An important means and method of connecting memory to space is the creation of monuments that make past events as it were tangible. In Szentes, like other places in Hungary, among the Protestant grave markers,[5] the so-called *kopjafa, fejfa, gombosfa* or carved post appears within the new frame of interpretation. It appears with increasing frequency outside cemeteries too, and has acquired a new function entirely different from the original. Monuments of this kind made of carved wooden posts were first erected in Hungary in the 1970s, when they were placed above the mass graves on the site of the battle of Mohács.[6] In 1988 an opposition group marked plot 301, the unmarked grave of victims of 1956 in this way. After the change of system in Hungary it became very popular to erect monuments of this kind and the range of occasions grew wider.[7]

3 Jakab 2012. 49–52.

4 Among the press publications special mention must be made of the county (*Délvilág*) and the local paper (*Szentesi Élet*), as well as a number of Szentes internet news portals that also posted photos of the celebrations. I was also able to obtain from the local authority a copy of the scenario for the official commemorations that provided a basis for an analysis of the space and time structure of the commemorations. Among my informants, in addition to local representatives of the various political parties, the family of the person who undertook an active role in erection of the first monument greatly helped my work.

5 The gravemarkers in the cemeteries of Hungarian villages are quite varied from the religious point of view. The cross is widely used among the Catholics, while in Protestant communities carved wooden gravemarkers (*fejfa*, *kopjafa*) were commonly used. A number of researchers have dealt with the origin of these latter, but the question of their origin and when they spread has still not been settled satisfactorily. L. Juhász 2005. 11.

6 The Hungarian army was defeated by the forces of The Ottoman Empire in 1526. The battle is interpreted as a tragical turning point in the Hungarian history.

7 Géza Boros classified the gravemarkers linked to the 1956 revolution into three groups. The first comprises the so-called death signs, for example the objects marking Plot 301. The second type consists of cemetery gravemarkers, the meaning of which is basically determined by the environment where they are placed. The largest group comprises the gravemarkers that function as monuments. Boros 1997. 88–91.

In this respect one of the elements of peasant or folk culture is being filled with new content and, as Gábor Barna[8] has pointed out, it is not possible to separate the identifications of headboard=grave marker, *kopjafa*=ancient oriental weapon=symbol of the Hungarians.[9]

In the case of Szentes, the use of Protestant grave markers as a 1956 monument has a special additional meaning as for centuries the town's Calvinist inhabitants used this means to mark the place of the dead in the cemeteries. In the early 1990s there were still around 1000 such grave markers in the town's Calvinist cemeteries, bearing a variety of style features. Up to the 1870s slim posts with a square cross-section and geometrical ornamentation were popular. The *gombosfa* (globe post) regarded as typical of Szentes evolved after a change of form. It was customary to paint the grave markers in different colours that conveyed symbolical meanings. In the early 19th century red was used for those who died a violent death and light blue was used for young people. Besides the inscription, the globe posts also had the image of a willow symbolising death, and the abbreviation ABFRA (In the hope of blessed resurrection). The grave markers were made of false acacia or oak by local coopers.[10]

Now, it is worth placing the Szentes monuments in this frame in which they reveal different memories linked to the same historical event. The first was erected in the late 1980s at the initiative of local members of two political parties, the *Független Kisgazdapárt* (Smallholders' Party)[11] and the *Magyar Demokrata Fórum* (Hungarian Democratic Forum).[12] József Kádár, a local doctor of medicine donated the material and the carving was done by Ferenc Szabics senior, a woodcarver from Szentes, drawing on local traditions and style.[13] Since the leader of the town at the time, the president of the council, did not allow the monument to be erected in the main square, through the mediation of Imre Szabó, Calvinist cantor, it was unveiled on October 22, 1989 beside the Calvinist Great Church, a site owned by the church.[14]

8 Barna 2006. 249–250.

9 As Ilona L. Juhász sees it, a richly ornamented type of cemetery gravemarkers has become a national symbol that can now be found outside Europe, in Hungarian communities on other continents. There are also examples of Hungarian settlements making a gift of them as a kind of national characteristic to non-Hungarian twin settlements. L. Juhász 2005. 179.

10 Szakáll 1995. 99–137.

11 After the collapse of communism the party was the member of the Hungarian parliament from 1990 until 2002.

12 The party was formed in 1987. It was one of the most important political factor in the first half of the 1990's in Hungary.

13 According to Ilona L. Juhász the number of motifs and symbols appearing on the carved wooden posts is increasing: in addition to the traditional symbols often drawn from folk culture entirely new ones are also appearing. L. Juhász 2005. 79.

14 In her research among Hungarians in Slovakia Ilona L. Juhász showed that an initiation ceremony is closely linked to the erection of carved wooden posts (*kopjafa*), which is inconceivable without the participation of public figures or the laying of wreaths. L. Juhász 2005. 113–120.

The next monument, the second, was erected in 2001 at the initiative of a local group of the *Magyar Út Körök Mozgalom* (Hungarian Way Circles Movement).[15] It was financed with donations made by 25 persons and in appearance resembled a cemetery gravestone. Two symbols can be seen on it: a cross and one of the most important symbols of the revolution, a flag with a hole in the centre. The members of the organisation clearly stated that their aim was to erect a lasting memorial to the events.[16]

In late October 2006, on the 50th anniversary of the 1956 revolution a new element was added to the group of monuments: the town's mayor ordered a new grave marker that was placed next to the one that had been unveiled in 1989. It must be added that a local member of the Smallholders' Party together with several others had removed the first monument because the part underground had begun to rot. A press report at the time found it important to stress that this was aimed not only at restoration of carved post.[17] The intention was to exclude a group of commemorators, namely persons representing the Hungarian Socialist Party[18] (with the town's mayor at their head), a perfect example of the conflicts surrounding the practice of remembrance taking shape around the monuments. At the same time, according to the mayor the new monument would serve reconciliation because a dispute would be unworthy of the event. Moreover, he added, the message of the events in Szentes of the revolution and freedom struggle, still valid today, was that the town should preserve its peace as it did in October 1956, thanks to Sándor Gujdár, commander of the local guard. The county press also reported on the events, stressing the absurdity of the case: "The affair of the Szentes kopjafa is such a splendid example of our bungling, that we could not deny our Hungarian nature. This is not the first case this year of staggering absurdity in the sleepy little town on the Great Plain. Yesterday there was another ridiculous example in Szentes where they are holding a veritable competition to erect grave markers. The craftsman who repaired the Smallholders' memorial post and the woodcarver in Budapest who made the kopjafa commissioned by the mayor Imre Szirbik were racing against time. Both were finished in time, both poles were erected. The distance between them is less than half a metre. But the distance between the commemorators who had the carved poles erected is immeasurable."[19]

The environment of the monuments acquired its present form with the renovation of the Calvinist church and Kiss Bálint street. The designer, coordinating

15 István Csurka (Hungarian writer, politician) was excluded from the Hungarian Democratic Forum and after that he formed the movement in 1993.

16 The monument was unveiled on 22nd October 2001; representatives of the churches (Catholic, Calvinist) were also present and played an active role in the celebration, blessing the Hungarian people.

17 Balázs Irén: Kettő kopjafa Szentesen. [Two Carved Post in Szentes]. *Délvilág*, 21 October 2006. 5.

18 The party was formed on 7th October 1989. Its legal predecessor was the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Since the first free elections in 1990 it has been represented in the Hungarian parliament. It was the governing party of Hungary between 1994 and 1998, and then from 2002 to 2010. Since the 2010 elections it has been in opposition.

19 Sz.C.Sz: Kopj le, fa… [Get off, carved post!] *Délvilág*, 21 October 2006. 5.

with the Calvinist minister, intentionally chose the shape of the Greek letter "omega" for the low brick wall around the monuments, considering that it offered a more interesting possibility than if the objects had simply been placed in a V-shape. In the designer's interpretation the "omega", expressing the end of something, refers to the overthrow of the communist system and the crushing of the revolution, and it can also be linked to death and to the heroes of the events. Despite the close connection of the space to the Calvinist church, the symbol of the cross also appears. According to him this refers to bearing the cross and the way of the cross in the general sense, and for this reason it goes beyond the Catholic usage. At the same time the use of the "omega" shape for the wall also make it possible to provide a suitable place for the three monuments without placing the principal on any one of them that would have led to a series of conflicts. The first one is placed at the left arm of the cross, the last at the right, and the monument erected in 2001 is placed in the middle. In an interview the designer said that he had tried to create a "cemetery character" but had made only minimal use of plants in order to prevent maintenance problems. Instead, the surface has been covered with white gravel. A single ornamental tree represents the "cemetery environment": its pendulous branches recall the well known symbol of the weeping willow.

According to the Calvinist minister who has lived since 1999 in the parsonage next to the monuments, the objects can be regarded as a clear reflection of present-day Hungarian reality. It is his opinion that as long as the members of a nation are not capable of remembering together, the nation will remain weak and fragmented. This point was also made by one of the town's history teachers when he wrote the following in the local press in the second half of the 1990s: "Public opinion has now clearly split into two. All the parties know who they do not want to celebrate with! It is almost impossible to explain their choice of who they will lay a wreath with. As a result the national day has essentially become a symbol of the national division. And I have not even mentioned those who, deep in their hearts do not regard October 23 as date deserving respect and tribute but as a shameful blot on our history or, in a less extreme case, as an error."[20]

Besides the three monuments placed close to each other, there are also other places in Szentes connected to the memory of 1956. On 23 October 2006 a memorial tablet was unveiled on the facade of the town hall overlooking Kossuth Square, placed there by the local government. The inscription ("Placed by the community of Szentes in memory of their fathers. Who, in the fateful days of 1956, rather than turning feelings and weapons against each other, were wise and calm in the interest of the people living here and the future of the town.")

20 Poszler, György: Úgy látszik…[It looks like…]. *Szentesi Élet*, 25 October 1997. 1.

clearly refers to the local events,[21] that thanks to the activity of Sándor Gujdár, commander of the local guard, did not lead to armed conflict. This is why his portrait too appears on the commemorative tablet that was unveiled by his son at the ceremony. In 1991 a tablet was placed on the facade of Mihály Horváth Secondary School commemorating Árpád Brusznyai who was a student of the school from 1934 to 1942. In 1958 he was executed by the communists for his role in town Veszprém. The school's students and teachers regularly hold commemorative rites at the memorial tablet and place a wreath on it.

Rites of Remembrance

Following the collapse of the communist regime, within a few years the local authorities constructed the official rites of remembrance linked to the 1956 revolution.[22] There have naturally been differences over the past decades in the structure of the ritual, but they were not major changes. In some years the flag was raised and wreaths laid in the morning, in other years this was generally done in the afternoon. Within the frames of the celebrations the most important actions are held one after the other, but in 1994 the flag was raised and wreaths laid in the morning and the public meeting was held in the afternoon.

The official ceremony nowadays begins in the main square with the effective participation of the army when the flags of Hungary, Szentes and the European Union are raised on the three flagpoles in the presence of the town's leaders. The participants in the commemoration then proceed to the area beside the Calvinist church where the monuments related to the 1956 revolution and freedom struggle are found. After that the town's mayor presents "*Pro Urbe memorial medals*" in the former Csongrád County Hall.

21 László Barta who for decades worked as an archivist in Szentes, has compiled material on the local events. The revolutionary events began in Szentes on 25th October. The red stars in the factories were removed and smashed, the red flags were removed, soldiers tore off the badges from their caps. On the following day, the 26th the crowd gathering in Kossuth Square began to tear down the monuments to the Soviet war dead. The order to fire given by the commander of the local guard was disobeyed by his soldiers. A decisive point in the history of the revolution in Szentes came when Major Sándor Gujdár, commander of the engineer battalion went over to the revolutionaries. On 27th October he had the Soviet monument toppled, and persuaded László Török the district party secretary to give out the arms kept in the party building. On Sunday, 28th October local people gathered in the assembly room of the town hall elected a provisional revolutionary committee. The committee then organised a national guard to preserve internal order and security. The main goal of the Revolutionary Committee was to maintain security for persons and property, provide food for Budapest and prepare for the democratic transformation. On Sunday, 4th November, when news of the treacherous Soviet attack reached them, the revolutionary committee and the military council held a joint meeting where they decided not to attack the approaching superior Soviet forces. Barta 2000.

22 According to Kertzer, ritual practices are the most important means for propagating political myths. Political rites play a fundamental role in all societies, because they express and modify the balance of political forces through the symbolical forms of communication. Through their participation in the rites people identify themselves with particular political forces. Often ritual symbols can also express hierarchical relationships in the society. Kertzer 1988. 178.

In Szentes, as in many other places in Hungary wreaths and candles play an important part, reminding people of the approaching All Souls day. The order for the laying of wreaths reflects the local power hierarchy: leaders of the local government and representatives of the political parties, civil organisations and private persons also take part in the rite, paying tribute at the monuments. As I mentioned before the army also participates, providing a guard of honour, and soldiers carry and place the local government's wreath.

In the first half of the 1990s participants in the original events also played a part in the celebrations, their recollections as it were legitimised the commemorations and increased their effectiveness. On several occasions the town's leaders presented them with awards. On 23rd October 1992 the members of the local revolutionary committee, the commanders of the town's national guard and those who had been imprisoned all received commemorative certificates.

Conflicts around the commemoration of the Revolution of 1956 preliminarily derive from the fact that the Hungarian Socialist Party is regarded as the heir of the Communist regime by different right-wing political groups and organizations. It is a common phenomenon in Hungary that the political parties organize their own commemorations. In Szentes the local division of the right-wing *Fidesz* (Federation of Young Democrats)[23] normally remembers onetime events in the preceding evening of the actual celebration. Like the official commemoration, the event of the Federation of Young Democrats is built up of elements that recur from year to year. A prominent person from the party rather than one of the local representatives is always asked to make the official speech. Laying wreaths and lighting candles are also an integral part of the rite. On 22nd October 2012, before the celebration organised by the Federation of Young Democrats, people who wished were driven around the town in an old Csepel truck as a way of evoking the period of the revolution and freedom struggle.

Newer political associations turned up among participants of remembrances in the past few years, namely *Jobbik* (The Movement for a Better Hungary)[24] and *Hatvannégy Vármegye Ifjúsági Mozgalom* (Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement),[25] which are regarded as being radical right. The former one remembers within the framework of the city's official celebration.[26] The local representatives of the Movement for a Better Hungary express their separate position within the frames of the official commemoration by making themselves visible with banners and

23 It can be regarded as a people's party positioned as conservative. It is currently the leading party in power in Hungary. It was established on 30th March 1988 as the Alliance of Young Democrats by 37 young intellectuals in Budapest.

24 The *Jobbik* (Movement for a Better Hungary) is a radical Right-wing party, its predecessor established in 1999 was the Right-wing Youth Community grouping mainly university students. It was transformed into a party in 2003.

25 It was founded in 2001 drew its name from the public administration division of Hungary (not including Croatia) before the Trianon peace treaty, comprising 63 counties and the Hungarian Maritime Region (Fiume).

26 Earlier the Szentes members of the Movement for a Better Hungary held their commemorations separately, but in recent years they regularly appear at the party's national event and therefore find it difficult to organise their own celebration on the afternoon of 23rd October.

placards and by following a distinctive use of ritual space. During the wreath laying at the monuments they keep themselves apart from the other participants also spatially by waiting until all the other groups and individuals have paid their respects. Only then do they lay their own wreath, in this way clearly dissociating themselves from certain other groups. They only lay a wreath at the monument in the centre of the group, because they regard the organisation that erected it in 2001 as their spiritual predecessor. In 2013 after laying the wreath they also released three white doves from a box, an action they see as symbolising the aspiration for freedom. They distinguish themselves from not only left-wing but also right-wing parties that undertook active role during the period of the regime change. They define themselves as the sole representative of the revolution's "spiritual heritage".

The local representatives of the Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement intentionally organised separate commemoration rites, giving preference to the carved pole that was the first of the monuments to be erected. They dissociate themselves from the official ceremony because the mayor, the town's leader is a member of the Hungarian Socialist Party, successor organisation to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. They cannot accept that the same people who laid wreaths at the Soviet monument in the town's main square before the collapse of the communist system, have done the same after 1989 at the 1956 monuments.

As the years and decades pass it may seem to the outsider that which monument the different commemorating groups prefer when laying a wreath no longer has any significance. However practice shows that the wreaths placed at the monuments can convey symbolical messages and where these are placed is regarded as important by some of the commemorators. In 2013 the participants in the commemoration held on the evening of 22nd October placed their wreaths and lit their candles at the carved post erected in 1989. In the frame of the official commemoration the town's mayor and deputy mayor stood with heads bowed not before the monument erected by the local authority but at the one in the centre of the space, while the two soldiers placed the wreath there. In this case it can be seen that the town's leaders do not give priority to their own carved post. But during the official commemoration other groups consciously choose the place where they will lay their wreaths.

In recent years besides 23rd October a new occasion[27] has arisen for commemorative rights related to the monuments, namely 25th February, the Memorial Day for the Victims of Communism[28], introduced in a decision by the Hungarian Parliament in 2000. The Movement for a Better Hungary and the Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement organise commemorative rites of similar structure, which includes a ceremony when they lay wreaths with black and tricolour

27 Ilona L. Juhász draws attention to the fact that it is a relatively common phenomenon to hold events of other types at the carved wooden posts. There may be cases where the commemoration is held at a post erected for another occasion if there is no monument associated with the 1848-49 revolution and war of independence. L. Juhász 2005. 120.

28 The date refers to 25th February 1947, when Béla Kovács, general secretary of the Independent Smallholders' Party was unlawfully arrested and taken to the Soviet Union.

ribbon, light candles, or sing the national anthem of Hungary. The ceremonial speeches talk regularly about the failure of accountability and the heritage of the Hungarian Socialist Party, and in the meantime they highlight dividedness on the right. The rituals are often linked with protest actions that quite clearly present current political views.

Summary

The documentation and interpretation of the political rites linked to the anniversary of the 1956 revolution and freedom struggle provides an excellent opportunity to observe through the example of a town in Hungary the division in the commemoration of a historical event and the attempts to monopolise and make use of the past. Parallel with and following the collapse of the communist system, monuments clearly intended to bind memory to a particular place and make the past visible appeared in the town. The structure of the local commemoration of the 1956 revolution and freedom struggle indicates the intention of different groups of commemorators to take possession of the past by erecting their own monuments directly next to each other's. In Szentes, as in other places in Hungary, the Protestant gravemarker, the *kopjafa* or *fejfa* was linked to the memory of the historical event and through a change of function or expansion of meaning appeared as a monument. Even within the frame of the commemoration rites the political groups and parties expressed their separate positions and through this their own aims and views. This can be done through a separation in time, manifested in the holding of their own commemoration. The ritual use of the monuments can also indicate the effort to monopolise memory. The commemorations are linked as much to the past as to the present, because they reflect the current state of politics. The rites enable certain commemorating groups to express and strengthen their identity. The construction and expression of their own identity is often achieved in contrast with other political groups.

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Fig. 1. The monuments after the official celebration
(23 October, 2013. Photo: L. Mód)

Fig. 2. The symbols of the first monument erected in 1989
(2012. Photo: L. Mód)

Fig. 3. The raising of the flags on the main square of the city
(23 October, 2013. Photo: L. Mód)

Fig. 4. Laying wreaths by soldiers
(23 October, 2013. Photo: L. Mód)

Fig. 5. The members of the Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement on
the Memorial Day for the Victims of Communism
(25 February 2013, photo taken by one of the member of the organization)

REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING:
THE SYMBOLIC POWER OF RITUALS IN KAMNIŠKA BISTRICA

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Abstract: With Slovenian independence a new ritual emerged in the valley of Kamniška Bistrica: it is a special memorial mass on 31st October, connected with the ceremonies on All Saints' day. The commemoration is dedicated to all the victims of WW II and postwar terror, which means not just the victims of resistance against the Nazis and Fascists but also the victims of the civil war, caused by the communists' fight for supremacy during and after WW II.

It was strictly prohibited under the communist regime to mention the victims of the civil war and commemorate postwar executions, therefore such commemorations were not possible. This possibility was opened up with Slovenian independence, when numerous mass graves were discovered. Such discoveries triggered different views and political interpretations, which is also why the commemoration in Kamniška Bistrica is understood as a political manifestation of right-oriented political forces.

The paper aims to open the question of the role of the ethnographer and folklorist in these processes. Is it enough to observe and interpret the ritual itself or should the study go beyond it, up to the causes of the civil war? Is the researcher's role also to contribute to better understanding between people on opposite sides?

Keywords: political ritual, postwar executions, death, Kamniška Bistrica, commemorations, understanding

On 31st October 2012 in the chapel in the valley of Kamniška Bistrica, near the source of the eponymous river,[1] a memorial mass was held, attended by a small group of people. The importance of the mass was emphasized by the presence of three Catholic priests. During the religious ceremony, each of them tried to give meaning to the meeting: they all spoke of the political reconciliation required by the unresolved issues of WW II, of the right of the dead to have a share in the memory, and the right of all of us to remember. The ceremony was followed by the speech of one of the participants: it was the story of the civil war at the time of WW II, of different war events, of killings of the innocent and the story of inequalities in the post-war political system. As an ethnologist, I wanted to be a part of the ritual, but I felt very uncomfortable. I did not know why.

1 The name Kamniška Bistrica denotes the river, the valley and the area at the end of the valley, near the source of the river. In my article, the name refers mostly to the area at the end of the valley.

It was a religious ceremony, declared to be a memorial mass for all victims of WW II,[2] for those who died during the war and for those who were killed after it, but it was clear that for the participants it was also a political meeting. A special message was already perceived before the ceremony: on the way to Kamniška Bistrica, some people stopped at certain points and silently lit candles. After the ritual, the participants and the priests went to the memorial as a group to conclude the ceremony by praying for the buried.

This ceremony could not be and really was not possible before Slovenian independence: the memorial service was specifically intended for all those who were killed during World War II and after it, especially for the victims of the post-war political violence. The ceremony on the eve of All Saints' Day began with Slovenian independence, i.e. the year 1991.[3] Since then, the memorial service has taken place every year. The participants are mostly older people, and their number decreases annually.

WW II and the time after it had had an extremely strong impact on the relationships between the people in Kamnik area, and therefore I found the Memorial Mass in Kamniška Bistrica important for my regional study, but at the same time I was interested in the ritual itself. Why commemoration and to what does it refer? Is this a political ritual? What does this ritual reveal about the people who attended it and those who ignored it, and in what position is the researcher-folklorist and ethnographer as the observer?

Kamniška Bistrica as a Hidden Space: Courtly Hunting and Refuge for those Hiding

In the history of the Kamnik region, the picturesque valley of Kamniška Bistrica has had a special role. Besides its natural beauty there were two other factors for this position. On the one hand, the wealth of game attracted rulers, owners of hunting rights in the extensive forests of the area. This meant that from the Middle Ages onwards the Habsburgs came to hunt, which was connected with the special rights granted to the townspeople of Kamnik by the imperial court: they had the right to exploit the extensive forests, including the Kamniška Bistrica valley.

On the other hand, the Kamniška Bistrica valley was characterized by its remoteness and inaccessibility, enabling military conscripts and fugitives to hide from the authorities. Up to the mid-19th century in Kamniška Bistrica there was a very strong group of outlaws (rokovnjači) who were threatening the surrounding population, until they were defeated by a well-organized campaign of state power carried out by the gendarmerie. Some military fugitives and settlers from

2 Hančič 2012.

3 Tone Stele, Spominska maša v Kamniški Bistrici. (Memorial Mass in Kamniška Bistrica). http://arhiv.kamnican.si/assets/files/predstavljamo%20vam/SteleToneKB.pdf Accessed 26th Febr. 2013.

the army remained in the valley among forest workers, who have been the most permanent residents of the valley.[4]

However, the valley did not offer its place just to the rulers and the outlaws. In the late 19th century, the Kamniška Bistrica valley became an important starting point for tours into the surrounding mountains. Due to its exceptional location, this part of Slovenia has become very important for climbers. Kamniška Bistrica thus became a meeting place of different social groups which otherwise would never have met: from the simplest forest workers and tenant workers to students and intellectuals. They gathered on Saturday nights, dancing and singing. They created songs that have become part of the folk song tradition of the valley. Before the Second World War, left-oriented workers gathered in Kamniška Bistrica to celebrate the first May Day, Workers' Day.

The occasional presence of visitors in Kamniška Bistrica has not changed its main characteristic: Kamniška Bistrica was a valley where life and death were very close to each other. Life was very dangerous not just during the time of the outlaws (rokovnjači), but also later. Until WW II many game poachers died: the temptation of game was stronger than life itself.

This fact did not diminish the dignity of death in the valley and in its surroundings: irrespective of the reason for the death, great dignity with special rituals was accorded to the dead person. Before each funeral, the villagers and people from the neighborhood kept vigil over the dead man, praying for his soul and singing special songs, religious and narrative ones. One of the most often heard songs stressing the importance of paying respects to the dead was the song *Mrtvaška kost kaznuje objestneža* (Dead Man's Bone Punishes Wanton Man). It was sung throughout the whole Kamnik area:

Fantič je hodil daleč v vas.	1. A young fellow was walking far away to visit his beloved.
Tjakaj čez britof žegnani.	2. He was passing the sacred cemetery.
Srečala ga je ena kost.	3. The Dead man's bone met him.
Fantič jo sunil je z nogo.	4. The young fellow kicked it with his leg.
"Kaj me boš suval, fantič ti!	5. "Don't kick me, young boy!
Kmalu boš ležal tudi ti!"	6. You, too, will be lying soon!"
Prej ko se j storiv beli dan,	7. Before the white day arose,
fantič je biv na pare djan.	8. The young fellow was put on the bier.
Tresla ga j huda mrzlca,	9. He had been shivering terribly,
To j bla po imenu smrtnica.	10. His shivering was named Death.[5]

The song reflected the dignity of death, at the same time as it created it. This dignity was strongly threatened during World War II, at a time when resistance against the Germans was interwoven with the civil war. In this resistance and civil war, the Kamniška Bistrica valley did not have an important role: it was known as

4 Rifel 2010.
5 Kumer – Vodušek 1970.

a hiding place for those who wanted to withdraw from danger, so the valley did not have a decisive impact on the course of events in the wider area. A completely new story began at the end of World War II, not just for Kamniška Bistrica valley, but also in the attitude towards the death.

The end of WW II: Kamniška Bistrica as the Valley of Death

The German army left Kamnik[6] on 6th May 1945, as well as German civilians with their families.[7] Soon the partisan army started coming to the town: on 9th May the partisans came from the surrounding area, from Kamniška Bistrica and from Tuhinj Valley; the following evening a procession of all combatants passed through the streets of Kamnik, accompanied by celebrations. The next day, 10th May, numerous units of the partisan army arrived from Ljubljana. The day after that the 15th brigade of the 15th Division and the majority of the 14th Herzegovina brigade came, followed by other units of the Yugoslav Partisan Army.[8]

A crowd of German prisoners arrived almost simultaneously with the partisan units. It was followed by refugees from other parts of Yugoslavia, retreating to Austria; according to some estimates, there would have been about 8000 of them.[9] Kamnik area is separated from Austria only by mountains to which the valley of Kamniška Bistrica leads.

The valley which was supposed to bring freedom for these people became for them the valley of death. On 10th May, the first prisoners, two truckloads of injured Ustashe,[10] were executed in Kamniška Bistrica valley, near today's lower station of the cableway to Velika Planina (The Big Pasture Mountain). This execution was followed by liquidation in other places around Kamnik and in nearby Tuhinj valley,[11] but the majority of the defeated were directed to take part in liquidation in Kamniška Bistrica. This was the valley where everyone took justice into their own hands.

Among the prisoners who were led through Kamnik to the Kamniška Bistrica every day, the Montenegrins made up the greatest number. According to Montenegrin sources, it is estimated that at the end of May about 2,300 people of Montenegrin nationality died at the killing sites of the valley. To this number must be added the hundreds of victims of the Croatian NDH regular army (Hrvaški domobrani) and a few dozen German soldiers who were also executed at one of these sites. It is estimated that in the Kamnik region around 3,000 people were executed in May 1945 without trial and investigation of individual

6 The town of Kamnik is in the centre of the area, surrounded by mountains.
7 Windschnurer 2004. 109.
8 Windschurer 2004. 110–111.
9 Windschnurer 2004. 111.
10 Members of the Croatian fascist movement.
11 Windschurer 2004. 111.

responsibility.[12] Digging the graves and covering the bodies required the cooperation of German prisoners and people from the neighboring villages.

After the end of WW II, from mid-May until the end of June 1945, three times more people were killed in the Kamniška Bistrica valley than the number of Slovenes throughout the Kamnik area killed during WW II.[13] The main characteristic of these executions was that they were carried out during formal peace conditions and made without proper trial. The locals who were forced to participate had to undertake to maintain complete silence.[14] The principle was the same as in other places of execution without trial.

In fact, for the new communist government it was a time of revenge: the seizure of power and implementation of revolutionary action was accompanied by violence. It was directed against different categories of the population, both occupiers and collaborators, not just by legal means as may be found everywhere in Europe, but mostly by various forms of cleansing, extrajudicial killings, eliminating the German minority on the principle of collective guilt, and a revolutionary 'purge' of pre-war institutions of economic and political power (politicians, industrialists, the Catholic Church).[15]

The executions in the Kamnik area were just one part of such post-war killings in Slovenia; on the other hand there were only a few members of the Home Guard among these victims. The majority of members of the Slovenian anti-partisan side went after the war – like refugees from other parts of previous Yugoslavia – to Carinthia and were driven back to Slovenia by the British military authorities.[16] The Slovenians – it is estimated that there were around 13,500 of them – were killed in other places.[17] This mass-killing of war prisoners and civilians was the largest killing of unarmed people after WW II in Europe[18] and cannot be compared with the killing of quislings in Western Europe.[19]

The new Slovenian government tried to conceal the executions: on 18th May 1945 the order was given to conceal the traces of the killings.[20] There were supposed to be no graves, and therefore there could be no memory. People who knew about the killings – those on the local and on the state level – remained silent in the postwar period out of fear. One of the collocutors described how her father, who pastured cattle on the mountain high above the valley, observed the valley from one of the summits, watching the mass killing with horror, but did not dare to tell anyone. People were afraid that their eventual testimony would have been punished by death. They had seen too much, so they did not know anything. The social memory was shaped on the basis of fear, not on the basis of

12 Hančič 2013.
13 Hančič 2013.
14 Windschnorer 2004. 112.
15 Cf. Repe 2005. 48.
16 Gregović 2009. 106–121.
17 Repe 2005. 48.
18 Dežman 2011. 36.
19 Vodopivec 2005. 98.
20 Muhič 2000. 44.

people's "knowledge of the past".[21] The people who were executed were erased from the book of the living and the book of the dead[22] despite the respect paid to the dead before WW II.

Kamniška Bistrica as the Valley of Joy and Workers' Gatherings

Concealing information about the killings in public and fear of the consequences was part of the new government policy. On 31st May, when the executions were mostly completed, the new President of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, came to Kamnik, received by the townspeople as a hero. It was less than one week after Tito's speech about the revenge of the new government.[23] President Tito, who in 1953 became honorary citizen of Kamnik municipality (Novak b. n. l.) visited Kamnik in the following decades mostly to hunt in Kamniška Bistrica valley: the former imperial hunting grounds became his hunting grounds.

In the middle of these hunting grounds were the mass graves of people, soldiers and civilians, killed without trial. Two years after the executions the graves had to be dug up and the bodies reburied, with the help of locals forced to silence. It was said that the ground was "boiling". However, the authorities succeeded in keeping the post-war killings secret. But in the days around All Saints', under communism called The Day of the Dead, police guarded the places of mass executions to prevent people from lighting candles.

Soon after the war and after the mass killings, the Kamniška Bistrica valley revived as the place for trips, workers' excursions and the starting point for mountain hikes. The main event in the valley was the feast on Workers' Day, 1st May, based on pre-war workers' gatherings. In this way a new social memory was formed: "We preserve versions of the past by representing it to ourselves in words and images. Commemorative ceremonies are pre-eminent instances of this."[24]

These gatherings repeatedly emphasized the rights of the weak and oppressed, but the way to the commemoration place led not just past unknown graves, but past "non-existing" graves. The enthusiasm of workers' meetings tried to cover the memory of the tragic events in which some of these visitors were forced to participate as young members of SKOJ (Communist Youth League) or as locals. Kamniška Bistrica thus became a symbol of freedom, the struggle for rights and the symbol of liberty.

In the early fifties the authorities established a tree nursery by the mass graves, where young trees for reforestation of the valley were raised. It was these daily contacts with the place of violence that caused distress and raised moral

21 Connerton 1992. 3.
22 Hribar 2005. 148.
23 Repe 2005. 48.
24 Connerton 1992. 72.

issues, uncovering the memory of victims of illegal executions. According to the story of one of the women who worked in the reforestation nursery, the people from the neighboring villages who knew about the killings were shocked at the fact that the tree-nursery workers could work by the graves. She said it was not easy to live and to work in the place where people were killed, near the graves which were not even allowed to be mentioned, but as they were aware of the fact that they had nothing to do with these executions they did not feel guilty. They lived and worked there with inner respect for those executed, even when they sang while working by the graves.

Although the graves of people killed in Kamniška Bistrica valley without trial were concealed and it was not allowed to light candles on them, the relatives came secretly, despite fear of sanctions, especially at All Saints'. In all these years, until 1980, when Tito died, control by the police and members of the secret organization UDBA was very strict.

With the small political and social changes after Tito's death, fear was gradually given an outlet: in the eighties, therefore, not only the locals but also people from other parts of previous Yugoslavia started coming to Kamniška Bistrica, since most of the soldiers and civilians executed in Kamniška Bistrica were people of other Yugoslav nations, not Slovenians. Policemen from Kamnik no longer prevented them from visiting graves, but the visitors were still carefully observed at every step. It was a time of changes when also the song about the Dead Man's Bone, the song about the young fellow who did not respect death, was performed at the folklore events.

Ritual as Beginning of Understanding the Opponents: a Memorial Mass and Dirge for the Killed Montenegrins

With Slovenian independence in 1991, as a part of common changes in Slovenia it became possible to openly commemorate the dead in Kamniška Bistrica. One of the basic demands of the new political forces was the right to the graves of all who died during World War II and after it. This issue pointed out the guilt of the leaders of the Communist Party in post-war executions and strongly divided Slovenians.

Under the guidance of historians, some intellectuals among the local people very systematically began to discover this part of Kamnik local history. They started collecting personal stories and listened to all the victims of World War II and the victims of post-war violence. The inventory was published in the *Zbornik žrtev 2. svetovne vojne v občini Kamnik* (Proceedings on victims of World War II in Kamnik, 2004), later supplemented by a monographic study by the historian Damjan Hančič.[25] Personal stories, placed in their historical context formed an important part of these publications. Inventories of victims and detection of

25 Hančič 2011.

graves labelled by political opponents as "counting bones",[26] brought back dignity to the families of the killed, and this is confirmed every year with the ritual before The Day of the Dead in the chapel in Kamniška Bistrica.

Among those who made attempts to discover the graves in the Kamnik area were the relatives of Montenegrins killed in the Kamniška Bistrica valley after World War II.[27] A year after the first visit by Montenegrins, in June 2005, on the sixtieth anniversary of the Kamniška Bistrica post-war killings, a memorial ceremony for the Montenegro victims, members of the Yugoslav Royal Army (četniki of Montenegro) was held. It was organized by the Association *We will discover the truth,* founded after a visit to Kamniška Bistrica the previous year.[28] At the ceremony no political speeches were allowed; the organizers also undertook not to use political symbols. Mass was followed by the commemoration of the dead and by a cultural program, where it was pointed out that among the victims killed after World War II were also women and children (STA 2005). Among 2300 Montenegrin soldiers and civilians executed in Kamniška Bistrica, about 80 were priests and 200 intellectuals.[29]

A very eloquent memorial ceremony for Montenegrins also took place five years later, when the book *Pucaj, rat je završen (Shoot, the War is over)* was published.[30] This ritual remembrance was still filled with the awareness of fraud: in 1945, the Montenegrin army, sworn to the king, could easily have got through Kamnik if it wanted to, but it was informed of the peace. And it was deeply marked by the remembrance of Veliki zbjeg (The Big Flight), when 25,000 citizens of Montenegro fled for ideological reasons[31] and 20,000 never returned.[32]

In 2009, among the few Slovenian dirge attendants of the Montenegro ceremony were former Kamnik police officers, the people who had been most loyal to the former communist regime. The apparent contradiction was soon revealed: during the period of the Party these people were responsible for hiding the mass graves: they had to prevent the visitors from lighting candles. In the eighties this was no longer prohibited, but the visits required the supervision of police officers. In the nineties, when discovering and remembering graves was permitted, the most reliable informants in locating the graves were the former Kamnik police officers who were once the enemies of visitors to the graves. They became guides to Montenegrins who were looking for the graves of their relatives. In this way, the policemen also faced their truth. They became friends, visiting each other.

The story of the coming together of relatives of Montenegrin victims and former Kamnik police officers who had served the communist regime is one of the few stories about the convergence between relatives or descendants of victims and successors of those killed. In recent Slovenian history, it is a very rare case: it

26 Trontelj 2011.
27 Gregović 2009. 223–227.
28 Gregović 2009. 229.
29 Hančič 2013.
30 Hančič 2009.
31 Gregović 2009. 47–52.
32 Gregović 2009. 234.

seems that each story about post-war killings splits the Slovenian public. This public is still divided by personal testimonies that are heard in public or printed, it is divided by rituals of remembering, it is divided by the finding that among 89,000 Slovenians as victims of WW II there were 13,898 victims of post-war violence.[33]

The Ritual as a Way of Understanding the Opposite Side

The retired policemen were the only representatives of the previous communist regime who attended the Parastos for the killed Montenegrins: the Montenegrins living in Kamnik did not come, and at Memorial Masses at Kamniška Bistrica there were no adherents of the other side or members of other nations who had lost people in post-war killings in Kamniška Bistrica. Do such rituals contribute to understanding or do they just bring deeper division?

During my monographic research in the Kamnik region, I encountered many stories concerning the liquidation during WW II and after. These were mostly the stories of the victims, but sometimes I could also find the stories of those who supported civil war and revolution. When I attended the ritual, the memorial mass in Kamniška Bistrica, I somehow became a part of the stories of the conquered side. This is in fact what has caused my discomfort; when I became part of the stories of the victims, I did not hear the other side in me. I did not hear the people who during WW II and after it were often forced to take part in massacres. I did not hear stories of young boys who were made drunk, so that they could sow death or the stories of how these people realized their guilt, but still had to lie. I missed the stories about injustices which caused the civil war, the war which during the occupation divided Slovenians into victors and defeated. I missed the awareness that the story of the post-war killings started not at the end of the war, but long before, with injustices as well as ideological differentiations.[34]

The memorial ritual was thus my intense personal experience, which made me feel as if I had belonged to people with a particular point of view. It caused the feeling of being inside, and the uneasiness of this feeling intensified my need for distancing. But this experience was very important to me and I needed it: because of the ritual I intensively felt that my research cannot be either objective or subjective, "but interpretive because it mediates between two worlds alongside activity in a third".[35] With the experience of this ritual I can therefore open up room for more truths in the "third world", in my monograph. I can open the space also for those that I met indirectly, as stories about the other side. With the assumption that the lie of the winners was perhaps more difficult than the silence of the defeated. With this understanding I will be able to point out the Memorial Mass in Kamniška Bistrica as real reconciliation, not just a nominal one, and with

33 Tominšek-Rihtar 2005. 19.
34 Cf. Hribar 2005. 70–92.
35 Cf. Agar 1986. 19; cf. Pisk 2012. 1.

respect which was some decades ago was expressed in the song "Dead Man's Bone Punishes Wanton Man".

And with this view I can understand it was not just the song that revealed the inside world of all these people: the problem I talked about resonated also – or predominantly – in silence. This silence has its reasons and its message, so it is as important as songs, not just for ethnological, but also for folklore research. In this way my view exceeds traditional frames of folklore: to understand people it is not enough to listen to the songs but also to trace what goes beyond them, to understand the silence. In this way ethnological and folklore research can contribute to the dialogue between the opposite sides of the civil war.

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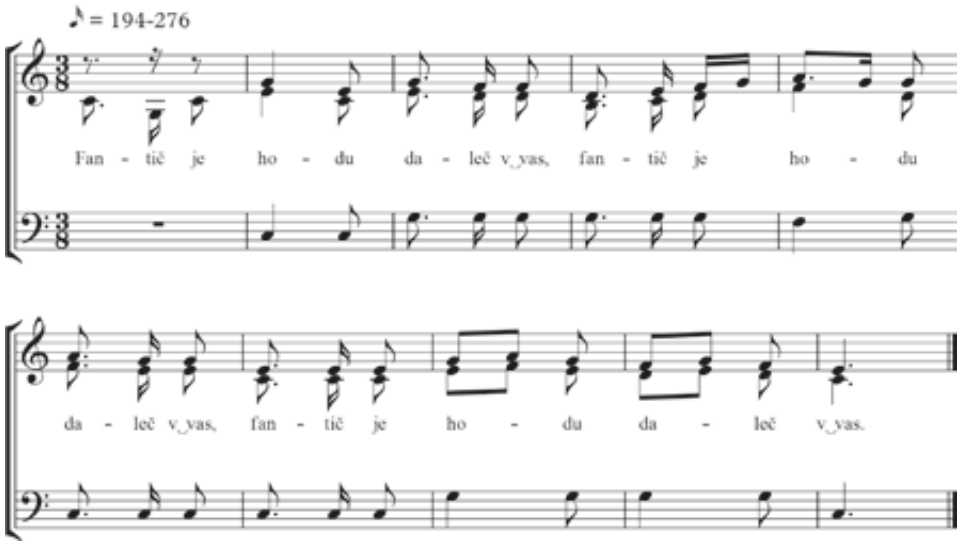

Fig. 1. The song *Mrtvaška kost kaznuje objestneža* (Dead Man's Bone Punishes Wanton Man) sung in Kamnik area expressed the dignity of death in the period before WW II and after it (Archive of the Institute of Ethnomusicology SRC SASA, GNI M 25.100)

Fig. 2. No graves and no memory were allowed to the victims of post war executions. (Workers at the tree-nursery, working by the graves in Kamniška Bistrica; courtesy of Marija Žagar, Kamniška Bistrica)

Fig. 3.
Attending the Memorial mass for the victims of WW II and post-war violence intensifies the question of how far it is possible to reveal different truths. (Coming to the Memorial mass in Kamniška Bistrica, 31. October 2012, photo Marija Klobčar)

RITUAL DIMENSIONS OF CIVIL RELIGION

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Abstract: The main goal of our paper is to elaborate an adequate framework of interpretation for the public events in contemporary Central and Eastern Europe. In order to achieve this aim, first we will present some typical public events in our region – focusing on Hungary. Afterwards, we offer some possible interpretations, which may supply us with important insights concerning the role of public events in contemporary societies.[1]

Keywords: civil religion, Central Europe, ritual, democracy

Ritualization of Public Life

Rituals and public life always existed in a very strong interrelation in CEE during the communist era. The communist party used mass demonstrations to assert its power. All central official holidays were celebrated with marches accompanied with flags, demagogic slogans, proletarian hymns – and not least with humility towards the party leaders standing on huge grandstands. This kind of mass demonstration has been used by all totalitarian regimes to demonstrate their hegemonic power and to include big masses of the population into a unified social class. We can easily recall images from the Nazi regime, or from the era of Stalin, Mao and Franco. In all societies of CEE, mass demonstrations were organized by the leadership of the communist party. Older people have very vivid memories of these mass demonstrations and may ask themselves whether there are differences between demonstrations during the former regimes and those of our times.

Religion as Public Event

Observers of the contemporary religious scene underline the importance of public religious events, which seem to be not that different from profane mass demonstrations. It is enough to think of the big mass events of Međugore, Lourdes, Częstochowa or Guadalupe; and also the regular masses on Saint Peter's square in Rome; or the youth camps organized by the community of Taizé or by the Vatican. On the surface, mass demonstrations of political life and of religious life – or to put it in a very simplistic way – profane and sacral mass rites are very similar; they are composed of the same elements. Big masses of people march

1 The research was supported by the TÁMOP-4.2.4.A/2-11/1-2012-0001 National Excellence Program.

together, similar use is made of symbols and gestures, speeches are made and emphasis is placed on the representatives of the – profane or sacral – power and authority. But there is not only external resemblance in the characteristics of this kind of public events. Perhaps participants have similar feelings and impressions of unity, being together, having faith in the same truth, pursuing the same target and being guided by a trusted power.

Religion indisputably has the dimension of masses and of mass events, but the analyses and interpretations of religious phenomena have been interested in the religious truth, persons, historical facts and its other factual dimensions. In the last two or three decades increasing scientific interest in the performative character of religion and religiousness has been shown in cultural anthropology and religious studies. In order to have an appropriate interpretation of mass demonstrations, it is useful to have a thorough look at some theories which approach religion primarily not as an ideology, a personal world view or a sacral institution.

Homeless Democracy

We try to come up with a plausible thesis and offer it for further discussion. The thesis is based on the idea of 'homeless mind' coined by Berger and Kellner,[2] and states: mass demonstrations in CEE have as their primary function the protection of home for homeless democracies.

To understand our thesis we summarize the original notion of 'homeless mind' and as a second step we allegorize and apply it to young democracies in CEE. 'Homeless mind' is a metaphor for the basic situation of modern thinking, characterized by the loss of a solid point of reference, a settled homogeneous and religious universe. People used to orient themselves with the help of symbols and – until the modern age – with one unbroken universe in mind. In the past the main overarching symbol system was religious, supplying a symbolic world and affecting consciousness; however the overarching symbolic world has been replaced by the plurality of meanings. The determining plurality in the late modern era broke up the former localities and relativizes the tradition-filled places of individuals. Modern plurality disrupted the stable link between the mind and local symbolic order. The mind becomes homeless in the dislocated market place of numerous different symbols. In the old world of overarching meaning, identity was given and taken for granted, but in the modern world it has to be designed by everybody. So it is extensive and free, but rootless and anomic. The mind migrates openly through different social worlds.

Applying this homelessness metaphor to the population of new democracies in CEE, we can in a parallel way trace how in the former time of centrally guided society with a clear and homogeneous world view people had a well-ordered

2 Berger and Kellner 1974.

cosmos at their disposal. Independently from the quality and content of this symbolic order, they were in a way saved by it and enjoyed the 'sacred canopy' as a home for their mind. With the fall of the wall, suddenly this stable symbolic order also fell, and people of the new democracies became homeless. The pluralistic market of symbols has not yet become capable of promoting the feeling of home for people. In public mass events people can subconsciously experience this feeling for a short time.

Civil religion – The Case of CEE

After the regime change in CEE, sociologists observed the re-emergence of several symbols in the societies under transformation. We argue that this phenomenon can be analyzed within the theoretical framework of 'civil religion'.[3]

The concept of 'civil religion' – coined by Robert N. Bellah[4] more than 45 years ago – was first described as an American phenomenon (referring to a general national faith of Americans, which has no direct connection with one specific religious tradition), however this clearly does not preclude the possibility of its presence in countries other than the US. In a particular pilot research project, we supposed the existence of a social desire for symbolic entities which would be able to establish new societal cohesion in a time of deep change. In general, scholars of this cultural and political region argue mostly for fundamental diversity and tensions, but we will focus on the other side of the coin, on cohesion according to the Durkheimian paradigm.

Civil Religion in CEE – a Working Definition

The basic idea of the civil religion thesis is that in advanced industrial societies, which are increasingly secular in terms of institutional religions, civil religion now serves the same functions as institutional religions once did in prescribing the overall values of society, providing social cohesion, and facilitating emotional expression. In other words, civil religion offers a "functional equivalent" or "functional alternative" to institutional religions, since they meet the same needs within the social system.

Our working definition is the following: civil religion is the cultural pattern that enhances social cohesion, provided that a significant proportion of the society accepts (or even identifies with) its theorems and its symbols, and has a strong, but not absolute affection towards it. Civil religion – in radical contrast to

3 Máté-Tóth and Feleky 2009.
4 Bellah 1967.

religious traditions – is not dogmatic and universal, but is the contextually peculiar summary of certain characteristics of a given society.

Religious Symbols on Banknotes – a Proof of Civil Religion?

In order to prove our theses – inspired by the work of Tim Unwin and Virginia Hewitt[5] – we analyzed pictures and symbols on the banknotes issued in CEE. Our results show that numerous (about 50) banknotes issued in CEE in the 1990s had images or motifs related to religion. This means an average of around 3, but the distribution is far from being even. While the number is as high as 10 in Croatia, in some countries (even in Poland) no banknotes were issued with these characteristics.

Civil Religion in Szeged

In order to find a more conclusive evidence, a survey was carried out. The sample used (more than 2600 persons were interviewed) can be considered representative for the population of the city of Szeged. As a result of the research, it was proved that even in an urban setting our concept was applicable. However it also became evident that American and Hungarian civil religiosity have distinctive features.

On the average, 85% of the population approved civil religious statements focusing on the nation – for example, 89% stated that the flag of Hungary is sacred for them, while 77% agreed that 'Nation is the most important community' and 76% said that 'Hungary has always been a Christian country'.

On the level of the relationship between religion and the state or the government (e.g. considering whether defending the religious traditions of the country is a duty of the government), this rate dropped significantly (to 65%).

And only about 23% connected Christianity and morality to politics: only one fifth (20%) of the population agreed that 'If politicians don't believe in God, they can't be of good moral character'. On the other hand, in a broader context, moral character and religion are in interplay: 81% agreed that 'The world would be better if everyone kept the Commandments'.

These results clearly illustrate that civil religion and traditional religion are not of the same kind. They also show a specific character of the Hungarian civil religion: a strong belief in the nation itself, but without belief in the political leaders, or the necessity of them being religious.

5 Unwin and Hewitt 2004.

God in the Texts of Inauguration Rites

This does not mean that political leaders in CEE refrain from using the power of civil religion. While Bellah in the US discovered how frequently the name of God is used in political speeches, we can do the same in post-communist CEE. In several European countries, the form of oaths finished with the closing form: So help me God. This closing form is usually used by politicians without reference to personal religiosity or belonging to one particular religious tradition. The closing form: 'So help me God' can be seen as a ceremonial act to highlight the seriousness of the oath. It must be noted that according to the original Christian interpretation, only God grants the success of human plans. So help me God can also be interpreted as the speaker remembering the cultural heritage influenced by Christianity.

In CEE, inauguration ceremonies also show some civil religious elements. In Ukraine, the President-elect is sworn inside the Ukrainian parliament in Kyiv. He stands at the front of the chamber and reads the oath of office while placing his hand on both the constitution and the Bible.

In Hungary, the Prime Minister is sworn in in the upper chamber of the Hungarian Parliament. He stands at the front of the chamber and takes his oath with one hand over his heart and the other holding a small corner of the Hungarian flag, a symbol of the nation.

Religious Symbols on Flags and Coats of Arms

The flag is an important element of all political rites or ceremonies, since it is highly visible, or even plays a role during official ceremonies. In the case of Slovakia, both the coat of arms and the flag of the Slovak Republic include a double cross. However, as it was seen in the Hungarian example, even a flag without religious symbols can evoke deep emotions and the feeling of community. As it was revealed as a result of the aforementioned survey, 97% of the population agreed that 'national symbols should be respected'.

TheoreticalApproaches

As it was previously shown, the concept of civil religion can be fruitfully applied to the societies in our region, and the idea of understanding a particular dimension of societal transition in CEE as being 'civil religious' turned out to be an appropriate explanation. But for deeper understanding and interpretation of the inherent dynamics of the societies after the fall of the wall we need other approaches

and other theoretical frameworks. The main question to be formulated concerns the kind of societal actions that will help to rebuild societies in post-communist CEE. Or in other words, how we should understand the main characteristics of the societies in CEE, in the function of renewing the societies after the change of regime. While working on civil religion we were still confronted with the ritual or performative dimensions of these particular societies. Therefore, we turned our attention to public ritual events and to scholarly interpretation of public rituals. We will show very briefly four important approaches: Durkheim, Turner, Bell and Schechner.

Durkheim – Collective Effervescence

For Durkheim in his famous classical work, Elementary Forms of Religious Life,[6] the central answer to the question of how society is built up is through collective effervescence. Durkheim explains that in case of bigger consistency of people, from a mere crowd they become a society. Durkheim called the experience of intensive being together as collective effervescence, which bears the idea of society.

Mass demonstrations in the region can be interpreted as a laboratory for experience about emerging society. After isolation and after total control over the full population, in the period of newly found freedom people are to experience the new kind or the new type of society.

Turner – Communitas

Victor Turner[7] in his work on societal drama elaborated a particular type of societal transition that he called communitas. In the transition, both smaller and bigger societies undergo a special period characterized by normlessness and lawlessness. During this very intensive period the renewed community is created, already with solved conflicts and with new and stable inner structure. Turner reckoned that this special type of community – that he called communitas – is the nodal point of transition from the ancient regime to the new one.

Mass demonstrations in CEE can be interpreted as events like Turner's communitas in which people witness oneness and capacity, trust and hope for solving all problems. They become sure that the former regime is over and a new one is coming.

6 Durkheim 1915.
7 Turner 1969.

Bell – Ritual Power

Catherine Bell in her works on rituals[8] – particularly in her book Ritual Theory and Ritual Practice – elaborated in a well-grounded and very informative way the interrelation of ritual and power. She distinguishes between personal intentions – that is, being part of a public mass ritual – and the power used by the organizers of the event. She offered among others four questions or a fourfold perspective to analyze mass rites:

> How ritualization empowers those who more or less control the rite;
> How their power is also limited and constrained;
> How ritualization dominates those involved as participants; and
> How this domination involves a negotiated participation and resistance that also empowers them.

Using her questions, it seems to be possible to understand mass demonstrations as elements of power and empowering. Mass demonstrations are appropriate tools for the unstable hegemonies of new democracies to become more stable, but – in the already democratic structure – it is not possible to achieve everything by involving the people. Participants of mass demonstrations are involved and reinforced in loyalty to the hegemony, but only regarding the general aims of the new regime is it possible to bring together big circles of people. Mass demonstrations cannot compensate for detailed negotiations in the style of democracy.

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8 Bell 1992.

NATIONAL FEASTS, POLITICAL MEMORIAL RITES
FEASTS OF CIVIL RELIGION?

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Abstract: The 19th century was marked by the "production" of the bourgeois state and national feasts. The paper deals with the formation of celebration of this Hungarian national historical memorial feast: 15th of March (National Memorial Day of the Bourgeois Revolution and War of Independence 1848/1849) in the past 150 years and the present. March 15, 1848 was first commemorated in 1849, after that it was forbidden for decades. It was only after the Compromise between Austria and Hungary (1867) that March 15, chosen as a national feast in 1849, could be celebrated freely. But it did not become an official national feast until 1927. Since then the different political forces have attempted to exploit the message of March 15 for their own purposes. The paper shows the different uses and abuses of history, the different interpretation of the past and the given feast.

Keywords: national feast, interpretation of feast, politics

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The Feasts Examined

In the spring of 1848 there were revolutionary manifestations in a number of European cities (Palermo, Naples, Munich, Paris). On March 13, 1848 in Vienna and on March 15 in Pest-Buda the civil revolution was victorious. At the same time as the revolution in Pest the last feudal diet was in session in Pozsony, at that time capital of the Kingdom of Hungary (now Bratislava, Slovakia). Under the influence of the revolutions, on April 11, 1848 the estates and the ruler adopted the bills on taxation, the liberation of the serfs with state support, the formation of an independent Hungarian government, suffrage, the reunification of Transylvania and Hungary, and the national guard. Civil Hungary was launched, the civil Hungarian nation was born.

From September 1848 armed struggle began between the Hungarian state and Habsburg rule, binding the Hungarian nation together. On the first anniversary of the events, in 1849, public opinion made March 15 the memorial day of the revolution and war of independence, rather than April 11, the day on which the laws opening the way for civil development were adopted. The revolution and war of independence was defeated in August 1849 by the allied Austrian and imperial Russian armies. The most important catchwords of the Hungarian bourgeois

revolution were concepts borrowed from the French Revolution: liberty, equality, fraternity, and they all became filled with national and sacral content – especially in the period of repression between 1849-1867.

An important event for the Hungarian people and Hungary in the 20th century was the 1956 Revolution and freedom fight. On October 23, 1956 the young people of Budapest and then the workers rose up against the oppressive socialist/communist regime. They used the symbolic language of 1848-1849 for their revolutionary demands. The struggle for freedom was crushed once again with Russian (Soviet) arms. Up until the change of political system in 1989/1990 it was forbidden to commemorate the 1956 Revolution; October 23 was a forbidden feast.

The paper deals with the celebration of these two Hungarian national historical memorial feasts: 15th of March (National Memorial Day of the Bourgeois Revolution and War of Independence 1848/1849) and 23rd of October (Hungarian Revolution and Freedom War, 1956) in our days. With the help of a small research group, consisting of my students, we tried to describe the rites of celebration on different levels (individuals, communities/settlements, political parties, state), and to analyse their content as secular memorial rites in connection with the sacred.

Determining concepts of both revolutions and freedom struggles were: alternative (liberating) memory, freedom, equality, equality before the law, independence, national unity, respect of the national symbols. Both revolutions had charismatic leaders: Lajos Kossuth in 1848/1849, Imre Nagy in 1956. Lajos Kossuth died in exile, Imre Nagy was executed by the socialist/communist authorities in the summer of 1958. Both became martyrs of the national struggle for freedom, together with many of their companions. They belong to the group of local national heroes, "secular saints" in East-Central Europe; with their life and martyrdom they represent anti-totalitarian, anti-communist sentiment, and the idea of freedom, solidarity, martyrdom, charity, self-sacrifice.

A national memorial day is or should be one of the most important ways of strengthening belonging to the community and identity. A historical memorial day can also help to confirm and legitimise the existing political regime.[1] March 15, 1848 was first commemorated in 1849. Within the space of a year, March 15 had already become the symbol of freedom. The anniversary is a feast day "of all Hungarians of honest sentiments".

Civil Religion and its Role in Society

As is well known, civil religion was first described in American circumstances. Robert Bellah regards the society as a totality and the function of religion is to give meaning and motivation to the total system.[2] According to Bellah, civil religion is a universal phenomenon, all societies will have some form of a civil religion. It

1 Erdélyi 2004. 160-161.
2 Furseth – Repstad 2006. 100.

gives legitimations for the state or the nation by reference to a transcendent reality.[3] Bellah discusses the relationship between religion and politics in terms of the problem of legitimation, which he defines as "the question whether existing political authority is moral and right or whether it violates higher religious duties".[4] He postulates that in early modern or modern societies, religion in the public sphere will take the form of a civil religion. Civil religion is a shared religious factor that is differentiated from church and state, or sometimes they mingle with each other. It consists of a set of transcendent or transcendent-oriented ideals, values, by which society is judged, integrated, and legitimated.[5] Bellah stresses the normative aspects of civil religion.[6] Civil religion provides the basis for social integration.[7] Within a civil religion there are some societal ideals which provide legitimation for the political institution, and then can also be used to criticise political leaders (actors, institutions, etc.).[8] So civil religion connected to political/national/state feasts can be a tool for querying political systems.

It is in this sense that I shall deal with the national feasts mentioned and their content, function and meaning. In the modern age, in our days social and cultural sectors are no longer dominated by traditional religions (in Hungary the so-called 'historical denominations'), civil religion emerges as an alternative way by which modern societies are provided with an identity and meaning, and through them with hope of security.[9]

Hungarian National/State Feasts

The 19th century was marked by the "production" of the bourgeois state and national feasts.[10] Hungarian researchers in cultural anthropology have paid little attention to the celebration of the national feasts, although there are examples of the analysis of March 15.[11] However, the Hungarian ethnological literature has not dealt with the celebration of October 23, apart from a volume of studies by myself and my students on the feast.[12]

It was only after the Compromise between Austria and Hungary (1867) that March 15, chosen as a national feast in 1849, could be celebrated freely. It did not become an official national feast until 1927. Since then the different political forces have attempted to exploit the message of March 15 for their own purposes.

3 Bellah 1975. 3. Quoted by Furseth – Repstad 2006. 100.
4 Bellah 1980. viii
5 Bellah 1967. Quoted by Furseth – Repstad 2006. 100.
6 Quoted by Furseth – Repstad 2006. 100.
7 Furseth – Repstad 2006. 100.
8 Furseth – Repstad 2006. 100.
9 Furseth – Repstad 2006. 103.
10 Hobsbawn – Ranger 1983.
11 Hofer 1992, Bodó 1995, Gyarmati 1998, Erdélyi 1999, Feischmidt – Brubaker 1999, Plainer 2001.
12 Barna 2006.

During the socialist decades it remained officially a "national feast" as a workday. It was practically celebrated only in schools. One of the demands of the 1956 October Revolution was to restore again March 15th as the national feast.

October 23 is taking shape as a feast and being filled with symbolic content before our eyes in the political system that draws and strengthens its legitimacy from the revolution of October 23, 1956. The revolution of 1956 was thus a force legitimising the regime that appears not only as a story formulated as a truth of a higher order but also shapes our lives with its normative force.

At the same time there is a striking discrepancy between society's view of history and certain actors on the political scene: a section of society questions the right of the left-wing parties to celebrate 1956 because they are officially successors of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party that crushed the revolution. Some of its still active leaders played a role in the armed defeat of the revolution (e.g. Gyula Horn, former prime minister 1994-1998). For this reason differences have arisen in the way the political parties celebrate. The left-wing parties participate in the official wreath-laying ceremonies but they do not take part in the mass gatherings and do not go to the graves of the martyrs of the 1956 revolution. The representatives of left-wing parties are often shouted down when making speeches because public opinion finds it difficult to tolerate their anti-revolutionary policy being legitimated in this way. The previous socialist regime interpreted the events of 1956 as an attack on existing socialism, and its participants were punished, discriminated against and persecuted up to 1989, in the same way that Habsburg autocratic rule imposed a ban between 1850 and 1867 on the commemoration of March 15.

The authorities have different attitudes towards the adoption of the abovementioned feasts by society. They always involved school education and the media, as the best communicating tools for the rulers. The churches can also join in strongly in the organisation of the celebrations. In a few places, mainly smaller settlements where other organised political forces, even schools, are not present, the churches organise the celebration, or which is more general in other places, the content of the political celebration is sacralised in some way by the participation of priests. New memorial sites are often given church blessing. In this way they sacralise the place of commemoration, the sites of the revolutions.

By erecting monuments we link our memory to the continuous present time of the space. However, other symbols also appear in the celebrations: for March 15 the cockade symbolises national unity, with a strong emphasis on use of the national colours (red symbolising strength, white for fidelity, green for hope); for October 23 use of the Hungarian flag with a hole in the middle (where the hated socialist/communist state arms were cut out in 1956), and in general the Hungarian flag, as well as the carved wooden column originally a peasant grave-marker that has become a national symbol. This is an indication that an element of peasant culture has become a national symbol: grave-marker – carved post = once used for fighting – symbol of the Hungarian nation. As Anthony D. Smith

underlines, "also the folk culture of the present can take on a political aspect".[13] Wreaths using the symbolism of colours have become integral parts of the commemorations. The so-called Kossuth arms (= the Hungarian arms without the crown) are being increasingly pushed into the background although in 1956 they were one of the most effective symbols of opposition to socialism. During the period of socialism the authorities regarded the cockade and the Kossuth arms as a symbol of independence or even of an anti-Soviet attitude.

It is of note that the cockade, earlier characteristic only of March 15, is now playing a growing role also in the celebration of October 23. Its national content is now widening. But the creators of the new "invented traditions" cannot be sure whether their inventions "sill find a deeper response in the next generation".[14]

As in the past, the commemorative speeches and media manifestations stress the desire for freedom, independence, freedom of speech and conscience, social solidarity, organisation from below, religious freedom, the respect and protection of private property, patriotism, Hungarian pride, in short, the civil virtues. Of course, the emphasis falls in different places in different periods: at times it is on social equality, at other times on national unity, or on organisation from below as the basis of democracy, or on personal sacrifice. Values which are sacralized and which are in connection with God are "generosity, charity, loyalty, justice in distribution of opportunities and rewards, reasonable respect for authority, the dignity of the individual and his right to freedom".[15] The ritual system of civil religion includes rites expressing only very general and highly abstract values. It means the religious interpretation of (Hungarian) history.[16]

Built on these values, both national feasts legitimate the social order of the country. After the Compromise between Austria and Hungary (1867) the laws of 1848 gave the basis for the social and economic development of the Hungarian state. During the process of the political turn in 1989/1990 in Hungary the proclamation of the Republic took place very consciously on October 23rd giving a deeper symbolical legitimation of the event. History and state laws give the fundamental principals to the content of both feasts.[17]

Celebrations – Rites of Civil Religion?

Religion can clearly be an element in many of these features. An important element of nationalism is the national hero, who might be a historical figure or a living person. Both revolutions produced heroes and martyrs (such as Lajos Kossuth, Imre Nagy), who became national heroes and examples in the 19th and 20th centuries and whose figures have been preserved by the Hungarian national

13 Smith 1995. 68. See further about the use of tradition Bauman 1999. 132-139.
14 Smith 1995. 139.
15 Lane 1981. 257.
16 Reflecting on Bellah's theory see further Göpfert 1987. 106-107.
17 See Schieder 1987. 287-292. with further references.

view of history in statues and the names of streets and squares. In this way they have become "secular saints" of the modern age.

In contrast to Bellah's concept of civil religion as a transcendent universal religion of the nation, which legitimates but also criticizes the nation, religious nationalism represents a world view in which the nation is glorified and idolized.[18] Religious nationalism is also one form of civil religion. Nationalism is a way of thinking about questions such as collective identity, social solidarity, and political legitimacy that helps to produce a nationalist self-understanding and recognition of nationalist claims. In this sense, nations are "imagined communities", and nationalism is a distinctive form of "imagining" collective identity and social solidarity.[19]

Nationalism is not a universal religion, but can perhaps be viewed as more akin to a "tribal religion". For that reason, those who belong to universal religions, such as Christianity, Buddhism, or Islam, will often remain ultimately sceptical about nationalism. In other words: although religions can be used as reinforcements of nationalism, they can also be a source of opposition to nationalism. Or different religions build up different approaches to values which are represented by religions.

The concept of the *sacred* is in many cases the core concept in substantive definitions of religion. The sacred is a powerful entity which compels respect and cannot be approached in an ordinary way.[20] The sacred fills people with awe and fascination; it is *mysterium tremendum et fascinosum*.[21] The concept of the sacred may make a division between the natural and the supernatural, the sacred and profane. The concept of the sacred is relatively wide and includes also the concept of syncretism.[22] All of the mentioned values, sentiments and heroes may have the characteristics of religion.

But the concept of the sacred can be wider than the religious. "An essential quality of the sacred is its unquestionability… Unquestionable tenets exist in secular political ideologies which are as sacred in that sense as the tenets of any religion."[23] Ceremonies, rituals using national feasts lend authority and legitimacy to the given political system. Their repetition through the years gives the impression of stability and social, cultural perpetuation of the social order.[24]

In the 20th century salient political and ideological characteristics of revolutions and freedom struggles have been identified with numerous virtues of the

18 Furseth – Repstad 2006. 104.

19 On the connections of religion and nationalism with special attention to the situation in the East European countries see: Ramet 1989 and the article in that volume of Leslie László who mentions only the relations of the Hungarian state and the Christian churches in the long 20th century. See László 1989. See further Furseth – Repstad 2006. 105.

20 Furseth – Repstad 2006. 19.

21 Furseth – Repstad 2006. 19. with reference to Rudolf Otto's perception.

22 Furseth – Repstad 2006. 20.

23 Moore – Myerhoff 1977. 3.

24 Moore – Myerhoff 1977. 7-8. Here they refer to Rappaport's writings on the characteristics of these elements: 1. repetition, 2. acting, 3. "special" behaviour or stylization, 4. order, 5. evocative presentational style, staging, 6. collective dimension.

Christian religion, or religion in general. That is, they were given religious connotations not only in themselves but also in connection with religion. This is manifested in the fact that the Catholic and Protestant churches also participated institutionally in the commemoration; in this way the churches gave and give religious legitimacy to the feasts which might have anti-socialist/communist and nationalistic features. A number of elements in the collection of national symbols used also found their way into the churches where they acquired a religious character: the Hungarian flag, the arms with the crown, the national anthem. On the feasts of the revolutions these are part of both the national and the religious set of symbols. It is of note that in the Calvinist Church[25] the emphasis is principally on the national symbols (national colours, cockade) and on freedom and independence, while in the Roman Catholic Church these are joined by the universal values (solidarity, fidelity, fraternity, diversity). The Roman Catholic Church is an institution with international character. It has traditionally invested in the conception of a unified Christian Europe. This idea has undergone systematic renovation on a number of levels but brought the veneration and cult of the so-called patron saints of Europe. It is a symbolical support of the European Union and politics, declaring on the other hand that Eastern Europe is also an integrated part of Europe. So civil religion appears in the celebration of the above mentioned national feasts not only on the national level but in a broader European context too.[26]

I do not claim that there is a real civil religion in Hungary but I can underline that many elements of national feasts show characteristics of the sacred in the field of symbols, objects, values, and ideas.

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NEW POLITICAL AGENDAS

THE NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATION IN SWEDEN

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Abstract: This presentation deals with the National Day Celebration from a political perspective. In 2004 the Swedish government decided to declare the Swedish National Day a public holiday. The decision was surprising to many Swedes, especially those many who perceive Swedish society to be a multicultural society. What arguments were used to motivate the decision? What was said in the political discussion preceeding the decision, and what does the discussion in itself represent? This paper will answer these questions and also relate how the decision was received by the general public, and how the celebration has been staged – and not staged – from 2005 onwards.

Keywords: politics, multiculturalism, public holiday

From 2005 on, there has been a law in Sweden that the national day on June 6, is a public holiday. The decision was taken in the Swedish Parliament in 2004, after an official report. A group of people, politicians, lawyers, economists, experts on the labor market and other experts had been working on this report for a year. They suggested that the National Day, which before 1983 was called "the day of the Swedish flag", should be a public holiday from 2005 on, replacing the Whit Monday as a public holiday.

This group of experts were very particular, for example when deciding which other holiday should disappear – it was not a question of giving us an extra day free from work. There were strict calculations of what the costs would be in that case, namely 0.3% of our gross national budget. Whit Monday was found to be the most advisable holiday to take away. Alternatives were the Ascension Day and Twelfth Day (Epiphany), but those alternatives were considered less advisable, for religious reasons and, for Twelfth Day, for economic reasons. If Twelfth Day were to become a working day, it would be very negative for ski tourism. Thus, the arguments were in many ways strictly economic and not so much nationalistic feelings.

Why the sixth of June? What are we celebrating? One of our kings, Gustav Vasa, was elected king on that day in 1523, which meant that Sweden´s union with Denmark ceased. Besides, we got a new Constitution Act on that day in 1809. Probably most Swedes have no idea about that, much less care about it.

How were this new law and the new public holiday received? First, in the parliament there were politicians who were against it. Two female politicians, one from the liberal party and one from the centre party, said: Gustav Vasa was a tyrant, why should he be celebrated? He burnt books, monasteries and nunneries – it would be better to pay attention to the franchise reform. Others, too, wanted the parliament to reject the suggestion. They said: We claim it is important to work against an ideology of the nation based on ethnicity, language and cultural heritage. Instead we ought to emphasize multiethnical society. To work for a National Day, with its historical background in a stupid nationalism would be a step in the wrong direction.

Another problem that was pointed out is that Whit Monday is always on a Monday, but the national Day is sometimes on a Saturday or a Sunday – this meant an extension of working time.

Ordinary people were most of all surprised, because the National Day means so little to most people. I think that the reason for this is the Swedish self-image that Sweden is a modern, or even postmodern, country, a welfare state where all the ideas of modernity, according to Peter Berger, Stephen Toulmin and other modernity scholars, like individualism, freedom, rationality, secularization and abstraction, dominate. A country where different ethnicities, religions and sexual preferences are accepted and protected by the law, where parents have paid parental leave for almost two years and fathers often are seen taking care of babies, an equal, internationally oriented country – and now this confusing idea about making the National Day, which so few people care about, a public holiday! Singing the national anthem and waving the flag was supposed to be deported to the lumber-room of history, wasn´t it? With a very important exception of course: sport events.

But. Even if we recognize Sweden as a modern or rather postmodern, multicultural, relatively equal society, there was at the time also another background. The politicians, that is the parliament and the government – and many debaters as well as ordinary people – were scared by the fact that Sweden had some racist movements in the nineties, using the national symbols including the flag in shameless ways. In 1988 a political party, the Sweden democrats, was founded. This party has its roots in nationalistic, extremely right and even racist movements, but is today not a racist party. It has been moving towards the political main stream, however critical of immigration and very culturally conservative, and the party still emphasizes so called Swedish values. From 2010 on, it has been represented in the Swedish parliament after an election when they got 5.7% of the votes. In the beginning of the nineties some spectacular attacks against immigrants were committed by a person called “the laserman” and that was the first really public racist crimes in Sweden in modern times. One person was killed and nine hurt for the rest of their lives. The victims had in common that they had dark hair and looked “foreign”.

So, now the political establishment wanted to take the flag and the other national symbol from the hands of racists and right-extreme movements and

build a new type of national pride, in order to disarm the racist movements and to make this pride include all groups in the country, minorities as well as the majority group (whatever that is).

As I said before, the most common reaction was a big 'why?' Our colleagues at the archive in Gothenburg made a questionnaire in 2005 to ask people what they thought about the National Day becoming a public holiday and how they celebrated. The answers express, with few exceptions, frustration. Let me give some testimony:

Nurse, 50 years old: "Very bad timing for a National Day. Our Norwegian friends leave Norway on 17th of May because of all the drinking and the chauvinism. I work on the National Day and I don´t care. The first of May and Midsummer are much nicer holidays. Nationalism is not good. We live in an international world."

Female teacher, age unknown: "I tried to find some small flags. It´s nice with the Swedish flag. I looked on TV but it wasn´t very fun. The Sweden costume – this depressing fancy-dress. It was much better when Whit Monday was a public holiday. We don´t become dizzy from nationalism, except for the Olympic Games and World Championships. We don´t feel that Sweden has been questioned as a nation. We have not been occupied. We don´t have a day when we became free." On the other hand, this woman says that we really can be happy: "we live in a democracy, every child can go to school, we get health care and we have freedom of speech."

Another female teacher, 55, says it was better before this day became a public holiday, because we used to sing the "hockeysong" with the children. (The hockeysong is our national anthem, called the hockeysong because it is heard when our national icehockey team "Tre kronor" has won!) Nationalism should not be encouraged, she says, and what are the reasons for this day? We have seen enough of nationalism and regionalism in Europe during the last years. Is this an attempt to show a Swedish homogenity which has never been there? Are they afraid that Swedish culture will disappear? Locked-in culture is dead culture."

A student, 22 years: "This is a way to make people work more. It is ridiculous. I don´t feel any pride or right of possession to the country where I was born. I don´t feel more fellow-feeling for Swedes than for any person. I hope for a multicultural, multisexual, multitraditional Sweden full of nuances in the future!"

An elderly women says: "Except for religion, nationalism has caused most wars in the world."

A different voice from an elderly man: "This celebration is solemn, and it is important that the Swedish people have such a day to honor this country´s freedom and greatness."

Another gentleman: "I want to show Swedishness, that I am proud of my country. We owe many for much concerning our dear country. We have good social welfare, we have been spared from wars. Our royal house is a fine symbol, they make good publicity for Sweden."

Thus, for one person our long period of peace is a reason to celebrate the National Day, and for another person it is a reason not to celebrate.

But the celebration goes on every year, even if we can ask ourselves how come? I personally don´t know one single person who celebrates this day, but the government, the court, and the local authorities go on celebrating and there are people coming to listen to speeches and to music. During the last month or so I have been asking people around me – friends, colleagues, relatives: How will you celebrate the National Day this year? And I have not yet met one single person who has said anything else than: "The National Day? No idea, I don´t celebrate that day." But if I ask: What will you do at Midsummer? I know the answers, often rather detailed: "I will meet friends and go to a party in the archipelago. I will go to relatives and celebrate with them in their summerhouse. We are invited to a wedding. We make our own maypole, then we go to the old homestead museum, listen to the music, look at the folkdance, the children dance around the maypole and we meet people. In the evening we have a party with friends and family, we eat pickled herring, have snaps (Schnaps) and of course strawberries."

If you visit Stockholm on a Midsummer Evening, I guarantee that you will find an empty city with many closed restaurants and very few people, except for some confused and surprised tourists. Everyone is planning for something on Midsummer Day, but the National Day can very well be a day for cleaning the house, working in the garden or doing just nothing special at all. Going to IKEA to buy new wardrobes, maybe.

However, the National Day is a very important day for at least one family in Sweden, the royal family. On that day, Queen Silvia, Crown Princess Victoria and Princess Madeleine, if she happens to be in Sweden, wear the so called Sweden costume. This costume was created by an upper-class woman, together with artists, in 1902, for women in Sweden and Norway coming from cities or areas without real folk costumes. The purpose was to create a comfortable and nationalistic costume, instead of the uncomfortable and unpractical French fashion. However, it was soon forgotten, but in the nineteen-seventies the Nordic Museum acquired one. By wearing it on the National Day, Queen Silvia has made it a little more popular in the last years, but still you cannot see it very often.

Skansen, the big open-air museum in Sweden where this day is celebrated with the royal family among others, already played an important role before we had a National Day. As early as 1893 there was a celebration at the museum on the 6th of June, and in 1916 it became "The day of the Swedish flag". Before that, the flag was used mostly for military purposes and not in public like today.

The flag and the royal family are the most important national symbols on the National Day, and those symbols have grown stronger during the last decades, even though investigations show that the confidence in the Swedish royal family, and specially in the king, is lower than ever. This became obvious through an opinion poll in 2012.

So, what shall we do with this day which is more or less forced upon us?

This day has got a character of an official day, not of spontaneous festivities. The local authorities, the royal court, the government and organizations like Rotary, Red Cross, societies of local history, and home guards are those who

make arrangements for the citizens, with a fascinating mixture of solemnity and high spirits. There can be parades with old cars and old tractors, folk music and folkdance of course, but also entertainment for the kids.

When I say that The National Day has a character of an official day and not a day for celebrating with the family and friends, and definitely not very spontaneous celebrations, I include that this also has become a day for new Swedish citizens. Most local governments have chosen this day to welcome new Swedes, which we can see here from the City Hall in Sweden. Maybe this day is the Swedish National Day for immigrants, new Swedes, while Midsummer is looked upon as the "real" National Day by native Swedes.

To conclude: The National Day has so far mainly been ruled by different authorities and organizations, but it is not deeply rooted among ordinary people.

Swedes seem to be unwilling and unable to subscribe to nationalistic enthusiasm except when "we" have won a World Championship in skisport or icehockey – and after an icehockey match we really wish to hear the players sing the "hockeysong".

This year, ten years after the decision, the Institute of Language and Folklore will make a new questionnaire to find out more about how the National Day is celebrated – or not celebrated today.

THE ROMANIAN SAINTS
BETWEEN POPULAR DEVOTION AND POLITICS

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Abstract: After the fall of communism, in 1992, the Romanian Orthodox Church made a series of important decisions regarding the promotion of "Romanian" saints, which also included several canonisations. During the last years of the communist regime, the cult of the national saints was used by the church as an argument emphasising the continuous Orthodox presence in Romania and ultimately identifying orthodoxy with the Romanian nation, an idea meant to justify the place of religion within communist society. After the fall of communism, although relieved of any ideological constraints, the church continued to use the same discourse. This led certain authors to interpret the 1992 decisions as being exclusively politically motivated and part of a nationalist-inspired campaign. From an historical perspective, however, this was not the first time the Romanian Orthodox Church had promoted and canonised national saints. A similar initiative occurred in 1950. Ironically, these two actions mark the beginning and the end of over four decades of atheist rule; a period of religious restrictions and persecution against the Romanian Orthodox Church, and other religious denominations. Entering the new millennium, the Orthodox Church intensified the canonisation process. As the religious revival evolves and cults of new popular saints emerge, it is clear that political reasoning is not the sole motivation behind these decisions. Without denying the political implications of the promotion and canonisation of national saints, this article focuses on the role played by the religious experiences of the population.

Keywords: Romanian saints, veneration of saints, canonisation, Romanian Orthodox Church, urban religion.

Introduction

After the fall of communism, in 1992, the Romanian Orthodox Church made a series of important decisions regarding the promotion of "Romanian" saints. Among others, this included several canonisations. Although the gesture could at first be interpreted as the result of the new-found religious freedom, a closer look reveals a more complex situation. During the last years of the communist regime, the cult of the national saints was used by the Church as an argument emphasising the continuous Orthodox presence in Romania and ultimately identifying orthodoxy with the Romanian nation; an idea meant to justify the place of religion within communist society. After the fall of communism, although relieved of any ideological constraints, the Church continued to use the same discourse. This led certain authors to interpret the 1992 decisions as being exclusively politically motivated and part of a nationalist-inspired campaign.[1]

1 Stan – Turcescu 2010. 112.

From a historical perspective, however, this was not the first time the Romanian Orthodox Church had promoted and canonised national saints. A similar initiative had already been taken in 1950. Ironically, these two actions mark the beginning and the end of over four decades of atheist rule; a period of religious restrictions and persecution against the Romanian Orthodox Church, as well as against other religious denominations. Entering the new millennium, the Orthodox Church continued and even intensified the canonisation process. As the religious revival further evolves and the cults of new popular saints emerge, it has become clear that political reasoning is not the sole motivation behind these decisions. Whilst not denying the political implications of the Church's actions, the focus of this article is on the role played by the religious experiences of the population.

In Romania, saints are frequently invoked by the population. Their relics are increasingly sought after and their celebrations occasion impressive pilgrimages each year. The demand for saints is stronger than ever, a fact that is reflected by the canonisation process. After carefully considering the particular historical context in which the first canonisations were made, closer attention is given to the understanding attributed to "Romanian" saints. Two cases of popular saints (the "prison saints" and Ilie Lăcătușul), awaiting official recognition, are further examined. Finally, some canonical aspects are discussed, followed by an overview of the latest canonisation which occurred in Romania.

The Romanian Orthodox Church and the Cult of the National Saints

On 28 February 1950, during one of its working sessions, the Holy Synod, the highest canonical authority of the Romanian Orthodox Church, adopted some unprecedented decisions.[1] It was first decided that the cults of six saints[2] should be generalised to the entire Romanian church. Previously canonised by other Orthodox churches or patriarchates, these saints were greatly venerated among the local population, as their relics had been in the country for several centuries. Secondly, it was decided to generalise the cult of Ioan the Wallach, a saint of Romanian origin, previously canonised by the patriarchate of Constantinople. Finally, the decision was also made to locally canonise eight new saints,[3] who had distinguished themselves through their pious works in Romania. These were the first formal canonisations undertaken by the local church in over four centuries[4] and the first ever by the autocephalous Romanian Orthodox Church. Given the

1 B.O.R. 1950. 298-299.

2 Parascheva of Iași, Ioan the New of Suceava, Filofteia of Curtea de Argeș, Dimitrie the New of Basarabia, Grigore of Decapolis and Nicodim the Holy of Tismana.

3 Ilie Iorest and Sava Brancovici, metropolitans of Transylvania, Visarion Sarai, Sofronie of Cioara, Nicolae Oprea, Calinic of Cernica and Iosif the New of Partoș. The eighth saint, Ioan of Râșca and Secu will, however, never be proclaimed; the canonisation decision, in his case, was to be renewed in 2008.

4 Patriarch Nifon of Constantinople was the first saint canonised by the Metropolitanate of Wallachia, in 1517.

difficult political circumstances, these actions are a good illustration of the manner in which the church continued to carry out its canonical duties under the self-declared atheist regime.

Despite the importance of the moment, there was no particular display to mark the event. Three days earlier, Patriarch Justinian (1948-1964), had taken the opportunity presented by the Romanian Patriarchate's twenty-fifth anniversary to announce the forthcoming decisions.[5] His speech for the occasion is a perfect illustration of the discursive strategy he adopted during the first period of the communist regime.[6] Addressing the officials, he emphasised the way in which the Orthodox Church has always served the people, by which he meant the oppressed. Thus, the national saints were pictured as sacrificing themselves for the well-being of the Romanian people. This fact alone entitled them to receive proper recognition. Prince Brâncoveanu of Wallachia, for instance (accused of treason and finally executed by the Turks along with his four sons and his servant) was described as having fought to liberate the Romanian people from the Turks, with the support of the "great Russian people", while the saints of Transylvania were described as fighting against the "Catholic oppressors". The accent is on the saints' life work, any reference to their working miracles, although essential from a canonical perspective, is ignored.

Inside of the church, the times were not propitious for celebration. The solemn proclamations were postponed to a later date, which also meant that they did not come into effect right away. An informative note from the secret police, dating to March 1950, provides a description of the atmosphere inside the Holy Synod during these events: "A heavy atmosphere reigned over all the sessions. No signs of festivity were in evidence. Hierarchs, clerics and lay people all gave the impression of an unspoken, but real fear of expressing any thoughts or wishes."[7] The tension anticipated the massive arrests that followed, but also reflected the on-going conflict between the newly elected Patriarch and the Ministry of the Cults, the political exponent. Complicated manoeuvres came into play as each side struggled to impose their candidates in key church positions, including inside the patriarchate.[8] On a larger scale, the relation with the Russian church also became tense. There were rumours concerning the possible dissolution of the Romanian patriarchate and the Romanian church being brought under the jurisdiction of the Russian church.[9] Under these conditions, the stakes concerning the adopted decisions appeared to double: the position of the Romanian Orthodox Church was being consolidated both internally (in its rapport with the communist regime, but mainly with its own subjects, which it was encouraging and strengthening in times of need) and externally (in its rapport with the other Orthodox churches, mainly the Russian church). In other words, the national saints reaffirmed its autocephaly. Therefore, it is no accident that the solemn

5 B.O.R. 1950. 170-172.
6 See Enache & Petcu 2009. 55.
7 Păiușan – Ciuceanu 2001. 184, doc. 93.
8 Enache – Petcu 2009. 129.
9 Enache – Petcu 2009. 195; Martiri 2007. 27.

proclamations, which finally took place in 1955, coincided with the seventieth anniversary of the Romanian church's autocephaly. The proclamation of Iosif the New of Partoș was delayed until September the following year, when the three-hundredth anniversary of his death was celebrated.[10]

Given that the events occurred under the communist regime, the scale of the 1955 religious festivities is surprising in hindsight. A long series of special religious services, public ceremonies and processions took place in several major cities throughout the country (Bucharest, Iași, Curtea de Argeș, Râmnicul Vâlcea, Craiova, Alba Iulia, etc.), during the last three weeks of October, when most of the saints were celebrated. In addition to local political officials, a dozen representatives of other Orthodox churches (the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Russian, Bulgarian and Greek churches), were also present. What stands out, even from the censured chronicle of the event,[11] is the massive attendance of the population.

Although adopted and proclaimed, the 1950s decisions did not fully come into effect, and there are some inconsistencies. The names of the new saints were, for instance, not mentioned in the religious calendar until 1991.[12] Furthermore, one saint, Ioan of Râșca and Secu, remained unproclaimed until 2008.

The issue of the national saints resurfaced a few decades later, around the one-hundred-year anniversary of autocephaly of the church (1985). By that time, communism had entered the nationalist phase (so-called national communism) and the church had, once again, adapted its discourse to the new political ideology. National saints were now used as arguments supporting the idea of continuity of the Orthodox faith within Romanian territories, while this Orthodoxy was presented as the unifying factor for the nation since its very beginnings.[13] A good illustration of this view is a collection of hagiographies, entitled "Romanian saints and protectors of the ancestral law."[14] The volume, the first one dedicated to national saints, was designed as an alternative to the official version of national history. Designated with carefully-chosen words in the 1950s ("saints with relics in our country", "saints of Romanian lineage", "saints of Romania", etc.), national saints were now, for the first time, reunited under the name of "Romanian saints". Considering the choice of saints (nearly half of them had not been canonised at that time), it becomes obvious that the publication was anticipating a new official recognition of saints. In the introduction, the moment is presented as propitious for such a decision, despite the atheist ideology promoted by the communist regime: "The first canonisations of Romanian saints have only recently become possible (…) since our democratic state now guarantees full freedom of belief and the liberty of religious expression."[15]

10 B.O.R. 1956b. 893-937.
11 B.O.R. 1955. 992-1243; 1956a. 28-50.
12 B.O.R. 1990. 192-193.
13 See Enache – Petcu 2009. 55-66.
14 Patriarhia 1987.
15 Patriarhia 1987. 14.

During 1989, discussions regarding the national saints intensified in the Holy Synod.[16] Although few preliminary decisions were made (such as the creation of a special commission charged with the various issues relating to the national saints), most were reiterated and came into effect later, after the political changes of December.[17]

On 20 June 1992, after long and careful deliberation, the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church, gathered in solemn session, adopted several decisions referring to the national saints.[18] Opening the meeting, Patriarch Teoctist deplored the forty-five years of dictatorship and atheism, which had repressed people's need to venerate their saints. It was this need that the forthcoming decisions, by far the most extensive ever taken, were to address. The first decision concerned the canonisation, with generalised veneration, of nineteen Romanian saints.[19] The second decision concerned the cult of the seven saints canonised locally in 1950. Given their increasing veneration, it was decided that they should be generally canonised for the entire Romanian church. The cults of another thirty-seven saints previously canonised and venerated by other Orthodox churches were also generalised. Whether or not of Romanian origins, these saints had preached and/or suffered martyrdom in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic region. Furthermore, in order to celebrate "all known and unknown saints of our lineage", it was decided that the second Sunday after Pentecost (i.e. the Sunday following the feast of All Saints) would become the Sunday of the Romanian Saints.

The long series of public proclamations[20] began the following day (All Saints Sunday), in Bucharest and continued, after a week (during the first Sunday of the Romanian Saints), in Alba Iulia - historical, the town of unification. Dozens of other proclamations followed all over the country, until the end of 1993, in what could be regarded as a religious revival tour. From a different perspective, these events also contributed to the Orthodox Church's return into public space and, furthermore, provided it with the opportunity to play the role of pacifier in the national reconciliation process: "(…) leaving aside any worry or concern for the tumult of life, numerous representatives of public, cultural, political and social life joined hands around the ancestral altar (…)".[21]

16 See B.O.R. 1989a. 179-180; 1989b. 199-201.

17 It was decided, for instance, that as of 1991 the second Sunday after Pentecost would be marked as the Sunday of the Romanian Saints: B.O.R. 1989a. 179-180. This decision was later reiterated and came into effect in 1992. The saints from 1950 (both generalised and locally canonised) would be included in the 1991 calendar, together with others: B.O.R. 1990. 192-193. However, the generalisation of the 1950 locally canonised saints was decided in 1992.

18 B.O.R. 1992a. 163-176; 1992b. 3-22.

19 Ioan of Prislop, Antonie of Iezerul-Vâlcea, Daniil Sihastrul, Gherman of Dobrogea, Ioan of Neamț (Hozevitul, after the Hozeva desert), Teodora of Sihla, Ioan of Galeș, Moise Măcinic of Sibiel, Antim Ivireanul (the Iberian), Iosif of Maramureș, Ghelasie of Râmeț, Leontie of Rădăuți, Ștefan the Great, and Constantin Brâncoveanu, together with his four sons and his servant.

20 B.O.R. 1992b. 49-234.

21 B.O.R. 1992b. 54.

Current Romanian Saints

Since entering the new millennium, the canonisation process has accelerated. New saints have been acknowledged almost yearly: two in 2003[22], four in 2005[23], one in 2006[24], five in 2007[25], thirteen in 2008[26], one in 2010[27] and two in 2011.[28] Since 1992, the canonisation procedure has been simplified and the two-stage process (local and generalised veneration) has been reduced to a single generalised veneration.

The 2013 Orthodox calendar edited by the Archdiocese of Bucharest (which also serves as the official calendar of the Romanian church) mentions 106 Romanian saints; their names, printed in blue ink and bold fonts, stand out.[29] This number represents over ten per cent of the total of 1039 saints.[30] Although one might expect most Romanian saints to have been canonised by the local Romanian church, closer investigation reveals that this is the case for only half of them (fifty-five cases). The rest are either saints from the first centuries (whose names were mentioned in the acts of martyrs),[31] or saints who have been canonised by other Orthodox churches.

The Romanian saints are celebrated throughout the liturgical year. (Fig. 1)

22 Vasile of Poiana Mărului and Teodosie of Brazi: B.O.R. 2003a.

23 Onufrie of Sihăstria Voronei: B.O.R. 2005; Gheorghe of Cernica: B.O.R. 2006a; Metropolitans Grigore Dascălul: B.O.R. 2006b; and Dosoftei: B.O.R. 2006a.

24 Pahomie of Gledin: B.O.R. 2007a.

25 Atanasie Todoran of Bichigiu, Vasile of Mocod, Grigore of Zagra, Vasile of Telciu - the so-called saints of Năsăud: B.O.R. 2008a; and Metropolitan Varlaam: B.O.R. 2007b.

26 Ioan of Râșca and Secu, Rafael and Partenie of Old Agapia, Iosif of Văratic, Simeon and Amfilohie of Pângărați, Chiriac of Tazlău, Iosif and Chiriac of Bisericani - the so-called saints of Neamț: B.O.R. 2008a; Prince Neagoe Basarab, Metropolitan Iachint, Ioanichie the New of Muscel: B.O.R. 2009; and Dionisie Exiguus: B.O.R. 2008b, 2009.

27 Irodion of Lainici: B.O.R. 2011.

28 Metropolitans Andrei Șaguna and Simion Ștefan: B.O.R. 2011.

29 There are four exceptions to this, which are printed in red, due to their importance: Saint Calinic of Cernica, Saint Parascheva of Iași, Saint Dimitrie the New, protector of Bucharest, and Saint Filofteia of Curtea de Argeș. These are the most venerated local saints, whose full-body relics attract thousands of pilgrims each year.

30 I have only considered saints who are mentioned by name, without taking into account more general denominations of saints, such as e.g. the forty holy martyrs of Sevastia or the 14,000 child saints killed under Herod`s orders.

31 See Stan 1950. 261-268.

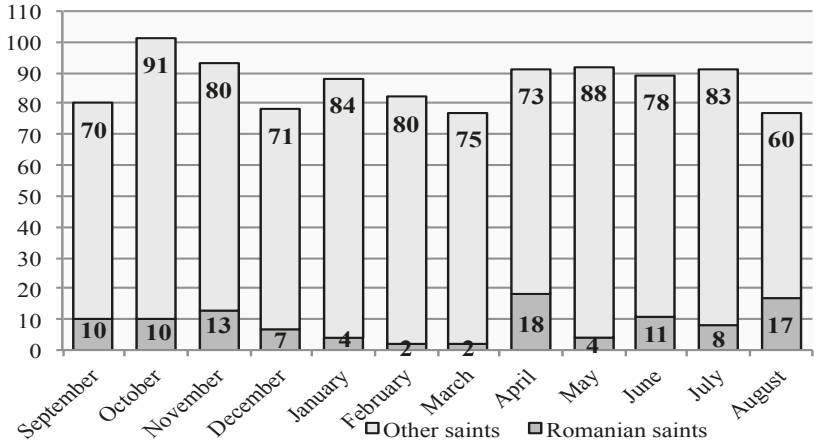

Fig. 1. The distribution of saints' days (Romanian and others) throughout the liturgical year, according to the 2013 Christian Orthodox calendar, published by the Archdiocese of Bucharest.

The main occupation or social background of the Romanian saints include: hierarchs; monks; nuns and hermits; priests and deacons; local princes or princely family members; but also common people, simply devotees. (Fig. 2)

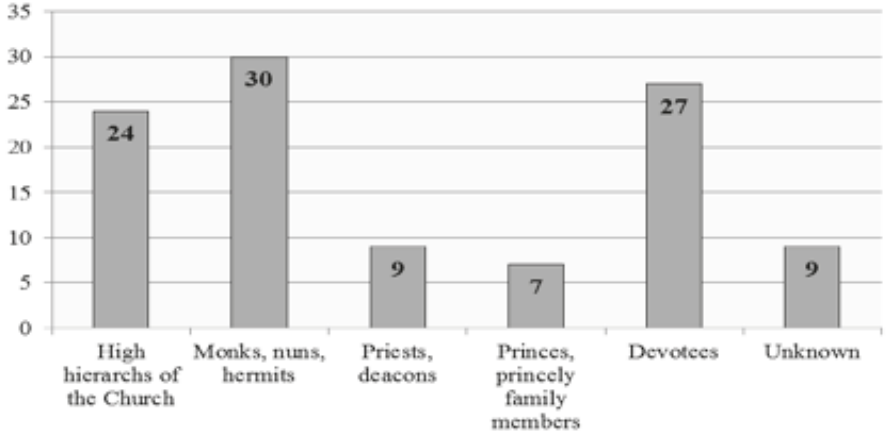

Fig. 2. Breakdown of Romanian saints' backgrounds and occupations, according to the 2013 Christian Orthodox calendar, published by the Archdiocese of Bucharest.

Their age varies from very young (e.g. Ioan the Wallach, killed by the Turks at the age of eighteen, or the young Filofteia, killed by her father's hand), to very old (e.g. Tănase Todoran of Bichigiu, head of a Romanian rebellion against the Habsburg authorities in Transylvania, sentenced to death at the venerable age of 104).

In terms of gender representation, the female saints are poorly represented, as there are only four to celebrate. Nevertheless, two of them (Parascheva of Iași and Filofteia of Curtea de Argeș) are among the most venerated saints in Romania.

Many Romanian saints were persecuted, or killed because of their faith. Nearly half of them were martyred (fifty-two cases). Most of these saints lived during the third and the fourth centuries, when they fell victim to the Roman persecutions. (Fig. 3) Almost as many lived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when they were either persecuted by the Turks (in Moldavia and Wallachia), or by the Austrian authorities (in Transylvania). Only five saints belong to the nineteenth century.

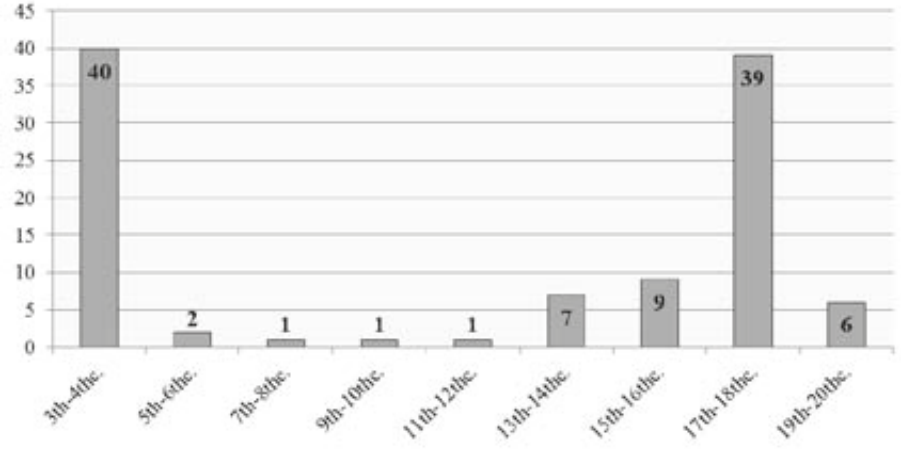

Fig. 3. The times to which the Romanian saints belong, according to the 2013 Christian Orthodox calendar, published by the Archdiocese of Bucharest.

The only twentieth century Romanian saint is Ioan Iacob of Neamț (also called Hozevitul, after the Hozeva desert), a monk who spent half his life in the Holy Land. Born in a Moldavian village in 1913, he grew up as an orphan, before joining the monastic community of Neamț. Soon after taking the habit (1936), he went on a journey to the Holy Land, where he remained. He died in 1960, in a cave in the Hozeva desert, after spending the last eight years of his life secluded from the world. The discovery of his incorrupt body in 1980 was immediately considered a sign of sainthood by the monks from the nearby monastery of Saint George, who transported the newly found relics, in procession, to their monastery. Informed of the matter, and after further investigation, the Romanian Orthodox Church finally canonised Ioan Iacob, in 1992. But this decision seems to have led the church into an impasse, since it opened the door for the canonisation of other twentieth century saints. Patriarch Teoctist (1986-2007)

was later to deplore it, considering it hasty.[32] As the pressure for recognition of those having suffered in communist prisons is today rapidly rising, the concern of the late patriarch is better to be understood.

The Saints of the Communist Prisons

While academic research into communist repression (including against the clergy and ecclesiastical officials) slowly advances and new documents from the archives of the former secret police are brought to light, a parallel, religious literature on "prison saints" is flourishing. In 2008, a campaign called "From prisons to synaxarions" was initiated by a group of "Christian intellectuals", led by the publisher Danion Vasile.[33] The campaign benefitted from the blessing given by Justin Pârvu (1919-2013), a religious authority figure and survivor of the communist prisons. Its main purpose was to "present the lives and teachings of the prison saints from under communist persecution".[34] So far, its results have been visible mainly in the form of publications, conferences and debates held in various cities. Two volumes in particular[35] bring together the main contributions on the topic (interviews, testimonies, public discourse, etc.). They gather opinions and testimonies of religious authority figures (some of which are also survivors of the communist prisons) and include accounts of presumed miracles and prayers. As with the campaign in general, the aim of these publications is two-fold: to provide evidence in favour of the formal canonisation of those having suffered in communist prisons, and to promote their cult within the population. Concerning the latter aspect, readers are encouraged to pray to the awaiting saints using the special petition prayers (*acatist*) to be found at the end of the volumes. Three legitimation strategies are being used in favour of canonisation: the first consists of accumulating the testimonies of religious authorities, especially those who are also survivors of the communist prisons i.e., eye-witness testimonies from well-respected sources; the second brings in the testimonies of other-worldly figures to sustain the cause of the awaiting saints, for example formally recognised saints advise devotees to pray to the saint from their prisons;[36] the third consists of legitimising the victims of the communist prisons through the miracles they have reportedly accomplished during their lifetime, and more importantly after their death, through their remains. Thus, the strategies employed implicitly contribute to what Patrick Geary calls "the social construction of relics' value",[37] as

32 Vasile 2013. 44

33 Director of the Aeropag Publishing House (which specialises in religious books), he is also known as the editor of several volumes on Saint Nektarios's miracles in Romania.

34 http://www.sfintii-inchisorilor.ro/argument/ (accessed 01.09.2013).

35 Voicilă 2011 and Vasile 2013.

36 See the vision of Saint Nektarios: Voicilă 2011. 15-19.

37 Geary 1986. 174-181.

the remains of former victims of the communist prisons have gradually started to be prized as the remains of saints.

In 1999, a monument was finished, dedicated to the communist victims of Aiud, one of the most feared communist prisons. (Fig. 4) During the construction, unidentified human remains were discovered. Symbolically, they were placed in an ossuary, situated under the altar of the chapel, inside the monument.

A special icon, dedicated to the "saints of the prisons" was placed next to the ossuary. (Fig. 5) While devotees from all over Romania go to Aiud to pray at the newly found relics, some of the bones have already been given away to various applicants. Today they are exhibited to the public in numerous religious establishments in the country, or abroad (Jerusalem, Mount Athos, Italy, etc.); occasionally they are used in what is called "spiritual therapy" (*terapie duhovnicească*), alternative healing therapy, used in desperate cases for which classical medicine has no solutions.[38]

In the social and cultural transition[39] undergone by the remains from Aiud, which led to them being considered saints' remains, another decisive moment is that of "the miracle of Iași". Receiving a piece of the remains, Danion Vasile, the initiator of the "From prisons to synaxarions" campaign, started to carry it with him around the country and exhibit it during his conferences. It was during a particular conference held in Iași, on 19 March 2009, in front of a large audience, that holy oil started to come out of the bone and an unearthly fragrance filled the hall. The miracle was witnessed by many of the participants, who took pictures and even captured it on film.[40] From this moment on, testimonies of miracles started to appear. Vasile's own account of the event, described as the starting moment of a long series of miracles (ten more are mentioned) is particularly interesting.[41] One year later, a re-enactment of the first miracle, on the same date and at the same place, reinforced the fame of the "travelling" relics.

In 2004, on the initiative of Justin Pârvu, who insisted on preserving the religious significance of the place,[42] a hermitage was opened at the Aiud monument.[43] In 2012, once again with his blessing, the construction of a second monastery dedicated to the "saints of the prisons" started in Galeșu (the location of one of the Danube canal labour camps). In an interview, the local archbishop expressed the hope that this would contribute to the growth of the cult dedicated to the communist victims, and that it would lead to the discovery of new relics.[44]

38 See the testimony of Pr. Dr. Mihai Valică: Voicilă 2011. 15-17.

39 Geary 1986. 177.

40 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xkzunqoMfTQ, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mPKhExIj-og, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wg9cFgNZueI, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sftlDPIdmYw, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HMbGwyIhkqQ, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EC7sHUUVG4Q (accessed 16.03.2013).

41 Voicilă 2011. 95-107.

42 See http://www.razbointrucuvant.ro/recomandari/2009/05/14/mahnirea-parintelui-justin/ (accessed 13.03.2013).

43 http://www.calvarulaiudului.ro/ (accessed 01.09.2013).

44 Târziu 2012. 42.

Although the aforementioned volumes generally argue that all those who suffered in prisons should be declared saints, few individuals are proposed. Among them are former members of the Legionary Movement.[45] While references to their lives usually summarise the time they spent in prison (religious behaviour, physical endurance, self-sacrifice etc.), little if anything is said about their earlier Legion activities. When this question does arise, however (e.g. in interviews), the standard response is that their political affiliation should not stand against a potential canonisation, as this would constitute discrimination. Placing their Legion past under a veil of silence is not surprising, considering that several of the religious authorities whose testimonies are brought to sustain their cause are themselves former members of the Legion (including even Justin Pârvu). But there are also publications in which more radical voices bring back the Legion argument, even proposing that the new saints should be called the "Legionary Saints".[46] This brings us to a grey area of the recent Romanian past. How many legionaries were imprisoned or died in the communist prisons remains today unknown; it remains equally unknown how many members of the clergy suffered the same fate. Separating the two matters proves difficult, as affiliation with the Legion was a common accusation brought against priests in the 1950s, whether or not there were grounds for believing this to be the case. Moreover, studies on the religious aspects of the legionary ideology (e.g. the martyr vocation) have so far been scant. These aspects only illustrate the difficulty of the task faced by the church; a heavy responsibility, which partly explains its reserve.

Several requests concerning canonisation have been addressed to the Holy Synod, demanding preliminary investigations to start in the case of communist victims. The church has so far reacted with restraint. As time goes by, the reactions in favour of the canonisations intensify. The impatience has become tangible and critics of the ecclesiastical officials are being heard. The example of the Russian church, which has already canonised over 1700 victims of communist repression, is often cited as an example to be followed.

45 The Legion of Archangel Michael, also called the Legionary Movement, was a far-right movement which became active in Romania between 1927 and the early part of the Second World War. In 1930, the Iron Guard was created as a paramilitary, political branch of the Legion, meant to stop communist expansion. In power for a short period of time (September 1940 – January 1941), the Legion initiated a campaign of political assassinations and pogroms, mainly against the Jewish population. What distinguished the Legion from other European fascist movements was its particular ideology, combining elements of Orthodox Christianity with its political doctrine, a fact that led many intellectuals and priests to join in. The founder and charismatic leader of the Legion was, until his assassination in 1938, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, a religious mystic who promoted national Orthodoxism and aimed to achieve the spiritual resurrection of the nation. He also endorsed a particular understanding of death, in relation to self-sacrifice and martyrhood, choosing as a symbol of the Legion what he called the cross of the Archangel Michael; a triple cross, suggesting prison bars.

46 Seiche 2010. 8.

Father Ilie Lăcătușul, the Popular Saint

Among the saints from the prisons, Ilie Lăcătușul is a particular figure. A priest and survivor of the communist prisons, he began to be venerated as a saint following the discovery of his incorrupt body in 1998. Exhibited to the public around the same time as the relics from Aiud, it continues to have a great impact on people, being a constant source of miracles.

Ilie Lăcătușul was born into a poor rural family from Vâlcea County, in 1909. After completing his education at the Theological Seminary in Râmnicul Vâlcea, and later, at the Theological Faculty in Bucharest, he became a priest (1934) and was assigned to a parish in Olt County. During the massive repressive measures taken against the clergy in 1952, he was arrested and sent to the Galeșu labour camp, to work on the Canal.[47] The accusations against him included: his former affiliation with the Legion Movement and his missionary work in Bessarabia and Transnistria during the war (1942-1943). He was released in 1954, only to be arrested again in 1959. This time he was sent to Periprava labour camp, in the Danube Delta. Finally released in 1964, he returned to serve as a country priest in Teleorman, and later in Giurgiu County. In 1978 he retired and moved to Bucharest, to be closer to his only daughter. When he died, on 22 July 1983, his body was buried in a modest cemetery, on the outskirts of the city. On 29 September 1998, his wife died and, when the grave was opened for the second time, the body of Father Ilie was found to be incorrupt. The fact was immediately presumed to be a miracle. Subsequently, a few days later, the family informed the Archdiocese of Bucharest about the discovery, asking for the start of the canonisation procedure. A second such request was addressed to the Holy Synod in June 1999.[48] Signed by the representatives of several civic and religious associations, it was personally given to the late patriarch Teoctist by Danion Vasile. According to the latter,[49] the patriarch recommended patience, as did the subsequent formal answer to the request.[50] In the meantime, several special religious services were performed at the grave of Ilie Lăcătușul, to release the soul of the deceased, thus eliminating the possibility that a curse or capital sins were hindering the body from decomposing.[51] Finally, in 2000, the Patriarchate allowed the family to open the grave to the general public. A few months later, the Commission of canonical research examined the body for the first time.

47 Construction of the Danube-Black Sea canal started in 1949 and ended in 1955. Intended as a short cut to and from the Black sea, it soon became one of the most feared labour camps under communism. Hundreds of people, many from the Romanian inter-war elite, ended their lives working on it.

48 Voicilă 2012. 24-26.

49 Vasile 2013. 43-45.

50 Voicilă 2012. 27-28.

51 See Stan 1950. 265-266.

The cult of Ilie Lăcătușul has not ceased to grow in the past few years, mainly due to publications[52] and online sources.[53] At least 600 people attended his celebration in 2013. Some had travelled considerable distances, coming all the way from Moldavia. People waited for up to five hours in the hot summer sun and temperatures of over forty degrees Celsius to enter the two-cubic-meter tomb (Fig.6) and touch the wonder-making relics.

Each year, monks from Petru Vodă monastery, in Moldavia, come to officiate at the commemoration ceremony (*parastas*). Until recently, they were accompanied by their prior, Justin Pârvu. As a former prison companion of Ilie Lăcătușul (they served four years together in Periprava), Pârvu had made the promotion of the cult a personal cause. It was he who gave the account of the miracle accomplished by Ilie Lăcătușul during their imprisonment and it is at his monastery that the special prayers of Ilie Lăcătușul were created and the first icon painted. Thus, Petru Vodă monastery is an important point of origin of the cult of Ilie Lăcătușul.

The most important factor in the promotion of the cult is, however, Ilie Lăcătușul himself. His incorrupt body is unique in Romania, where most relics are merely small bodily fragments. Only a few full-body relics of saints exist in Romania, but these relics are nothing more than bones. Seeing, but also touching the mummified body (Fig.9) has a deep effect on people, who are under the impression of being in the presence of a living person. In most of the miracle accounts, the testifiers mention seeing the body of the late priest looking at them, feeling warm, moving and even talking to them. From this perspective, Ilie Lăcătușul is the best illustration of the way devotees currently relate to relics in Romania.

Both cases presented so far, the saints of the prisons and Ilie Lăcătușul, are credited with irrefutable proof in support of a potential canonisation: the martyrhood[54] in the case of the first and the incorrupt body[55] in the case of the second. However, when and if canonisation will occur depends entirely upon the church authorities. In the meantime, they continue to be venerated as saints by the Romanian faithful.

The Romanian Saints, Some Considerations

Romania entered the new millennium as one of the most religious countries in Europe.[56] This situation is not only the result of the 1989 political change, but is in fact due to a combination of factors, the most relevant being: the accelerated social change associated with rising existential insecurity; low human capital; and

52 Voicilă 2011. 50-78; Voicilă 2012; Părintele Ilie 2013.

53 http://www.parinteleilielacatusu.blogspot.ro, http://www.razbointrucuvant.ro/2012/07/21/parintele-ilie-lacatusu-inchinare-moaste/, http://www.crestinortodox.ro/parinti/parintele-ilie-lacatusu-118559.html, https://www.facebook.com/IlieLacatusu.SfantMarturisitor (accessed 01.09.2013).

54 Stan 1950. 264; Stan 1968. 362.

55 Stan 1950. 265-266.

56 Voicu 2007.

the religious monopoly of the Orthodox church. As this religious revival evolves, people turn increasingly towards the other-worldly, seeking help, guidance and support. The cult of the dead, among which the saints are exceptional figures, is an essential component of the current lived Orthodoxy. This is especially true within the urban environment where it provides a means of coping with the everyday life difficulties of an increasingly changing society. Paradoxically, the situation is in many aspects very similar to the one described by Martin Stringer[57] for desecularised English society. As in England, most people in Romania do not think in "terms of systematic beliefs or systems of theology".[58] This allows them to behave as good Orthodox devotees, when attending church, while at the same time adhering to various folk practices and beliefs, resorting to witches or even fortune tellers. Their religion is a coping religion, a religion that enables them "to cope with the stresses and strains of life as they live it".[59] At the same time, however, it is also provides them with answers or miraculous solutions for the various problems they are confronted with on a daily basis.

While the social climate continues to deteriorate people tend to reach out to the "non-empirical others",[60] or the other-worldly others, that they believe could offer them the help and support that they need. The saints are considered to be the most suitable *porte-paroles,* because of their special relation with God. The Romanian faithful develop a special relation with the saints, whom they relate to as a close friend and protector. Not restricted to religious confines, the saint's presence is experienced as a constant of everyday life. As in the social realm, physical contact with the saints, through their bodily remains, is important and involves all the five senses. Sensory contact with the relics of saints is an important aspect of the veneration of saints in Romania.[61]

The rising cults of the new Romanian saints are among the latest additions to the already increasing Orthodox offer.[62] The cults respond to a deep need within Romanian society, in which people struggle to find new points of reference while adapting to a rapidly changing world.

Not all of the so-called "Romanian" saints are of Romanian origins. Since the creation of the modern Romanian state, nationality has commonly been associated with ethnicity, however, the social reality does not concur with the religious reality, where the nationality of saints follows a different logic. When examining the time period in which they lived, and considering that the earliest documented records of the Romanians dates to the sixteenth century, merely half of the so called "Romanian" saints are actually entitled to be called Romanian. A closer look at the hagiographies reduces the number even further. The saints' nationality seems in fact to be determined by certain qualities they had during

57 Stringer 2011.
58 Stringer 2011. 51.
59 Stringer 2011. 81.
60 Stringer 2011.
61 Stahl 2013a.
62 See the ritual multiplication: Stahl – Venbrux 2011; and the "migration" of new relics from abroad: Stahl 2013b.

their lifetime, but also by qualities acquired after their death. Hence, while some saints are Romanians due to their ethnic origin, i.e. by birth (the so-called German model), others are also considered Romanians, despite their foreign origins, because of the special ties they established with the Romanian world, after their physical death (an adaptation of the French model). This is how a theologian explains this last case: "The fact that these saints do not belong to our people, but are only venerated by it, does not diminish the interest and the significance of their cult. On the contrary, they *have become Romanian saints* [author's emphasis] by the special veneration that is given to them in our land and by the blessing they have brought upon it. They have been and still are of help to Romanian Orthodox devotees who, through their physical and spiritual presence in our country, and more through the miracles that sometimes occur, have confirmation that these saints are dear to the sons of our Church, but also that our devotees are dear to them".[63] In other words, these saints are "grounded [*împământeniți*] by popular veneration".[64] The existence of their cults is thus interpreted as approvals, a manifestation of the saints' will to become part of the Romanian nation, but also as a confirmation that they have been accepted. Miracles occurring during the translation of relics are, in this sense, seen as manifestations of the saints' will (e.g. the relics of Saint Dimitrie the New, who "refused" to leave the country during the First World War). Consequently to their integration, the names of the saints are occasionally Romanised (e.g. Saint Dimitrie Basarabov became Dimitrie of Basarabi and, later, Dimitrie the New). Moreover, they sometimes also receive a new place of origin, that of the place where they are most venerated locally (usually the name of the place where their relics are kept). This becomes an addition to their name, e.g. Saint Filofteia of Argeș, in her earthly life, was from Veliko Tarnovo, in Bulgaria. Becoming one with the locals, the saints are sometimes even represented as locals. This is the case of Saint Filofteia who, although originally from Bulgaria, is iconographically represented wearing the local folk costume of Oltenia.

The matter of the Romanian national saints was approached for the first time by Liviu Stan, a specialist in canonical law.[65] According to him, it is not the ethnic origin of saints that is relevant, but the popular devotion manifested towards them. National saints are "saints whose cult arose on the territory of a national, autocephalous Church", either before or after it acquired its autocephaly.[66] The saints may be venerated only by one nation (or people) within an autocephalous church, or they may be venerated in the entire church (general saints), or even in the entire Orthodox world. The saints venerated by Romanians as their own become Romanians by assimilation; the best illustration to this being their visual representation given by the local artists, who often picture them dressed in local folk costumes.

63 Popescu 1953. 494.
64 Patriarhia 1987. 23.
65 Stan 1945, 1950, 1968.
66 Stan 1950. 277.

Early Christian canonisations were rather spontaneous. The saints were chosen and worshipped by the people, with the assent of the clergy and ecclesiastic officials, who merely surveyed and guided the cult's development. In time, especially after the iconoclastic crisis, the church adopted a more active role, establishing certain rules and regulations, however, without establishing an explicit canonisation procedure. In this matter, as in many others, Orthodox churches today still rely on tradition. Although tradition confers greater liberty, it also implies a greater responsibility for the authorities of the different churches, who also have to watch over the unity of the faith.[67]

According to Orthodox tradition,[68] canonisation does not consist in the creation of a cult, but rather in the formal recognition of a cult that is already established.[69] This is why the process is also called "canonisation by popular devotion" (*canonizare prin evlavie populară*). This means that ecclesiastical officials only acknowledge saints already venerated by the people (popular saints), recognising them as saints and officialising their cult by solemn proclamation. Thus, pre-existing popular devotion is a crucial condition with a view to canonisation, and the spread of popular devotion is crucial for the generalisation of the cult. Consequently, both acts (canonisation and generalisation) actually certify the existence of faith. It is in this last conclusion that their importance resides, as both give the measure of faith within a Church. This means that the Romanian Church can only canonise national saints, although not all national saints have been canonised by the Romanian Church. Moreover, if all formally canonised saints are at the same time popular saints, not all popular saints are necessarily formally canonised.

The policy of the Romanian Orthodox Church with regard to the national saints indisputably involves a political aspect, mainly with regard to the national identity. However, as argued so far this is not the *only* motivation behind the church's actions in this matter, which are primarily engendered by the religious experiences of the population. The nationalist discourse and related actions, to which the national saints are a later addition, have been the main resort of the Romanian Orthodox Church in the often tense relationship it has had with the modern state.[70] Finding the right balance between politics and their primary vocation, i.e. guiding the faithful towards salvation (national salvation), between temporal and eternal goals, has actually been a challenge for all national Orthodox churches in south-eastern Europe, since their separation from the Ecumenical church.[71] As religious nationalism resurfaced at the beginning of the new millennium, voices from both within and without the Orthodox Church accuse it of

67 Already in 1950, in an attempt to synthesise the various Romanian canonisation procedures encountered over time, Liviu Stan was underlining the need for communal, pan-Orthodox regulation in this matter.

68 This is also true for the Catholic Church. See Geary 1986. 175-176.

69 Stan 1945. 77-78; Stan 1950. 268-272.

70 Conovici 2009. 304-355.

71 Stan – Turcescu 2010. 97.

being a new form of internal secularisation.[72] Because of their political implications, the cults of the saints represent a challenge for the church and numerous dangers lie ahead of their official recognition.

Final Remarks

Since entering the new millennium, an increase in the popularity of new saints has been witnessed in Romania. So far, no clear ethnic preference in the choice of saints has been shown and Romanian, as well as new, non-local saints,[73] are equally embraced. However, the question remains: are there any differences between the saints? And if so, what is the nature of these differences? Pending further developments, the responses to these questions remain, for now, open. It is to be expected that the position of the ecclesiastic authorities will play an essential role in this matter.

Since the initiation of this research, the first Romanian martyr-saint of the communist era has been proclaimed. The initiative, however, did not come from the Romanian Orthodox Church, but from the Roman Catholic Church. Vladimir Ghika, descendent of a long line of Moldavian and Wallachian princes and a former Catholic priest, was arrested in 1952 by the communist authorities. He died in Jilava prison, two years later, at the age of eighty-four.[74] The beatification proclamation took place in Bucharest, on 31 August 2013, in the presence of a special emissary of the Pope, several Catholic cardinals and a large public, many of whom were Orthodox. The Romanian Orthodox Church, however, as well as the Romanian political authorities for that matter, was poorly represented. The event was hardly mentioned in the local media. Although numerous aspects of Ghika's life relate to both Christian churches (i.e. he was baptised Orthodox in a family with both Orthodox and Catholic members and was ordained as both a Roman and a Greek Catholic priest), the moment passed in silence for the Orthodox church, whose official news agency did not even mention it. The position of the Orthodox church in this matter is obviously marked by the historical rivalry with the Catholic church. However, it remains to be seen if the cult of the most recent Romanian saint will gradually grow within the Orthodox population. This would make Vladimir Ghika the first universal saint (venerated in both Christian churches[75]), to hail from Romania.

72 See Conovici 2009. 313-317.
73 See for instance the spread of Saint Nektarios' cult: Stahl 2013a.
74 See Bălțăceanu et al. 2013.
75 Stan 1950. 276.

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Fig. 4. The chapel-monument of Aiud
The official description of the monument is that of seven pairs of crosses, symbolising the unity in suffering of those who died, sustaining a larger cross representing the cross of the nation

Fig. 5. The icon of the saints of the prisons.
Source: http://www.calvarulaiudului.ro/img/icoana800.jpg
(retrieved 01.09.2013)

Fig. 6. The tomb of Ilie Lăcătușul, the Dormition of the Mother of God cemetery in Giulești, Bucharest (21.07.2012). Photo: Irina Stahl

Fig. 7. Ilie Lăcătușul during his lifetime.
Source: http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ilie_L%C4%83c%C4%83tu%C8%99u
(retrieved 01.09.2013)

Fig. 8. Ilie Lăcătușul represented on the exterior wall of Petru Vodă monastery in Moldavia.
Source: http://www.crestinortodox.ro/parinti/parintele-ilie-lacatusu-118559.html
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Fig. 9. The relics of Ilie Lăcătușul
Source: http://ciprianvoicila.blogspot.ro/2012/01/sfantul-ilie-lacatusu-marele-protector.html
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POLITICS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF RITUALS

INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE BIRTH OF INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL POLITICS

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Abstract: The 2003 UNESCO convention on intangible cultural heritage aimed to protect and to valorise traditional rituals and festivals, as well as other forms of folk culture. This paper focuses on the consequences of such a protection, suggesting that it is connected with a new scale of festival politics that develops at an international level. For this paper, the examination of some elements included in the intangible cultural heritage list (e.g. the Patum festival in Berga, Catalonia, the carnival in Binche, Belgium, and the processional giants and dragons in France) brings evidence about the new concerns currently appearing when the festivals come under UNESCO protection. The local impact of the intangible cultural heritage label is examined, as well as the international criteria elaborated to decide which festivals can ask for protection. The paper shows that the new UNESCO international festival politics is different from the previous generation local and/or national festival politics. Different case studies show that the new UNESCO international festival politics can sometimes benefit the local festivals by connecting them with the fields of tourism and economic development. However, institutional protection can also deeply alter the spontaneous aspects of the festivals, eliminating incorrect rituals and sometimes changing the local structure of the ritual year.

Keywords: festivals, rituals, politics, intangible cultural heritage, UNESCO

Introduction

In this paper I would like to study the consequences of the new protection and valorisation of traditional rituals and festivals as intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO. I suggest that the building up of local festivals as a global cultural resource can be understood as a politization process because it leads the different festivals to answer unified requirements and can therefore be interpreted as a means of institutionalising the festivals. The main problem which arises is that the institutional protection of the festivals may alter their spontaneity. But it is also possible to consider the question under the heading of professional ethics, when the researcher is called for expertise by the political system which fuels the UNESCO convention. In the first part of the paper, I examine the relations between research and politics and I stress the question of the researcher's involvement in heritage politics. In the next section, I present the 2003 UNESCO convention on intangible cultural heritage and the way it is implemented in different State-parties of the convention. I then insist on the double nature – at once technical and ideological – of the changes observed when a given festival enters the UNESCO

system. In the last section I try to understand heritageization as a politization process, listing the different criteria which change autonomous and spontaneous festivals into regulated and institutional cultural elements. The whole paper can eventually be understood as a critique of the heritage-building process in connection with the case of intangible cultural heritage, which can possibly be transferred to other categories of cultural heritage.

Research and/or Politics?

In order to work out the relations between festivals and politics, I would like to build my reflection on a double basis. First I would like to take the position of a researcher concerned with the evolution of local festivals in Europe and their political uses and misuses. Second I will present myself as an expert in the implementation of the category of intangible cultural heritage, since I was asked a few years ago by the French Ministry of Culture to write a report on the social impacts of this new category of cultural heritage.[1] As one can easily imagine, this position is a tricky one because on the one hand, as a researcher I feel I have the moral duty to remain neutral, independent from any political power, but on the other hand, as an expert I have to get involved in politics in a broad sense in order to give a diagnosis and to help institutional decisions to be taken.

Year after year, I have accordingly developed a very special sort of schizophrenia, which leads me to be at once outside and inside the facts I try to study. As a researcher and as an anthropologist I try to remain outside the world I'm studying, but as an expert I have to be an insider. But this sort of dilemma was already well-known in our predecessors' ethnography when they spoke about "participant observation"[2] or similar concepts. And I believe indeed that it is possible, and even sometimes productive, to combine the two perspectives, that is the "emic" and the "etic" perspective, when doing research in social sciences.

By combining these two perspectives, my position is rather pragmatic. In fact, I don't think it's even possible for the researcher to escape from the social world he's investigating, so I have decided it could be useful to use my participation as a method in my research. Of course, this position is often contested by those who fear that participation can weaken their scientific findings and their objectivity. Positivists and critical scientists always think that they should stand apart from their objects. Alternatively, I would suggest that there is a possibility to engage in politics while staying moral, if you manage to adapt your methods to the political context you're studying and if you don't get involved in too narrow party politics. In this respect, it is necessary to document very carefully the political system in which you are working and to systematically compare such documentation with the collected data itself. The analysis can then be built up by crossing

1 Fournier 2009.
2 Malinowski 1922.

two different series: the one of the facts themselves, which have been observed through "thick and thin" ethnography,[3] and the one of the political and social discourses concerning these same facts and enveloping them.

To make it clearer, it is better to present an historical example at this stage of the discussion. In France, a powerful book written by a cultural historian twenty years ago – *Le projet culturel de Vichy*, by Christian Faure[4] – has shown how the government in occupied France, during World War II, made intense efforts to shape popular culture, folklore and festive rituals in order to take power over people and to break down the national movements of resistance against Nazism. The case has been well documented since then, showing how totalitarian regimes and nationalist parties were keen to instrumentalize folklore and festivals.[5] Folklore historians have also shown how difficult it was for folklorists to decide what to do in such political contexts. Must they collaborate with the regime in order to soften the extremes in politics? Must they stop working and go on strike, taking the risk of letting others satisfy the regime's ideals? Comparing different examples, it seems that there is no simple answer to such questions. In France, during World War II, some scholars retired from public life. Some of them took the opportunity to get some funding from the regime. Some others pretended they would work for the regime but used their work to protect some young resistants.

When I was a boy, the people from my grandparents' generation had experienced this sort of situation and were still quite traumatized by it, discussing regularly the case of being involved or not in public life. However, the generations born after the fall of the Berlin wall in the age of globalization can hardly understand the profound meaning of such discussions, because the scale of national politics has often been replaced by an international one, as I will show later. What I would like to point out here is that the political instrumentalization of science in general and of folklore in particular has not the same meaning in a national context and in an international context. I would suggest that when you work in a national context the influence of politics is much stronger than when you work in an international context. This is not only due to the orientations of the different national politics, but also to the fact that, when you work at an international level, your ability to compare the different national situations is dramatically increased.

Two different statements stand out from these preliminary reflections: First, I would suggest that the existence of an international arena to discuss ethnography or folklore politics makes it simpler today to get involved in expertise at a national level. To put it in simpler words, I feel less vulnerable as a researcher when the national institutions for whom I'm working as an expert become indebted to a supranational institution like UNESCO. Because of this supranational frame, the different nation-states have less power and the expertise can

3 Marcus 1998.
4 Faure 1989.
5 Ouritskaïa 2011, Povedák 2012.

become a comparative one. In such a context the researcher can become an expert without being totally instrumentalized by the nation-state he's working for.

Second, I would suggest that considering festivals and folklore at an international level is interesting in itself, as it teaches a lot about what I'll call here the birth of international festival politics.

Two different questions are intertwined here. The first one concerns the relations between research and politics; the second one focuses more on the relations between festivals and politics.

I have already partly answered the first question, suggesting that the scales where the researcher works considerably influence his relation to politics. Here again I would suggest that the more the researcher works on a narrow scale, the more his research might be instrumentalized by politics. For instance, many of us have experienced how small museums or small town councils were keen to use our research in a politically biased way. On the contrary, having an international scope often prevents such instrumentalization. The difficulty is then to hold tight to the local data in order not to get drowned in too general considerations.

Concerning the second question, the 2003 UNESCO convention appears as a great example to assess the evolution of the relations between festivals and politics, and I would now like to concentrate on this point.

The 2003 UNESCO Convention

The 2003 UNESCO convention has as its purpose safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. It aims to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities concerned, to raise awareness of the importance of intangible cultural heritage, and to provide for international cooperation and assistance. For the purposes of this convention, according to the definition provided in its second article, intangible cultural heritage means "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and sometimes individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. The intangible cultural heritage is transmitted from generation to generation and 'constantly recreated'. It is manifested in five different domains: oral traditions and expressions; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship" (UNESCO Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2003, art. 2).

Out of this definition, the convention aims at the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission and revitalization of such heritage. A general assembly of State-parties was then constituted, as well as an intergovernmental committee, leading in ten years to the admission of about 250 cultural elements on the "representative list", 30 on the "urgent safeguard list", and 10 on the "best practices list". In each of the 151

countries which have ratified the convention, inventories are being carried out and periodic reports are written to organize the safeguard of this new category of cultural heritage. NGOs and scholars are asked for expertise and sit in national committees, and many communities have asked for the recognition of their own customs and practices.

In less than a decade, intangible cultural heritage has thus become a new paradigm through which everybody is invited to discuss ethnographic and folklore matters, and un-numerable conferences and meetings have been organized, either to criticize or to encourage this huge UNESCO initiative.

Once I have presented this new institutional programme, I would like to insist on some of its main features and on its consequences on the relations between festivals and politics in today's world. As you may have noticed, I have presented the UNESCO programme as an institutional initiative, which emphasizes the "top-down" dimension of the whole thing. However, the convention has also acted as an incentive for communities willing to safeguard their intangible cultural heritage, which led to a complementary "bottom-up" effect where more and more people try to have diverse cultural elements acknowledged by an inscription on one of the three lists. In the countries which have ratified the convention, this means intense lobbying to present the cultural elements as legitimate enough to be included on the list. In the countries which haven't ratified the convention yet, the efforts of the communities are sometimes directed towards this ratification. In Great Britain, for instance, where the convention hasn't been signed yet, Scotland has launched a general reflection on the cultural elements which could potentially ask for the UNESCO label.[6] Such a reflection has a political significance in itself as it looks for the recognition of a Scottish national culture. But at the same time, communities wishing to get the UNESCO label ought not to appear as too nationalistic or too narrow-minded: this is why Scotland has included the Indian "Mela" festivals in Scotland, for instance, in the Scottish national heritage. In a similar way, the French government has sponsored some research on the rituals on the Italian French community in Paris for instance, in order to show that intangible cultural heritage was not only concerned with national identities.

Technical versus Ideological Matters

In fact, two different levels may be distinguished when speaking about the implementation of the convention: the technical one and the ideological one. These two levels form the new frame through which the relations between festivals and politics can be considered today.

On a technical ground, the implementation of the UNESCO convention raises several questions, the most important being the ability of the local communities to fulfil the different criteria to get the UNESCO label. Such criteria are complex.

6 McCleery et al. 2010.

The cultural elements have to be fully described and documented in a written dossier where the geographical location and the name of a contact person clearly appear. The description has to be developed enough to demonstrate that the element belongs to the community's intangible cultural heritage, that the community recognizes it as a part of their intangible cultural heritage, that it is being transmitted from generation to generation, that it provides the communities with "a sense of identity and continuity", and that it's not incompatible with the ideals of human rights, mutual respect and sustainable development. Summary descriptions concerning the elements themselves, their bearers and practitioners, their social meaning in the community have to be written down by the candidates or their representatives, who are also asked to demonstrate that they have already made some significant efforts to safeguard the elements and that they plan to make some more. Lastly, the candidates have to give some evidence concerning the community participation and consent in the nomination process, and make sure that the element is already included in a national inventory. After the files are completed, they are submitted to the national committees in charge of the implementation of the convention and, if approved, they are eventually transmitted to UNESCO to be included on the lists.

There have been a lot of discussions concerning these criteria and the ability of the communities to fill in the forms themselves. As one can imagine, although the matter discussed is "intangible" and broadly concerns culture and folklore, the dossier itself is rather heavy and tangible, and it is often quite difficult for the communities to write down such descriptions of their own cultural elements. In fact, the more the communities are in the peripheries, the more it will be difficult for them to get through this complex formal procedure. This appears to be a very strong bias, because the less powerful communities, especially in the countries from the South, will find it very hard to be candidates. This is paradoxical, when you think that the convention was especially set up to address the Southern countries which have less built heritage and therefore were unable to propose anything for the 1972 World Heritage List. In some cases, folklorists or anthropologists are called to the rescue by the communities to help them filling in the forms, which means that the cultural elements are always re-shaped during the process.

Here, the technical level is strongly connected with the ideological one, because the process of writing down the candidature files always supposes some sort of reinterpretation. In most of the cases, the communities try to erase the most spontaneous aspects of their culture. In the case of festivals, the excessive or the subversive parts of the celebrations are often forgotten when filling in the forms. Recently, the classified carnival of Alost, in Belgium, scandalized the UNESCO when a train wagon referring to the Jewish deportation by the Nazis was displayed to mock the present relations between the Wallon and the Dutch minorities in contemporary Belgium. In such cases, when the cultural elements show disrespect to a given community, the question is raised of their exclusion from the list.

In other cases, the intangible cultural heritage label is seen as a means to attract tourists and to give an impulse to local economic development. Although it is difficult to say how and up to what point the nominations really impact the economy, such an impact is often an important one at a symbolical level in the eyes of the local communities. In Berga, Catalonia[7] and in Binche, Belgium,[8] there have been strong debates to discuss whether the label could alter the spontaneity of the festivals. In Tarascon, in Provence, France, where the Tarasque dragon was classified in 2005, I have documented the creation of a new medieval festival using the traditional processional emblem in a totally new context.[9] In this case, the local structure of the ritual year has been changed: in the traditional way there was a first festival in June featuring a furious dragon, and a religious celebration on July 29th featuring a smaller dragon, which had been tamed by Saint Martha according to some old medieval legends. But the religious celebration has disappeared and was replaced in recent years by a profane medieval living history festival featuring a third dragon at the end of August. The dragons are still there but their meaning has considerably changed: they now address the children and don't frighten the adults anymore. Moreover, the two dragons now have the same meaning, while the traditional ritual year was shaped by the succession of two different dragons: the furious one and the tamed one. In this case, the traditional meaning of the dragon was lost but the UNESCO label led to a renewal of the motif and its inclusion in a new ritual cycle.

Festivals and Politics

In order to summarize what I've said, I would like to eventually come back to the relation between festivals and politics, which appears to be a very complex one.

Here I shall suggest that the notion of intangible cultural heritage and the 2003 UNESCO convention represent the birth of international festival politics, because they create a new arena where festival matters can be discussed both by the researchers, the communities, and the political institutions. These new international politics use adapted instruments – the general assembly and committees, the lists, the different national commissions – to select specific cultural elements fit to represent a universal cultural heritage. As with any selection process, some of the existing festivals are elected and fall under UNESCO's spotlights while other festivals remain in the shadow. To answer the selective criteria of UNESCO, the communities develop strategies and adapt their festivals to the institution's standards. Intangible cultural heritage politics can therefore deeply influence the contents of the different festivals worldwide, which is at once a frightening and an exciting perspective for the researcher. On the one hand there

7 Noyes 2003.
8 Tauschek 2010.
9 Fournier 2010.

is a risk of loosing the specificity and the spontaneity of the festivals when they want to adapt to the UNESCO requirements; on the other hand the new political arena into which the festivals enter boosts their creativity and makes them more dynamic and competitive.

If we accept that politics are originally connected with the idea of a social contract, in the perspective of the Enlightenment philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau[10], then it is possible to analyse the contemporary heritageization of festivals as a politization process. In the traditional system, the festivals found their meanings in the beliefs of the communities who organized them. But in the new UNESCO system, they become determined by external institutions setting up specific international festival politics: they all meet the same standards and the same criteria. In this respect, the UNESCO convention on intangible cultural heritage acts as a new constitution for cultural elements, including festivals.

In order to understand better how politics come to festivals in this new UNESCO system, it is then interesting to look at the way intangible cultural heritage brings politics into the different festivals. I have listed ten different criteria that aid in understanding the politization of rituals and festivals when they get into the intangible cultural heritage system. First, there are new actors in this system: new specialists and experts, new technicians, new administrators and new speakers begin to speak about their festivals in the name of the actors. Instead of a direct democracy, the festivals enter a representative democracy. Second, there is a creation of an international arena with unified standards to define the new category of intangible cultural heritage. Third, there are new ethics, because all the cultural elements have to correspond to universal ideals and implicitly respond to political correctness. Fourth, there are new definitions and standards, new codes and criteria to access the new arena created by the UNESCO. Fifth, there are new instruments, as we have already noted. These instruments are the assembly, the committee, the different national commissions, the lists, etc. Sixth, there are new strategies to correspond to the UNESCO requirements. Like in any political system, the actors try to access the new elite. The competition and the selection between the different cultural elements act like an election in the traditional political system. Seventh, minorities and communities have a role to play there, as well as nations, lobbies and pressure groups. Eighth, the UNESCO system enforces the institutionalization of the festivals and raises questions concerning the relations between written versus oral rights, cultural property, and legal matters. Ninth, intangible cultural heritage is often seen as useful for economic growth and local development, because it is seen as a means to attract tourism, to boost employment in the heritage industry, etc., which makes it a powerful tool for public management in the eyes of the politicians. Tenth, accessing the intangible cultural heritage lists is comparable to becoming a citizen of a new State named UNESCO. In this new State the cultural elements are all equal because they have been unified through the same process and meet the same requirements.

10 Rousseau 1762.

All the ten criteria listed here are part of the same global politization process: when entering the UNESCO system, the festivals become part of a global public and institutional discussion, instead of remaining only customary and local. Whereas the traditional festivals were usually defined through autonomy, spontaneity and customary right, the new intangible cultural heritage festivals are now caught up in a thick net of institutions, regulations and contracts. This institutionalization is clearly comparable with the birth of a new political system.

Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to address two different questions at once. The first one concerns the relation between the researcher and politics, and the second one deals with the relation between festivals and politics. The two questions are necessarily intertwined because the researchers are more and more frequently asked to act as experts for local, national or supranational political bodies and organisations and to participate in the public assessment of the different festivals they study. Concerning the first question, it is important to note that the existence of an international arena to discuss folklore and ritual matters often frees the researcher from the usual instrumentalization of his research by smaller scale politics. Concerning the second question however, it is impossible to ignore how the existence of the same international arena has deeply influenced the festivals, which from now on have to answer to a whole set of precise criteria if they want to be acknowledged, and may change and evolve accordingly. Addressing together these two questions helps to understand that the building up of an international festival politics, under the aegis of UNESCO, might be more rewarding for the researchers than for the actors of the festivals themselves.

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A PAN-HUNGARIAN 'VESSEL RITUAL' IN ROMANIA

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Abstract: The Whitsun pilgrimage of Csíksomlyó has been attracting pilgrims for more than five centuries. Until the 1940s it was the most important pilgrimage place for the Seklers[1] and functioned as *the sacred centre of Transylvania*, *the easternmost bastion of Catholicism*. After the political changes of 1989 it has gradually turned into the most important Hungarian pilgrimage place. This transformation alone would not be of particular interest in itself, however, the history of Csíksomlyó contains several peculiar elements. The research concerning the history of the pilgrimage place reveal that the origin story of the pilgrimage site is an invented tradition which was meant to strengthen the arriving Seklers' unity and harmony.[2] According to Mohay, this is one of the first invented and constructed legends of the Hungarian nationalism taking shape from the 1780s on. The emerging sense of belonging in this legend helped the hidden and secret continuation of the pilgrimage during the years of the communist-socialist era. During the revitalization process from 1990 this sense of belonging has attracted about 4-500,000 Hungarian pilgrims every year, even though the pilgrimage site is situated 600 kilometres away from the Hungarian border, in the middle of Romania. The aim of this paper is to introduce the ideological transformation and reinterpretation of the revitalized Csíksomlyó pilgrimage of the past two decades connecting to elements beyond Catholicism. I try to answer the question of how and why Csíksomlyó became a pilgrimage place for different neopagan religious groups and how they reinterpreted the site, what is the reason for their presence?

Keywords: vernacular religiosity, syncretism, pilgrimage, Csíksomlyó

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As the history of the Csíksomlyó pilgrimage is well-researched,[3] in this present paper I only give a short overview. According to folk legends, Csíksomlyó became a pilgrimage site in 1567, when Hungarian king John II Sigismund Zápolya wanted to convert the Sekler population of the upper Csík[4] to Protestantism. The Seklers refused to abandon the Catholic faith and resisted. A battle took place on a nearby field, on Saturday before Pentecost, from which the Seklers emerged victorious. The Franciscans and the local population interpreted this as a sign of the benevolent attention of the Virgin Mary. Since then, this event has been commemorated by a pilgrimage when Seklers gather on Pentecost every year. After the Trianon Peace Treaty in 1920 that mutilated Hungary, Csíksomlyó has been in

1 Seklers (Székely) are people of Hungarian ethnicity living in Transylvania (Romania).
2 Mohay 2000, 2009.
3 Most detailed Mohay 2009.
4 Csík (in Romanian: *Ciuc*) was the name of a historic administrative county of Hungary until 1920. Csík is situated in the eastern part of Transylvania, in central Romania.

the territory of Romania.[5] The pilgrimages continued until 1949 when the communist power banned the Hungarian, Roman Catholic feast.

Against all prohibitions along with the weakening of the socialist regime, the first illegal Hungarian pilgrims appeared from the 1980s on. Besides the traditional pilgrimage ritual, the pilgrims arriving from Hungary started to help the extremely poor Sekler and Csango[6] families who hosted them by giving them books and clothing. After 1990 the pilgrimage evolved rapidly. The feast – repressed for 40 years – had to be reconstructed once again based on memories.[7] This fact alone would provide the change of the pilgrimage's content, as for practically 40 years it was not part of its history and for the rising generations the rituals and the symbolic dimension had to be constructed once again. This process was accelerated by the religious transformations taking place after the fall of socialism and the strengthening nationalism, religious nationalism, patriotism in certain subcultures in Hungary. Following the fall of communism, previously oppressed social tendencies have re-emerged. Froese asserts that "the collapse of Soviet Communism has brought about sweeping revivals of religion in most Eastern European and Soviet successor states".[8] However, it became clear that the push toward secularization under communist-socialist rule had been more or less effective. Traditional churches lost their organizing and normative role on a societal level.[9] Contrary to these processes, the pilgrimage at Csíksomlyó attracts hundreds of thousands of pilgrims every year. The sudden increase in the number of participants can be explained by the alternated modes of participating in the pilgrimage and the changes of inner motivations. Moreover, it has to be emphasized that live television broadcasting of the holy mass every year by the Hungarian TV stations (Duna TV, MTV) also popularized the ritual and strengthened the nationalist attitude in motivation. In the following, I will outline these possible motivations. I am aware of the fact that the findings cannot provide a full picture as I only interviewed a small proportion of participants and it is impossible to analyse all participants' individual religiosity.

The pilgrimage tours organized by travel agencies provide the experience of historical tours and pilgrimages at one and the same time. The mass need for the Csíksomlyó pilgrimage was soon discovered by Hungarian travel agencies and they offered package pilgrimage tours providing an additional cultural/historical flavour to the tour thus making it more attractive.[10]

5 The Treaty of Trianon (June 4th, 1920) mutilated Hungary. It lost 72% of its territory and 64% of its total population. The belief that territories, lost to its despised neighbours, might one day be reannexed was kept alive in Hungary during the interwar period. During the Communist and Socialist times there were no public discourses on Trianon and it was not 'recommended' to deal with the fate and situation of minority Hungarians living outside Hungary. After the political transformations in 1989 the suppressed forms of irredentism and the feeling of togetherness with transborder Hungarians – especially with the Seklers in Romania – emerged from the collective memory.

6 Csangos (Csángó in Hungarian) are the easternmost Hungarian ethnographic group living outside the Carpathian Basin, mostly in the Romanian region of Moldavia.

7 Mohay 1992. 26.

8 Froese 2001. 251.

9 Kamarás 2003.

10 Pusztai 2004.

Recently the mass media reported that a travel agency provided a special train to the Csíksomlyó pilgrimage under the name *Székely Gyors* [Sekler express] and *Csíksomlyó Expressz*.[11] While in 2008, 400 pilgrims travelled in 8 coaches, in 2011, two trains – the Székely and Csíksomlyó express – transported 1600 pilgrims in 12 carriages each.[12] Apart from these changes, the locals and part of the pilgrims coming from far away still use the traditional means of transport, walking or travelling in horse carriages. The organized package tours transformed the Csíksomlyó pilgrimage towards religious tourism with an ambivalent attitude from locals and 'traditional' pilgrims.

> …I am like my 82-year-old grandfather… His coming to the Csíksomlyó was not organized by a travel agency but the church congregation so they came praying and singing. Not with the Csíksomlyó or Sekler express. He did not bring home a kitch souvenir, but rather a birch branch. Those who did not come 'under the cross' those did not pray or sing on the way but thronged, streamed and rushed as they had to come and be there. I don't want to come again this way with such a crowd to Csíksomlyó… I have fears for the Transylvanians as after a while they will not feel that what we call today 'pilgrimage to Csíksomlyó' would be theirs.[13]
>
> We shouldn't allow (it's sin) to the fools coming from Hungary to dispossess Csíksomlyó for themselves, we shouldn't give it to the extremists who drink themselves blind on the night before the feast and on the other day when they are wrapped up into Árpád-stripes flag shouting they themselves don't know what and then they go shopping for some kitschy wooden or ceramic stuff.[14]

The pilgrimage's turn to being a mass ritual, attracting half a million people inevitably entails the transformation of components and consequently the changes in motivations as well.

The Transformation of Inner Motivation

In the pre-1990 period when religion was not tolerated, participation in the Csíksomlyó pilgrimage strengthened the pilgrims' idea of forming a living and a cohesive religious and ethnic community. From 1990 this local, ethnic-Sekler

11 From 2014 under the name *Történelmi Székely Gyors* [Historical Sekler Express].

12 See Figure 1. More trains would not fit into the Transylvanian train stations. The locomotive engine is decorated with the coat of arms of Hungary and with the image of different Hungarian historical heroes every year. (i.e. István Széchenyi, one of the most outstanding figures of Hungarian history. In 2011 – due to the Ferenc Liszt anniversary year – the great Hungarian composer's portrait was depicted on the train. In 2012 – on the 60th anniversary of winning the world championship – the *Aranycsapat* [Golden team] the legendary national futball team, while in 2013 the image of King Matthias was depicted on the engine.)

13 Mail 01.06.2010.

14 Mail 28.05.2010.

characteristic changed and the pan-Hungarian element has become stronger and stronger. One of the main reasons behind this is the fact that during the years of communism/socialism the issue of the Trianon Peace Treaty and the situation of transborder ethnic Hungarians was side-tracked from Hungarian public thinking. The sense of belonging and the regional and family relations remained and after a suppression of 40 years they appeared once more in an even stronger form. The national identity crisis after the destruction of national identity during the communist/socialist rule was compensated by the intensification of Hungarian national identity.

Religious Nationalism

The interlocking of nationalism and religion is not a novel phenomenon in Hungary. These forms of manifestations were rather vigorous in the interwar period irredentism[15] leading to the spreading of religious nationalism in official and public religiosity and also religious elements were incorporated into nationalism and patriotism and functioned as religion for the wider public. During communism and socialism the former was constrained and the latter one oppressed. After 1989, however, both phenomena have gradually revived. The merging of nationalism and religion in Csíksomlyó is articulated through several examples. In spite of being situated in the middle of Romania there are only Hungarian-language religious services. The multi-national and supra-national Catholic nature, which can be experienced in several of Europe's pilgrimage places (e.g. Santiago de Compostela, Lourdes, Fatima) is not present here.[16] Moreover, a significant part of the pilgrims are not Catholic but Unitarian, Lutheran or Calvinist. The only possible ecumenical ideology that binds them together is their religiosity intertwined with nationalism. "People come here for themselves. This gives the power of this place. You see the signs of the settlements and you know almost the entire Carpathian basin is represented here. And everyone feels that we belong together, to one nation. Every individual needs to experience this feeling from time to time."[17]

In this sense the pilgrimage represents the historical unity of the Hungarian nation independent of political borders. The ritual appropriation of Hungarian national mythology's sacred places is performed through the celebrations outside the Hungarian borders. Consequently, the Virgin Mary, the symbol of the

15 Zeidler 2009.
16 Pusztai 2004. 135.
17 Vörös 2000.

Csíksomlyó pilgrimage site is not only a patron saint but Patrona Hungariae, a national symbol as well.[18]

The national character is partly institutionally articulated in the shape and construction of the open-air altar designed by the world-famous organic architect, Imre Makovecz representing the Hungarian coat-of-arms, the three-hills referring to the three mountain ranges of the Carpathian Basin, the Tatra, Matra and Fatra with the double cross on top. Although the symbol is an element of Hungarian coat-of-arms, in popular culture it is often used as an irredentist symbol refusing the Trianon Peace Treaty.[19] This national character is also articulated in several symbols carried by pilgrims during the ritual. C.f. the name of their settlements in national tricolours or the "Árpád-striped" flags carried by certain – not necessarily religious – groups.[20]

The changes evoke ambivalent feelings among Catholic pilgrims. Many are happy to have more and more people and they see the increasing number of participants as the sign of strengthening Hungarian religiosity. Others, mainly local, religious participants fear the loss of the original content.

> I myself feel that it turned into being something else than a Christian feast. As if the pilgrimage was only an excuse for gathering Hungarians. Religiosity was replaced by – I cannot express it in a nicer way – Hungarianism. All in all, I believe this pilgrimage has long been connected to different ideas than it should be. It is not addressed to Catholics but all Hungarians.[21]
>
> Csíksomlyó is the celebration of Catholics and of those who believe it to be trendy and a part of a real Hungarian attitude to participate. They receive holy communion without believing just because there is a great atmosphere. During the boring ceremony they smoke, have conversations and wait for the Hungarianist parts that really strengthen Hungarian identity…[22]

18 The cult of the Virgin Mary has been a dominant feature of Hungarian history for more than a thousand years. According to Hungarian legends the religious adoration of the Virgin Mary appeared in Hungary under the reign of Saint Stephen (1000-1038) the first King of Hungary. Hungarian Chronicles state that Bishop Saint Gerhard Sagredo was the first who advocated the veneration of the Virgin Mary instead of a certain ancient goddess figure, called *Boldogasszony*. On the feast of the Assumption of Mary (15th August) in 1038, following the death of Saint Emerich – the son of Saint Stephen – the King dedicated his land to the Holy Virgin who also lost Her Son. Due to this dedication Hungary became *Regnum Marianum*, the Land of the Virgin Mary. The Holy Virgin wearing the Sacred Crown on her head as *Magna Domina Hungarorum* was considered to be the source of all kinds of power. The figure of the Blessed Virgin as Patroness of Hungary (*Patrona Hungariae*) has been present both in "high culture" and in folk religiosity as well.

19 See for more details Povedák 2011.

20 The "Árpád-stripped" flag is a historical flag of Hungary. From the second half of the 1990s the "Árpád-striped" flag became politically ambivalent. In the prevalent rhetoric of left-wing politics, the flag was the symbol for the Arrow Cross (Nazi) Party during World War II and recently this symbol was re-invented by the radical right-wing groups. The website of the far right parlamentary party (JOBBIK) defines as "the most important symbol of Hungarian glory, liberty and unity of the nation […], it symbolizes the message that Hungarians do belong together and we believe that as our ancestors, we will have the power and wisdom to tackle historical barriers and crisis." jobbik.net/index.php?q=taxonomy/term/13&page=2 Latest access: 29.03.2010.

21 Mail 29.05. 2010.

22 Mail 28.05. 2010.

Similarly, the organizer Franciscans of Csíksomlyó also announce that they welcome anyone on condition that they do not use this centuries-old religious event to demonstrate their political affiliation and demonstrate their group identity alien from Christian values as these manifestations do not fit the fundamental values and role of the pilgrimage.[23]

Political Motivation

Helping the fate of transborder Hungarians became an integral part of the post-1989 governments. Primarily the Christian-conservatives feel a duty and responsibility to promote transborder minority Hungarian culture. As the greatest number of minority Hungarians live in Romania, Transylvania became the symbol of all transborder Hungarians.[24] To participate in the Csíksomlyó pilgrimage is *a thing to do for all true Hungarian politicians*. The right-wing political organizations regularly organize pilgrimages for their party members and the photos of politician-participants[25] are covered in mass media. The participants of the pilgrimage tours organized by political organizations have a similar spiritual preparation for the ritual with the exception that the prayers and the religious state of mind are replaced by the preparation for a national experience. They read from Transylvanian authors or about Transylvania, and watch films of the Seklers history.[26]

Also the extreme right-wing paramilitary organization Magyar Gárda (Hungarian Guard) linked to the radical right regularly appeared using the revitalized symbols from the interwar irredentism. The organizations that wish to strengthen national "invented traditions" are also present (e.g.: MAG, Baranta groups).[27]

I must underline that in certain groups and in cases of individuals, the different motivations can certainly mingle featuring the characteristics of syncretic "vernacular religiosity".[28] However, all the above mentioned groups leave for the same destination, for a Catholic pilgrimage site and try to behave and act as a pilgrim even though in the interviews they give an account of different motivations.

Religious Syncretism and the Presence of New Religious Ideologies

One of the most visible changes in Hungarian public political and religious discourse is the sudden recruitment of patriotism and the elevation of nationalism

23 http://www.erdely.ma/hitvilag.php?id=67740&what=archivum Latest access: 25.01.2014.
24 Feischmidt 2005.
25 See Fig. 2.
26 Vörös 2000.
27 MAG is a neonationalist, anti-globalization movement emphasizing back-to-nature ideology. Members of the MAG community organize "eco-villages", cultural programs, religious rituals, scientific lectures. http://magtar.hu/ Baranta is a newly invented Hungarian "traditional martial art style". Besides practicing the invented Hungarian martial arts, Baranta embraces patriotic ideology as well. http://www.usadojo.com/styles/about-baranta.htm Last accessed 17. February 2014.
28 Term by Primiano 1995.

into a sacred sphere. These new trends have interconnection with more cultural processes resulting in "Hungarianism" and "sacralization of the nation". This new complex phenomenon is present in mass culture, feast culture and might mingle with neopaganism in vernacular religiosity as well.[29] This can be seen from the fact that the Hungarian Catholic Bishop Conference wrote several Pastoral Letters which drew attention to the hidden presence of neopagan syncretism and Hungarianism among Catholic believers.[30] This new *bricolage* ideology can be clearly observed among the pilgrims of Csíksomlyó.

Besides Roman Catholicism, Csíksomlyó became the pilgrimage site of several "neopagan" denominations during the past two decades. These denominations usually organize trips for their members to the Roman Catholic Whitsun pilgrimage feast. The basis for the presence of new religions on the one side is based on the popular religious rituals and concepts that have continued in folk religiosity independently from the 'official', institutionalized practices for hundreds of years (i.e. the "waiting for the sunrise ceremony" or the veneration of the Virgin Mary as the goddess of the Moon).[31] On the other side this religious syncretism has been – strangely – strengthened by the works of a Franciscan monk of Csíksomlyó.[32] Daczó's writings try to explain the history of the feast and he claims the roots originate from the mythic pre-Christian past of Hungarians. Daczó emphasizes the connection between *Babba Mária* [Babba Mary][33] and the pre-Christian Hungarian Goddess *Boldogasszony* (Happy Woman) and according to him the cultic place of Babba Mary was originally the sacred centre of the Sun Cult of pre-Christian Hungarians. However for Daczó, Babba Mária means much more than only a remnant of an ancient goddess figure that inculturated in the symbolic figure of the Virgin Mary. According to him the word Babba has Sumerian origins.[34] As this theory is written by a Franciscan monk[35] the non-Christian pilgrims and "neopagan" groups use his works as a canonized proof

29 For an overview see Povedák-Szilárdi 2014.

30 The presence and the effect of the neopagan orientation can hardly be measured in Hungary. There are organized forms within frameworks of small religious movements (less than 1% of the whole society are members) but neopagan orientation is present in the social arena as a way of thinking and world-view, thus its effect is much more significant. Synthesizing the supposed and actual religiosity of pre-settlement Hungarians (before the settlement of Hungarians into the Carpathian basin in 896) with the sacralised principle of the nation subtly pervaded Christianity and politics as well. The emerging world-view evoked ambivalent reactions. Some consider it as a mission to nourish Hungarianness and Hungarian culture and believe that it perfectly harmonizes with Christianity interlinked with the emerging religious nationalism; others emphasize the anti-Christian and chauvinistic feature. This opposition can be traced in vernacular religiosity, but in the field of politics, education and science as well. Povedák 2014a.

31 Tánczos 2010.

32 Daczó 2000, 2010.

33 Babba Mária [Babba Mary] is the traditional name of Virgin Mary in Csango folk religiosity.

34 Daczó 2000. 30-42. The Sumerian goddess 'BA-Ú' or 'BABA' was the goddess of birth and fertility and she seemed as the ideal equivalent of 'BOL-DOG ASSZONY' in both name and in function. In ancient Sumer language the word 'BAU' meant bounty, while 'DUG' also meant gladness. From this one can readily get 'Baudug' that is very similar to the Hungarian 'boldog', which also means gladness.

35 His theory is ambivalently interpreted by both academics and Franciscans.

of the archaic, pagan character of the place. This way his works are interpreted as the legitimate basis of their presence at Csíksomlyó.

The first appearance of paganism – especially neo-shamans – did not cause serious conflicts with Catholics because pilgrims considered them as a kind of "freak" people. The problems started in 2001 when one of the Hungarian bishops heard stories from the homecoming pilgrims about these "funny" shamans who said prayers to the rising sun.

> I was totally shocked when the arrival of the members of the "Shamanic Church"[36] was announced on the loud speaker. A lot of real pilgrims put the question whether they were pilgrims at all. How does the Shamanic Church relate to the Roman Catholic Church? Moreover plenty of the Seklers did not even know that they are not the Catholic Church. They warmly welcomed the members of the "Shamanic Church" as any other pilgrims and they listened to their teachings on the ancient belief system of Hungarians. The Shamanic Church even rented the Theatre of Csíkszereda for 1000 follower shamans for their own entertainment. There were shamanic presentations like walking on fire and other curiosities amusing the locals. ... and then on the morning of Whitsunday the vigil prayers were interrupted by the nasally murmured öahrrr ..öahrrr sound of the shamanic ecstasy and the sound of the drums. They found the place, the peak of the "energetic mountain" ideal for their wedding ceremony. Their followers dressed in white performed a wedding ritual led by shaman-priests.
>
> Four years ago some strange shaman-like people appeared and they measured the Somlyó-mountain with their magic sticks saying that their ancient, cosmic, saint or whatever energy flows, radiates or focuses there. Three years ago the first shamans appeared at the Salvator Chapel and they started their pagan rituals at dawn. The members of our community just prayed laudes there. Two years ago they appeared at the Cultural Centre of Csíkszereda and they had a common program there with the Folk Dance Company of Hargita County and then there were shamanic lectures, osteopathy, healing and so on. A year ago 400 shamans dressed in white shaman dresses processed along the pilgrimage. They organized firewalking in a secondary school, they organize Táltos (shaman) courses in Udvarhely throughout the year. Today they are preparing for giving lectures at Sepsiszentgyörgy, Kézdivásárhely and they are planning to come to the Csíksomlyó pilgrimage together with 1000 shamans.[37]

The presence of such neopagan ideologies during the pilgrimage led to the situation that the local Franciscans every year have to publish an article in the newspapers that the ritual place of the Csíksomlyó pilgrimage and all connecting

36 The interlocutor refers to the Ősmagyar Táltos Egyház (Ancient Hungarian Shamanic Church).
37 Open letter from http://maranatha.uw.hu/taltos2.htm Latest access: 25.01.2014.

places are handled as liturgical places by authorities, thus every other ceremony is prohibited there. The police have the right to stop other ceremonies during the celebration of the feast. The regulation moderated the situation but syncretism is still visible. It seems that the multi-religious character is irreversible.

> During the liturgy, before and after the holy mass the táltos drummers can't stop beating their drums. They went further but they still don't care about liturgy and the pilgrims.

That's why several grassroots movements emerged among the locals, trying to inform people about neopagan groups.

> Dear Friends!
> Táltos (Shamans) do not represent the Church of Jesus Christ!
> Táltos want to bring back the ancient Hungarian pagan religiosity.
> Táltos do a lot of things that provoke God.
> God already forbid firewalking to the nations of the Old Testament!
> Táltos just exhaust the hospitality and blindfoldness of people in Transylvania![38]

Besides the "Ancient Hungarian Táltos Church" and other "neopagan" groups, the Goddess Church also regards Csíksomlyó as one of the most important sacred places in Hungary. The feminist denomination uses the theory of Daczó on the origin of the cultic place but in a partly reinterpreted manner. According to them the place was regarded as sacred long before Christian times as the temple of the Goddess, the Mother God stood there. They accept that the Csango name of the Virgin Mary "Babba" can originate from the Sumerian goddess "Bau" but they emphasize their "fertility" character and give a new meaning to the *staring at the Sun ritual* at Whitsunday dawn.[39]

> Pentecost took up the place of the feast of love in May...Babba was the name of the Goddess of Love and condenses the energy of the lover Goddess. The swells of the Nagy-Somlyó Mountain and the gentle lines of pinewoods symbolize the figure of a lying woman. The Goddess manifests herself in nature and one of its most beautiful examples is the way the beauteous body of Babba unfolds toward her lover. On the dawn of Whitsunday the lover impregnates her in the image of the Sun.[40]

The members of the Goddess Church come in a procession to Csíksomlyó since the founder of the Hungarian denomination visited the place in 2007 and had

38 Open letter from http://maranatha.uw.hu/taltos2.htm Latest access: 25.01.2014.
39 See Fig. 3-4.
40 Krisztina Veres' (priest of the Goddess Church) writing on Csíksomlyó. http://www.isten-notemplom.com/files/in_csiks.pdf Latest access: 25.01.2014.

visions there. She felt she was in Glastonbury. "I remained rooted to the spot and felt I was standing again in Glastonbury at the Waeryall mountain and I felt the presence of the hawthorn that broke into leaf and flower from the walking stick of Joseph of Arimathea."[41]

Since her visions, the Goddess Church regards Csíksomlyó as a place *where time and space cease to exist*. They basically perform the Catholic ritual with the difference that the most important element for them is not the holy mass but the staring at the sun ritual at dawn.

> I liked the vigil as well. We went out to the garden at 5 AM and called Babba Mária. We got soaked and it was cold but we were singing and dancing around the fire and we laughed a lot. We were quite desperate and at last we saw the mighty bright aura appearing with the sun above the Nagy-Somlyó Mountain.[42]

It is worth mentioning that individuals connecting to neopagan or esoteric ideologies are not necessarily members of religious organizations. Concerning the fact that the ideologists of neopagan denominations often publish popular articles in magazines, semi-scientific literature, on the Internet or are present in television shows or at invented festivals, consequently their effect reaches not only the members of their denomination but a much wider strata. Moreover, their ideology is often associated with "Hungarianness" and closely connected with the "sacralisation of the Hungarian nation". The mutual elements in each trend of the non-Catholic pilgrimage are the emphasis on the ancient character of the Babba Mária cult that can be exclusively connected to the cult of the Hungarian nation.

> That's why I have a tattoo with our Babba Mária, the true, the ancient Hungarian mother...We'll go there and there'll be at least half a million Hungarians. In spite of the Pope's lack of concern, we'll go and represent ourselves.[43]

The interpretation of the Carpathian Basin, the territory of Hungarians as a sacred place, being sacralised by the fact that the Hungarian nation lives there, is another shared ideological element.

> Perhaps it would be better to find our true, authentic roots. On that score we have to turn to Mary, to the Babba, the real, the Hungarian to the bones. The Popes are apprehensive about her as well! Why are they afraid of her? Or are they afraid that it might turn out that Christ was Hungarian? 500,000 pilgrims yearly and Rome still doesn't say anything. The Catholic world echos with the name of Rome, Aachen, Medjugore, Lourdes, Pontmain, Knock, Syracuse but not a single word was said about the crowd of half a million

41 http://www.istennotemplom.com/files/in_csiks.pdf Latest access: 25.01.2014.
42 Mail 04.06.2010.
43 07.08.2010.

Hungarians returning every Pentecost at the altar of three hills of Csíksomlyó. If there's a miracle of God in the world nowadays it is in Hungary when we go on procession to our own sacred mountain at Pentecost.[44]

According to this ideology the Carpathian Basin has two outstanding transcendent centres: Csíksomlyó and Dobogókő in the Pilis mountains.[45] The two "energy centres" pulsate together. Both places have a distinguished role in the pilgrimage places of several new religious organizations. "There were two women who departed to Csíksomlyó on foot. I don't know how long the journey took but they arrived and they were waiting for the sun together with the pilgrims on the dawn of Whitsunday. The apparition of the Lady dressed in Sun. They carried the shining vision of the creation from the Pilis to the Babba Mária in their eyes."[46]

Conclusion

It is not necessary to explain that the Csíksomlyó pilgrimage went through major transformations. The traditional Roman Catholic ritual gained syncretic character in late-modernity. As Paul Post emphasized in connection with post-modern pilgrimages, the fanning-out of the Christian ritual repertoire can be experienced in the case of Csíksomlyó as well. "The originally rather homogenous Christian ritual now broadens out over ecclesiastical, general religious, and secular profane paths."[47] Roman Catholics, the followers of other denominations, non-religious and nationalist pilgrims go on procession to Csíksomlyó. The most important common element of all kinds of rituals and motivations is the feeling of national togetherness, the strong emphasis on Hungarian historical identity and community. After the paradigmatic breaks of Hungarian history in the 20th century the Csíksomlyó pilgrimage can be characterized as 'anamnestic loss'. "In the present, the past is celebrated in ritual with an eye to the future."[48] In spite of the fact, that the past is controversial, disputed and partly invented, the present is ambivalently interpreted, the future is ambiguous, Csíksomlyó as a "vessel ritual"[49] attracts increasing numbers of pilgrims every year.

44 Post at www.hetivalasz.hu/forum/taltosok_pogany_jobbik?scomm#169911 Latest access: 23.11.2009.

45 About new, syncretic, partly neopagan pilgrimage sites see Povedák 2014b. According to contemporary legends, when the Dalai Lama visited Hungary he said "the Earth heart chakra is in Hungary, more exactly in the area called Pilis." Although there is no real proof for this, the ideology states that there are several energy lines, which create invisible high energy nets around the world. The Earth's acupuncture points are found where these lines cross each other, similarly to the acupuncture points in the human body. The multiple line crossings are often referred to as saintly or sacred places. These include Stonehenge, Machu Picchu, the Cheops Pyramid or Dobogókő, the place where "the heart of the Earth beats."

46 Németh 2010. 10.

47 Post 1998. 300.

48 Post 1998. 314.

49 A term by Paul Post. 1998.

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Fig. 1. The arrival of the *Csíksomlyó Expressz* (http://kuruc.info/r/3/96567/)

Fig. 2. Members of the *Új Magyar Gárda Mozgalom* [New Hungarian Guard Movement] radical right paramilitary movement at the Csíksomlyó pilgrimage (http://ujmagyargardamozgalom.com/szekely_szakasz_kepekben)

Fig. 3. László Tőkés Bishop of the Reformed Church, member of the European Parliament at the pilgrimage in 2009 (http://tokeslaszlo.eu/galeria/csiksomlyo_2009/)

Fig. 4. Staring at the Sun ritual with shamanic drums (Photo by Gabriella Fábián)

POLITICS AND FESTIVALS:
LITHUANIA'S SHROVE AND MIDSUMMER

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Abstract: As David I. Kertzner mentioned, ritual is important in all political systems, and pointed out the many ways ritual is employed in politics. In my article, based on personal fieldwork material, manuscripts, published and internet sources, I tried to analyze how the festivals like Shrove (Lith. *Užgavėnės*) and Midsummer (Lith. *Joninės, Rasos, Kupolės*) have been useful for pursuing political goals in Lithuania during different periods: the National Revival (late 19th century), the interwar period (1918–1940), Soviet Lithuania (1940-1941; 1944–1989), and modern independent Lithuania. Analysis of the two folk festivals shows that they can acquire a political reality and embody great power in performing various tasks: fighting for national revival or independence, fighting against Christianity, creating a new pagan religion, or forming an ethnic cultural space for emigrants. But each festival can embody different possibilities for acquiring this power depending on the time, the place, the festival's former content, and even historical memory.

Keywords: Lithuania, Lithuania Minor, history, politics, ritual year, Midsummer, Shrove

In 1989 and 2005 the present author conducted fieldwork among the Lithuanian population in the vicinity of Puńsk (North Poland). The analysis of the seasonal festivals there supports the statement that in modern society, traditions are no longer understood as customs which have been handed down and embraced from generation to generation. Lithuanian cultural symbols can be used to invent, modify, and even take over traditions, showing that the ethnic cultural level takes priority over the local one. Traditions can also be a significant source of power for controlling the younger generation and passing on the most important values of the parents and grandparents, i.e. Lithuanian consciousness.[50] This has prompted a rethinking of the meaning of festivals, placing the priority not on the investigation of their ritual structure or symbols, but on how they function in real life, or, in the words of William Sax, asking 'how the ritual might be instrumental, how they actually do things'.[51] The results of the investigation have encouraged a focusing on the political perspective of festivals through their analysis in the historical space.

According to David I. Kertzner, through participation in the rites, a citizen of the modern state identifies with the larger political forces that can only be seen in symbolic form. The importance of ritual is difficult to recognize. Ritual

50 Šaknys 2009a. 95.
51 Sax 2010. 5–6. cf. Helsloot 2011. 143.

is usually identified with religion and since modern Western societies have presumably separated political affairs from religious life, there is an assumption that rituals remain politically significant only in less "advanced" societies. Ritual is important in all political systems and this points out the many ways ritual is employed in politics.[1] As mentioned by Catherine Bell, most rituals appeal to tradition or custom in some way, and many are concerned to repeat historical precedents very closely. A ritual that evokes no connections with any tradition is apt to be found anomalous, inauthentic, or unsatisfying by most people.[2] On the other hand, ritual as a medium of communication and interaction does not simply express or transmit values and messages, but actually creates situations.[3]

Festivals like Shrove (Lith. *Užgavėnės*) and Midsummer (Lith. *Joninės, Rasos, Kupolės*) have been useful for pursuing political goals in Lithuania during different periods: the National Revival (late 19th century), the interwar period (1918–1940), Soviet Lithuania (1940–1941; 1944–1989), and modern independent Lithuania. A comparison of these two folk festivals can show their possibilities in 'creating a political reality'.

The main atribute of the Midsummer festival was a bonfire or a hub of a wheel. In the end of 19th century it was popular in Lithuania Minor, and also in North Lithuania. The Shrove celebration was particularly popular in Samogitia (Žemaitija, Western part of Lithuania). Till the 1st part of the 20th century, there were preserved carnivals of masked male youth. Also it was the last day before Lent which went on for more than one and a half months, when dancing and meat and milk dishes were forbidden. These are the connections with religion.

The main symbol of Shrove carnivals and Midsummer ritual fires in 1920-1940 covered about respectively 40 and 60 percent of Lithuania territory.[4] In our days, it was distributed almost all over Lithuanian territory (respectively 95.5 and 94 percent).[5]

The article is based on semi-structured interviews conducted during brief 1–15 day expeditions made in implementing a programme to create an atlas of Lithuanian customs, fieldwork the author conducted during 1989–1996 in attempting to ascertain the situation in the first half of the 20th century,[6] and fieldwork conducted during 2002–2009 on seasonal festivals during the second half of the 20th century and the early 21st century,[7] later focus falling on the situation in the city of Vilnius. During the fieldwork sessions, over 800 respondents of various ages were surveyed in Lithuania and in nearby Lithuanian communities in Latvia, Poland, and Belarus. Manuscripts, published sources, internet sources, and investigations were also used.

1 Kertzner 1988. 1-2.
2 Bell 1997. 145.
3 Bell 1997. 137.
4 Šaknys 2001. 51-78.
5 Šaknys 2007. 107, 112; Šaknys 2009. 99, 105; Šaknys 2012. 125, 131.
6 Šaknys 2001.
7 Šaknys 2007, 2009, 2013.

Festivals and the National Revival

Lithuania's National Revival, which began in the late 19th century, was based on an idealisation of the past. The appearance of certain circumstances created a need to 'revive' the old 'Lithuanian', i.e. 'pagan', rituals and festivals. This was especially true in Evangelical Lutheran Lithuania Minor where Midsummer was already widely celebrated in the late 19th century. A suitable festival location was selected, Rambynas Hill, where pagan rituals had once been conducted and a sacred fire tended.

Martynas Jankus and other Lithuania Minor public figures masterminded the revival of certain Lithuanian customs in 1884. Midsummer on Rambynas Hill was celebrated with a magnificent bonfire and an eloquent programme that included not only pagan priests and priestesses,[8] but also speeches that exhorted listeners to hold onto their national aspirations, to not allow their spirit to be broken, and to retain their Lithuanian identity.[9] The festival became a tradition. In 1896, the Lithuanian activists bought part of the hill. The formerly private land thus became an area devoted to Lithuanian public events. The purchase of the rest of the hill for Lithuanian needs was planned.[10]

The aim of the organisers of these festivals was for the Lithuanians of Lithuania Minor and Lithuania Major to be able to live in one independent state,[11] which was partially realised. After the 1923 Klaipėda Revolt, part of Lithuania Minor, i.e. the Klaipėda region, was annexed by the Republic of Lithuania.[12] Midsummer was especially useful for the Lithuanian government in integrating the Evangelical Lutheran region into Catholic Lithuania. Many Lithuanians from Lithuania Major used to come to Rambynas to gather around the Midsummer bonfire.[13] Politicians and public figures also participated in the festival and in 1928 a League of Nations delegation headed by Under-Secretary-General Sugimura, visited Rambynas on Midsummer. He even had to swear an oath (obviously in jest – Ž. Š.) to the Lithuanian pagan god, Perkūnas, to defend Lithuanian interests in respect to the Vilnius Region at the League of Nations.[14]

Thus, in the interwar period, Midsummer was chosen as a symbol of Lithuania's glorious past, a symbol able to unite the futures of Lithuania Minor and Lithuania Major. It also became one of the main festivals of the very

8 The priestesses (Lith. *Vaidilutės*) tended the eternal flame in pagan Lithuania.

9 Alšėnas 1967. 112.

10 Sodonis – Toleikienė 2005.

11 Alšėnas 1967. 160.

12 Lithuania Minor (East Prussia) was conquered by the Teutonic Knights circa 1252 and almost 700 years later was annexed by Lithuania after the Klaipėda Revolt. Most of the population of Lithuania Minor was Lutheran, while Roman Catholicism prevailed in the rest of Lithuania (Lithuania Major) which was under Russian rule during 1795–1918.

13 Alšėnas 1967. 112.

14 Alšėnas 1967. 111. The Vilnius Region was occupied by Polish forces during 1920–1939.

popular and influential Young Lithuania organization[15] and the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union[16]. The leaders of these organizations wrote scripts for celebrating Midsummer in localities where the festival's traditions had been lost. The Midsummer traditions quickly spread all over Lithuania.

Shrove acquired a political content later. In 1936 it was celebrated for the first time in Kaunas, the temporary capital of Lithuania. Students sought to organise a Samogitian (West Lithuanian)-style costume parade to accent another political problem. One of this festival's main participants was an untraditional (unknown in the folk tradition) personage, 'Kiaulinskis' the Pig. In this fashion, the revellers voiced the political bacon export problem that had arisen at that time in Lithuania.[17]

Festivals and the Soviet Regime

In 1939, Klaipėda was annexed by Germany and in 1940 the rest of Lithuania by the USSR. After the 1941–1944 German occupation, Lithuania again became part of the USSR, armed resistance against the Soviet occupiers ending in 1953. During the first years of the Soviet occupation traditional festivals were banned. The Soviet era view of traditional seasonal festivals is illustrated by a story told by Juozas Mickevičius:

> On Shrove Tuesday evening in around 1950, several pupils came over to the home of another pupil, Petronėlė. The secondary school *komsorgas*[18] learned about them eating pancakes[19] and reported them to the headmaster, who reported it at a Teachers' Council meeting... The behaviour mark of the pancake makers was reduced to three [out of five] for defending themselves and not admitting their error. The hair of the other participants was cut short and they had to dance every Saturday evening throughout Lent.[20]

Even in ideological literature, it was recognised that socialist traditions had been created at times out of thin air or borrowed from other lands or localities. Such festivals failed because they were in no way connected with the local inhabitants' customs. Therefore 'it was necessary to adapt them to the old traditions, nurturing new ones from the old ones without reviving the old customs and giving some of the old forms a new socialist content'.[21]

15 Lith. *Lietuvių tautiško jaunimo sąjunga „Jaunoji Lietuva"* (1927–1932), *Lietuvių tautinės jaunuomenės sąjunga „Jaunoji Lietuva"* (1932–1940).

16 Lith. *Lietuvos Šaulių Sąjunga*

17 Šaknys 2012. 92-93.

18 A *komsorg* was a Komsomol (All-Union Leninist Young Communist League) organiser – local leader.

19 Pancakes are traditional Shrove fare in Lithuania.

20 Mickevičius 2008. 399.

21 Pečiūra 1974. 79.

After armed Lithuanian resistance weakened, a period of cultural resistance began, including the first signs of a revival of the ethnic culture.[22] After the student demonstrations organised in Kaunas during All Soul's Day in 1956, the leaders of the Communist Party of Lithuania (CPL), afraid that the Hungarian scenarios, in which the Church played an important role, would be repeated in Lithuania, took the initiative to strengthen atheist propaganda, without waiting for a sign from Moscow.[23]

An attempt was made to not only strengthen the traditions of Soviet festivals like the first of May and the annual commemoration of the October Revolution, but also to create some sort of substitute for some of the old festivals, 'erasing' their Christian elements and using some so-called folk traditions. The clearest example is the legalisation of the Midsummer festival. In 1957 the CPL Central Committee, by special decree, approved the initiative of the Pagėgiai District Partkom to organise a Midsummer festival on Rambynas Hill. After this event, at which, it is said, about 30,000 people gathered, was successful, the next year plans were made to celebrate Midsummer throughout Lithuania.[24] The Midsummer festival on Rambynas Hill attained a special scale in 1960 with the commemoration of the twenty year anniversary of the founding of the Lithuanian SSR. The propaganda publication, 'Traditions of a New Life' writes:

> Old Rambynas was decorated in an especially beautiful manner in 1960. A sign with the words 'Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic – 20 years' was raised high above the hilltop. The main stage was awash in the silk of Soviet flags while a multitude of slogans and posters twinkled... The hymns of the Soviet Union and Soviet Lithuania resounded majestically... the cantata 'Klestėk tarybų Lietuva' ['Prosper, Soviet Lithuania'], the song 'Komunistų partijai šlovė' ['Glory to the Communist Party'], etc. rang out powerfully... Now that the working people in Lithuania are the masters of their own lives, Midsummer has become a truly popular mass festival.[25]

This festival was also solemnly celebrated in Kaunas, where the 'founder of Kaunas, the legendary Duke Kūnas, met with the "Soviet today" and handed a torch to a hero of socialist labour'.[26]

The fifth plenum of the CPL Central Committee, which was held in early 1963, again focused on atheistic work issues in the Soviet republic. Its decree states that 'Civil traditions and customs must everywhere push out religious rites and help to reduce the church's influence.' According to P. Pečiūra, the implementation of this decree greatly revived the promotion and organisation of new traditions. The Ministry of Culture's Scientific Method Office[27] prepared an espe-

22 Trinkūnas 2003. 147.
23 Streikus 2004. 92.
24 Streikus 2004. 95–96.
25 Černeckis 1961. 24–26.
26 Černeckis 1961. 27.
27 Lith. *Kultūros ministerijos mokslinis metodinis kabinetas*

cially large quantity of methodical material for the district cultural sections. This summarised almost all of the more important civil and family festivals, which had arisen in Soviet Lithuania.[28]

The next step in seeking to control festivals was the Folk Tradition Council[29], which was founded in 1968 and had to 'guide traditions using a scientific basis'.[30] This aim was achieved in part but was unable to upstage the initiatives of the academic youth since the regional ethnocultural movement that arose in the 1960s was clearly not governed by communist structures.[31]

Midsummer was celebrated in a pagan manner under the name of the Rasa festival. In 1967, in an effort to avoid the attention of the Soviet authorities, the first festival was organised in Lithuania's old capital, Kernavė, by the Society of the Friends of India, which had been founded in Vilnius and included some of the Vilnius University philology professors and students.[32] The festival should in reality be connected with the Ramuva Club of Vilnius regional ethnographers,[33] which was founded only in 1969. Three festivals (in 1967, 1968, and 1969) were held semi-legally. In 1969 the supreme governing institutions banned the festival. In 1970 the Rasa festival participants in Kernavė had already begun to be chased away under the guise that the festival could not be held on the Reserve's grounds. In KGB documents, the Rasa festival at Kernavė began to be called a 'nationalistic rally' and the festival's organisation equatable to anti-Soviet activity.[34] But despite all of the obstacles, bans, and persecutions, the Rasa festival was celebrated in Kernavė and other Lithuanian cities. A location at the boundaries of several administrative districts was frequently chosen in organising the festival. It was also organised by Žygeiviai [Backpackers], a Lithuanian university tourist club.[35]

This festival has recently been evaluated diversely. According to Egidija Ramanauskaitė, the festival organised in Kernavė in 1967 was an eloquent expression of ethnic identity, which was perceived by its organisers as a symbol marking 'Lithuania's new existence'.[36] On the other hand, in the opinion of Arūnas Streikus, the Soviet authorities tolerated the nurturing of some national traditions to a certain extent since this could somewhat improve their poor authority. At the same time they strove to clearly demarcate the sterilised national identity from the Christian traditions or even to contrast them.[37]

The celebration of Shrove spread in a similar manner. During 1957–1958 Shrove began to be revived. Several articles were ordered in the periodic press on this occasion. A joint session of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Leninist

28 Pečiūra 1974. 79–80.
29 Lith. *Respublikinė liaudies tradicijų taryba*
30 Pečiūra 1974. 81–82.
31 Trinkūnas 2003. 147.
32 Trinkūnas 2003. 139.
33 Lith. *Vilniaus kraštotyrininkų Ramuvos klubas*
34 Vaiškūnas 2007.
35 Šidiškis 2008. 58.
36 Ramanauskaitė 2004. 55–56.
37 Streikus 2002. 258.

Young Communist League (Komsomol) and the House of Folk Creation[38] agreed to modernise and unify the Shrove festival. It was decided to celebrate it in early March (during Lent) under the name 'Winter festival', 'Winter sports festival', or 'Art festival', mask sketches were ordered, and a song was composed. According to ethnologist Juozas Kudirka, almost every part of them was scripted: the horse races, the Russian fairy tale characters (Old Man Frost, Snowflake), the shish kebabs, and the special attention given collective farm chairmen and other local political figures.[39] A satirical priest and even a group of small Africans as a symbol of international friendship were also included in the procession.[40] Thus, in the words of V. Černeckis, a socialist content was created for the customs at the Winter Festival.[41]

In 1977 the Open Air Museum of Lithuania in Rumšiškės began to promote and support the festival to drive out winter. In 1980 a fixed festival date, the last Saturday of February, was set (causing the festival to usually be celebrated during Lent). The festival used to attract thousands of spectators and tens of folklore ensembles. Although the festival at Rumšiškės levelled the festival's regional differences, nevertheless, according to J. Kudirka, the festival encouraged people to see customs as something valuable.[42]

Celebrating the festival during Lent provided a good opportunity to fight religiousness, the festive mood and the dances allowing religious youth to break away from the religious restrictions. But Midsummer and Shrove did not become equally popular.

In 1982, ethnologist Pranė Dundulienė stated that the festival to drive out winter, which replaced Shrove, attained a wide popularity, e.g. an event organised by ordinary secondary school teachers drawing not only city residents but also villagers, and sometimes even people from further away. On the other hand 'Midsummer has so far not become a popular mass festival as it is celebrated at only some places in Lithuania'.[43]

Festivals at the Turn of the 21st Century

After the restoration of an independent Lithuania, Shrove was organised in the majority of the cases in accordance with the Soviet scripts and became a general Lithuanian festival. Only in some remote corners of Samogitia did the Shrove costume parade remain a living tradition.[44] The tradition has become institutionalised in the rest of Lithuania where, in many cases, the members of a local folklore

38 Lith. *Respublikiniai liaudies kūrybos namai*
39 Kudirka 1992. 4.
40 Skrodenis 2010. 37.
41 Černeckis 1961. 11.
42 Kudirka 1992. 4.
43 Dundulienė 1982. 335–336.
44 Marcinkevičienė 2001. 690; Olechnovičienė 2008. 121.

society, the employees of a regional cultural institution, or a school organises the costume parade. The social demographic changes that occurred in the society in the second half of the 20th century destroyed the festival's regional identity that existed in the beginning of the 20th century and gave Shrove the features of a unified national festival.[45] Traditionally the largest celebrations of Shrove occur at the Open Air Museum of Lithuania in Rumšiškės and Žemaitija National Park in Plateliai. In Rumšiškės this festival is organised on Sundays (in 2013 on Saturday), allowing people to celebrate Shrove more than once (on Tuesday and on Saturday or Sunday) at different places. Shrove is celebrated on Tuesday and is often called a 'semi-holiday' or even a 'non-holiday'.[46] In a similar manner Midsummer was moved to the weekend, but after this festival was declared a non-work day, there was no longer any need for this.

During Sąjūdis and first years of independence, the Midsummer festival spread throughout Lithuania. During the first years of independence, according to the assertion of cultural worker Danutė Skersytė, there was a tendency to distinguish two festivals: Rasa and Midsummer. Rasa was celebrated by those into (pagan – Ž.Š.) customs, Midsummer by those wanting to gather together, light a bonfire, and have a good time.[47] Recently Midsummer has been celebrated in accordance with both 'pagan' (Rasa, Kupolė) and 'Christian' (Joninė) traditions, usually on the basis of mixed scripts and the use of several names (Joninė, Rasa, Kupolė) and a bonfire to symbolise it. It was long sought to have Midsummer declared a non-working day, but in vain until influential breweries finally joined the fight, a summer festival being very useful for their commercial goals. According to A. Vaicekauskas, elements of consumer or popular culture: e.g. crafts fairs, vender stands, are always found in the structure of a modern mass urban festival. A popular music concert is usually organised to attract young people.[48]

Unlike in the Soviet era, this festival is celebrated in all of the cities and even in the bigger villages. In North Lithuania the custom of individual bonfires for a group of young people, a family, or neighbours still survives.[49] In bigger communities it is organized by cultural or educational workers or local government representatives. Midsummer is also celebrated at Kernavė. After an interval, it was also revived at Rambynas. For example, in 2006 in the Rambynas tradition, the Midsummer festival included choirs, folklore groups, and performances and the organisers encouraged the celebrants to come fully or partially dressed in folk costumes.

The question arises as to what is the political mission of these festivals. After the restoration of independence, Lithuanians no longer had the need to fight against an occupying power or religion or to promote atheism or a Communist society. Intensive globalisation, integration into the European Union, and

45 Vaicekauskas 2010. 27–29.
46 Šaknys 2009. 72; Šaknys 2012. 89.
47 Skersytė 1991. 4–5.
48 Vaicekauskas 2009. 37.
49 Šaknys 2007. 84.

massive emigration have prompted support for ethnic consciousness. In 2002 a state document for a long-term development strategy envisaged the threat that 'the ethnic culture's living tradition is increasingly being negatively impacted by the phenomena of accelerating globalisation and the declining ability of tradition to compete with commercial mass culture. The basis for the spread of a living tradition, i.e. a national consciousness, becomes steadily weaker in the absence of the necessary means of teaching the ethnic culture, nurturing its values, and preserving the national consciousness' (Valstybės ilgalaikės ...).

On 21 September 1999 Lithuania enacted the Law on the Principles of State Protection of Ethnic Culture, which states that the state shall encourage and support the revival and popularisation of seasonal festivals, crafts, sports, games, and other ethnic culture related activities. (Etninės kultūros valstybinės...). The work of implementing the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which began in 2004, focused attention on customs. On 28 June 2010, the 2010–2014 state programme for the development of ethnic culture was approved. Its aim is to create preconditions for safeguarding ethnic cultural values. One objective is to create conditions for the spread of ethnic culture, the preservation of the living tradition, and its gradual spread in the regions, another to support the expression of Lithuanian ethnic culture in ethnic Lithuanian lands and in Lithuanian communities abroad (Etninės kultūros plėtros...). These demonstrate the aspiration of maintaining Lithuanian ethnic identity not only in Lithuania but also abroad. Seasonal festivals should also be useful for this, even though they have almost nothing in common with the living Lithuanian tradition either in today's Lithuania or beyond its borders.

Festivals in the Emigrant Community

Jolanta Kuznecovienė, in analysing the expression of ethnic identity by Lithuanian emigrants in Ireland, the UK, Spain, and Norway, uses the concept of 'ethnic cultural space', which is connected with changes in the conception of a culture's deterritorilisation, location, and space, changes that have been caused by the globalisation processes. The code of social interaction, characteristic of the country of origin, and the symbols, which are used as the main sources for the creation and maintenance of the Lithuanian identity, are (re)constructed in space.[50] Festivals also have an important meaning in the formation of the deterritorialised cultural space. According to Neringa Liubinienė, among emigrants, general ethnic festivals perform a collective ritual function and help to preserve their identity and to strengthen or revive their connectedness to one country or another and the community, but they can also mark a difference from the society of the country of residence and emphasise the otherness of the immigrants, while also showing that

50 Kuznecovienė 2012. 89–104.

the immigrants are far from the customs and traditions of their native land.[51] The Shrove festival marks a declaration of being Lithuanian. The Soviet-style Shrove festival began to spread among the Lithuanian population in Northeast Poland in the 1970s[52] and after 1990 in Southeast Latvia.[53] After Lithuania regained its independence in 1990 and especially after it joined the European Union, many of its inhabitants emigrated to economically stronger countries. This festival, which had spread during the Soviet occupation, began to spread rapidly in the United Kingdom, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Spain, the US, etc. The geographical incidence of the Lithuanian Midsummer festival is similar.

Lithuanian festivals can be a uniting force in small communities. In 1986 a Lithuanian community was founded in Hungary. It has consistently included roughly 40 Lithuanian families, but draws Lithuanians living briefly or studying in Hungary, the Lithuanian embassy staff, and their families into its activities. As is shown on their website, the members' main aim is to organise the Lithuanians living in that country, help them to maintain ties with Lithuania, and popularise Lithuania's name, culture, and customs in Hungary. The Lithuanian Hungarians get together five to six times a year with the main aims of maintaining the ties amongst them, celebrating Lithuanian festivals together, sharing news about Lithuania, and disseminating information about Lithuania in Hungary. Their website shows that even a Lithuanian Ukrainian connected with Hungary only through marriage can take an interest in the festivals they celebrate:

> Hi. I have been living in Ukraine's Transcarpatia or Zakarpattia Oblast for ten years now. It is a 350 km trip to Budapest. I married a Ukrainian woman of Hungarian origin and our younger daughter is seven and has Lithuanian citizenship. Please tell me when and where the Lithuanian Hungarian community is planning to meet and celebrate festivals. (Vengrijos lietuvių bendruomenė)

Judging from the reports of the Lithuanian Hungarian community, the celebration of Lithuanian Shrove and Midsummer occupies an important place. For example, in 2009 Shrove was celebrated in the courtyard of the Lithuanian embassy while the Midsummer festival held in the town of Kecskemét attracted not only Lithuanian Hungarians but also their Hungarian friends. The chairman of the Lithuanian Austrian community came with her husband and several other Lithuanian families living in Austria. The report shows that the festival on 27 June 2009 was celebrated in 'Lithuanian style':

> The festival was conducted in true Lithuanian style: Jonė, a John namesake, was adorned with an oak wreath and the Lithuanians had a taste of nostalgic dishes: cold beetroot soup, rye bread, cheese, and *Baumkuchen* (tree

51 Liubinienė 2011. 155.
52 Šaknys 2010. 163–165.
53 Šaknys 2005. 139.

> cake). After dark the men cooked shish kebabs over the bonfire while the women and children plaited wreaths of various coloured flowers. An open-air garden concert by a guest from Lithuania, Gediminas Storpirštis, left them with pleasant memories. Later, the Lithuanians lit the candles on the wreaths and sang folksongs. (Vengrijos lietuvių bendruomenė... 2009 m. Ataskaita)

Without going further into a festival's authenticity, it is possible to state that a festival, which is celebrated at a slightly different time of the year but encompasses some traditional Lithuanian Midsummer elements, can be charming for even Lithuanians living abroad and people with ties of kinship to Lithuania and can become a short-term Lithuanian cultural space that is able to create long-term feelings of ethnic identity.

It is impossible to state unambiguously which festival, Shrove or Midsummer, is more important. Lithuanians living in Greece and the United States gave different answers to this question on a social site. Midsummer had greater significance in the US, while in the sparse Lithuanian community in Greece, Midsummer is a time when many Lithuanians are working in resort hotels and have no time for celebrating. Thus they elect to celebrate Shrove.

In analysing the internet pages, it can be seen that the main festival symbols, the Midsummer bonfire and costumed Shrove celebrants, are not always perceived as essential in the Lithuanian communities abroad (unlike in Lithuania itself). A minor festival symbol, e.g. a Shrove pancake or Midsummer beer and cheese are also enough to epitomise a Lithuanian festival abroad. The important thing is to be together in a Lithuanian atmosphere.

Conclusions

For these conclusions I shall once again quote David Kertzner. In his words, ritual is important in all political systems and he points out the many ways ritual is employed in politics. The analysis of the two Lithuanian folk festivals (Shrove and Midsummer) shows that they can acquire a political reality and embody great power in performing various tasks: fighting for national revival or independence, fighting against Christianity, creating a new pagan religion, or forming an ethnic cultural space for emigrants. But each festival can embody different possibilities for acquiring this power depending on the time, the place, the festival's former content, and even historical memory.

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PARTICIPATION OF POLITICAL LEADERS IN ETHNIC FEASTS AS AN ELEMENT OF POLITICAL RITUAL

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Abstract: This report discusses the behavioral aspects of the participation of the federal and regional political leaders in the two non-religious ethnic festivals held in the Republic of Tatarstan - Sabantuy and Karavon - over the last 20 years. The method of the study is a content and traditional analysis of the federal and regional resourses: articles, news reports, photographs. Identified: the dynamics of participation, the leaders in celebrations, the ratio between their participation in the opening ceremonies of the (political ritual, called the official language of the civil service protocol) and actually in the ritual celebrations, the extent and nature of the use of its participation in the celebrations for the promulgation of new policy ideas programs. The conclusions made in the context of status holidays (non-state), the historical (the period of the 90s. - the institutionalization of a new Russian statehood and 2000-2012 - period of stabilization), personal (as Presidents of Russia B.N. Yeltsin, V.V. Putin, D.A. Medvedev). This article also attempts to identify region-specific integration of a political ritual into ritual environment of national and cultural holidays of modern Tatarstan.

Keywords: Sabantuy, Karavon, festive ritual, political ritual, Republic of Tatarstan, Russian Federation

There are serious socio-cultural transformations in modern Russia. They affect different areas of life and often have ethno-regional specificity. One such transformation is the including of political trends in the festive ritual. The main scientific hypothesis of the study was the idea that the politicization of the festive rituals aimed at achieving the objectives of the regional authorities.

The objects of this study were non-religious rituals of the two holidays of the population of one of the national republics of the Russian Federation - Republic of Tatarstan. We have chosen two of the most characteristic of the region's non-religious holidays – Sabantuy and Karavon. Sabantuy – ancient festival of the Turkic peoples of the Volga region, including the titular ethnic group in Tatarstan – Tatars, symbolizing the beginning of the summer agricultural work. Karavon – Russian local folk festival, reanimated and has become the regional fest over the past 15 years.

Subject area of analysis in our study was the interlacement of political and ceremonial rituals. For a variety of reasons, including the constitutional nature (the separate existence of church and state), It is easier for politics to intervene in a ritual involving secular national holidays. There is no need to negotiate with

the church hierarchy, less risk to affect the mentality of the population; ritual of non-religious festivals is historically more mobile.

The methods of the study were traditional and content-analysis of the publications of the federal, regional and local publications: articles, news reports, photographs, Internet sources, as well as observation, narrative interviews.

The Republic of Tatarstan (Tatarstan) is one of the 83 member states of the Russian Federation, one of the national republics have large compared to other subjects of powers. In particular, the national republic has as the official languages, along with Russian, the native language of the titular nation. The law "On languages of the Republic of Tatarstan" states that the Tatar and Russian languages are defined as equal. According to the population census in 2010, region was home to 3,823,000 people, including Tatars – 53.2%, Russians – 39.7%. It is important to note that compliance with ethno-sociocultural parity is an important element of the policy of the regional government.

Location: the region is located in the Volga Federal District and is located at the confluence of the Volga and Kama rivers between Moscow and the Urals. Around it, there are other national republics of the Volga and Ural regions with predominantly Finno-Ugric, Turkic and Russian population. The capital is the city of Kazan with a population of almost 1.2 million people.

Government: The President (Rustam Minnikhanov) is the Head of the Republic, executive power is exercised by the Cabinet of Ministers (Chairman – Ildar Halikov), the legislature - the State Council of the Republic (Chairman – Farid Mukhametshin).

Sabantuy or "plow festival", as it is most often translated by Tatar researchers, has been known since 921, when the Arab traveler Ibn Fadlan traveled among the Volga Bulgarians and was the first to describe this folk festival. Sabantuy was carried on by the Turkic population of the Volga region through the centuries of the Golden Horde, the Khanate of Kazan, and the Russian Empire. Sabantuy was primarily characteristic of the Kazan Tatars, farmers, initially conducted to appease the pagan spirits before harvesting. This magic ritual feast had purely practical purposes, even after the conversion of the Volga Bulgars to Islam in the 10th century, when Sabantuy was gradually transformed into a purely economic festival, not completely formed in the framework of religion.

Sabantuy's rituals have been subject to constant change for a millennium. They have particularly intensified in the last 100-150 years. By the end of the 19th century, Sabantuy in the Tatar village consisted of three main elements: children going house-to-house in the settlements to collect gifts (traditionally gifts were given by each family, not going into the house was perceived as an insult), horse racing and the belt wrestling called *kuresh*, which later became a national sport.[1] In the larger settlements in connection with the development of industry, crafts and trade, this time in a celebratory ritual appeared as a fairground competition: the bag fights on logs, pole-climbing, etc. In the Soviet period, after the brief years of civil war and devastation, the tradition of celebrating Sabantuy resumed in the

1 Уразманова 2011. 143-144.

Tatar villages. Then, under the patronage of the local and regional authorities and with the consent of the authorities of the central government, celebration was conducted in four phases: the village, the district, the towns under republican authority, the capital of Kazan. The ritual of the holiday became more and more of a trade fair and adversarial, the traditions children collecting gifts, for instance, being lost. Authorities were equipped with a special place for the celebration, the center of which was a place for the competition – Maidan, surrounded by shopping pavilions. A mandatory element of the landscape of Sabantuy is a birch grove – a place of celebrating, one of the symbols of the festival.

It is important to note that Sabantuy happily escaped the fate of the vast majority of national holidays that were prohibited in the 1950s by the Soviet government. The reason for this should be sought first of all in its deep national character, and the elite realized that it is much more profitable not to prohibit, "to ride" Sabantuy and make it serve their interests. Hence, the politicization of Sabantuy is rooted in Soviet times.

In the post-Soviet period, especially in recent years, Sabantuy became the visiting card of Tatarstan, a Tatar festival known all over the world. The date of the event and its funding is determined by a special decision of the first persons of authority. Sabantuy is held in Kazan, one Sunday in the last ten days of June, but there are exceptions. For example, in 2013, by decree of the President of Tatarstan, Sabantuy in Kazan was held in the days of the Summer Universiade, July 13, especially for the guests of this global sporting event.[2]

Since 2001, a general federal festival was added in the hierarchy of Sabantuyes, organized in turn in different regions of the Russian Federation in the areas densely populated by Tatars. However, the principal festival, in the number of participants, the level of organization, and in socio-cultural values remains the Kazan Sabantuy.

Each of the three Presidents of Russia visited the Kazan Sabantuy once. President B.N. Yeltsin did it in 1996 as part of his campaign for the presidential election. President V.V. Putin was a guest of the celebration in 2000, a few months after his election as President. His visit was part of a major campaign to build the image of the new leader of the country. In 2011, President D.A. Medvedev visited the Kazan Sabantuy during his official trip to the Republic of Tatarstan.

The President of the Republic of Tatarstan attends the Kazan Sabantuy without fail. His speech is part of the holiday ritual and serves as a signal for the start of the main program of the event. The entourage of the President, among other officials, is sure to include the mayor, who plays the second role in the official ritual.

I provide details of the scenario of the festival based on the example of the 2011 Kazan Sabantuy. It started with the horse races at the track on Saturday, June 25. Further events are as follows:

- Arrival of the ordinary guests. Performances by folk groups, the beginning of the commercial and cultural pavilions' activity;

2 Указ Президента РТ от 22 февраля 2013 г.

- Arrival of VIPs (political leaders, federal and foreign guests), two of the presidents (D.A. Medvedev and R.N. Minnikhanov); D.A.Medvedev tried *kazi* (horse sausage), *chak-chak* (honey cakes), and forged an *ogo* (horseshoe) on Russian courtyard;
- Opening ceremony: speeches of political leaders;
- Performances by professional and amateur artists, including children;
- Sports: *kuresh*, sack-fighting on logs, sack races, chess, running with buckets, rope, etc;
- Folk festivals.

Sabantuy ritual, conducted in rural areas, has as its essential features:

- Collecting gifts;
- Maidan: Welcome guests. Starting points of exit trade;
- Maidan: the grand opening of the guests, who are mainly representatives of the regional authorities;
- Then folk groups from the Maidan district perform;
- Maidan: sport competitions – horse racing, *kuresh*, pole-climbing, tug-of-war, sack races, etc.

Then comes the time of festivals – the non-official element of festive ritual. Family and friends meet in the shade of the trees on the banks of water bodies for a celebratory meal, communicating in a private situation.

Thus, the difference between the main Sabantuy in Kazan and the way it is celebrated in rural areas is that the latter have somewhat more traditional rituals. However, the difference is gradually diminishing, now being mainly a difference in scale.

In the last 15 years, we have seen the process of globalization of Sabantuy, which was initiated either from the top (the organization of celebrations in major cities around the world, the efforts of representatives of Tatarstan, Bashkortostan – the neighboring region, at the expense of the regional budget), and from below, mainly by Tatars living away from their historical homeland. Sabantuy as organized by ordinary people, has not the political ritual, but is a ritual feast ~~as~~ close to the traditional, but without giving gifts.

The next part of this article addresses Karavon – a regional festival of Russian folklore, the traditional celebration of which dates back to the 16th century. Until the 1950s, it was regularly celebrated in the village of Nikolsky in the Laishevsky district of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. It was abolished and banned by the Soviet authorities as a religious event. Through the efforts of long-time residents of the village and members of the folk groupe "Karavon", created in 1988, it was revived in the early 1990s. Until 2003, the festival was held as a purely local one. In 2003, by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Tatarstan it became a state regional holiday and is held annually in the village of Nikolsky under the patronage of the Ministry of Culture of Tatarstan as a national festival of Russian folklore.

The historic ritual of the holiday was as follows. The action began with a church service at the local church of St. Nicholas. After the service the villagers sat down at home for the holiday meal. Then residents staged merry street festivals and dance. The participants of the round dance held one another's little fingers and did the "Karavon" or "duck" step, first decreasing, then increasing the diameter of the circle and moving clockwise as "the sun.[3]

The ritual of modern Karavon expanded to a large number of performances of folk groups and fair presentations. The political element of the ritual involved participation of the leaders of the Republic - the Chairman of the State Council or the Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers and the heads of the municipal district in the opening ceremony and other activities. They pronounce solemn speeches, hand out cash and other gifts, and make a tour of the pavilions. Since Karavon is done a month before Sabantuy, the actors practiced the scenario of involvement of top officials in the festive activities, if they are coming to Sabantuy. Certainly, as regards the scale and the role in implementation of regional policy, including the field of tourism, Karavon is significantly less important than Sabantuy.

The reasons for the growth of interest on the part of the political elite in ritual national holidays, from our point of view, are the following:

1. A significant accumulation of participants (sometimes up to 200,000 people) plus resonance in the mass media.
2. Emotional enthusiasm of viewers, which significantly improves the popularity of a representative of power and, therefore, reinforces the ranking political leader. Between the lines, we note that the term "sabantuy" in the modern Russian language has become a household word, synonymous with a fun-filled holiday for the soul.
3. Operation expressing a sense of hospitality and gratitude, let us recall the delivery of the gifts financed by the regional and local budgets.

We have identified the following forms of participation of political leaders in the conduct of events:

- Participating in the opening ceremony of the festival, delivering a speech;
- Tasting food;
- Participation in the "craft show";
- Participation in one of the ritual scenes on a noncompetitive basis;
- Attending folk dances;
- Inspection of the pavilions, sports venues;
- Viewing the main events, performances of folk groups, professional artists.

In modern Russia a huge multinational renaissance of festival culture, manifesting itself in different ways in different parts of the country is under way. Participation in the process by political elites also has many shades of meaning. The regional

3 Официальный Татарстан: Каравон.

specificity of political integration and festive rites peculiar to the Republic of Tatarstan, in the opinion of the author, is as follows:

- "gigantomania": the desire to invite political heavyweights, including top officials, to the celebrations, with the necessary inclusion of the holiday ritual;
- Globalization of Sabantuy on the basis of the location of Tatars around the world today;
- Formation of system of political events around Sabantuy.
- Thus, the outlook is justified by the author of the electronic report Sabantuy-2000 in Kazan that the presidential improvisations can become part of the Kremlin diplomacy.[4] These can be "impromptu", of course, not limited to participation in celebratory rituals. Flying a fighter aircraft, a hang-glider with a Siberian Crane, a trip to see vintage cars, riding a motorcycle with bikers, diving for treasure in the sea, and other similar actions of President V.V. Putin - a major element of efforts to strengthen and diversify the image of the leader of the Russian state.

Conclusions

1) We are seeing a distinct process of integrating political ritual in ritual of feasts. The main determinants of this process are the administrative and financial resources of power in the organization of events, and the formation of modern political ritual in the Soviet period, when acting directly or under a hidden ban on ethnicity and existing festivals organized exclusively by major power-holders. This list could be added to and includes the traditional weakness of civil society.
2) Increase the proportion of political ritual in non-religious ritual folk festivals (Sabantuy and Karavon);
3) Strengthening the elements of tourism shown in the ritual of non-religious holidays as a result of the policy of the regional government in the marketing of the Republic of Tatarstan. Here the focus is paramount for the factor of foreign tourism. The highest manifestation of this policy was the main constraint to visit the site of the Republican Sabantui July 14, 2013, when entrance to a few hours was available only to guests of the city - the 2013 Universiade participants and officials.
4) Conversion of the festival into an ethnic-integrated, marketing tool aimed at the promotion of the region to the all-Russian, Eurasian and Global stages, the strengthening of the influence of regional and local elites over the people of the region, the formation, development and capture of new segments of the touristic market.

4 Президент Татарии устроил Путину Сабантуй.

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Fig. 1. President B.N.Yeltsin on Sabantuy (1996)

Fig. 2. Sabantuy (2013)

"YEONGSANJAE" AS A RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL RITUAL, EXERCISED BY BUDDHIST MONKS IN KOREA

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Abstract: "Yeongsanjae" is a form of Korean Buddhist culture in which philosophical and spiritual messages are expressed. Preserved chiefly by the Taego Order of Korean Buddhism, it is observed in temples throughout the country to assist all beings to enter the world of truth by worshipping the Triple Gem (Buddha, Dharma and Sangha). It also serves as a space for transfer of values and art forms and for meditation, training and enlightenment. However, there are hidden political voices among all participants, particularly monks who perform the ceremony due to their active interest in the nation's historic wars, such as the Mongol and Japanese invasions in the 13th to 16th centuries. This paper underlines the significance of Yeongsanjae from the viewpoint of religious and political ritual in hopes of a Unified Korea.

Keywords: Yeongsanjae Buddhist ritual, Intangible cultural heritage, Goryeo dynasty

Yeongsanje: Korean Intangible Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritages are the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society through generations, preserved in the present and maintained for the benefit of future generations. Intangible heritage denotes the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills, as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces related therewith, that communities identify as part of their cultural heritage. It has been transmitted through generations and re-created by communities according to their environment and history, endowing them with a sense of identity and continuity and enhancing respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

UNESCO's 2003 Convention categorises intangible cultural heritage into five domains: (i) oral traditions and expressions, including language as the vehicle, (ii) performing arts, (iii) social practices, rituals and festive events, (iv) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, and (v) traditional craftsmanship.

In the case of Korea, "Yeongsanjae" was entered on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2009. Being a component of Korean Buddhist tradition, it is a re-enactment of Buddha's delivery of the Lotus Sutra on the Vulture Peak in India, through which philosophical and spiritual messages of Buddhism are expressed and believers improve self-discipline through participation.

Yeongsanjae begins with a ritual reception for all the saints and spirits of heaven and earth, and ends with a farewell ritual representing manners of the ethereal realm of Buddha. It includes singing, ceremonial embellishment, and diverse ritual dances—the cymbal dance, the drum dance and the ceremonial robe dance.

The other elements of Yeongsanjae includes a ritual cleansing, a tea ceremony, the devotion of a rice meal to the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, a sermon inviting the audience to the door of truth, and a ritual meal for the dead to congratulate them on their entry into heaven.

Yeongsanjae satisfies the following requirements for inclusion in the UNESCO List:

R.1: Yeongsanjae is a cherished expression of the identity of its practitioners who have passed it on from generation to generation;

R.2: Its inscription on the Representative List would contribute to ensuring the visibility of intangible cultural heritage at the local, national and international levels, thereby reflecting cultural diversity and human creativity;

R.3: The nomination presents the national system of safeguarding measures and describes the commitment of the Yeongsanjae Preservation Association to enhancing awareness and transmission of the element;

R.4: The element is designated as an Important Intangible Cultural Heritage by the Intangible Cultural Heritage Division of the Cultural Heritage Administration in Korea.

Generally speaking, ritual cultures are important among Koreans, regardless of their individual faiths. In fact, in 2008, "Royal ancestral ritual in the Jongmyo shrine and its music" was included in the UNESCO List. This is the Confucian ritual which is dedicated to the ancestors of the Joseon dynasty (14-19 c.) with song, dance and music. This annual ceremony takes place on the first Sunday in May, organized by the royal family's descendants. As a unique Confucian ritual, the tradition was inspired by classical Chinese texts explaining the cult of ancestors and the notion of filial piety. The ritual also involves a prayer for the eternal peace of the ancestors' spirits in a shrine imagined to be their spiritual resting place, which is related to shamanism.

Korean shamanism is a deeply rooted folk belief in good and evil spirits, which can only be cured by the shaman (called "Mudang"). Through dance, the shaman communicates directly with the spirits as an intermediary between man and the supernatural, speaking for the humans to deliver their wishes and for the spirits to reveal their will.

As the owner of transcendental capabilities, the shaman may have four characteristics: (i) experiencing the spirits' torture by resisting being chosen for the vocation, manifested in the form of illness; (ii) officiating at rites in which they can communicate with the spirits; (iii) gaining recognition as a religious leader to satisfy the spiritual demands of the community; and (iv) serving and assisting specific spirits.

In the pantheon of shamans, a variety of spirits are worshiped: the mountain spirit, the seven star spirit, the earth spirit and the dragon spirit in nature, along with those of historical figures such as kings, generals and ministers.

Shamanic rites are performed to escort the soul of a dead person to heaven because their souls, personified, are believed to be formless and invisible but omnipotent, floating around freely in the void with no barriers of time and space.

As an essential religious expression in Korea, shaman rites were performed ranging from the royal household down to remote villages. Historical records say that the court of the Goryeo Dynasty built ten state shrines to perform rites to invoke peace and prosperity for the nation. When dangerous epidemics spread, the royal court invited shamans to conduct rites to expel the evil spirits.

Yeongsanje Rituals: Sequence Ritual and Meal Offering

Yeongsanje has two parts: Sequence Ritual Order Event and Meal Offering Order Event. The Sequence Ritual has twelve processes in order: (1) Tajong, Shiryon (2) Kwaebul Iwoon (3) Bokcheonggye (4) Cheonsu Bara (5) Doryanggye (6) Bopgo (7) Keobul (8) Hyanghwagye (9) Hyangsu (10) Sadarani (11) Gajigye and (12) Gongdeokgye, in a combination of music and dance.

Tajong, Shiryon (Bell and Processional): The huge bell is rung to indicate the beginning of the ceremony, in which the Buddha, Bodhisattvas, gods, devas, guardians and other spirits are beseeched to descend from the heavens to participate in the ceremony, to guard the grounds, and to make the ceremony successful. Bodhisattva Innowang leads the spirits from outside the temple grounds to the ceremony site in a processional, with the palanquin symbolically carrying the spirits.

Kwaebul Iwoon (Transfer and Raising of the Tangka Painting): Although various types of huge outdoor Kwaebul (Tangka) paintings for a variety of temple rituals exist, the most common in Korean Buddhism is the Lotus Sutra Sermon Tangka. The Tangka, describing the Buddha Sakyamuni, is carried to the ceremonial site and raised. This represents the appearance of the Buddha at the ceremony.

Bokcheonggye (Incantation to Avalokitesvara Deity): The monks chant the mystical Dharani to Avalokitesvara, the Bodhisattva of Compassion, to ease sentient beings from their various sufferings and torments.

Cheonsu Bara (Thousand-Hand Bara Cymbals Dance): Monks perform the Bara or Cymbals Dance to the chanting of the 1,000-Hand Sutra to Avalokitesvara. The dance is a joyful and masculine one, in gratitude for the blessings acquired through the chant.

Doryanggye (Purification of the Ritual Area): The grounds are cleansed. Chants implore the Triple Gem (Buddha, his laws and monks) and dragons to attend, and participants ask through chanting to bless with compassion all those

gathered at the ceremony. The feminine Butterfly Dance is executed with dancers wearing long-sleeved white robes and pagoda-shaped hats, reflecting religious exhilaration from receiving the teachings of the Buddha, as the spirits of the deceased all gather at the site.

Bopgo (Dharma Drum Dance): The huge drum is played in hopes that the sound will awaken all living beings to the Dharma or Buddhist Law; thus they may be eased from suffering. A monk plays the drum, while another dances.

Keobul (Entreating the Buddha and Bodhisattvas): The attendees entreat and take refuge in the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, and one can sense the message of the Lotus Sutra unfolding. Prayers are additionally offered for the deceased to enter Paradise.

Hyanghwagye (Incense and Flower Offerings): Incense and flowers, symbols of the infinite world of Buddhism and the Buddha, are offered as gestures for vowing to transform oneself, upon receiving the powers of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, in order to lead all sentient beings out of suffering and into enlightenment as soon as possible.

Hyangsu Nayol (Offering Chants): Offerings are made to the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, hoping to receive their blessings and powers so as to liberate sufferers, and all take protection in the Triple Gem.

Sadarani (Four Dharani Chants): The Bara Dance is done again to the accompaniment of four Dharani chants in hopes of supplying the finest in food offerings for all to share.

Gajigye (The Food Offering): Whereas the meaning and methods of food offerings were expressed in the food offering chants, and the quality and quantity of food supplied through the four Dharani chants, the various foods are now offered at the altar with accompanied chanting.

Gongdeokgye (Transfer of Merit): The merit taken from conducting the Yongsanjae is transmitted to the monks, followers and spirits who have joined the ceremony, and prayers are offered that all suffering living ones may reach the shores of Nirvana. The Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods and guardians are sent off, and the spirits of the deceased are sent to Paradise.

The other Order Event is the Meal Offering (Shikdang Jakbeop). It is the meal arranged for monks at a monastery for their efforts in conducting Dharma events such as ceremonies. Unlike common meals, this Meal Offering is accompanied by music, chanting, dancing and drumming. It is a highly complex meal ritual, and the participants take the opportunity to dwell on whether they are worthy of receiving the offering, and to renew their zeal to practice the teachings of the Buddha. All are done in expectations of gaining Bodhisattvahood to actualize the teachings and compassion of the Buddha.

Goreyeo Tripitaka: The Mongol Invasion During the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392)

As Yeongsanjae is held among monks, some backgrounds of Korean Buddhism need to be explained. Buddhism accounts for a purpose in life, explaining injustice and inequality around the world and providing a code of practice or way of life which leads to happiness. Buddhism is a spiritual tradition that focuses on personal spiritual development and the attainment of deep insight into the true nature of life. It teaches that compassion is natural and important because all life is interconnected. The Buddhist path is summed up as (i) to lead a moral life, (ii) to be mindful and aware of thoughts and actions, and (iii) to develop wisdom and understanding.

When Buddhism was introduced from China to Korea in 372 AD, it combined with indigenous shamanism. During the Three Kingdoms period (57 BC-935 AD), Buddhism slowly developed, but after its golden age in the Unified Shilla (668-935), it was followed by the ritualistic Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392).

As a result of Goryeo's strengthening diplomatic relations with China, the first 200 years of the Goryeo period was marked by relative peace and prosperity. Power was centralized in the king, and the administration was composed of bureaucrats and scholars who had achieved their positions by examination. Unlike United tribal Shilla, the Goryeo system included people from the whole peninsula to create a unified national identity.

Land was given to Buddhist temples and monasteries, and Buddhist monks were involved in power. The Son (Zen) sect of Buddhism became the predominant order, as seen in religious art.

However, excessive focus was increasingly placed on Buddhist rituals, creating an unfavourable atmosphere for spiritual growth. In an attempt to purify and renew the spiritual aspect of Buddhism, several monks struggled against this ritualistic tendency. One of them was Master Ui-chon (1055-1101), son of King Munjong. He collected about 4,000 volumes of Buddhist texts during his study in China, and from these texts, the Goryeo Tripitaka was produced. This respected Goryeo monk underlined the significance of bringing Contemplative Son (Zen) and Textual (Avatamsaka) traditions together under the Chinese Tientai school. The formation of this school gave new life to Goryeo Buddhism.

In the meantime, the Mongols arose as a nomadic herding people in the steppe region of north-central Asia. The wealth produced by the agricultural peoples to their south had aroused their acquisitive desires, and the Goryeo became prime targets of Mongol invasions, starting in 1231. The Goryeo resolved to resist the Mongols, moving the capital to Kanghwa the next year (1232), an action calculated to exploit the Mongol fear of the sea. While the ruling class entered Kanghwa, despite a treaty signed with the Mongols later, the populace was protected in mountain fortresses or on islands off the coast. Goryeo's decision to resist the Mongols provoked six invasions (1231-73) in total.

During these struggles, no less significant was the invention of the world's first movable metal type in 1234, which preceded the Gutenberg Bible of Germany by two centuries. The publication of Goryeo Tripitaka on 80,000 wooden blocks was intended to invoke the influence of Buddha for the repulsion of the Mongol invaders. The government also offered up anxious prayers to the deities of heaven and earth. It was in such an emotional atmosphere that the desire for peace with the Mongols arose among the king and the civil officials. Now stored at Haeinsa Temple, this monumental project became a national undertaking.

Buddhism remained the leading intellectual influence for spiritual inspiration and religious fulfilment, while Confucianism continued its importance in politics, ethics and daily affairs. Although Confucianism, introduced to the peninsula at the same time as Buddhism, had not yet gained much popularity, at the end of the dynasty, Buddhist monks had to keep a low profile when General Yi Seonggye was forced to eject Buddhism. He needed the support of Neo-Confucian scholars and officials in order to become King Taejo of the new Joseon dynasty in 1392. Persecution of Buddhists ran high in the Joseon period as Neo-Confucianism gained the favour of the ruling families.

Buddhist Monks' Army: The Japanese Invasion in the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1897)

In the late 16th century, during the Japanese invasion by the armies of Hideyoshi, Buddhism came to the country's rescue. Master Seosan (1520-1604) and his disciple Samyong (1544- 1610) led a band of Buddhist monks against the invasion.

To begin with Seosan Daesa, little is known of his early life. Before becoming a military commander, Seosan was a supreme Son master and the author of a number of important religious texts such as "Seongaguigam", a guide to Son practice studied by Korean monks even today.

In Japan, Shogun Toyotomi Hideyoshi made preparations for a large-scale invasion of Joseon after stabilising Japan from its warring states in the 1590s. Joseon was unaware of the Japanese situation and was unprepared for its aggression. In 1592, when Joseon rebuffed Japan's request for assistance in conquering China, about 200,000 Japanese soldiers invaded the country and the "Japanese War" broke out.

At its beginning, King Seonjo fled the capital, leaving a weak army to defend the country. In desperation, he called on Master Seosan to organise monks into guerrilla units. Even at 72 years of age, Master Seosan managed to recruit and deploy some 5,000 of these warrior monks, who gained some success in fights with Japanese soldiers.

The presence of the Seosan monks' army, operating out of the Heungguksa temple deep in the area of Yeongchisan mountain, was a critical factor in the eventual expulsion of the Japanese invaders in 1593 and again in 1598. Seosan's

disciple, Samyeongdang, known by his Buddhist name Yujeong, was recommended to be the head of the Son order in 1575. He refused and instead travelled to Myohyangsan mountain, where he was instructed by preceptor Seosan Daesa.

With the outbreak of Japanese invasions in 1592, Yujeong joined his teacher Seosan's righteous army of monks. After Seosan retired due to his age, Yujeong took over the leadership of the monks' army, leading the army into battles at Pyongyang and Uiryeong and setting up mountain fortresses through Gyeongsang. He also joined in battle again at Ulsan and Suncheon.

In 1604, after the defeat of the Hideyoshi invasion, Yujeong travelled to Japan on King Seonjo's orders to forge a peace accord with Tokugawa Ieyas, and returned with 3,500 Korean prisoners. His diplomatic missions established a resilient foundation for a series of major Joseon missions to Japan. Even long after his death, he is remembered with numerous statues and other memorials around Korea in modern times.

In short, monks' political awareness—directly or indirectly, visibly or invisibly—was of vital importance in the history of Korea, regardless of their royal status. These influences reflect the diversity of monks in society, and their ritual activities were the best means for serving the nation's safety and welfare, as well as exercising their own hopes.

Conclusion

In the text of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Article 2 – Definitions), social practices, rituals and festive events are habitual activities which form the lives of communities, shared by their members. They reaffirm the identity of those who practise them as a group, either in public or private, whether small or large in size, but linked to important events, such as the passing of the season's or a person's stage of life.

Rituals and festive events often take place at special times and places and remind a community of its worldview and history. Access to some rituals (initiation rites, burial ceremonies) may be restricted to the community, while some festive events (carnivals, New Year celebrations) are open to all as a key part of public life. Reinforcing a sense of identity and continuity with the past through cultural expressions, songs or dances, special food and clothing, animal sacrifice, etc. are given priority. Social practices, rituals and festive events are strongly affected by the changes which communities undergo, as they are dependent on the participation of practitioners in the communities themselves.

A question arises: "How can all these important rituals be remembered in the turmoil of rapid changes in modern society?"

One answer is memory, an asset of intangible cultural heritage. As a matter of fact, in medieval Europe, memory was regarded as a treasury of knowledge. Hugh of St. Victor (c.1096-1141) framed his discourse on the art of memory

in terms of material wealth in his "The Three Best Memory-Aids for Learning History":

> My child, knowledge is a treasury and your heart is its strongbox. As you study all of knowledge, you store up for yourselves good treasures, immortal treasures, incorruptible treasures, which never decay nor lose the beauty of their brightness. In the treasure-house of wisdom are various sorts of wealth, and many filing-places in the store-house of your heart… The orderly arrangement is clarity of knowledge. Dispose and separate each single thing into its own place… Confusion is the mother of ignorance and forgetfulness, but orderly arrangement illuminates the intelligence and secures memory.[1]

He then adopted the metaphor of the money-changer, an almost disreputable image since biblical times, in order to explain the need of storing information systematically in the memory. Like money, memories need to be exchanged for disseminating the culture.

In the accumulated culture of societies, three types of memory – personal memory, cognitive memory and habit memory – are identified in "How Societies Remember".[2] Personal memory is a recollection of a particular past happening in an individual's life. Cognitive memory is knowledge and understanding shared by the whole community, while habit memory entails the acquisition of intuitive rather than learned skills, such as rowing, riding or reading. The culture of any society is fed by all these types of memory.

If we agree with these, Yeongsansje lies in a safe place to be remembered. Why so? As a large part of the Buddhist practice of austerities, the Buddhist rituals that originated in the period of the Three Kingdoms (57 BC-935 AD) have been handed down to the present day. Formally, 'The Yeongsanjae Preservation Association' attempts to protect and advance Korea and plays a role in publicizing the nation's excellence and the law of Buddha across the globe. Its official ritual is annually held at Bongwonsa temple whose signboard was inscribed by King Yongjo the Great during the Joseon Dynasty in 1749.

However, Yeongsanjae is observed with slight differences depending on the different localities nowadays. In some regions, the Yeongsanjae Rite is experienced on the 49th Day of the Passage of a person, which is regarded as a favourable day for guiding the deceased souls into Paradise. The rite is also observed for the security and property of the state and the long life of the Military Good Luck.

In my view, Yeongsanjae is an indirect form of political ritual through non-political Buddhist monks. It can purify our corrupted minds and souls for a better society, as well as provide a means for future communication between two modern Koreas. Even North Koreans venerate the historical courageous monks,

1 Cited in Carruthers, 2008. 339.
2 Connerton, 1989. 22-32.

and with this common tradition and the same past, we can make Yeongsanjae helpful for the unification of Korea.

Korean Buddhism has undergone a renewal since the liberation of the country (1945) from thirty-six years of Japanese occupation. Many new temples and centres have opened in the towns. And people of all ages take part in chanting, studying, all-night meditation classes and social gatherings. Although Koreans do not consider themselves genuine Buddhists, they behave in a Buddhist way through inherited traditions.

What do all these mean in terms of political rituals? After the Korean War (1950-53), Korea was divided and there arose political turmoil. Now people have freedom to demonstrate outdoors, but from my personal view, prayers through Buddhist rituals can influence the society more strongly for a lengthy term.

Before closing this paper, it is worth introducing a message, delivered by Venerable Chief Abbot Hyangdeok of Cheonmansa Buddhist temple and Chairman of the Yeongsanjae Buddhist Rite who underlined the importance of Yeongsanjae. The ceremony on 25 October 2009 in Ulsan, Kyongsang Namdo Province was intended to enhance World Peace and Security of People:

> I express my heartfelt gratitude to the distinguished guests… the leaders of all segments of society from Seoul and the different localities… to attend this Grand Yeongsanjae Rite where prayers are offered for the sake of peace and blessings for the world and Korea…The mankind is working toward achieving an everlasting peace and prosperity. In spite of such an effort, however, the people are far from extricating themselves from endless conflicts and confrontations due to their unreserved selfishness and pursuit of personal gains… Peace is what everyone seeks, but all the same it is an elusive one and we do not have a complete peace. This is why I humbly state that I have prepared this Yeongsanjae Rite to contribute to attaining peace in the world and, in particular, work toward achieving a new turn for durable peace in the society of mankind and the Buddhist world… All of us are brethren to one another and members of the same family. We are seeking a cease to all conflicts and we are seeking to have a new hope. Through the Yeongsanjae Rite, I am praying and seeking to help the deceased souls still wandering in the Nether World to find their way into the Heaven, for peace to return to the world and for blessings and security to come to Korea.[3]

3 Yeongsan-jae Buddhist rite relieves people of worldly worries, helps the deceased find their way into the Paradise. *The Korea Post*. 5 October 2009.

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Fig. 1. Yeongsanjae ritual processes
(photo: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, Korea 2003)

Fig. 2. Yeongsanjae ritual processes
(photo: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, Korea 2003)

Fig. 3. Yeongsanjae ritual processes
(photo: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, Korea 2003

Fig. 4. Goryeo Tripitaka stored at Haeinsa Temple, the World Heritage by UNESCO
(photo: Zwegers 2006)

Fig. 5. Yeongsanjae festival
(photo: Korea Post 2009)

INTERFERENCE OF POLITICS IN CELEBRATING DOŻYNKI

THE HARVEST FESTIVAL IN POLAND IN THE 1950S

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Abstract: *Dożynki*, the harvest festival, is celebrated throughout Poland when all crops are taken from the field, usually at the end of August or the beginning of September. In Poland this celebration is linked to the Catholic Church nowadays, but it was not always like this, at least not on every level of social life. In this article I concentrate on the period of the strong communist government, the 1950s. Analyzing articles published in 1950-1959, mostly in the nationwide daily newspaper *Trybuna Ludu* ("Tribune of Folk") I present the way the Polish communist government adjusted the festival of *dożynki* to the new reality. By giving detailed descriptions of preparations and especially the rituals performed during the festival, as displayed in the articles in *Trybuna Ludu*, I show what kind of politics, and to what extent, influenced the celebration of *dożynki* at those times.

Keywords: communist, customs, dożynki, festival, harvest, ideology, rituals, ritualization

Dożynki, the festival of harvest, is celebrated throughout Poland when all crops are taken from the field, usually at the end of August or beginning of September. Every rural community and region has its own *dożynki*, although the name of the festival might vary locally, as well as the objects involved in the old rituals that are conducted during the festival. These traditions have been passed from generation to generation, but the meaning altogether is the same. It is a rural festival with a very deep religious significance. Once it was celebrated by pagans, now by Christians. In Poland this celebration is linked to the Catholic Church nowadays, but it was not always like this, at least not on every level of social life.

In this article I will concentrate on the period of the strong communist government, the 1950s. It is a very interesting period; a few years after the terrible, devastating World War II began the period of rebuilding the country under the new government that represented a totally different system from what existed in Poland before the war. The new government criticised and moreover condemned the old system and those who represented it, but it could not reject or deny old customs, especially those cultivated in the countryside. Thus, the government had to adapt them and incorporate them into the new system. The festival of *dożynki* is one example.

By analyzing articles published in 1950-1959 in the nationwide daily newspaper *Trybuna Ludu* ("Tribune of Folk"), I shall present the way the Polish

communist government adjusted the festival of *dożynki* to the new reality. *Trybuna Ludu* was edited by *Komitet Centralny Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej* (KC PZPR)—the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party—during the period 1948-1990. The famous slogan of the newspaper was: "Proletarians of all countries unite!" Looking for a newspaper from those times being published in a different environment. I looked up *Tygodnik Powszechny* ("General Weekly")[1]—a Catholic socialcultural paper, which represented the ideology of the Catholic Church. I found there only a few official short notes on the central festival of *dożynki*.[2] Searching further, I came across the newspaper *Gromada. Rolnik Polski* ("Gromada[3] Polish Farmer"). This newspaper was a joint initiative of the newspaper *Gromada*, edited by the KC PZPR, and *Rolnik Polski*, edited by *Związek Samopomocy Chłopskiej* (ZSCh), the Peasants' Self-Help Association. It was published three times a week in the period 1952-1995 and its content was exactly like that of *Trybuna Ludu*. I finally found the weekly newspaper *Katolik* ("Catholic"), Opole[4] Sunday Print, the first number of which was issued at the end of December 1954,[5] and the last one in 1961, after which the name and editorial place were changed. It is not entirely free from the general ideology, but we can find there descriptions of the festival of *dożynki*, although by a different name, which differ from those in *Trybuna Ludu*. I shall refer to them in my conclusions.

I will start my paper by explaining the term *dożynki*. Here I also give examples of similar names in other Slavic languages. Following this I list other names for the harvest festival that were still known at the beginning of the 20th century. In the next part of the article I refer to the oldest Slavic description of rituals performed during the festival after harvest. Then I present the rituals performed in Poland during that festival at the turn of the 19th century, adding the information coming from earlier centuries. With this background, I move to the festival of *dożynki* in the 1950s. In order to express the atmosphere and the language of those times, while translating into English, I try to match Polish words with appropriate English words. Thus, I deliberately use the word "peasant" (Polish *chłop*) instead of "farmer" (Polish *rolnik*), because the communist government used such language. I describe the government as communist, as such a nomenclature is commonly known and applied to those times, but it must be highlighted that none of the Polish party organisations had in their names the word "communist". Nor did the government use that term referring to the system they created.

By giving detailed description of preparations and especially the rituals performed during the festival, as displayed in the articles in *Trybuna Ludu*, I show what kind of politics influenced the celebration of *dożynki* in those times.

1 Published 1945- at present.

2 See: *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 21.09.1952, p. 2 [col. *Z dnia* - "Of the day"]; 20.09.1953, p. 3 [col. *Wydarzenia* – "Events"]; 19.09.1954, p. 2 [col. *Wydarzenia* – "Events"]; 25.09.1955, p. 2 [col. *Wydarzenia* – "Events"].

3 The word *gromada* stands for an administration unit. It comprised few villages.

4 In the newspapers from 1958, numbers: 1-48, it covered issues from more districts than Opole, as it was indicated – Sunday Print: Opole, Katowice, Częstochowa.

5 It was the only number in that year; that is why 1955 is considered as the first year of publishing.

The Term *Dożynki*

The noun *dożynki* (pl) comes from the verb (infinitive) *dożynać*, meaning "to reap up" with a sickle, in this case wheat and rye (winter cereals).[6] As the final result of this action it means "to finish harvest", at least from the 18th century. In the 17th century there functioned the verb *żynać*, without the prefix *do*. Thus, the noun *dożynki* (rarely in singular as *dożynek*), also *dożynanie* (the noun meaning activity), means literally[7] "reapings up", and further,"rituals and feast after harvest". This name was in use from the 19th century; in the 18th century it was called *obżynki* ("reapings around") or *wyżynki* ("reapings out").[8] The word *dożynki* is also known, both as a verb and a noun, in other Slavic languages: Czech: *dožínati, dožínky, doženek*; Russian: *dožinátь, žinátь, dožínki*; Ukrainian: *dožynáty, dožýn*; Belarusian: *dažýnki*; Serbo-Croatian: *dòžinjati, dožnjévati, dožinjak*; Old Slavic: **žinati*.[9]

The name *dożynki* is not the only one used in Poland for the ceremony linked with harvest, however; *dożynki* and *okrężne* ("circuit") were the most popular, as stated by Polish philologist Jan Stanisław Bystroń (1860-1902), the author of a kind of a map of various names for *dożynki* in Poland. This was drawn in the second decade of the 20th century, when the Polish territory was still annexed by Austria, Prussia and Russia. It is important to remember this, because Bystroń refers to the administration division from that time.[10]

The name *okrężne* comes from the activity of going around the field and taking all crops. Primarily *okrężne* was used (at least in the region of the upper river of Narew) only for the feast organised after all works in the field were finished, including autumn sowing.[11] There were also less common names used for the festival of harvest such as *obżynek* (pl. *obżynki*, also written as *obrzynki*)—"reaping around"; *wyżynek* ("reaping out"); *zarzynek*/*zażynek* (pl *zarzynki*/*zażynki*)— "reaping up". There were also names that indicated the rituals performed during the festival. One of them was concerned with plaiting a wreath of cereal heads, hence the names *wieńcowiny*, *wieńcowe*, *wieńczyny* or simply *wieniec* ("wreath"). The other name was *pępek*, which came from a cluster or bunch of cereals or the last sheaf, *osiołek*.[12] Sometimes it was the name for the ceremony itself. A more direct connection with harvest we can see in the name *plon* ("crop"). The same can be said about the names *żniwne*, *dożniwki* and *żniwówka*. In Upper Silesia, for example in the district of Opole, the festival of *żniwniok* has been celebrated to the present day. The next three terms are also somehow linked with the harvest time, namely *tłuka*, *ograbek* and *dohrabki*. *Tłuka* comes from the verb *tłuc* ("to beat"),

6 Gloger 1867. 286.

7 All translations into English are done by the author of this article.

8 Sławski 1983. 159.

9 Sławski 1983. 159; Bańkowski 2000. 294; Bystroń 1916. 97.

10 Because the Polish borders were changed after World War II, many lands listed by Bystroń as Polish do not belong to Poland at present.

11 Gloger 1867. 286.

12 *Osiołek* in Polish literally means "little donkey".

which indicates the common work done at harvest. Two other names also refer to the works done at harvest. As the verb *grabić* means "to rake", so the noun *ograbek* would mean "rake around" and *dohrabki* (pl), "rakes up" ("finishing raking"). A strong German influence in the northwest of Poland is reflected in the following names: *sztopelgans* and *kranzbär*.[13] The first name is a polonized form of the German word *Stoppelgans*, meaning "a goose grazed on the stubble field after harvesting",[14] which would suggest that a goose was served as part of the meal at the harvest feast. The word *kranzbär* also has a connotation of harvest customs, as it means "wreath's bear". However, I could not find any further explanation for this term, especially what the bear may have to do with the wreath. I can only assume that it was a relic of a magical ritual, which was either to protect the crop or to offer thanks for fertility and/or to ensure fertility for the next year. This ritual would refer to the characteristics of the bear as perceived by the people.[15]

Bystroń noticed that the highlanders actually did not know *dożynki*, neither did they have other names for this festival. They did, however, organise a feast on the occasion of the end of the harvest, but it did not include any rituals. Near the villages of Rabka and Łopuszna, the people called it *hałdamas*. The word certainly is not Polish and it is hard to guess its meaning. The fact that the festival of *dożynki* was not known among the highlanders might have the following explanations: the highlanders were not indigenous Polish people; they inhabited their land relatively late; there were no manors which played a big role in the festival of *dożynki*; there were quite poor crops in those lands, so the harvest was not reason for celebration. There were, however, some traces of harvest rituals. One of them was called *baba*,[16] which was represented by the last sheaf of grain stuck on a stick. Another custom was an oat wreath, adorned with ribbons, hung over the door, discovered next to a picture of a German emperor's family in a very poor highlander's hut near Sucha Beskidzka. In the mountains of Silesian Beskidy, no harvest rituals were found, save a glass of vodka drunk while taking the last sheaf of corn (e.g., in Milików). Neither are harvest customs known in Slovakian lands.[17]

The Festival of *Dożynki*

The festival of the harvest, irrespective of its name, is an ancient festival celebrated by probably all people who cultivated land, including the Slavic groups. It is highly probable that the description of the ceremony performed in the 12th century in the temple of Arcona, among the Slavic tribe of Rugians, as provided by

13 Bystroń 1916. 96-100.

14 Stoppelgans 2013.

15 Kiersnowski 1990.

16 Disdainfully about woman. In the region of Pomoria the last cart of crops was called *baba*, especially important was "wheat *baba*" (Zadrożyńska 1985. 140).

17 Bystroń 1916. 99-102.

the Danish chronicler Saxo Grammaticus, is the oldest preserved description of a Slavic harvest festival. Even if Saxo does not mention the name of the festival, it is clear from the context that it had to be after harvest, as the leading priest of the ceremony, standing behind a kind of big, round bread, wished his people not to see him from behind the bread next year, which meant that he wished them more abundant crops next year. He also prophesied about good or bad crops for the next year by checking the *vinum* in the cornucopia held by the god Sventovit (a wooden statue), left there the year before. Saxo says that the ceremony was performed once a year.[18]

Concerning the festival of the harvest in Poland, researchers are not unanimous about its continuity from the old pagan times. Polish folklorist Zygmunt Gloger (1845-1910) was convinced about the continuity of this old festival; moreover, he was of the opinion that the Polish nation had the oldest and the most original agrarian customs of all Slavs. According to him, Prussian and Lithuanian tribes adopted harvest customs from the Polish tribe of Polan.[19] Julian Krzyżanowski (1892-1976), Polish historian of Polish literature, considered all theories linking the rituals of the festival of *dożynki*, as known in the 19th century, with pagan rituals of Slavs to be pure fantasies, as they are not supported by old sources.[20] Henryk Łowmiański (1898-1984), Polish medieval historian, confirms that although Church documents from the 12th to 15th centuries mention various pagan feasts and customs, there is nothing on the festival of the harvest as found in Saxo's document.[21] Andrzej Bańkowski, contemporary Polish etymologist, blames the Church for this situation. According to him, the Church uprooted the harvest festival before the 15th century.[22] This possibility could be considered, although it would be an interesting case if it happened only in Poland, as votive masses, during which crops were blessed (although without a specific day or name for the festival), were known in the Middle Ages in the Church. Later on during masses, special sermons were delivered.[23] For Aleksander Brückner (1856-1939), Polish historian and Slavist, it was hard to believe that finishing the most important agricultural "act" would not involve any symbolic rituals.[24] We find some traces in Polish literature from before the 19th century, although there is no consensus among the researchers on regarding them as proof for the existence of harvest rituals.[25] One of the documents is written by Jan Kochanowski, Polish poet from the 16th century. Although the title of the work, *Pieśń świętojańska o Sobótce* (*St. John's song about Midsummer Day's bonfire*), would suggest that we should expect in it relevance to the other festival and rituals, in the part sung by "Maiden VI" there are references to the harvest time and the rituals typical for

18 Saxonis Grammatici 1880. 565-566, lib. XIV, 11-25.
19 Gloger 1972. 30.
20 Krzyżanowski 1965. 87.
21 Łowmiański 1986. 234-235.
22 Bańkowski 2000. 294.
23 Arlik, Pisarzak 1985. col. 180.
24 Encyklopedia staropolska 1990. 234.
25 Krzyżanowski 1965. 87.

dożynki, like a "chosen host"[26] that will have "a wreath of ears" when all crops are taken from the field. Although there is nothing directly mentioned about the feast that the host usually had for reapers, what we know from later sources is that in the last two stanzas, the maiden sings about resting and guests are invited by the maiden, but it seems that she is speaking on behalf of the host.[27] I would argue with Krzyżanowski, who does not see in this song any connection with *dożynki*. He points to the fact that in the fifth stanza a scythe, not a sickle, is mentioned, which would suggest that that was the time for harvesting barley or oats (summer crops), not wheat (the winter crop), which was taken from the field at the end of harvest. Krzyżanowski, however, leaves out the fact that in the earlier stanza the maiden mentions the sickle, which is needed for the winter crops, and the order in which the crops are listed in the song does not correspond with the order of harvesting in reality. Krzyżanowski also suggests that the host received the wreath in the field, not at his mansion, which is not expressed in the song explicitly. Neither is his interpretation regarding the invited guests convincing, that they are his neighbours, not reapers.[28]

The oldest description of a festival of harvest in Poland, however, without mentioning a name or term for it, is ascribed to Polish writer Ignacy Krasicki, who placed it in his work, *Pan Podstoli* ("Mr. Podstoli"),[29] written in the second half of the 18th century. The ceremony took place around sunset. Singing reapers came to Mr. Podstoli's house, who together with his wife welcomed them standing in the porch. He was given a wreath made of crops' ears and was addressed by an old man. After that Mr. Podstoli gave a speech; he praised God for His protection, then thanked his subjects for "faithful work", promised to support them like a father, and finally invited them to a feast that he prepared for them in the courtyard. Mr. Podstoli sat at the table with the men, Mrs. Podstolina with women, the daughters of the hosts with maids, and the sons of the hosts with farmhands. Before they started to eat, they listened to a priest's preaching about "how to use God's gifts with gratitude and appropriate joy" and had the food blessed. There was music, singing and dancing till late at night. Mr. Podstoli asserted that the above custom was handed down unchanged from generation to generation and he "recommended" his children to keep it.[30]

A more detailed description of the festival of *dożynki* than that given above was presented by Gloger in the second half of the 19th century. Although he remarks that the customs he writes about regards the region of the upper river of Narew, he adds that these rituals are known in all of the country, although

26 The Polish word *gospodarz* can be translated into English as a "host", a "landlord" or a "farmer". It depends on the context. Here the most appropriate seems to be a "host", who in this case probably was a landlord.

27 Kochanowski 1955. 356-357.

28 Krzyżanowski 1965. 87.

29 In the old times *podstoli* was an administrator at the court. He represented (or substituted for) an administrator called *stolnik* (the noun coming from *stół* – "table") who was supervising the preparation and serving of the meal on the feast table. From the 14th to the 16th centuries he became an honourable land administrator.

30 Krasicki 1927. 90-91.

they might vary slightly. During harvesting the most important person was the *postatnica*[31], a female reaper who was the fastest person at work, and therefore it was she to whom the first field-bed was assigned, and she led the *postać,* the whole row of reapers in the field with crops which they occupied at work. It was *postatnica* whose privilege was to wear the wreath during the festival of harvest. The second fastest female reaper, called *postacianka*, took the second field-bed, next to the *postatnica*'s.

After the wheat was reaped and the harvest was finished, it was time for the main ceremony of *dożynki*. Still being in the field, on the day that the harvest was to be finished, reapers started to sing a long *dożynki* song, which consisted of two-line stanzas, with a refrain after each: *Plon niesiem, plon* ("Crop we are carrying, crop"). Very rarely a fourth line was added: *Do jegomości w dom* (To the landlord to his house). The content of the stanzas was linked to the harvest, to anything and anybody connected with it. The girls plaited the wreath and *równianka*. The wreath was plaited of ears of rye and field or garden flowers, and sometimes berries of viburnum, red apples and nuts were added. Sometime there was even a wheat cake or ginger bread placed on the top of the wreath. All these elements symbolized abundance of all kinds of fruit from the fields, gardens, apiary and forest.[32] If the wreath were made of rye, *równianka* was made of wheat, because both crops had to be used as a sign that the harvest of all the winter crops was finished. *Równianka* was of two different kinds. The first one, a bunch (cluster) of equal ears (hence the name from the verb "to equal", Polish *równać*), looked like a small broom. The second one consisted of three bunches of the first kind tied up with straw at the end of the stems, just before the ears begin. When the wreath and *równianka* were ready, the wreath was placed on the head of *postatnica*. She had to be an unmarried girl. If *postatnica* was a married woman or a widow, she had to give the place to an unmarried girl, who carried the wreath to the manor. *Postatnica* with *postacianka*, who carried *równianka* in her hand, led the whole crowd to the manor. At the gate to the courtyard, boys poured water on *postatnica* and her wreath to reflect the wish that the next year's crops would get enough rain and be plentiful.

The whole crowd, all the time singing, stopped in front of the porch, and here they sang about the landlords and their children. The landlords were either on the porch while the verses about them were sung or appeared there after the song was finished. After that either the landlord took the wreath off *postatnica*'s head or she gave it to him herself. She wished that the landlords stay in good health in order to celebrate the next year's harvest, and in turn she got a coin or coins. *Postacianka* gave the landlord *równianka*, for which she also received a coin[33]. They were hung

31 In other parts of Poland she might be called *przodownica* ("leader"), *postawnica* (from the noun *postawa* - "posture") or *postadnica.*

32 Gloger 1972. 31.

33 Adam Fischer (1934. 194) noted that in the regions of Wielkopolska and Mazowsze, instead of wreaths, people brought landlords clusters of crops which they called there *pępki* (sing *pępek*). In the districts of: Sandomierz, Radom and Lublin, *postatnica* was called *sternica.* The noun *sternica* probably comes from the verb *sterować* ("to steer").

in the manor and had to be kept there till they were replaced by the new ones the following year. It has to be added that seeds from the wreath and *równianka* were planted with the first sowing. The landlords invited the reapers to tables arranged in the courtyard. After the meal there were music and dancing, with the first dance performed by the landlord with *postatnica.* Because the feast very often lasted till dawn, the festival of *dożynki* was organised on Saturday. Gloger does not mention the priest and his blessing, but it is highly probable that such a ritual was present. At the time Gloger wrote about the festival of *dożynki*, one ritual was already disappearing, namely giving good wishes to the landlords by a village administrator on behalf of the whole community.[34] It is obvious that the most important ritual during the festival of harvest was making the wreath and handing it over to the landlord. The wreath was shaped as a crown. It was a symbol of the crops and the crowning of the whole year's work of the farmer.[35] The feast marking the end of the harvest was also organised on 15 August, the day of Lady in Harvest, in Polish called the day of God's Mother of Herbs (Mary's Assumption).

The Central *Dożynki* in *Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa* (PRL; Polish People's Republic) in the 1950s

The festival of *dożynki* was celebrated at the level of *gromada*/*gmina*[36], *poviat* and *województwo*[37] from around the middle of August until the beginning or the middle of September, always on Sunday. The central festival was the final and biggest celebration, the "coronation of commune celebrations."[38] While preparing and celebrating *dożynki* at lower levels of the administration division of the country, there were formed special committees which were responsible for the organisation of the festival in their territories. Such committees were appointed by ZSCh and consisted of representatives of local governments, political parties, social and youth organisations, Women's League, committee of peace defenders, agricultural works committees from *Państwowe Gospodarstwa Rolne* (PGR; State Farms), and production and commune cooperatives. The local festivals were also a kind of "general rehearsal" before the central celebration and an occasion for choosing the delegates, who were leaders in agricultural production, for the central

34 Gloger 1867. 275-285.

35 Gloger 1972. 31.

36 To see the celebration of *dożynki* in Trzebonowice in 1950 go to: http://www.repozytorium.fn.org.pl/?q=pl/node/5131.

37 Under the name "province" I understand the Polish administration unit of the highest level called *województwo* (pl *województwa*). *Województwo* comprises "poviats" (pl *powiaty*, sing *powiat*), poviat comprises "gminas" (pl *gminy*, sing *gmina*), gmina comprises few towns and/or villages. The mentioned above *gromada*, which replaced *gmina* in the period 1954-1973 was a bit smaller than the latter one. The term "region" is used in Poland usually when referring to geographical or historical parts of the country.

38 Rozpoczął się 1950. 2.

festival. In 1957 it was announced that the local *dożynki* depended on the decision of peasants. At that time there were 17 large administrative units in Poland[39], called *województwa*, , so there were 17 groups of delegates participating in the central festival. In 1956 among the delegates from *województwo* of Lublin were representatives of Ukrainians living there. Although it was theoretically an agricultural festival, the festival of the countryside, it was celebrated by all people, so that there were also delegates representing other work environments such as factory workers, railwaymen and soldiers. One article also mentions actors from the Poznań opera and professors from universities marching in the parade.[40] The intelligentsia were mentioned very rarely, and always it was stressed that they were the "working intelligentsia". It was very important to show that the united nation was participating in this festival.

There was also the central *Dożynki* Committee that was responsible for the central festival of harvest in Poland. In order to demonstrate achievements in agriculture, there were organised local[41] and central exhibitions, which displayed not only numbers and charts, but also goods, livestock and machines, including the newest models of Soviet combine harvesters, which worked in Polish fields. Numbers and charts displaying achievements of individual peasants, but especially of cooperatives, as well as of factory workers and their factories, were also carried during local and central parades in various forms, e.g., on banners, sashes on leaders and *dożynki* wreaths.

Much time was spent on preparing the artistic part of the celebration in which were involved folk bands[42] playing old Polish folk instruments, folk-dancing groups, schools, theatres, choirs, and orchestras, including miner's orchestras (very popular in the regions of Silesias) and philharmonic orchestras, as well as *Ludowe Zespoły Sportowe* (LZS; People's Sport Clubs). These clubs were mainly responsible for sport events. The programme consisted mainly of folk performances, including the presentation of old Polish harvest customs like "thief and *baby*[43]", "decoration of quail", "liberation of a young mower", and "disguisers". However, in 1950 in the town of Okocim was performed a stage adaptation: "We want peace!",[44] which referred to the Korean War which had already started. A special event took place in August 1955 during the 5th World's Festival of Youth and Students in Warszawa with one hundred delegates from all continents. The youth from the countryside from various countries presented a colourful *dożynki* performance. There were also special effects performed during the central festivals, like 5000 doves let go as the symbol of peace in 1951. In 1959, to mark the 15th anniversary of People's Poland, a large group of fifteen-year-old youths

39 I use a short form—Poland—and only when necessary for the context I use the form proper for the time I write about.

40 Kulak – Solska 1951. 3.

41 In 1957 the Central Committee decided that there would be no *powiat dożynki*, neither exhibitions on that level. This decision was made due to the high costs of the organisation.

42 In 1954 with a performance came the famous Bandurists' Band from Soviet Ukraine.

43 See the reference 9.

44 Mołdrzyk 1950b. 4.

marched in the parade. In 1954 the ceremony of the central *dożynki* in Lublin was transmitted on two channels of the Polish Radio, and in 1955 there was transmission from the ceremony in Warszawa.

From the earliest hours people gathered at a big square or a stadium in the chosen central festival city, with streets, shop-windows, and fronts of institutions decorated with flowers, national flags, and red (communist) and green (agriculture) banners. For a decade the city in which the central festival took place changed every year, but beginning in 1955 it was always in Warszawa.

There were always two important places in the city of the central celebrations: one where the main ceremonies took place, including handing over the central wreath and the speech of the host of *dożynki* (in the first years it was the President of Poland, then the Prime Minister or the I Secretary of Party), and the second, where the parade was welcomed by the host and honourable guests. Among the honourable guests were always foreign delegates. In 1950 it was a delegation from Soviet agricultural cooperatives; in 1951 there were groups of peasant delegates from France, Finland and Italy; in 1953, a delegation of peasants from the German Democratic Republic (GDR); in 1956, delegations from Great Britain, Sweden and Yugoslavia; in 1957, Mahavir Tyagi, chief activist of the Congress Party of India; in 1958, the president of the Bulgarian parliamentarian delegation; and in 1959, the Deputy Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs from the Kingdom of Cambodia and a delegation of Bulgarian peasants. So the central *dożynki* gathered thousands of people. It was estimated that in 1950 a hundred and fifty thousand peasants arrived in Lublin, and the same number gathered the next year in Poznań.

When the host and the guests (members of the government, communist party, other organisations, army, foreign delegates) took their seats in the bleachers reserved for honourable guests, they were welcomed usually by the foreman of the Chief Board of ZSCh, but in 1953 it was the Minister of Agriculture and in 1958, the president of the Chief Organising Committee of the Association of Agricultural Circles and Organisations. Then a huge central *dożynki* wreath was put in front of the bleachers, "danced around", and then the leading peasants reported on the achievements of the Polish village, giving thanks to the State for its help. Here could also be heard greetings from the peasant delegations from other countries, as well as the speech of the Marshal of the Army. Then the representatives of the peasants handed over the central wreath to the host[45] and traditional bread baked of the first crops was given[46]. The host thanked the representatives and invited them to take a place in the bleachers next to him. After that he gave a speech and sliced the bread. After his speech, sometimes there were occasional speeches, such as an appeal of the Polish peasants to the peasants in the whole world condemning "American magnates—enemies of mankind,

45 In 1951 on the top of the wreath was the symbolic six reminding the audience about the six-year economic plan that was then in the process of activation, and in 1954 there was the number ten indicating the 10th anniversary of the festival of *dożynki* in the free country.

46 In 1958, salt, honey in plasters and liquid, fruits and nuts were given.

imperialistic frauds"[47] from 1950. The speeches were followed by artistic, mainly folk performances, during which bunches of flowers and ears of cereals were thrown at the bleachers.

When this part was completed, the people marched through the city in a *dożynki* parade with charts displaying achievements of villages and groups of villages and portraits of workers' and peasants' leaders, as well as of Joseph Stalin, the President of Poland Bolesław Bierut and the Marshal of Poland Konstanty Rokossowski. Delegates participating in the parade often rode on carts on which they displayed the most magnificent vegetables and fruits they had managed to grow. At the end of the parade column were various agricultural machines, such as tractors, usually led by women. Very interesting elements of the parade were so-called "life scenes", which were performed by representatives of various professions, e.g., bricklayers building a house or smiths forging iron. When the parade reached the second main place of the ceremonies in the city, the host with the guests was already there welcoming the delegates from the seventeen *województwa* of Poland, from which they received the regional wreaths. The regions could be recognized by their wreaths; for instance, those from the region of the Baltic Sea were decorated with models of fishing boats and fishing nets; one from the district of Kraków had a miniature of a chimney of a great blast furnace from New Steelworks; on the wreath from the district of Katowice, a mining district, was a big hammer; the wreaths from the districts of Białystok and Olsztyn were plaited of flax; and the one from the district of Zielona Góra was interwoven with grapes.[48] Very often bunches of flowers or ears of cereals were given to the guests. With this, the official part of the ceremony ended and then parties in various parts of the city took place, as well many sports, games, airplane demonstration in the sky and fireworks. Such parades lasted four or five hours and could be tiring, especially for the peasants carrying their crops, and therefore the Central Committee decided that beginning in 1956 there would be no parade.[49]

During the celebrations there were frequently big cheers for "the great leader Generalissimus" Stalin, the President of Poland, the workers'-peasant alliance, the Peace, leaders at work, and in 1950 for Kim Ir-sen. Choirs and folk bands sang the old peasant revolutionary hymn *Gdy naród do boju...* ("When the nation burst with arms to the fight…").[50] Sometimes *The International* was sung, and always the national anthem.

47 Apel chłopów 1950. 1.

48 150 tysięcy chłopów 1951. 3.

49 Dożynki bez korowodu 1956. 1.

50 Also known as "March after 1831". It was probably written in 1831 or 1835 or 1848 by Gustav Ehrenberg. The text refers to the November Uprising in 1831, but also blames the magnates, nobles and clergy for loosing independency by Poland. To listen to it see www.youtube.com/watch?v=JLI4KgV1y8.

Political Ideology Contained in the *Dożynki* Speeches

The main, "neutral" reason for celebration of *dożynki* was thanks to all the peasants who had worked hard for the crops, although it was also added that the peasants would not have such achievements without the help of the factory workers, and moreover the State's help, which was always enumerated (more houses, improvement in health care, social welfare). In 1958 it was highlighted that "all achievements take their beginning in the resolutions of PZPR".[51] The other contributing factor in these achievements, always stressed, was the implementation of "great experiences of the leading Soviet agriculture".[52]

While presenting the achievements of small and middle-size farms, production cooperatives, State Farms, State and Cooperative Machine Centres (with the names given), it was also an occasion to remind the people and to demonstrate in numbers that the production cooperatives are more productive than individual farms, although it was always stressed that there was no compulsion to join cooperatives.[53] *Dożynki* very often were used as an occasion for opening a new cooperative[54], which was announced publicly. It was also stressed that one of the factors that had influence on the records of individual farms was competition at work. It is interesting that almost every year the crops were bigger than in the previous year; however, some speeches of the hosts of the central festivals contained critiques. Besides "hostile elements in the country and abroad", imperialistic propaganda in western radios, including the Vatican, and speculation, theft and drunkenness were condemned.[55]

Dożynki were an occasion to sum up the achievements of Polish agriculture (e.g., 1950 was the first year of the Six-Year Plan) and to show glorious achievements in the countryside, including the development of education and progress in technology. It was stressed that mechanization would bring improvement of the work conditions for women and would give them more time for education and cultural life. *Dożynki* in 1951 were an occasion not only to encourage the peasants to continue to raise agricultural production, but also to realize the plans of agricultural contracts and to sell the State,[56] even earlier than agreed, cereals.

Certainly the festival of *dożynki*, after the 1 May parades, was an excellent occasion to demonstrate that socialism (commonly called "communism") was the best possible system in the world. Of course, introducing and keeping this system would not be possible without support, without an alliance with other countries of folk democracy with the leading "invincible" country of socialism,

51 Dożynkowy wieniec 1958. 1.

52 Toczy się 1950. 2.

53 150 tysięcy chłopów 1951. 1; Podniesienie wydajności 1953. 1; W zespołowym gospodarowaniu 1958. 3.

54 There were also opened new sport grounds, libraries, schools, local wire broadcasting centres, bridges, etc. The last ones were build with the help of the Polish army.

55 Wytyczne nowej polityki 1957. 3.

56 In 1956 the I Secretary of KC PZPR Edward Ochab announced that from 1 January 1957 the obligatory delivery of milk would be abolished.

"the mainstay of peace", the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and its "great leader", "Standard-Bearer of Peace", "Generalissimus" Stalin.

The *Dożynki* parades were "manifestations of peasants fighting for durable peace and deepening workers'-peasant alliance". All this was very important, as it was to give strength to overcome various difficulties, also for the realization of the government's production plans, which were to proceed "in the atmosphere of aggravated class fight in the countryside".[57] According to the government, the fight with "greedy rich landlords", with "ignorance, backwardness, illiteracy", which were "the heritage of pre-war lordly Poland" was still going on.[58] This workers'-peasant alliance was strengthened by brotherhood with the People's Army. To underline the meaning of the socialist system, everything was called "people's", so there were also *Ludowe Zespoły Sportowe* (People's Sport Teams) that were praised and promoted during the festival.

There was always a reason for choosing a particular city to host the central festival. Thus, in 1950 (10 September) it was Lublin, the main city near Chełm, which was first liberated from German occupation and was therefore called "the first capital of liberated fatherland". It also represented one of the main agricultural regions of Poland.[59] In 1951 (9 September) the host city was Poznań, referred to as the old Polish city, chosen to underline the fact that the Polish lands, regained from Germans, were back in the fatherland. In 1952 (7 September) the festival was celebrated in Kraków, called the city of heroic fighters (especially Tadeusz Kościuszko), workers' case (Ludwik Waryński), the city in which the old and new traditions met (the building of a new steelworks had just begun).[60] That year was the 15th anniversary of the great peasants' strike and although it occurred throughout Poland, the strongest protests were in the region of Małopolska in and around Kraków. In 1952 *dożynki* were celebrated only a month after the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic was passed, and the peasants were to "express pride and joy"[61] because of this. That year the festival was also an occasion to mobilise peasants' support for the elections to Sejm (Polish Parliament). In 1953 (6 September), Szczecin was the city of the central celebrations. As in the case of Poznań, it was to remind the people that it was a very old Polish city, the history of which is connected with the first founders of the Polish state, the line of Piast. Choosing that city for the place of the central festival was to be "the answer for imperialists and their Adenauer-Nazi confederates".[62] This referred to Konrad Adenauer's policy—the remilitarization of Germany, the union of Germany, and not recognizing the border with Poland, which was set at the rivers of Odra and Lusatian Neisse. In 1954 (12 September), the host city of central *dożynki* was again Lublin, as it was the tenth anniversary of liberation of these lands. Beginning in

57 10 września 1950. 2

58 Toczy się 1950. 2.

59 Dostatni 1950. 4.

60 The day before the central *dożynki* a group of leading peasants (almost 1000) visited the steelworks and workers' housing estate. Among the guests was also Soviet consul Nikitin.

61 W Krakowie 1952. 1

62 Podniesienie wydajności 1953. 1.

1955 (18 September), and on 8 September 1956 and 1957, 7 September 1958, 6 September 1959) Warszawa, described as the heroic capital, was the host of the central *dożynki*. As was stressed in 1957, peasants themselves influenced the decision about the place of the central festival.

Current foreign political events were always referred to by the Polish communist government during *dożynki*. During the Korean war, which started in 1950 and lasted until 1953, America was described as an aggressor killing brave Korean patriots. "American magnates" were called "enemies of mankind", "imperialistic frauds", and those who wanted to set on fire the whole world.[63] Polish peasants and workers condemned Americans and demonstrated solidarity with and friendship for the Korean peasants and workers. They assured them that they were "in the same common front of peace, which under the leadership of an invincible country of socialism—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, under the leadership of the Standard-Bearer of Peace, Stalin—will lead to the victory of justice".[64] In 1951, the President of Poland, Bolesław Bierut, criticised the resolutions of the conference in San Francisco (from 8 September), which ended with the signing of the peace treaty with Japan, which the USSR and its allies opposed.[65] The people from the countryside were to protest against the remilitarization of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG).[66] In 1952 the delegates from Zielona Góra carried the Polish and GDR flags showing that "the present border joins them, not divides". They were welcomed with cheers: "Let live the border on Oder and Neisse!"[67] In 1954 a group from Szczecin carried the GDR flags and also two symbolic border posts. In 1953 the leading peasant, who reported to the host of *dożynki*, said that "the Polish peasant together with the working class will do the best to preserve forever our borders on Oder, Neisse and the Baltic",[68] and the host, Bolesław Bierut, in his speech assured the inviolability of the Regained Territories (in the western part of Poland), which was the response to Konrad Adenauer for not recognising the Polish-German border. In 1954 the host of the central *dożynki*, President of the Cabinet Józef Cyrankiewicz, stressed in his speech that democratic Germany was in the same camp with Poland and the border on the Oder and Neisse was the border of peace. He also referred to the peace in Korea and Indochina, as well as to the French proposition (27 May 1952) to create a European Defence Community (EDC), which eventually the French National Assembly refused to ratify on 30 August 1954.[69] In 1955 Józef Cyrankiewicz informed the audience with joy about the conference in Geneva, which brought international detente and the beginning of the normalization of relations between the USSR and FRG.[70] In 1958 Władysław Gomułka spoke

63 Apel chłopów 1950. 1.
64 Rozpoczął się 1950. 2.
65 150 tysięcy chłopów 1951. 1.
66 Od 19 bm 1951. 1.
67 100 tysięcy chłopów 1952. 1.
68 60 tysięcy delegatów 1953. 1.
69 Chłopi – współgospodarze 1954. 1.
70 Partia i rząd 1955. 1.

about imperialism that "provokes dangerous war tensions in various parts of the world, at present at the border of the Chinese People's Republic".[71]

The ideology was also expressed in slogans on banners. Here are some examples of it: "Production cooperation—the way to durable prosperity of the Polish village"; "More bread, fat and meat, more milk, sugar and fibre—this is our contribution to the Six-Year Plan"; "Following working class we develop movement of competition in the countryside"; "Let live great Stalin—the leader of the world camp of peace and socialism—the best friend of Poland";[72] "Go away with aggressive treaty on EDC!"; "We greet the defenders of peace in the whole world".[73]

Conclusions

In 1950 an announcement of the central festival appeared in *Trybuna Ludu* as early as 12 August. It is noteworthy that in the first years of the 1950s there were quite numerous notes and articles on local and central *dożynki* in *Trybuna Ludu* compared with the second half of the decade, which could be explained by the hard years immediately after the war and the government's being occupied more with the country than with foreign affairs, although the latter were always present in the newspaper. The announcements always gave the main ideological headwords that appeared in the speeches given by the hosts of the central *dożynki*, as well as during local festivals. Reading these newspapers gives one the feeling that the same text was given as a directive to all newspapers, which had to publish it in the "prescribed" form. Very important were also notes about the information on Polish *dożynki* in the Soviet press, for instance in the newspapers: *Правда* ("Truth"), *Известия* ("News"), and *Труд* ("Toil").[74]

The central festival of the harvest, besides the celebrations of the Day of 1 May, was a kind of show, the purpose of which was to prove that the prevailing system had the support of the entire nation. It was also an occasion to remind the people that Poland was liberated thanks to the brotherly Soviet Army and could feel safe because it belonged to the camp of democratic countries, together with the Chinese People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the best friend of Poland.

It was certainly a great event for the leaders of agricultural and factory production, who were always called by name with their achievements announced in public during both the local[75] and central festivals. During the local festivals they received *dożynki* wreaths. Shaking hands with the host of *dożynki* and being invited to sit in the bleachers next to him was a great honour for an ordinary worker and farmer. The leaders at work were recognised on the local level but

71 W zespołowym gospodarowaniu 1958. 3.
72 Obchody dożynkowe 1950. 2.
73 Chłopi – współgospodarze 1954. 3.
74 Prasa radziecka 1950. 1.
75 Mołdrzyk 1950a. 2.

also on the central level; in the latter usually by the President of Poland or the I Secretary of KC PZPR. This ceremony took place shortly before the central *dożynki* or immediately after the official part of the festival. In 1952, the president received the leaders in the Wawel Castle in Kraków, which has a special place in the history of Poland because Wawel was a seat of the Polish kings when Kraków was a capital of Poland.[76] Such a distinction was certainly an incentive for people to work harder and gave them a feeling of self-fulfilment.

On the one hand, the government boasted about the achievements of the People's Polish Republic, but on the other hand, to enhance the nation's achievements and as a contrast to them, the old times were always remembered, the times of oppression and poverty under the landlords' and capitalists' rules before World War II. To support the criticism of that system there were also delegates of farmers from capitalist countries who spoke about their misery in their countries.

To show that the festival of harvest in the new Poland was rooted in the old folk tradition, the communist government used the same pattern of the ceremony (excluding any Church rituals or even mentioning this institution), as it was known from the old times, but adjusted to the new reality[77]. Thus, the host who received and gave gifts was a representative of the communist authority (government, party) and the leaders at work in the countryside, not of landlords.[78] It was stressed that there was a link between the present *dożynki* and the old folk traditions, which was seen in folk songs and colourful folk costumes, especially maintained by circles of country women.[79] The folk song *Plon niesiemy plon!* "although based on traditional motifs, reflected the best new thoughts, new endeavours of the peasants, who worked in production cooperatives".[80] For instance, one of the lines of the song was as follows: "We are carrying gifts from the lands of Opole for People's for Fatherland".[81] The Prime Minister Józef Cyrankiewicz put it this way: "*Dożynki*, it is the old festival of the reapers. And at the same time, how different, how new in People's Poland today, Poland ruled and built by workers and peasants".[82] Of the same significance were the words of the President of Poland, Bolesław Bierut, in his speech: "Magnificent and colourful are Polish *dożynki* parades, but only in People's Poland they have become a joyful festival of millions of working masses, both in the countryside and in cities".[83] During the local *dożynki* in Opole in 1959 the Member of Parliament Józef Baron reminded the audience about the times when this traditional festival was also an occasion for a great manifestation of Polishness.[84] It could be understood twofold: as the

76 Warsaw became a new capital of Poland in the 17th century.

77 It is worth to notice that the communist government did not revived the pre-war custom of celebrating so called "presidential *dożynki*", which was introduced by President of Poland Ignacy Mościcki in 1927 and ceased with World War II.

78 Kania 1952. 3.

79 W przededniu dożynek 1958. 5.

80 Dawidowicz 1950. 4.

81 Report 1957. 9.

82 Toczy się 1950. 2.

83 150 tysięcy chłopów 1951. 1; Sojusz robotniczo-chłopski 1952. 1.

84 Święto plonów 1959. 3.

reference to the Polishness of regained western lands or to the Silesian uprisings in which people opted for Polishness.

We know that in the countryside there were still organised traditional processions of village people going from farmhouse to farmhouse and giving their owners *dożynki* wreaths.[85] There were also songs sung about the harvest and people connected with it. Once these were landlords and other nobles, but in the Polish People's Republic they were local authorities, mainly co-operating with the communist party. One of the folk songs sung in the village of Godzianów (district of Skierniewice) began with the words taken from the prayer "Our Father", "The daily bread...", but as the author of an article noticed, "man does not live only on bread", so the people demanded more lard and meat. They also pointed out the weak sides of local authorities.[86]

As we can see, there were no "Church accents" in the celebration of official *dożynki*, although it was very interesting to find the following expression in the speech of the I Secretary of KC PZPR Władysław Gomułka: "God [be] with you!" given as the contemptuous answer to those who did not like the idea of cooperatives.[87] Relying only on the communist media, one could get a picture of a totally secular Poland and her people, but it would not be true. Although the communist government did everything it could to draw people away from the Church and God, it proved futile. "Katolik" is one of the newspapers which supplies numerous examples of this. The traditional *żniwiok*, as *dożynki* were called in the region of Opole, always began with a solemn mass in the church,[88] where thanks were given God for His blessings of the farmers' work.[89] During the mass, *dożynki* wreaths were put at the altar and blessed by the priest[90]. In Grudzice (district of Opole), before people marched to the stadium where the local authorities awaited the parade, all people gathered at the farmhouse of the honourable farmer and sang one of the so-called "God songs". It could be *Serdeczna Matko* ("Cordial Mother") or *Boże z Twoich rąk żyjemy*) "God we live by your hands".[91]

According to the communist ideology, as represented by the communist government in Poland, the socialist system they created was a *societas perfecta*. Thus, referring to the dichotomy (*sacrum-profanum*) presented by Émile Durkheim (in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*) or Mircea Eliade (in *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*), the communist political institutions were to be seen as *sacrum* and anything that would dare to oppose them as *profanum*. This *sacrum* needed affirmation: homage had to be paid, so a ritual set had to be created. As Andrzej Flis noted,[92] the party's monopoly could "only be main-

85 Chłopi obchodzą 1959. 1.
86 Dożynki w Godzianowie 1959. 4.
87 Nie szczędźmy sił 1959. 3.
88 Podziękowanie za żniwa 1958. 2.
89 Wilczek 1955. 2.
90 Zwieźliśmy plon 1957. 1. After World War II, a new custom was introduced, namely making wreaths of corns in a shape of religious emblems or pictures, sometimes models of a church or a chapel. (Arlik, Pisarzak 1985. col. 181)
91 Niedźbała 1958. 7.
92 Flis 1988. 51-52.

tained in the long run by a religious or quasi-religious form of legitimation", so ritualization of political behaviour was indispensable. The other reason for this was the necessity "to present fiction as if it were reality" in order to justify the ruling of the communist leaders, as this "reality" could "only exist as long as the ritual behaviour that creates it continues to be played out". Flis argued that "the all-embracing ritualization of political behaviour becomes the only way by which the communist system can exist". Hence the ideological reality had to be continuously presented to the people in the sphere of public life. Ideological symbols, songs, banners, poetry, flags, slogans, and marches were essential in the ritualization of political behaviour, as "they represented the only socialist reality in communist states".

The festival of *dożynki* was an ideal festivity to be included in the ritualization of political behaviour. The festival was a perfect occasion for a match of old, folk, sacralised rituals with communist ideology. The pattern, time, roles and symbols were taken from the old ceremony and adapted to the new ideology, so that they, together with the people, were to serve the new state, the new "ideal" system. Despite the communist government's endeavours to strip the old festival of its prime sacral meaning and appropriate it to the party's own purposes, people remained faithful to the old tradition, even if they participated in the official gatherings because they were forced to do it.

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Chłopi – współgospodarze Ludowej Ojczyzny radośnie obchodzili ogólnopolskie dożynki w Lublinie. [Peasants – co-managers of People's Fatherland celebrated all-Polish dożynki in Lublin] *Trybuna Ludu*, September 14. 1954. 1, 3.

Dożynki bez korowodu [Dożynki without parade] *Trybuna Ludu,* September 06. 1956. 1.

Dożynki w Godzianowie [Dożynki in Godzianów] *Gromada. Rolnik Polski*, September 09.1959. 4.

Dożynkowy wieniec na Stadionie X-lecia [The dożynki wreath at the Stadium of the Tenth Anniversary] *Trybuna Ludu*, September 08.1958. 1.

Nie szczędźmy sił, aby podnieść polskie rolnictwo do wysokości potrzeb narodu. [Let us spare no strength in order to raise the Polish agriculture to extent of the needs of the nation] *Trybuna Ludu*, September 04.1959. 3.

Obchody dożynkowe przeglądem osiągnięć ludności pracującej wsi. [Celebrations of *dożynki* - an overview of achievements of the working people of the countryside] *Trybuna Ludu*, August 30. 1950. 2.

Od 19 bm. do 2 września obchody dożynkowe w całym kraju. Ogólnopolskie dożynki 9 września w Poznaniu. [From 19 this month till 2 September – celebrations of dożynki in all country. All-Polish dożynki on 9 September in Poznań] *Trybuna Ludu*, August 18. 1951. 1.

Partia i rząd pozdrawiają całą polską wieś. [The party and government are greeting the all Polish countryside] *Trybuna Ludu*, September 20.1955. 1, 3.

Podniesienie wydajności rolnictwa sprawą ogólnonarodową wspólnym zadaniem robotników i chłopów złączonych braterskim sojuszem. [Raising productivity of agriculture – the nationwide case, common task of the workers and peasants joined with brotherly alliance] *Trybuna Ludu*, September 07.1953. 1.

Podziękowanie za żniwa w Raszowej. [Thankgiving for the harvest in Raszowa] *Katolik*, September 28.1958. 2.

Prasa radziecka o święcie dożynek w Polsce. [Soviet press about the festival of dożynki in Poland] *Trybuna Ludu*, September 14. 1950. 1.

Rozpoczął się okres dożynek. [The period of dożynki has started] Trybuna Ludu, August 17.1950. 2.

Sojusz robotniczo-chłopski trzonem Frontu Narodowego podstawą wszytskich naszych osiągnięć [Workers-peasant alliance – pivot of the National Front, basis of all our achievements] *Trybuna Ludu*, September 09. 1952. 1.

Stoppelgans, 2013, Enzyklo online, www.enzyklo.de/suche.php?woord=Stoppelgans [retrieved: 27.02.2013].

Święto plonów na Opolszczyźnie. [The Festival of harvest in the region of Opole] *Katolik*, September 13. 1959. 3.

Toczy się zwycięska walka o przebudowę wsi polskiej – Cały naród dzieli radość rolnika z plonów [It is going on a victorious fight for rebuilding of the Polish village – All nation shares in the joy of the peasant at the crops] *Trybuna Ludu*, September 12.1950. 2.

"Tygodnik Powszechny", 21.09.1952, p. 2 [col. *Z dnia* – "Of the day"]; 20.09.1953, p. 3 [col. *Wydarzenia* - "Events"]; 19.09.1954, p. 2 [col. *Wydarzenia* – "Events"]; 25.09.1955, p. 2 [col. *Wydarzenia* - "Events"].

W Krakowie przodujący chłopi całego kraju obchodzą uroczystość dożynek. [In Kraków the leading peasants from the all country celebrate the festival of dożynki] *Trybuna Ludu*, September 08. 1952. 1.

W przededniu dożynek. [The day before dożynki] *Katolik,* August 10. 1958. 5.

W zespołowym gospodarowaniu – przyszłość wsi polskiej. [In collective farming – the future of the Polish village] *Trybuna Ludu*, September 09. 1958. 3.

Wytyczne nowej polityki rolnej są i będą nadal konsekwentnie wcielane w życie. [Directives of new agricultural policy are and still will be consequently realised] *Trybuna Ludu*, September 10. 1957. 3.

Zwieźliśmy plon. [We have got the crops] *Katolik*, September 15. 1957. 1.

POLITICAL 'CREATURES':

THE LILY-OF-THE-VALLEY FESTIVAL IN RAMBOUILLET, FRANCE

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Abstract: There are many festive events associated with particular flowers in France, among the most pervasive being the association of the lily-of-the-valley (*Convallaria majalis*) with May Day and maying customs. This entails a relationship with official policies and politics on both the national and the local level. The town of Rambouillet is a case in point, with its Lily-of-the-Valley Festival, founded officially in 1906. In today's world, a festival may lead rather a crowded life among many other offerings and the interaction of politics, policies and the many people who work to create and perpetuate it provides us with a glimpse of the interweaving of the festive and the political.

Keywords: lily-of-the-valley, *Convallaria majalis*, maying, politics, festival, France, Rambouillet

A Festival in its Home

The Lily-of-the-Valley Festival in Rambouillet, France, is an invention, and a relatively well documented one, held in mid-May, since this is the season when *Convallaria majalis L.* is in flower in the northern half of France, where the lily-of-the-valley thrives in moist forest conditions, typical of the State-owned forest of Rambouillet. The presence of the forest is an integral facet of the identity of the town for many of its inhabitants and is often evoked in conversation or interviews. Rambouillet's castle was until recently the official presidential second home, and hosted both the 1959 De Gaulle-Adenauer talks preceding the Elysée Treaty and the 1999 negotiations over Kosovo, a convenient location, as the town is located west-southwest of Paris, half way between the capitol and Chartres. This is far enough away to provide for at times quite independent initiative, although one might also say that any town this close to the capitol may be doomed to living in the shadow of the City of Light.

The Lily-of-the-Valley Festival consists of the "round" of planning and events over the calendar year including the Nuit du Muguet ball in January to select the Queen (Reine du Muguet) and her two Dauphines. Over the years, this "Fête du Muguet" has come to fit into a series of diverse festivities that today include a spring festival, a hunt festival, highly popular antiques fairs, a funfair at the Quasimodo, the classic French holiday of Bastille Day on the 14th of July, as well as varied cultural events ranging from hip-hop contests to choir meetings, and

the well-attended biennial autumn Saint Lubin Festival, all of which may crowd around the Fête and perhaps give it more company than it might need.

The timing of the Fête du Muguet may resemble a juggling act. The month of May in France at times includes the spring schools break and Christian holidays such as Easter, Ascension, Whitsun and Pentecost. The FM has traditionally been held in mid-May, after the Saints de Glace days, 11-13 May, when the weather is said to turn towards the milder and the lily-of-the-valley should be in flower. 2013 saw an early warm spell in February, then a wave of very cool weather and some suspense, as the wild lily-of-the-valley to decorate the parade floats just was flowering.

This both allies the Fête du Muguet in Rambouillet with May Day, when commercial lily-of-the-valley is massively utilised in festive practice on and closely around that date, and sets it apart from May 1st, since the flower is not "offered" in the same way at all in the Rambouillet festival.[1] It most certainly is "ritual" in the deepest etymological sense of "ordering" community life, and is set into the "life of the city", the polis, with a special place in the social fabric and cohesion, although the term "festive" is used here, only one interviewee having as yet referred to "ritual".[2] Political is taken in the broad sense of including both politics and policies, the latter of which can be the lifeblood of a festival or sound its death knell, underwriting a nuanced spectrum of intervention and non-intervention. It is often said that French people love tradition and hate rules, and the *muguet* customs may well be a good illustration of this, as regards popular custom, since people speak very often of tradition.

As an example of this, May Day is the only day in the calendar year when it is "legally tolerated" (an interesting expression in itself) to sell an item in the street – wild, hand-gathered lily-of-the-valley. "Sale of lily-of-the-valley on the public thoroughfare by individuals the First of May is related to an allowed tolerance on the part of local authorities in conformity to a long *tradition*" [my italics].[3] Law is one thing, implementation is entirely another and may be highly variable on the ground. Neighbouring communities or even boroughs may handle the issue in strikingly different ways, the one insisting on unadorned, unwrapped sprigs, the other allowing all embellishment, yet another going so far as to confiscate sellers' flowers, so this leaves considerable leeway for local actors and local policies to work.

This is a good reason to take a glance at the full cast of actors around the Fête du Muguet in the Rambouillet polis, only a few of whom it will be possible to listen to here, as this is an ongoing inquiry. In earlier years, the Army and Republican Guard played an important role, but their presence in Rambouillet has

1 For more general lily-of-the-valley customs, see Griffin-Kremer 2009.

2 Ernoult et Meillet 2001. 574.

3 "La vente du muguet sur la voie publique par les particuliers le 1er mai s'apparente à une tolérance admise à titre exceptionnel de la part des autorités locales conformément à une longue tradition." Source: Service publique, le site officiel de l'administration française, http://www.service-public.fr/actualites/00837.html, "La vente du muguet sur la voie publique le 1er Mai: quelle réglementation?", *Publié le 19.04.2013 - Direction de l'information légale et administrative (Premier ministre)*

been much diminished. This leaves the police and the Sub-Prefect, an appointed official, as the town is a Sub-Prefecture. Media communication is undertaken by the local newspapers and town hall magazine, as well as by posters and programmes, and the painted shop windows by local artists. Entertainment is provided by voluntary or hired groups including the funfair professionals, musicians, and the fireworks display experts. Local associations contribute greatly, with the elaborate floats for the parade with the Queen and her Dauphines, whose candidacies are entirely the responsibility of associations, not always the same as for the floats. The Catholic Church is an actor in one event on the Sunday morning when the "Royals" are welcomed to a mass, along with the mayor (also a Member of Parliament), regional councillors and sub-prefect. What these actors have to say is rich in nuance about the relations between the political, the festive and the ritual, or how all this orders the city.

Conversations with Actors

Among the "media" actors is the communication agency, CaféNoir (BlackCoffee), who put out the trimestrial town information magazine called *Rambouillet Infos*. According to Mr. Bertrand Le Corre, *Rambouillet Infos* magazine is regarded by the agency and the town hall as a "public" document that "stays on the table", attractive enough to be left on coffee tables or in the waiting rooms of, for example, a doctor's office. Hence, it is felt to be particularly dedicated to conveying an image of the town as the town hall conceives of it and he said explicitly that this conception is of a "ville bourgeoise" (a bourgeois town). In the era of political correctness, this statement might appear somewhat surprising, but it comes up repeatedly in casual conversations, as well as in an interview situation.[4]

This issue of the magazine arrived in late February, 2013, nearly three full months before the Fête du Muguet.[5] Mr. Le Corre emphasized the close contact between the agency and the town hall advisor, Madame Crozier, in matters of the Fête du Muguet. She wanted to make sure there was a very fine cover about the festival well before the appointed date, as well as a two-page article immediately after the Mayor's editorial. According to Monsieur Le Corre, the essentials of what the town hall wanted were clear: a cover that would be a "synthesis" of the identity of Rambouillet as a bourgeois town, hence presentation of this year's theme of carnavals, in the plural, with Venice as a particular model, with its traditions of elegant and aristocratic costumes, nonetheless with at least tacit references to northern Europe and the carnavals held in Belgium or even South America. Above all, the cover was to convey a sense that this could all be in Rambouillet, "a presidential and royal town" (referring to the castle's past occupants or users). The "winning" visual for both the festival posters and the cover

4 Interview with Mr. Bertrand Le Corre in the CaféNoir offices on 8 April 2013.
5 Rambouillet Infos (magazine), Printemps 2013, N° 246.

combined a Venitian-like mask with emphasis on floral disguise, the muguet being accorded pride of place on the cover literally facing the mask.

The lady often called "Madame Muguet" in Rambouillet, who handles most of the coordinating and planning for the Muguet Festival is Madame Joëlle Crozier.[6] She is the town councillor in charge of "Association Life and Festivals" and is deeply committed to making both the *muguet* event and the biennial September festival called the Saint Lubin work, as well as remain popular. One of her basic tenets is participation, as she pointed out to me, which is clearly stated in the *Rambouillet Infos* article on the Muguet Festival, with the opening lines "A wolf, a mask, a necklace of flowers, a striking disguise… Use your imagination and take part in this grand parade of lily-of-the-valley by bringing your own personal touch."[7] It is worth noting that one of the most emphasised and evidently popular elements of the Saint Lubin Festival is disguise linked to a particular historical period.

She feels this idea of a theme as a guiding principle in the Muguet Festival is among her most important accomplishments in regard to both events: "a theme and a red thread (*un fil rouge*), that should carry throughout the event, from first to last, from the election of the Queen to the Festival." Commenting upon the observation she had often heard that the floats in particular had once been more magnificent, she said it was no longer possible to have "pharaonic floats" and that one must accept moving with the times, ours being a period when people simply had less time, as well as being "consumers of other things", rather than devoting hours of work to a float. This brought up an important point in relation to what Monsieur Le Corre had said about her wish to have the *Rambouillet Infos* image of the Muguet Festival express the fact that it was a "bourgeois town". She said of the float-makers: "it used to be that these people were manuals, absolutely without any pejorative value," and that consequently they knew how to design and build material objects. In most cases, the people currently working on floats are no longer drawn from a manually skilled trade.

The concern with strong support for the float parade goes hand in hand for her with trying to keep all generations interested in the festival and this includes allowing people whose float-making skills are visibly lesser than the old hands to have their own floats anyway, most especially the younger people. The first thing she did, when she took over organising the festival, was to do away with the bands (*fanfares*) that were once a staple of the musical offerings, because "it doesn't attract young people". Of course, this did not include one of the historical pillars of the festival, the Rambouillet Musical Society. She also opted not to encourage the participation of majorette groups, who had been a staple of the event and the reaction to this has not gone unrecorded. An article in the local weekly newspaper notes the well-known Houdan majorettes regret no longer

6 Interviewed in her office in the town hall on 26 April 2013.
7 Rambouillet Infos, Printemps 2013, N° 246. 4.

being a part of the Rambouillet fête, seemingly within a more general downward trend in popularity of the genre, although they hope this is but a passing fashion.[8]

She has adopted the September Saint Lubin Festival with great enthusiasm and reacted quite firmly, when I asked the possibly delicate question of whether it might be providing more competition to the Muguet Festival than the latter could absorb. She replied that she managed both of them and deals with that in entirely different ways, the *muguet* event revolving around the association element, so "always the same rhythm, the same ritual – the mass, the hounds, no surprises, the surprise is the diversity". The timing is different, since the Saint Lubin is once every two years, each time with a totally different historical period as theme and the foundation of that is the "comices agricoles", the important agricultural shows Rambouillet was once the venue for. More effective organisation included the principle that competition should extend to aspects of the festivals that had not been treated in this manner before her and which she emphasised was the "legal" way for a town hall to operate: tendering bids for the Fête du Muguet fireworks displays, for example, and taking the best-quality, most cost-effective candidate, which she stresses should produce emulation, as well.

When asked how she saw the question of continuity in relation to the Muguet Festival, she replied with "of course, there is the crisis, and people need a safety valve (*soupape*); big popular festivals provide a time to dream in, you can get away and it works. The real credo with the Mayor, is that it's a festival for everybody, accessible for everybody."

The Mayor, Monsieur Gérard Larcher, is well known for his commitment to the Lily-of-the-Valley Festival, but this engagement extends to the other local politicians, such as Madame Christine Boutin, who is the Rambouillet representative on the Yvelines *département*[9] General Council. She has been active in the Council General of the Yvelines for the *canton* of Rambouillet since 1982, then assistant mayor (*adjointe*) of Rambouillet from 1983 on. She participates in the Fête du Muguet every year and has quite definite ideas about it.[10] These include it being a source of social cohesion and she proposes that one of its major functions – she qualified this as its "justification" – was firmly anchoring the city in the Forest of Rambouillet. She quite enjoys giving you the gift of a counter opinion in exchange for even a tentative opinion, so when I proposed that the founding constellation in 1906 of mayor, aristocrat and shopkeepers had recently come to lack the formerly stout support of the present-day shopkeepers,[11] she came back with

8 Les Nouvelles de Rambouillet, mercredi 15 mai 2013, N° 3412, p. 26 (in the section on the smaller towns, from Montfort to Houdan)

9 A *département* is an administrative territory run by a *commissaire* of the Republic and a General Council. See the very rich Wikipedia presentation on the Yvelines at http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yvelines and the official website for the Conseil Général des Yvelines at http://www.yvelines.fr/ . Also see the official Parliamentary website (Assemblée Nationale) for Madame Boutin's political itinerary, as she was a Member of Parliament until 2012: http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/13/tribun/fiches_id/632.asp. She is also the President of the Parti Chrétien Démocrate, http://lepcd.fr/organigramme-du-parti-chretien-democrate, all references accessed 21 April 2013.

10 Interview 19 April 2013 in her office in Rambouillet.

11 See Griffin-Kremer 2011. 78.

another suggestion – that one of the major elements now missing was the Army. In fact, Rambouillet has lost much of the very visible and active presence of the Armée de Terre (Land Army) over the last fifteen years, either amalgamated with other units or outright dissolved by the invention of new structures.[12] For her, the Army's presence represented an important sense of tradition in the townspeople's self-perception. This element would have been one of three major axes in the festival: the military, the hunt (recalling the huntress, the Duchesse d'Uzes, the festival's aristocratic co-founder), and the lily-of-the-valley, the flower being the only survivor.

When I mentioned that what had attracted me first to the Fête du Muguet was the astounding hand and head work to be seen in the floats of the "corso fleuri", the term for the float parade that takes place on the Sunday afternoon of the festival, Madame Boutin immediately recommended an interview with her assistant, Madame Marie-Josée Le Nagard, who is also an assistant mayor in charge of relations with citizens and the handicapped in the Rambouillet town hall. Madame Le Nagard provides us with a smooth transition to the hands-on work aspect of the festival, since she participated in the float-building, when she was in the town's Technical Services, being what she described as a "petite main" (sempstress, as contrasted with the couturier or couturière), that is, a helper rather than a designer. She mentioned an interesting earlier interweaving of the political and the personal in the festival: the float *muguet* was once gathered on the private property of the former mayor (from 1947 to 1983), Madame Jacqueline Thome-Patenôtre, in the Clairefontaine neighbourhood.

Madame Le Nagard's most vivid memories were of the 1970s, when there was a Europe N°1 television channel podium on the train station square with famous entertainers invited. She sees the Muguet Festival as having two quite separate aspects: the funfair (*fête foraine*) and the lily-of-the-valley parade (*défilé du muguet*). To the specific question of whether she found the Fête du Muguet *populaire,* she replied "it is a very popular festival, touching all the neighborhoods" and nuanced this with "it's the fête of Rambouillet, popular in the noble sense", since *populaire* can mean both well-liked – rather a more recent meaning – and also plebeian, of the people.[13]

As regards the Saint Lubin event every two years in September, she pointed out a tangible difference with the Lily-of-the-Valley Festival in that the Fête de la Saint Lubin "attracts a class above. There is no funfair (*fête foraine*), so it's not at all the same thing. It doesn't attract the same people (*population*), it's higher. There is straw put out in the streets, the stands for handcrafts and trades (*artisanat*) from

12 Wikipedia "501e régiment de chars de combat" (the 501st Regiment of Combat Tanks), resident in Rambouillet from 1946 to 2010 http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/501e_r%C3%A9giment_de_chars_de_combat#De_1945_.C3.A0_nos_jours The Commisariat de l'Armée de Terre (Commisariat of the Land Army) was dissolved in 2009 and part of its duties taken over by the Service du Commisariat des Armées in 2010. http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commissariat_de_l'arm%C3%A9e_de_terre, both accessed 21 April 2013.

13 See the 1994 update of the 1967 *Le Petit Robert* dictionary that speaks only of "being of, for, by, from and appropriate to the *peuple*," which has the connotation in French of being opposite to the upper or governing classes, says the same source.

old times, it's another style of festival". As for the equally visible decline in participation of the shops for the Fête du Muguet, only a few of which have retained the painted window décor, she agreed and notes the shopkeepers are more motivated by the Saint Lubin Festival, when they do far more business.

Madame Le Nagard is a direct bridge between the political, being an assistant mayor, and the festive, having once taken part in the float work. Most people who actively participate in the Fête du Muguet are on one side or the other, so to speak, and this is true of the band, the Société Musicale de Rambouillet or SMR, founded in 1870, and that has been a mainstay of the festival since its beginnings.[14] Actual mediation between the town hall and the festival participants is generally handled by Madame Crozier, although the musicians do have some contact with the organisers and are consulted, especially in the case of the SMR through their President, Monsieur Bernard Marillia, who is a tenor saxophonist in the group.

Mr. Marillia is retired, but is Honorary Director of the Banque de France and a member of Forex International, as well as holding the Legion of Honour. This means he is rather experienced in conversational exchanges about a target subject that might call for discretion or a nearly invisible guiding hand. He is also a storyteller of the first order and led the interview with him on 3 May, 2013, having structured it according to the SMR program of involvement in the FM: the Saturday evening concert in the park at the "Rondeau" (the articifical lake with one oval end where the podium is set up to receive the Queen and Dauphines after the SMR concert), the Sunday procession from the central town square up to the church, then back down again to the Roi de Rome Garden, for the before-lunch outdoors champagne reception and, finally, their leading place in the float parade. In the twenty years since he has been participating, the musical offering and the fireworks display have had to be cancelled due to inclement weather three times, a reminder that the weather is an important fact of life in the success of the Fête du Muguet. He is invited to the preparatory meetings for organisation of the festival, which the mayor always attends. And it is here that one feels the threads of the political and the festive touching quite tangibly.

According to Monsieur Marillia, Monsieur Larcher is an enthuiastic hunter and hence likes to grant a privileged place in the festival to the hunting horn group from the nearby, smaller town of Les Bonnelles.[15] When Monsieur Marillia suggested during a preparation meeting that this year the SMR depart from their customary uniforms – not for the Saturday evening concert or the Sunday morning procession to mass at church – but that they wear whatever they want as long as it is the most colourful possible for the float parade, Monsieur Larcher reacted with enthusiasm. This reminds us that Madame Crozier's by-words were renewal and innovation, in line with helping the Fête du Muguet to "evolve" with

14 Société Musical de Rambouillet website: http://smr-rambouillet.fr/presentations/presentation/, accessed 21 May 2013

15 Called officially Le réveil de Bonnelles, see http://www.mairie-bonnelles.fr/index.php/Annuaire%20des%20Associations?idpage=44&idmetacontenu=1124&iddossiercontenu=1039 Accessed 25 May 2013

its time. This likewise demonstrates that the mayor both welcomes new ideas and is ever-present in the planning and implementation processes of the festival.

Alas, the 2013 Fête du Muguet held the seeds of disappointment for the Société Musicale de Rambouillet, in the form of the weather forecast and its reality. Their Saturday evening concert had to be cancelled, hence the fourth time in the twenty years Mr. Marillia has been with them, due to rain. He had said quite frankly that, as far as their participation in the festival goes, they would be less disappointed to have the float parade cancelled than their Saturday evening concert. Needless to say, this is exactly the opposite of the interest of those who build the floats. This decision lies on the shoulders of the mayor. Quoting the announcer at the Saturday evening FM event on 18 May,[16] Monsieur Larcher, as "a good patriarch", had taken the decision to cancel the concert, to his great regret and most especially to protect the musicians' instruments from rain damage, a point that Monsieur Marillia had emphasised during the interview.

Another interesting issue was raised by Monsieur Marillia – the procession on Sunday morning to the mass at Saint Lubin Catholic church: what if, one day, the Queen were Muslim? Here, he made his only remark linked to class and, in its deliberate reiteration of an adverb, it seemed to me he attributed significance to it. He said, "You know, the town of Rambouillet is quite bourgeois, quite right-thinking and quite Catholic" ("La ville de Ramboullet est bien bourgeoise, bien-pensante et bien Catholique"). The translations of "bien-pensant" depend on the context and can range from logically-minded through conformist to narrow-minded or reactionary in English.

He mentioned that when the choice came for the members of the SMR about going into the church for mass, they generally voted 100% with their feet to have a nice, cool beer in the café on the route from the church to the garden where the aperitif is offered by the town hall to its citizens before Sunday lunch. They must watch the time carefully, as they are called to duty again quickly as soon as the mass lets out to accompany the royalty from the church to the garden, a matter of a few minutes' downhill walk. Once in the garden, they play a couple of numbers and the hunting horn group does the same, although the latter are the ones many people rush to photograph, being a rather more exotic species for most onlookers. As for the final parade, when they head the line-up of musicians and other performers accompanying the float parade, they arrive at the end point exhausted and disband in relief immediately. He believes none of them wait to hear the decision about the prizes to be awarded to the floats. As far as he knows, there is no overlap whatsoever between the musicians – including their families and close friends – and the float-makers, and this highpoint for some appears to be an anti-climax for the Société Musicale troops.

During the entire proceedings and most especially the float parade, the feeling of rhythm can be pleasant or not, we might say. A recurrent complaint over the last three years from onlookers was that the float parade was much too stretched

16 Over the public address system at the "Rondeau" in the château park during the Saturday evening Fête du Muguet events on 18 May 2013.

out and that it got frankly boring. As Monsieur Marillia said, the Société Musicale in the lead have often looked back and seen the others were not following briskly, but they have no way of knowing why – it seems that three people from the town hall coordinate by radio with walkie-talkies. One year, there was a very visible reason for the delay – when the Queen's float proved too high to pass under the garlands overhanging the street and the town's technical services had to be given an emergency call to come to lift the offending banners up higher. Another reason is an important courtesy halt, in the years when the corso fleuri starts from the Groussay neighbourhood (rather than the Grenonvilliers spot as in 2013): the former route takes them past the retirement home and all the parade folk do a very full performance of their charms to please the residents there.[17]

Monsieur Marillia notes there has been a general feeling – difficult to register officially besides an impression of how crowded the sidewalks are – that attendance has declined noticeably in the last few years. When this trend appeared to have reversed towards "record crowds" in 2012, Monsieur Marillia said that the mayor was very heartened, as a suggestion had been bruited in the town hall about holding the FM every two years, as is the case of the Fête de la Saint Lubin. By the way, this was confirmed by Madame Le Nagard in her interview.

If devotion to the cause of the festival suffices to keep it going, no one could fault Mayor Larcher and Madame Crozier. They make a blitz visit to the float-builders to give them a pep talk on the Friday evening preceding the festival, as they did this year to the five association groups working together in the hangar of the local horse race course. Quick or not – just long enough for everyone to have a plastic cup of champagne with them – it seems to be deeply felt as encouragement to all of the float-makers. One of the groups, the Association Rémi, actually comes from the neighboring small town of Gazeron. Founded as a support group for families suffering from severe mourning stress, they participated in the Rambouillet *muguet* festival for the third time in 2013 to reciprocate for the mayor's welcoming them to the larger town and providing them with a meeting place there. This is very clearly articulated by their president: "We want to keep up the spirit of the festival to bring pleasure to people, so that they have a good time."[18]

During his speech at the champagne party held in the Roi de Rome public garden immediately after the Sunday morning mass in Saint Lubin church, Mayor Larcher spoke alone, in contrast to earlier years, when the Sub-Prefect and Madame Boutin often gave speeches. This appears to be part of an overall strategy to accelerate events and it most certainly had an effect on the garden champagne party and the float parade, neither of which were overly drawn out. In an interesting loop back to what Madame Boutin emphasised, Monsieur Larcher insisted on the importance of the surrounding forest in the town's image as a "living forest" and pointedly cited her. The mayor likewise repeated the

17 Madame Sidalina Marques, Interview 17 May and additional note 2 June 2013.

18 Interview with Dominique Chevalier, Président of the Association Rémi, 17 May 2013, in the Hippodrôme de Rambouillet hangar.

leitmotifs of youth as represented by the Queen and Dauphines, the ephemerality of the flower, the tremendous commitment of the associations, and the general mobilisation of working hands, from the town police to the technical services, among many others.

Monsieur Larcher's group in the town hall goes under the umbrella title of "Rambouillet Ensemble" (Rambouillet Together). It is appropriate, in an unfinished enquiry involving this sequence of cautious to diplomatic to enthusiastic commentary about the Lily-of-the-Valley Festival and its workings, to have a word from the political opposition in the person of the Socialist representative for the group "Rambouillet Renouveau" (Rambouillet Renewal) on the town council, Monsieur Jean-Luc Trotignon, who has been an elected official since 2008.[19] He certainly agrees that the Fête du Muguet is successful in bringing together all social partners, describing it as "original, authentic and traditional", and noting that many of his colleagues on the Left felt the entire event was something that should not be interfered with ("il faut pas toucher à ça").

His principal objection, expressed in 2008, was surprise over the way the election of the Queen was held, being entirely in the hands of the association members and their friends who attended the paid-entry January ball event, which he compared to censal suffrage in the era of Napolean III, when only those high enough up on the tax rolls were entitled to a vote. This procedure has been modified in the meantime, with the inclusion of voting ballots for the general public provided by the local newspaper, and another of the opposition's suggestions has likewise been taken into practice: that each candidate should have not only their charms to offer, but a project of a cultural, social or historical nature, and the winner should receive support from the town hall for this project.[20] In a similar line of questioning to that of Monsieur Marillia, the President of the Société Musicale de Rambouillet, who proposed the question of what might happen, should a Muslim Queen one day be chosen, Monsieur Trotignon also wondered whether the Sunday mass with reserved places for the town hall officials was not somewhat disaligned with the principles of laicity of the Republic, as well as not taking into account the rise of other religious affiliations within the French demographic.

Monsieur Trotignon used the word "tradition" as often as all other persons interviewed and broke new ground (for me), adding twice the term "traditionaliste", once evoking "a rather traditionalist network", *réseau*, a word often used to designate persons interlinked in a web of obligations, reciprocal favours, gift exchanges and so forth.[21] As regards the float parade, he felt the town hall quite

19 Interview in his group's office in the town hall, 31 May 2013.

20 Both of these points expressed in the 31 May 2013 interview and in the "Tribune Libre" (Free Speech) section for the opposition on the last page of each Rambouillet Infos issue, in this case N° 197, July-August 2008, p. 25.

21 31 May 2013 interview. NB "traditionnaliste" in French refers firstly to the doctrine according to which human beings cannot have knowledge but through revelation and Church tradition, and may apply to extremist religious doctrine advocating a return to Catholic traditions, see *Le Nouveau Petit Robert*, Paris, 1994 edition.

effectively supported the associations participating, but wondered if it would not be possible to envision floats without the very demanding lily-of-the-valley work, as that might encourage groups to participate who do not at present. (This has been done, at least in 2013, with the example of the Shopkeepers' Association, which had a float with the flower motif printed on plaques around the sides.)

The Lily-of-the-Valley Festival: 2013 Avatar and Perspectives

Now, for the dénouement. The 2013 Fête du Muguet over the weekend of 18-19 May came off as rather a mixed result: the highly popular funfair suffered noticeably from the rainy weather and the Saturday evening concert by the local band was cancelled. There is weather and also timing. The weekend before coincided with both the Thursday Ascension holiday and the last days of the two-week schools spring break, so that date would not have been favorable. This left the festival to compete with the Whit (Pentecost) Monday, likewise a popular long weekend. This cuts both ways – had the weather been good, it might have represented quite a profitable three- instead of two-day weekend for the funfair.[22] Unfortunately, the Monday was drenched and many of the funfair folk had closed their stands and were leaving by four in the afternoon, whereas their official pack-up time was between eight and ten in the evening. As an aside (collateral political damage) in matters of scheduling of the *muguet* festival in Rambouillet, the choice of weekend it falls on can have an impact on other towns nearby, for example, the Fête de la Saint-Fort in Poigny-la-Forêt, only 8 km northwest of Rambouillet, where there is a fishing and a horseback obstacle-jumping contest in the forest, as well as a tombola. Town councilwoman Virginie Bourdon notes "between the weather and the Lily-of-the-Valley Festival, which is usually earlier, we weren't helped out this year."[23]

For the Fête du Muguet in Rambouillet, the Saturday evening events programmed after the cancelled concert – the arrival and crowning of the Queen, then the "gift" of a fireworks display for her, clearly qualified as such by the mayor – came off as the weather improved to very fine night visibility, although the artificial pond water had risen to dangerous levels. The fireworks experts managed to handle this technicality effectively, as Monsieur Larcher mentioned in his extensive thanks to all involved during the Sunday noon champagne party in the Roi de Rome public garden. That also went off very well with full sunshine, and the float parade missed all but a few drops of rain at the very end, which discouraged no one. However, the general impression of people in the street, gleaned from a few remarks, was that attendance could not be compared with last year's far better record. Observations overheard or stated were quite

22 Michel Blanchet, owner-operator of the Crazy Cars ride, interviews 18 and 20 May 2013.

23 In the local weekly newspaper, Les Nouvelles de Rambouillet et la Région, mercredi 22 mai, 2013, N° 3413.

positive – that the overall timing was very good for the float parade, running a bit late, but pleasantly accelerated in comparison with the rather dragging pace of the two years before, and very merry. This is very approximate business, as such impressions are drawn only from spontaneous remarks during exchanges with people and whether the onlookers are thin or thick on the sidewalks.

The interview with the mayor (from 1983 on), Monsieur Gérard Larcher, is upcoming, but he is a well-known political figure in France, having been the President of the Senate, literally the first in line to take over, should anything untowards happen to the President, so there are ample references to him in the national press. "In order to understand him, you have to have attended the Lily-of-the-Valley Festival in Rambouillet. He's an animator who has nothing to envy Jacques Martin for. He adores people, gives them his time, often at the expense of his wife and family. When he gives, he doesn't calculate and knows no limits – like for his appetite! He's also a man with convictions and the king of conflict management."[24] The support he and other officials invest in the float-makers' work may be translatable into a strategy peculiar to localities where a political figure has a long reign. Many – especially older – people refer to him as "our mayor" and it seems to reflect the construction of a sense of kinship, of a filiation, in which people are so attached that they have, so to speak, adopted him, and will adopt his dauphin.[25] The younger man, Jean-Frédéric Poisson, indeed appears to fit very well into this kinship with Madame Boutin and Monsieur Larcher, forming a triumvirate (etymologically, with all due respect to the lady), a reigning political family, a "system", one might propose, of reproduction.

Monsieur Poisson was mayor of Rambouillet himself from 2004 to 2007, although Monsieur Larcher appeared beside him consistently in the picture accompanying the mayor's editorial in the town magazine, *Rambouillet Infos*. He spoke about the continuity and future of the Fête du Muguet at length, stressing the link with the forest as part of the community's perception of their identity, as well as of the how this has been mobilised more explicitly over the last fifteen years, noting that the Fête is a "tool of anchorage" and "serves the cause of social peace."[26] When asked why the FM "works", he replied that it was theatre (*spectacle*), and that there were not many such events, that it was theatre combined with social recognition and esteem, a collective work, as well as providing antidotes to the problems of the modern world, such as social isolation, an opportunity to take part in the common good, all of this within the context of the very essential activities of associations (*vie associative*) characteristic of the town. As for the question of whether it was overly quaint (*ringard*), he replied that, of course it

24 L'Express (monthly magazine) "Le système Larcher" by Jacques Trentesaux, citing Nicolas Fadel, head at that time of the emergency ward in the Rambouillet hospital. Jacques Martin was a popular radio and television journalist and show host. http://www.lexpress.fr/region/larcher-boutin-undr-ocirc-le-d-attelage_478347.html (page VII in print version, online version accessed 27 April 2013).

25 Very clearly stated in the words "notre maire", uttered with great warmth, by Madame and Monsieur Régimbart in the 22 May 2013 interview.

26 Interviewed in his office in Rambouillet on 3 June 2013.

was, but that was not the issue: "it is not so much a question of being in its *time*, but of being in its *place* [my italics]."

What you have seen here is but a part of the very rich conversations with interviewees, but hopefully gives a hint at their thoughts and how what they say often overlaps, or at times seems to contradict, what others say. The entire question deserves more development, but it is time for a buzzword – full disclosure. What attracted me to the Fête du Muguet from the very beginning and still does most strongly is the immense – one might even say disproportional, were it not inaccurate – investment in the float work, which I have qualified elsewhere as a gift to the community.[27] Hence, the closing words here will be left to a former master float-maker, Monsieur Maurice Régimbart, who understands the work he used to do as part of a team and who refers often to a major actor in the transmission of tradition, the late Monsieur Christian Becq, mastermind of the twin-cities (Rambouillet and Kirchheim-unter-Teck in Germany) float group.[28] When the twin-cities float-makers stopped participating after 2006, Monsieur Becq put himself at the disposal of other float-builders to help them "find the tradition" and improve the quality of their work, most readily adopted by the Amis des Fêtes Association. It was, however, Monsieur Régimbart who expressed the motivation of his group of float-builders, a philosophy that is at once highly political and beyond politics: "We just want to do something".[29] What they do is *act* in their polis, in the life of the city, with their hands and minds, by constructing and giving a gift that is one thread in binding the community in a myriad of ways which are usually expressed simply as respecting "tradition" in reference to the Fête du Muguet. Over the years, this has involved working with the tension between innovation and tradition, a juggling act that relies on political, community and individual commitment, but – as regards the future of the Lily-of-the-Valley Festival – also on intangibles such as the weather and the tides of fashion in popular events.

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27 Griffin-Kremer 2009. 149-150.
28 Interview with Madame Monique and Monsieur Maurice Régimbart, 22 May 2013.
29 "On a envie de faire quelque chose", interview 22 May 2013.

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Fig. 1. Carnaval mask on Amis de la Fête float, Fête du Muguet 2013

Fig. 2. Poster and magazine cover 2013 Fête du Muguet / Creation Agence CaféNoir and Ville de Rambouillet

Fig. 3. Royals before the cortege to church

Fig. 4. From church to garden party

Fig. 5. L to R J-F Poisson, C. Boutin, G. Larcher sharing a laugh before garden party

Fig. 6. Central figure on Amis des Fêtes float, the "sexy" Harlequin

THE HÍDIVÁSÁR:
A CHANGING FESTIVAL IN HUNGARY

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Abstract: One of the most important festivals in Hungary is held on 18, 19, and 20 August each year, marking the national holiday of Szent István's Day (St. Stephen in English). In the village of Hortobágy in eastern Hungary, the festival traditionally has been observed with a market held near the Kilenclyukú Híd, the "Nine-Hole Bridge." The festival is therefore called the Hídivásár, or "bridge festival." It features the herders of the area who maintain older breeds of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and herding dogs and who wear traditional costumes.

Historically, the festival focused on the buying, selling, and trading of domestic animals. Artisans and craftspeople also offered products for the farm and home. Most of today's vendors sell inexpensive plastic household goods, woven baskets, and metal ware, although a few still sell traditional herdsmen's clothing and hats, leather goods, and feltwork. Herdsmen bring animals to the bridge, not to be bought or sold but as picturesque subjects for thousands of photo-snapping tourists. The market has become a major tourist draw. From the perspective of the anthropology of tourism, festival, and ritual, the market festival has become a site of consumption rather than a dynamic, interpersonal process, yet it still acts to maintain traditional practices.

Keywords: festival, Hungary, Szent István's Day, market, animals, herdsmen, tourism

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During the five months I spent in Hungary in 2007 and 2009, I conducted research in the area of Hortobágy National Park in the eastern part of the country, in the midst of the extensive plains called the *puszta*. Most of my research was with the herders of the area who, with support of the state, maintain traditional breeds of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, water buffalo, and herding dogs. The herders wear traditional costumes when at work and present festivals, demonstrations, and other events throughout the year. Most of these events take place within or close by the Hortobágy National Park, so the park not only works to encourage tourism and to protect migratory birds and other wildlife of the region, but also preserves the traditional ways of life of the herding and stock-raising people—their costumes, equipment, dwelling places, herding and farming practices, and traditional architecture, crafts, home decoration, foodways, and other ways of life.

One of the most important of the annual festivals is held on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of August each year, marking, on 20 August, the national holiday of Szent

István's Day (St. Stephen in English). István is generally recognized as the true founder of the Hungarian nation after his coronation as the first Christian king in the year 1000. Celebrated throughout the country, Szent István's Day has been observed for hundreds of years in the village of Hortobágy, where a livestock market is held. Originally located on an open pasture near the village, the festival and market are now held near the *Kilenclyukú Híd*, the "Nine-Hole Bridge," the longest stone bridge in Hungary, dating from about 1830. The festival is therefore called the *Hídivásár*, the "Bridge Festival."

No one knows when the first market in this area was held, but it certainly dates from a much earlier time when a wooden bridge—frequently destroyed by floods—spanned the river. This bridge served the highway that connected the important trade center of Debrecen with Budapest and cities farther west. The fair was originally called the *gulyásszél*, the "cow-outskirts," or in other words, the edge of the town where cattle wandered. It was here that domestic animals were bought, sold, and traded, with artisans and craftspeople offering products for farmers, herdsmen, and their wives and families. In fact, these fairs were often called *futóvásár* or *betyárvásár*, "outlaw fairs," because they were not originally authorized by the regional government—and because there were rumors that stolen animals were often bought and sold at the market. An old folk song goes:

> *Nyargalva hajt hét lovat a két betyár*
> *Most esik a debreceni nagyvásár.*
> Two outlaws are herding seven horses;
> Now is the big fair in Debrecen.[1]

One recent publication says:

> …the origins of the 'Hídi' market has become obscured over time, but it was surely held in the nearby grazing field, not in the present marketplace. The Wednesday after Pentecost was market time, to which an end-of-summer market was also held next to the bridge…. At the end of the twenties, beside the animal market the stall market was growing, where everything from sweets to carts was sold. This is its only feature that has survived to this day, although it is good that the number of craftsmen and industrious folk artists that try to sell part of their prized goods here keeps growing. Thus pocket-knives [and] jugs have appeared again; moreover, embroidered felt cloaks (*szűr*) and sheepskin coats (*suba*) are also available. The Hídi market is held on 19 and 20 August since 1965, and on these days Hungarian *racka* sheep and grey cattle also graze by the bridge to better recall the old atmosphere.[2]

This excerpt points to the fact that the Bridge Fair has become ever more focused on the tourist trade, to the extent that the cattle graze by the bridge not so much to eat but to "better recall the old atmosphere."

1 Papp 2008. 281.
2 Papp 2008. 35.

During the nineteenth century, the fair moved closer to the bridge—first the horses, in 1825, then the cattle in 1846. Soon after, the Debrecen council decided to have the livestock fair twice a year at that location. Another parallel fair of the period, occurring in the same area, was the *kirakodó* fair. It was described by József Papp as offering goods of all descriptions, complementary to the livestock market:

> Mainly the Debrecen masters, hat-makers, *szűr*-makers, boot-makers, the coopers and wheel-smiths from Miskolc, the potters and pipe-makers from Debrecen, Füred, Mezőcsát, saddle-makers of Tiszafüred, fur-bag makers from Szarvas, bell and ring makers from Upper-Hungary sold their famous products, honey-cake and barbecue could be bought. But the covered wagon of Debrecen could also be bought here. The pole of the wagon to be sold was raised and a bundle of straw was tied onto it.[3]

It is not known exactly when the market began to be held on Szent István's Day, but photographs from the early twentieth century show a lively market full of animals and people (Fig. 1). Many handcrafted products associated with the herdsman's life were also sold, including elaborately decorated pig-, sheep-, and cow-herding sticks, horsemen's whips, shaving mirrors, drinking horns, razor cases, match boxes, salt cellars, and water dippers.[4]

Today, the market still exists. A majority of the vendors sell inexpensive plastic household goods, woven baskets, and metal ware, most of it manufactured outside Hungary in places like China and Romania. During our visit in 2007, for example, a few craftspeople from the nearby area sold traditional herdsmen's clothing such as herdsmen's hats, felt coats, sheepskin coats, and leather goods such as *készségek* (traditional knife sheaths and small leather containers for personal goods). At the fair, a lonely hurdy-gurdy player was drowned out by a nearby rock band. Sheep and cattle were brought to the area of the bridge, not to be bought or sold but as a picturesque backdrop and photograph opportunity. Herdsmen, dressed in traditional clothing of loosely fitted dark blue shirt and pants with high black leather boots and black hats decorated with a crane's feather, watched over them (Fig. 2). Among the activities at the fair in 2007 were the following: "comedy performances," "folk dance performances," a "magician performance," live music by a group called Magyarock ("Hungarian rock"), a puppet show, a "wind band and majorette group from Italy," a show from the "flower festival group," a choir from China, an accordionist, a blues band, a band called Groovehouse, and a finale of fireworks.[5]

Thus the market has now become a major tourist attraction, combining traditional crafts with inexpensive souvenirs, housewares, and plastic toys, and offering a variety of entertainment appealing to people of all ages. From the

3 Papp nd. 40.
4 Manga 1972.
5 Hortobágy Bridge Fair 2007. www.hortobagy.hu

perspective of the anthropology of tourism, festival, and ritual, the market festival has become a site of consumption rather than a dynamic process of exchange, trade, and barter.

A second festival, held about the middle of October, is called the "Grey Cattle Fair." This weekend event features the magnificent grey cattle of Hungarian tradition: large, gentle beasts with enormous horns shaped like the outline of a lyre (Fig. 3). This cattle breed dates back to the Middle Ages, and the cattle at one time were driven from Hungary to cities as far away as Munich, Amsterdam, Basel, Venice, perhaps even Madrid. Nowadays, the grey cattle are herded past the village, put into pens, and driven out for inspection by potential buyers. The national government has for many years encouraged the breeding and sale of these cattle, along with traditional breeds of horses, sheep, pigs, and dogs, both as a stimulus to national pride and as a way to combine tradition with the development of tourism.

In the context of festival, it seems that the original Hídivásár, where local farmers and stockmen came to hire herders, exchange gossip, buy and sell clothing and working gear, and buy and sell livestock, has been transformed. The buying of cattle now takes place as a formal auction managed by the state, rather than the one-to-one bargaining that previously took place. Most of the cattle in Hungary are now breeds imported from Western Europe or the United States, and the grey cattle of tradition are primarily used in Hortobágy to draw tourists (Fig. 4). It is interesting to note that the traditional breeds of cattle, and also of pigs and sheep, have been shown to be leaner and healthier than the newer, faster-growing and more cost-efficient breeds raised today. Pork from the old breed of *Mangalica* pigs, for example, is sold in high-quality butcher shops in Budapest, touted as low-fat, low-cholesterol, tasty meat.

In summary, it seems that the traditional Hídivásár has been split in two. First there is the Szent István Festival in August, a national celebration of patriotism and historical remembrance, marking the end of summer and the beginning of autumn activities, as hay is harvested and stored, animals are brought back from faraway pastures, and citizens purchase the goods they need for the winter. Two months later, the Cattle Fair refocuses the attention of the people on livestock, the true, year-round basis of the economy. Here the audience is smaller, and the focus is on the cattle, on food, and on tradition.

Given this division, it seems likely that local communities like Hortobágy maintain festivals both for themselves and for outsiders. In this case, the first festival appeals to European and other international tourists who are visiting Hungary during the summer months and are intrigued by traditional herding ways of life. They can tour farms to observe traditional breeds of animals, visit the local animal park, or ride a wagon across the *puszta* to see the animals and the herdsmen who watch over them. They can sample *gulyás* (goulash soup) and *pörkölt* (stew) at the local *csárda* (inn), buy a basket or cooking pot from a vendor, tour the museums, and perhaps listen to the local musicians. They will probably not buy a horse or a cow.

The second festival, the Grey Cattle Fair, still references the Hídivásár by penning, herding, and showing off the cattle. But these activities are now performed before a variety of onlookers—local community members, regional residents, and tourists, too. The festival is enlivened by a cooking competition among the herders—*gulyás*, of course, but also *slambuc*, the traditional herdsman's dish, a combination of potatoes, pasta, onions, and pork, cooked in a round-bottomed pot over an open fire. To watch the herdsman flip the pot forward and back to produce the perfectly round, large ball of *slambuc*—as large as a basketball—is a treat, especially if you're given a sample! (Fig. 5)

It is difficult to maintain such traditions, particularly those of herding peoples. Forces ranging from quick-growth animals to transport by large trucks combine to diminish the old ways of life. In this case, however, it seems that a combination of government action at the federal level—through the national park—and local enthusiasm for preserving traditions while encouraging tourism are combining to turn herding practices into demonstrations and performances. There are both gains and losses in these festival traditions as the participants grapple with modern realities. A festival of community and interpersonal interaction has become commodified, with a consequent distance being maintained between the producer—the craftsman or herdsman—and the consumer, the tourist or urban dweller. Yet the festival also encourages the raising of traditional breeds of animals, the maintenance of craft traditions, the pride of heritage among the herdsmen, the marketing of healthful, locally produced agricultural products, and a certain amount of publicity for a lesser-known region of Hungary.

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Fig. 1. The bridge fair in 1930

Fig. 2. Cow herders at the bridge fair, 2007

Fig. 3. Grey cattle, a native breed of Hungary

Fig. 4. Herding cows at the Grey Cattle Fair

Fig. 5. *Slambuc* cooking contest at Hortobágy, 2007

ETHNO-FUTURISM AS A NEW IDEOLOGY

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Abstract: Nowadays it is not easy to invent a new tradition. Modern conditions demand new approaches and reasoning.

In the 1980s, in Estonia, a new ideology, ethno-futurism, appeared. It was an avant-garde movement that offered a bridge between the past and future of contemporary ethnic culture. The notion defines "ethno" as indigenous, authentic, and prehistoric; and "futurism" as cosmopolitan and urban. Very soon this idea extended across boundaries of this country and reached the Udmurts. Just at this time, in Udmurtia (Russia), some young artists, writers, journalists, and scientists wished to create something very new in a changing world. They wanted to maintain and develop ethnicity and ethnic culture within the context of globalisation. Udmurtia became a symbolic centre of ethno-futurism. It was necessary to bring this ideology to all others and make it attractive. In a short time, megaproject organizers focused on creating ethno-futuristic festivals (it organized eleven festivals); the next step turned into a new megaproject (it conducted five symposia) in recent years. This year, a new project on video-art has started.

The new ideology "took up residence" in the conscious mind and the ritual calendar was enriched by new ethno-futuristic events.

Keywords: ethno-futurism, ethnicity, festivals, mega-project, Udmurts.

Not all ever-changing fashion is interpreted positively and perceived as process that can contribute to regional or global development. And the current attempts to revive and reconstruct some old traditions are not always successful. But the aspiration for search towards the further development is without boundaries, and some new steps can satisfy one's curiosity.

Nowadays it is not easy to invent any new tradition in a society that proposes or orders too much, is too diverse, or is too seductive. Modern conditions demand new approaches and new reasoning. It is difficult to know how such things could be ordered or how a concept— rational, well-timed, and appropriate—must be fabricated that could provoke the interests of a group, let alone a majority. In spite of different kinds of hindrances, a new movement could manifest itself and is currently in progress in Udmurtia (Russia).

In the 1980s in Tartu, Estonia, a new ideology, ethno-futurism, appeared. It was an avant-garde movement that offered a bridge between the past and future of contemporary ethnic culture. The notion defines "ethno" as indigenous, authentic, and prehistoric; and "futurism" as cosmopolitan and urban.[1] In order to turn the idea into a durable custom it was necessary to manifest activity, develop and expand the idea. One of these developments is the organizing of events, both cultural and scientific. The ethno-futuristic ideologist-beginners

1 Heinapuu et al n.d.; Mihkelev 2002.

organized a conference, the First Conference of Young Finno-Ugrian Authors on Ethno-Futurism, which took place May 5-9, 1994 in Tartu. "The conference was held in the honour of the fifth anniversary of the Estonian Kostabi $ociety, which itself was founded in the spirit of ethno-futurism. The aim of the conference was to introduce ethno-futurism to young Finno-Ugric artists and writers by means of speeches, films, exhibitions, songs and meetings. The last day of the conference was entirely dedicated to the discussion of intentions, common and individual, concerning ethno-futurism and the planning of co-operation".[2] In the following years there were organized other conferences and seminars in Estonia: Ethnofutu 2, Ethnofutu 3, "10 years of the EthnoFuturist Era", 1999; Ethnofutu IV, 2001, etc.

Very soon this idea extended across the boundaries of this country and developed among other Finno-Ugric-speaking people in Russia. Shortly it reached the Udmurts and occupied minds of the youth. Right at this time, in Udmurtia, some young artists, writers, journalists, and scientists wished to create something very new in a changing world that was in need of assistance, both ideologically and financially. They gathered together and united with others, so was set up an unofficial creative group Odomaa (the Odo- is Ud(murt), maa is land); the coordinators of the group are Kuchyran Yuri and Kuzi Sergi.

They wanted to focus more efforts and energy on what they wanted: to achieve their goal to maintain and develop ethnicity and ethnic culture within the context of globalisation. Udmurtia became a symbolic centre of ethno-futurism. By that period, different ideas and tendencies existed and were functioning in the republic. In a short time, the Odomaa group invented a megaproject, the "Ethnofuturistic festival", and the organizers focused on creating such festivals. It was necessary to bring this ideology to all others and make it attractive. According to the megaproject's program, it organized eleven festivals.

The main idea of this project would contribute to increasing knowledge about their own culture as the basis of their identity, and would provide an opportunity to support and carry out such activities that would ensure the "future for ethno" (survival of peoples in the future).

Traditional ethnic values must be preserved for the future and for further development. In the modern world, along with various cultures, ethno-futurism creates a channel for ethno-cultural consciousness of belonging to the Finno-Ugric peoples. In addition, it provides insight into ancient and modern layers of cultures of these peoples.

At the very beginning, the organizers wanted to provoke the interests of people intensively and in a short space of time the curiosity and desire of the involved activists and the outsiders-observers to continue and carry on the new tradition did not begin to fade but, on the contrary, developed and increased. Therefore, the first three festivals were held in the same year in the capital city of Udmurtia, Izhevsk. After that, the festivals were conducted annually including various ethno-futuristic tendencies of the movement, such as songs and melodies,

2 Kauksi et al. n.d.,

dances, performances, exhibitions, architectural projects, fashion, fiction, journalism, video art and computer graphics, installations, happenings, etc. Later festivals have been accompanied by scientific conferences, where participants discussed problems of ethno-futurism, music and literature, art, philosophy, etc.

Besides this, the organizers (i.e., the activists of the creative group "Odomaa") planned that each festival would be devoted to a certain theme, and first of all it should reflect the traditional worldview of the Udmurt people, relating to mythology, history, customs, etc. as a part of Finno-Ugric culture. And at the same time, another Finno-Ugric people should be involved in every festival conducted in Udmurtia, but relevant to the themes and symbolism of the festival. In this way, an interchange of ideas, opinions and cultures of the Finno-Ugrians in general could be carried on. From year to year, more and more people took part in these events, and more and more new activists joined in this movement.

Over time, the organizers began to organize these events also in the countryside, and every year they planned for it to take place in another district of the republic. But the capital city Izhevsk remained as the centre of the "Odomaa" group and the main museums of the republic located there, like the National Museum of the Udmurt Republic under the name Kuzebay Gerd and the Udmurt Republic Museum of Fine Arts, hosted the ethno-futuristic exhibitions and took part in the arrangement of the festival events.

Below will be given the themes of the ethno-futuristic festivals organized in Udmurtia within the framework of the megaproject and its programs:

1. According to the megaproject, the first ethno-futuristic festival "Egit gondyr veme"[3] was organized in Izhevsk between 25th and 28th June, 1998. This festival, as well as the following annual ones, was attended by several thousand people.
2. The second festival was named Odomaa—the land of Udmurts.[4] It was also held in Izhevsk, between 13th and 20th July, 1998.
3. Erumaa—the land of love—considers and interprets our homeland as the centre of the world and the universe; we sprang from love and from the land of love. The festival took place in Izhevsk between 16th and 25th October, 1998.
4. Kalmez—a human-fish; in Finno-Ugric mythology, a fish is related to the three elements: Heaven, Earth and the underworld. A fish is also one of the totems of the Udmurts. The festival was held in Izhevsk on the 20th of March, 1999.
5. Mushomu—the land of bees. Bees are associated with ambition, hard work, family life, and multitude. This is a pattern/model of the perfect organization of the social structure of a family. The festival was organized in the National Museum of Udmurtia, in Izhevsk, and in the village Mon'ya, Selta district, between 25th May and 18th June, 2000.
6. Tangyra—the Udmurt "Tam-Tam", an ancient musical instrument which called all together and should awaken love for ancestors and to our own history,

3 A house for a young bear; there is a custom to provide mutual help by house building; here it has symbolic meaning that at the very beginning one needs assistance to create something new.

4 "Odo" is an ancient ethnic name, "Maa" – Earth (Odomaa is a new ethno-futuristic word).

as well as meet with the future. The festival was organized in the village Vuzh Mon'ya, Pichi Purga district, and in Izhevsk, between 26th and 29th May, 2001.

7. Idna—the Udmurt mythological hero, who should show a new way of life. This festival was held in Izhevsk, in the town Glazov, in the township Igra, and in the villages Uzey-Tukl'ya of Uva district and Sep' of Igra district between 23rd and 26th May, 2002.
8. Pel'n'an'—an Udmurt national dish. The word "pel'n'an'" means "a bread in the shape of an ear" in the Udmurt and Komi languages. In the past, this dish was a sort of generic frozen food of hunters who roamed the forests in search of game in winter. In the traditional culture the ears have a particular semiotic meaning. The meat of bear, pike, and ram was used for preparing the dish pel'n'an', and this idea was based on the beliefs of the Finno-Ugric peoples, who believe that the ears hear everything and they know about everything. The ears are also an erotic part of a human body. The Festival was held in Izhevsk, in the district centre Alnash, in the villages Asan and Vuzh Yum'ya, and in the town Elabuga of the Republic of Tatarstan between 18th and 21st June, 2003.
9. Yur-yar—the traditional game of the Udmurts. The game creates particularly favourable circumstances to express the positive or negative emotions of partners in the game; it allows the ritual action to express new models of behaviour. The festival program included new musical performances, so-called "folk performances", which attracted the audience. In addition, the programme included the boreal (northern) performance-show as a new trend in theatrical art. It was held in the Museum of Fine Arts, in Izhevsk and in the village Bayterek, Alnash district between 9th and 12th July, 2004.
10. Artana is "woodpile" in the Udmurt language, it represents some kind of order or harmony; for this event it means the cordial, warm-hearted area of art. It is a cultural product that reveals the cultural pieces and layers of different ethnic groups and displays the ethno-futuristic movement on a professional level with clear theoretical arguments, understandable for average people. It was organized in the village Zozlud-Kaksya, Vavozh district, in the town Sarapul and Sarapul district between 15th and 18th August, 2005.
11. Kuara langa means in the Udmurt language an echo of the past times embodied in new forms. It is the call of the future, the manifestation of art of light with positive energy; it is a model of peaceful coexistence of cultures and religions in Russia through realization and recognition of general tendencies in culture. This festival was held in the villages Syr'ezshur, Piseygurt, Vuzh Yumya, Bayterek, Alnash district of Udmurtia, and in the village Enaberde, Mendeley district of Tatarstan between 23rd and 25th March, 2007.

The festival Kuara langa was the last one in the mega-project "Ethno-futuristic festival", and it laid the foundation for the next step that turned into a new mega-project "Ethno-futuristic symposium: The art of light", which has conducted five symposia on ethno-futurism in recent years.

Here are the symposium's themes: the first symposium: Ser no Tur (the rapid, frisky, hasty translational movement), 2007; the second symposium: Urman Arte (the art behind the wood), 2008; the fourth symposium: Kynar kabon (catching the force, potency, resources and status), 2011; the fifth symposium: Kemikamhemhe (this word consists of river-names—the Finnish Kemijoki, the Udmurt Vatka Kam, the White Töd'y Kam and the Great Kam, the Tuva Biy-Hem, Bash-Hem, and Ulug-Hem, the Chinese Huang He (Yellow River); it literally means a river, water stream, continual movement).

Ethno-futurism became more and more popular. Nowadays ethno-futurism is widely discussed and interpreted.[5] At the very beginning it was realized as a new style, and then later it was interpreted that ethno-futurism is a new direction in art. Today, one of the main ideologists of ethno-futurism, Kuzi Sergi, describes it as an ideology that is based on love for one's own roots, people, culture, and language, with openness to the world. O. Genisaretskiy evaluates ethno-futurism as a "post-national ethnicity".[6] "An ethnic culture serves as a basis, a source of creativity of the artist. The artist as an active piece of the cultural process interprets the tradition and represents the artistic/imaginative product to a society; the artist proves its value, the society perceives artistic interpretation and shows interest concerning the sources that brings demand for the ethnic cultures".[7]

The ethno-futuristic movement has had an influence on the participants of those festivals. The initiative to organize festivals proceeds not from above but from below, from ordinary people, teachers, students, schoolchildren, and even from farmers. And this is a very large army of audiences, ordinary villagers, and school pupils. It is the provinces of Russia. This is the animating effect of the light of ethno-futurism. "Activity of such creative associations possesses the great practical and scientific values in realization of national and regional components in education, in mobilization of intellectual and creative capacity of the inhabitants of the region, in solution of ethical challenges".[8]

Ethno-futurism as a new ideology has emerged among the Finno-Ugric peoples in the late twentieth century and become an international phenomenon.

Today, in Udmurtia, in neighbouring regions, and in many other parts of Russia, the ethno-futuristic art is "the required program" in most exhibitions and museums as well as in concerts and performances. As an international resonance of the ethno-futuristic movement, a song "Party for Everybody", was performed by the Udmurt Grandmas on the Eurovision Song Contest in Baku, 2012, when they came second in the qualifying contest.

The talent of the ideology's inspirer, Kuchyran Yuri, is appreciated, and he is acknowledged as one of the most charismatic leaders of ethno-futurism in Udmurtia. The Udmurt Republic is considered to be the birthplace of Russian ethno-futurism.

5 Sallamaa 2001; Rosenberg et al 2005; Semyonov 2007; Kõmmus 2010; Anfinogenov 2012.
6 Shibanov; Kuchyran 2008.
7 Andyu 2007.
8 Shutova 2012. 100.

The new ideology took up residence in the conscious mind and the ritual calendar was enriched by new ethno-futuristic events. Nowadays the first ethno-futuristic festival on video-art, Zhon-zhon, has started in Udmurtia, and the ideology is developing.

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POLITICS IN RITUALS

SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH AND STUDENT PROTEST IN 1996/97

A CASE STUDY OF TEMPORARY ALTERING OF RITUALS

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Abstract: St. Sava has been celebrated as a national symbol and a patron saint of schools and education since the first half of the nineteenth century. A set of rituals, customs and performances has developed in connection with this celebration.

Local elections in Serbia in 199 sparked a political crisis that lasted through the winter of 1996/97, even with violence on the streets of Serbian cities. There were several acting groups: the regime, the opposition, and the students. The Serbian Orthodox Church, as a respected national institution, tried to influence these events in various ways. The most obvious intervention occurred on St. Sava's day, 27th of January 1997, when Church authorities even altered regular rituals and customs. A dangerous standoff of protesting students and police was resolved by a procession.

This was a rare situation where the Church directly used its rituals in political engagement, an action that was largely welcomed by the public. It was one of the most attended Church services in recent history. The actions of the patriarch himself were understood as a personal stand and symbolic declaration by people that would not have come otherwise.

Keywords: Orthodox Church, student protest, ritual, procession

Introduction

St. Sava, a medieval Serbian saint is considered to be one of the most prominent figures in Serbian history and patron saint of schools, schoolchildren, and education in general[1]. There is an established way of celebrating St. Sava's day among Serbs, with many of these customs dating from the early nineteenth-century Austrian empire. A post-election crisis in Serbia in 1996 forced Orthodox Church not only to give public statements or to try to mediate solutions "behind the scene", but to take an active role in the events. The focus of this article is the difference between regular Church rituals and the altered version that was performed at the time.

1 For his biography and his cult through history, see Wendel 1935.

Methods Applied in this Paper

The difference between usual celebration of St. Sava's day and this particular case will be established by comparing regular practices on St. Sava day (given with a history of their development) with those in 1997. Previously published sociological, psychological, and anthropological researches of the protest and publicised documentation will be used, along with the personal experience of the author, who was an anthropology student and a participant observer in these events.

Saint Sava and Celebration of his Day

St. Sava, a thirteenth-century saint, has been Serbian national symbol at least since the sixteenth century. National awakening in the nineteenth century gave his cult new meanings. In the Enlightenment-era atmosphere of belief in power of reason and education, one role St. Sava had was to be a patron saint of schools. The first recorded idea to celebrate St. Sava in this way originated in Zemun in 1812 and spread among Serbs in what was then the Austrian Empire. The hymn (an anthem) of St. Sava was first sung[2] in 1839 in Szeged. In the principality of Serbia, celebrating St. Sava has been arranged by law since 1840. We can notice that St. Sava has obtained an ambiguous role, being a Christian saint and a national symbol in a modern sense. In the course of time, certain customs evolved around the celebration of St. Sava in churches and schools.

There are three modes of celebrating St. Sava: as a patron of a church, as a patron of a family, and as a patron of schools. Rituals and customs related to first mode are practically common for all Orthodox Churches. Second set of rituals, called "slava", is related to the first and is exclusively Serbian, and the third set was derived from first two. A short description of these rituals is necessary in order to point out what was different in this particular case.

Liturgical day in the Orthodox Church starts with evening service on the previous civil calendar day. For example, celebrating of St. Sava starts on the evening of 26th of January with a vigil and continues with a Liturgy in the morning of 27th of January. If the local church is dedicated to the saint of the day, then there is a procession *after* the liturgy *around* the church, but *inside* church courtyard, accompanied by the ritual of consecrating specially prepared bread and cooked wheat, and then by a meal for everybody present, usually in the courtyard itself or on the church premises. If it is a day of the patron saint of the town, usually there is a procession through the streets – again circular, starting and ending in front of the church.

Celebration of a family patron saint is a complex of customs which is accepted to be Serbian *differentia specifica* in relation to other Slavic and/or Orthodox

2 For his biography and his cult through history, see Wendel 1935.

nations, and it has been studied extensively by many authors and researchers.[3] It is not necessarily directly connected with a liturgy and taking communion, because it is not a practice to serve liturgy every day, but ritual of consecrating of bread and wheat in the family house – and a meal with guests – is an obligation, connecting these customs with those of celebrating of a church patron saint.

Celebration rituals and customs related to St. Sava as the patron of school should be primarily compared to the celebration of a family patron saint, because official celebrating of St. Sava was derived from and partly modeled after to these customs. It is even called "school slava". The school principal was assigned the role of the head of household (father of the family) just by the priest. Before WWII, celebration after liturgy continued in schools, with a priest and a service of consecrating bread and wheat, and then a pupils' performance, with commendations for successful learning, etc. After WWII and the banishing of religion from schools and public life, the celebrating of St. Sava retreated completely to churches. After the liturgy there was a children's performance, usually in the church itself; children recited songs about St. Sava and they received small presents from the parish. This custom was so deeply rooted that it survived throughout the communist era in some places. During the mid-1990s (the time for this research), public celebrating of St. Sava was not yet reestablished, so participating in rituals was still in churches and completely according to one's free will.

Student Protests of 1996/97

Demonstrations started after the local elections of 17th November 1996, which both the authorities and the opposition claimed to have won in major urban areas. The authorities tried to annul the results of elections in important towns, and the opposition started protests which soon turned violent, resulting in injured demonstrators and policemen and with material damage. Students initiated their own separate protests on November 22nd, demanding that the truth about the elections should be established. Student protests consisted of long walks through Belgrade suburbs to get attention of citizens, as well as various performances aimed to ridicule the attitudes, actions, and claims of the authorities. Some walks were as much as 30 kilometers long.[4]

Students of social sciences and humanities seized the opportunity to conduct research among protesters at the time, resulting in a substantial amount of collected material and published works, all of which studied the protest and the protesters from various angles.

One research project that was conducted at the time aimed to establish the correlation between the religious and national identity of the participants.[5]

3 And probably written, Korać 1992. 180.
4 Maxwell 1891; Georgievitch 1917. 48 - 49.
5 Mihajlović – Panić – Popovicki 2003. 107.

This research showed that about 14% of the participants could be called "convinced Orthodox believers"; 44% were "folk Orthodox" with modified understanding of Orthodox Christianity; 22% were atheists, and 19% accepted alternative forms of religiosity.[6] In spite of that, leaders of students made a constant effort to maintain a clear public image of a nationally "appropriate" orientation of the protest,[7] because students were stigmatized as "national traitors" in the state media. Because of this protests started with the Hymn of St. Sava, as a connection with national and cultural background, and no flags were allowed except Serbian ones. The ritual pattern of protest that repeated every day was noticeable: Meeting in front of the Philosophy faculty, hymns, speeches and reading letters of support, protest walks with performances, coming back to the Philosophy faculty, setting time for the next day, and going home. This pattern was interpreted by many students as a way to save energy – not being all the time in the streets – because a long term of protests was expected. On the other hand, the route for the walk for the day was acknowledged only after addresses and speeches, and this created a public atmosphere of expectation and drama.

After Christmas, police began to stop these student walks by a placing cordon to interrupt them for some time and then let them go on, perhaps hoping to provoke an incident that would justify more drastic measures. Thus police stopped the student walk in the evening on the 19th of January in the center of Belgrade, in Kolarceva Street. The next day it became obvious that authorities had no intention to let students pass through, and situation got into a dangerous standoff. This "Cordon against cordon" action – as it was called – had great symbolic value and emotional power, both for the participants and the public. Belgrade center was not entirely blocked, as surrounding streets were opened for pedestrians (prepared to take risks). The streets in relative proximity were even open for traffic, but a fight of nerves was on: who would step back? Police officers took regular shifts (every few hours) in the cordon, while students in Kolarceva Street were replaced "on duty" according to their Faculty. In the street there was a carnival atmosphere of non-stop music and dancing, combined with various performances, intended to underline difference between the youth of the country and the establishment. Citizens brought food and drink as a sign of support for the students. Meanwhile, strong police and security forces – even dressed as civilians – blocked other protests and confronted them with opposition, sometimes brutally. A frantic activity to find a solution for this situation was going on behind the scene of protests.

The Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC), as an important national institution with high reputation in public[8] and a growing public role,[9] tried to influence this crisis in various ways. The clergy was not unanimous in its opinion of the overall political situation in Western Balkans, and thus the church had its own

6 Nedeljković 2001.
7 Nedeljković 2001. 93 - 94.
8 Ribić 1997. 7.
9 Blagojević 2012b. 65.

internal struggles about the best way to react. Theological interpretations of church "behaviour" and an analysis of decision–making were given at the time,[10] showing how Christian ideals were realized in practice. Both the authorities and the opposition had their supporters and opponents among the high clergy. Eventually the student protests were perceived by most as a sound alternative to the ongoing political struggle for power. An attitude towards peaceful solution and overcoming the crisis of Patriarch Pavle, whose moral authority was undividedly recognized inside and outside the church, prevailed. While the Faculty of theology of SOC was not a member of University at the time, students of theology joined the protests from the beginning. There are hints that some students of theology established and maintained contact between church authorities and leaders of student protest.

The Orthodox church has an extensive practice for the seasons of Lent, aimed as a support to the spiritual development of believers. There is a six-week long Lent before Christmas, which is on January the 7th (Julian calendar). The next Lent is seven weeks long, before Easter. An Orthodox bishop also has the authority to declare an exceptional Lent on special occasions, such as droughts, diseases, disasters, etc. When the students were stopped on the 19th of January (which is a big Orthodox feast of Theophany – the Baptism of Christ – and is not a Lent day), the level of unrest and violence in Serbian towns was so high that Patriarch Pavle declared an additional Lent from the day of St. John (20th of January) to the day of St. Sava (27th of January) in hopes it would to lead people to repentance. This is an illustration how grave the situation seemed to him, because Christmas Lent ended just two weeks before and Easter Lent was only seven weeks ahead (Easter was on April 27th, and Lent had begun on March the 9th). However, the public was not well informed of Patriarch Pavle's decision, so it was relatively poorly obeyed. Trying to mediate a solution between authorities on one side and students on the other, Patriarch Pavle gave a statement that he would lead a procession from the Patriarchate all through the center of Belgrade – through blocked Kolarceva Street – to the church of St. Sava, on the morning of the 27th of January. Patriarch Pavle was 83 at the time, and he led a mid-winter, cold-weather, early-morning procession for 3.5 kilometers on foot himself. The procession lasted for hour and a half, followed by a Liturgy in the church. It was prepared and performed as if it was a procession for a patron saint of a city. Even according to the reports of media and NGOs not inclined towards the church, Patriarch Pavle was followed by more than 100,000 citizens[11] in atmosphere of dignity.

The "Cordon against cordon" blockade lasted for more than a week, 178 hours exactly. This procession produced a substantial relaxation of tensions. Police did not retreat in front of students, and students did not give up. Authorities tried to present this as a win-win situation, but general sentiment was that establishment is not invincible. Protests of students and opposition continued for many more days, with lot more violence, but the protesters now felt that they could win,

10 Blagojević 2012a. 23.
11 Smiljanić 1997.

which eventually happened. Other church feasts during the time of the protests were celebrated in a regular manner.

Conclusion: What Made this Procession Different?

First, there are some technical differences. This procession was *before* the liturgy and it passed *through* the city. Processions are usually circular – but this one was linear. The symbolic value of church processions, with their consecration of time and space, is underscored by predictable repetitiveness. This procession happened just once. Regular processions only have symbolic value and therefore have no objectively visible result. This one had an immediate positive and visible result. Taking all of these factors into account, this was a completely unusual practice.

Secondly, while participants of regular processions are mainly active believers, in this case it was not so. According to the 2011 census, more than 85% of the Serbian population declares itself as Orthodox. Research shows[12] that less than 10% can explain to some extent what do they believe in. In the mid-1990s the situation was even worse.[13] Opposition protests and manifestations those days (1996/97) could amass up to 300,000 people. The most widely attended events were religious or of religious origin: Christmas, 7th of January, and Serbian New Year, 13th/14th of January drew as many as 500,000 people to the streets. Estimations for the St. Sava procession were from 100,000 to 300,000 people. It is obvious, according to census data and research findings, that maybe up to 20,000 people who were present knew what was going on in terms of a procession and a liturgy. For the majority of those who joined the procession, it was a political demonstration. It aligned many people, even those who were not religious, with the Church, because they saw the Church as a peace proponent and a catalyzer of a solution at the time. The action of SOC in this situation was interpreted as aligning with the demands of the students,[14] which were accepted as appropriate by the public.

The St. Sava procession in 1997 was a unique way to solve a political crisis. This was a rare situation in which the Church directly used its rituals in a political engagement, which was largely welcomed by the public. It became one of the most widely attended Church services in recent history. What led people who would not have come otherwise to be there? Walking with Patriarch Pavle himself meant standing up and showing support for those who were there, regardless of their own personal religious beliefs.

12 Blagojević 2012b.
13 Blagojević 2012a. 17.
14 Ribić 2005. 132.

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THE RITUAL YEAR OF RUSSIAN POLITICAL "WHITE-RIBBON" OPPOSITION (2011 – 2012)

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Abstract: In this paper, based on personal archive data, the intensive ritual political year of 2011-2012 (and some new facts of 2013), mostly in Moscow, is examined to show manifold traditional ideas and practices involved in expressing major political issues. It also characterizes the oppositional activity as generating some new ritual calendar customs in Russia. The modern political and social opposition as such appeared and showed itself massively after the falsification of the elections to the Lower House of the Parliament of Russian Federation (State Duma). December 4th, 2011, marked the beginning of the corresponding ritual year. The Presidential elections on May 5, 2012, and further steps of the government provoked even wider resistance and new ritual forms of protests.

On Facebook, in mass-media and in the streets, the citizens developed unprecedented creativity while preparing for, taking part in, and then reflecting on the meetings, marches, motor rallies and other forms of protest. Thousands of posters, cards, huge billboards, etc., illustrated the values, hope, and political views of the people. The oppositionists looked for historical, political, and geographical parallels to make these activities and their respective artifacts satirical and expressive. In doing so, they often resorted to the symbolism of the ritual and nature calendar years, church festivities, and family rites. Christian holidays such as Shrove Sunday, Easter, Pentecost, and Transfiguration of Christ (the so-called Apple Feast) can be discovered in the slogans, programs, and comments of the opposition. All the state holidays (March 8th, May 1st and 9th, The Day of Russia, June 12th, etc.) have been transformed to assist in the political struggle. The 60th jubilee of the President of Russia took on its own oppositionist scenario with fake presents and greeting cards. Oppositional festivity with its ritual artifacts; Carnival images of color, flora symbolism; linguistic games with political personal and city place names; and songs and rhymes are thoroughly examined in the paper.

Keywords: festival, ritual year, protest, state holiday, Orthodox calendar, carnival

Introduction

Recent protest activities in Russia, which started to develop after the elections in the Parliament (December 4, 2011) had been massively falsified. Initially non-organized, the first riots grew into an organized movement which received its own symbol – the white ribbon and correspondingly the name, "Belaya lenta". Political life in Russia is very dynamic at the moment, accordingly the variety of the political acts is huge. The oppositional movement uses all displays of creativity. Scholars of the humanities immediately realized that this movement would provide valuable data for analysis in any field of research – sociological, historical,

linguistic, folklore, ethnological, visual anthropological, etc. On Facebook, a new group was created, which was named "Folklore of the Snow Revolution" (moderator Andrey Moroz). The members of the group participate in the political events, collect the data, take interviews and make publications.[1]

In spite of the obvious importance of the ritual components for the oppositional activity, the problem of a political event as a holiday and its correlation with the ritual year has not yet been discussed. This paper aims, first, to examine the intensive ritual political year of 2011-2012, mostly in Moscow, to show manifold traditional ideas and practices involved in expressing political views. It also illustrates the oppositional activity as producing new ritual calendar customs in Russia. The study is based on personal archive material and data published in mass media and social networks, such as Facebook. The latter turned out to be a useful and productive public space for discussing and planning the events and then summing up the results, feelings and emotions.[2] Facebook is the place where the creative and ideological planning of all the oppositional events takes place, and it is where the organizers and the participants share their views and the impressions of the event.

Many people describe their feelings and emotions towards the event as festive and joyful. A political rally is perceived by the participants as a city holiday, and this comparison also needs clarification.

Oppositional Rally as a Holiday

Scholars define a festival in various ways, but they usually agree in one point: a festival gives the participants the feeling of wholeness and recognition of similar people around them. For example, Robert Smith notes that in a festival the ritualistic and ceremonial functions are important, but not adequate to explain the function of a festival as a whole. Rather, the central function of the festival seems to give the people an occasion to rejoice together, and interact in the mood of acceptance and conviviality. There is a bond between the participants and they identify with each other as part of a community. Thus "the festival is a prime device for promoting social cohesion, for integrating individuals into a society".[3] The major intention of the protesters is to openly express their political views and to meet up with people who share similar values and political ideas. Political gatherings and marches give the participants a touch of festivity, with joyful emotions of recognition that are similar for the whole crowd. As early as 1931, Robert Briffault argued that festival was "the most concrete expression of collective emotions and loyalties".[4] The idea of recognizing and meeting soul mates

1 Azbuka protesta (Азбука протеста) 2012; Akhmetova (Ахметова) 2011; Volkov (Волков) 2012; Gromov (ГРОМОВ) 2011; Sedakova (Седакова) 2013.

2 On the role of Facebook in protest activity see Mason 2012.

3 Smith 1972. 164.

4 Briffault 1931. 201.

was expressed most during the "White Ribbon" car rallies, which were organized in February 2012 in Moscow. Cars decorated with white symbols were joyfully cheered by the crowds standing along the roads and waving with white flowers, scarves, cloths, etc.

Festive meetings of people are especially important in big cities. Unlike the villages, city residents do not know their neighbours. The cheerful atmosphere and the feeling of conviviality is always underlined and remembered by the participants of the rallies: "Remember the joy of recognizing soul mates, this wonderful feeling of being among friends, which you experienced maybe for the first time in your life in the winter political marches of 2011-2012. 'These amazing faces around' – sounded as a refrain in many reports from the rallies, and even more often this summer".[5] Festive motifs are included in the protest activity more and more often, with the events even being described as a holiday. For example, the rally organized to greet the released from prison Aleksey Navalny was called "The Festival of Disobedience", with a rally-concert taking place on the night before the elections.

Apart from internal, emotional, and festive components, there are also external festive components in protest events. The spontaneous meeting on the day of the elections (December 4, 2011) did not have any festive potential; frustration, anxiety and anger dominated. However, the first organized rallies on December 10th, 2011, on Bolotnaya Square and then on December 24th 2011, on Sakharov Prospect, as well as other events, did remind of a city festival (with a stage and a program, concerts, decorations, etc.). Any new event adds new festive and ritual forms and details to these organized gatherings. Thus "The big white circle" car rally on the Garden Ring in Moscow established the contest for the best "white" decoration of the car. "The walk with the writers" on May 12, 2012, initiated by Boris Akunin, included typical events of a cultural city festival with poetic readings, talks, etc.

Festive Political Artifacts

The modern Russian oppositional movement, as noted above, received its name from the distinguishing sign of its members – the white ribbon. This symbol is inspirational to those who take part in the movement. White strips are tied to clothes and hats, to bags and backpacks, to strollers, pushchairs, and dogs' leashes. Women put the ribbons into their hair and men weave them into their beards and moustaches. Groups of protesters prepare beforehand white strips several kilometers in length and take them all the way through the protest march. Other artifacts and objects of white color aroused in the rallies and this gives the event a very festive outlook. There also were many white flowers and toys. Special attention was drawn toward the balloons, which are also an important

5 https://www.facebook.com/Russia.will.be.free?fref=ts, Last accessed: September 06. 2013.

decoration in any festive public event. In this protest, balloons, like many other objects, obtain additional symbolism and serve as slogans. Relevant mottos are printed on the balloons, according to the political ideas of the riot. In the first oppositional events "For fair elections", one of the most frequent slogans written on the balloons, was in Russian "Меня надули" (literally 'I was inflated', while the Russian verb for *to inflate* means 'to cheat'). The protesters used the balloons at the 60th Putin's jubilee to wish him "Happy retirement". There are also many white badges and stickers with topical mottos which express the protest idea and also help to feel the togetherness of the movement members.

The same functions and the idea of joyful celebration have influenced the choice of the protesters' clothing. Many of them wear white garments (scarves and hats, dresses, shirts, etc.) and T-shirts with portraits of the protest leaders, political prisoners, with mottos. Carnival costumes and masks are often used in the protest marches. The figures of Father Frost and the Snow Maiden in the December and January events around the New Year are natural; they add to the festive atmosphere of these seasonal protests and allude to the themes of wishes, miracles, and gifts. The figure of the Death (The Grim Reaper) in black with a scythe also does not need additional explanation. (Compare this to other political and social rallies with symbolic funerals of education, medicine, science, etc.). Masks and carnival costumes without evident semantics are interpreted in several ways. Some see the reflections of the medieval carnivals in the political events, but others insist on serious differences in the function of the costumes. I agree with the latter, since the aim of the costumed protesters is not to hide themselves or their identity in terms of the dialogical nature of the culture,[6] but to express themselves as vividly and openly as possible. Apart from that, the carnival culture is dialogical. In the case of the modern Russian protests there is no dialogue. The main political demand of the oppositionists is to be heard, and that is why there are many slogans that appeal to speaking and listening – the major components of a dialogue: "My voice has been stolen", "Nobody listens to us", "Return my voice", etc.

Another festive aspect of the protest is the frequent use of terms normally attributed to circuses and games. This language brings together the Russian words *ЦИК* (Central Commission of Elections) and *цирк* (Circus); it is further supported by the fact that the Chair of the Commission, Mr. Vladimir Churov, is called a magician and a circus actor because of falsifications in the elections process. Similar to the city folk festivals, people dressed as clowns and jokers, as well as people on stilts, take part in the marches. There are also puppets and other forms of entertainment, including nano-meetings with small toys holding small posters.

6 Вакнтin 1984.

"The Ritual Year" of the Oppositional Activity

The intention to make the political events ritualized and to search for appropriate festive themes, symbols, and signs is one of the most important features of any political movement. "The White Ribbon" uses the symbolism of natural and cultural time, historical memory of important national events, and the calendric cycle. One of the first reactions to the falsification of the elections in 2011 was the allusion to the historical time. *December,* the month of the elections, has an important symbolic link to the Decembrists – the tsar oppositionists of 1825 and the famous December riot. Another direction in development of the content and symbolism of the modern opposition is the winter – the snow and the chilly weather. The snow adds meaning to the white symbolism of the opposition and occasionally gives the name to it (the group on Facebook is called the Folklore of the Snow Revolution). Snow served as a wonderful decoration for the cars that took part in the protest rally with white artifacts in Moscow on January 29, 2012.[7] The winter weather corresponded with the Russian fairy-tale hero Father Frost. Of course, December is associated with the central winter holiday in the Russian (and former Soviet) official calendar – the New Year. In the Soviet times, the New Year was the central festival in the run of the year, since Christmas had almost faded during the time of aggressive atheism. As a ritual complex, the New Year bears a wide array of meanings and practices, and many of them were used by the protesters. The figures of Father Frost and, occasionally, the Snow Maiden appeared in the protests, and there were many slogans asking for freedom as a New Year gift, or requesting a miracle and fair elections. In 2013 there was a huge poster in the center of Moscow, saying "Happy New Riot!"

Concurrence with state, Christian, folk, and personal family holidays enriches the festive atmosphere of the rallies and makes the protest ideas more expressive and picturesque. The car rally in Moscow on the last Day of the Shrove week, the Day of Forgiveness (February 26, 2012) was called "Seeing off the Russian political winter". It exploited the typical Orthodox motives of forgiveness, as there were many signs reading "Forgive and Farewell, Vladimir"; and it was also based on the traditional folk celebration of change of the season and saying "Farewell" to the winter. The Orthodox Christian arguments were used to prevent the oppositional rallies from being organized on that day. The Deputy of State Duma Andrei Isaev wrote "The oppositional rally on that important for the Church day is aimed at humiliating of the traditional values. This Sunday is the day when people have to forgive each other and to stop the arguing".[8]

In keeping with the change of the seasons, the end the "dead" season of the winter and the inspiration of the spring gave a strong creative force to the protest activities. Furthermore, the connection with the typical Russian folk festival Shrovetide was seen through the Russian folk costumes of political leaders, such

7 http://www.belayalenta.com/2012/01/blog-post_7683.html Last accessed: September 06.2013.
8 http://www.belayalenta.com/2012/01/blog-post_7683.html Last accessed: September 06.2013.

as that of the ecologist Evgenija Chirikova. It is very unusual for Russian citizens to wear a Russian national costume in the street. Usually only actors and singers in folk performances and city festivals do that.

An interesting example gives the commemorative date of the coup d'etat of August 19th (1991), which was chosen for a protest event in 2012. This date coincides with Transfiguration – an important Russian Orthodox church festival also known as Apple Savior day. On that day apples and other fruit are sanctified in the church, and the ritual is well known in the society. One of the organizers of the protest event was the famous party Jabloko ("The Apple"), so apples were used as symbolic artifacts. A representative of this party had a big basket filled with apples and was giving them to those who were passing by, along with a leaflet about the activities of the party. This example proves that any possibility to make the protest more ritualistic and to use as many symbols as possible is typical for the protest organizers.

The International day of Women, March 8th, has inspired the oppositionists to dedicate a special rally for the girls of the "Pussy Riot" punk rock protest group (Nadezhda Tolokonnikova and Maria Aljokhina); these young feminists took part in the performance in the Church of Christ the Saviour in Moscow and were arrested and sentenced to two years in prison.

All the official state holidays are used by the opposition to express concrete ideas and to state certain demands, like to urge freedom for the political prisoners. State holidays with "Soviet" patriotic flavor are also used by the pro-governmental gatherings and meetings, but the message is very different. For example, on February 23, 2012, a huge meeting was organized at the stadium Luzhniki in Moscow, which, as the leaders of the party "Edinaya Rossija" (United Russia) summed up, showed the patriotic feelings of the Russians and their wish to oppose those who do not share Vladimir Putin's policy".[9]

To make a ritual construction of an oppositional event, various dates are being used. The very date of the elections turned into the name of a political Party (V December, where the Roman figure V is for Victory), and since that time the date has a memorial one and is commemorated by various special events. Another important date is the May 6, 2012, when during a peaceful march to the Bolotnaya square the protesters clashed with the police, and several people were arrested and are still in prison. Twelve people were arrested initially, and the symbolic power of this number has been used many times. On the Day of Independence of Russia, June 12, 2013,[10] one year after the fight on Bolotnaya, the figure 12 dominated. The date and the time of the meeting were also 12.
Festivals of the family cycle are also celebrated in the protest events. The 60th jubilee of the President Vladimir Putin (October 7, 2012) has been widely celebrated by the oppositionists by a protest march and other events. In Russia, 60 years is the age when men retire, so the decorations – balloons, flowers, and cakes have

9 http://er.ru/news/2012/2/23/politiki-i-politologi-putin-lider-luzhniki-dostojnyj-otvet-oppozicii/ Last accessed: September 06.2013.

10 An ambiguous modern Russian state holiday, see Sedakova 2008.

been accompanied by such slogans as "Happy birthday, Grandfather! Enjoy your retirement!" . There was also a competition of the best "protest" gift for the birthday: all of them had to do with leisure and hobbies associated with retirement.[11]

In contrast, the 50th jubilee of Mikhail Khodorkovsky turned into a rally for his freedom, since he is regarded as a political prisoner. On his birthday, June 26th, flowers, balloons, and festive slogans wishing the prisoner to get back home ("Khodorkovsky, go home!") decorated the Nikitskaya square where the event took place, while political speeches sounded from the scene and the crowd sang "Happy birthday to you!".

The modern oppositional movement has its history and follows its own ritual year, which consists of tragic dates only. Apart from the aforementioned date December 4th, other dates turned into important points in the "White Ribbon" protest ritual year. The day of the President's election March 5, 2012, is commemorated as "The day of shame", and the 6th of May (2012) was the date of a huge march which ended up with arrests of the peaceful protesters. Other dates of new laws and legislations which are not supported by the protesters, such as the "Dima Jakovlev's Law", "Anti-gay Propaganda", are also commemorated by protesters.

Conclusion

A brief analysis of "White Ribbon" oppositional activity shows that ritual components and festive allusions are very important. First of all, the festive, highly emotional atmosphere gives the flavor of a holiday to each protest event. To meet close friends and those people whom you have not met for a long while or just people who share your political views makes these events really joyful. To prepare the artifacts and slogans and to choose a special garment is also a certain type of festive action. A very important detail for the Moscow rallies is that many people end up in the city cafes drinking coffee or wine and socializing. The atmosphere at the oppositional meetings and those organized to support the government (*Puting* – to greet Putin's election, or *Sobianing* – to support election of Sergey Sobianin as the mayor of Moscow) differ drastically. The pro-governmental events have a flavor of Soviet official holidays with patriotic music, and socialist-like slogans without any creativity, etc.).

The Russian oppositional movement is developing and the process of choosing appropriate rituals and making new ones is going on. New forms of political activity appear, such as a meeting-concert on the eve of elections of Moscow mayor, walks, and symbolic funerals of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

11 A very coverage of this day see on Youtube http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Fljtp2nUKQ&feature=youtu.be Last accessed: August 30, 2013.

Widening perspective for researchers allow for comparative analysis of ritual forms and components of modern protests in different countries. Ritualization of the political events depends on broad national historical and cultural contexts, and on the state of the tradition and its preservation. For example, in Bulgaria and Turkey an important part of any political rally is the collective folk dance. These dances are "a must" in any family or other festive celebration. In Bulgaria, this dance (khoro) is obligatory even in the scenario of city festivals. The program of the Day of Independence in the city of Veliko Tarnovo on September 22, 2013, included a huge Tarnovo khoro. The national love of this folk dance is reflected in the name of modern Bulgarian oppositional movement "DANCE with me", where the English word DANCE coincides with Bulgarian ДАНС, the abbreviation for State Agency for National Security.

With so much political instability in many countries, unpopular governmental laws give rise to oppositional activities, many of which include urban events with many festive and ritual components. This is an open process and the study of the protest forms and the rituals it generates should be continued.

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SACRAL TRANSFIGURATION OF CIVIL SOCIETY.
'ĀSHŪRA' CELEBRATIONS IN LEBANON

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Abstract: 'Āshūra' celebrations are nowadays some of the most forceful moments of Shiite community life in Lebanon. 'Āshūra' is the commemoration of Imām Husain's martyr in the Karbalā' battle (680). This *founding event* expresses – according to Mussā AL-SADR – 'the Shiite paradigm of history'.

From an anthropologist's point of view, 'Āshūra' festivities are a coherent number of semiotic instruments which the Shiite community uses to represent its vision of the world in its main components as well as its fundamental moral values, in scenic form. Thus, articles of faith and moral values become a lived experience in the present time through this scenic representation. It is a complex metamorphosis that occurs in the mental experience of the viewers, who then become *celebrating actors*.

Keywords: commemorational festival, martyrdom, Shiite, moral values, 'Āshūra' celebrations

'Āshūra' Celebrations as a Cathartic Experience

These celebrations are made of three liturgical activities whose aim is to help the celebrating actors to live a cathartic experience.

These three liturgical activities are as follows:

- 'Husaynite' or condolence processions;
- Condolence sessions;
- Scenic commemoration of the founding event, which in common usage is referred to as 'consolation' (التعزية).

'Husayite' Processions

The processions known as 'Husaynite' are liturgical processions organized by the inhabitants of various neighborhoods in the city, under the guidance of the *imāms of* mosques; they follow a path preliminarily set. The celebrating actors repeat pious exclamations – which are, often, political slogans – by hitting their chests in a rhythmic way, with their right hand, in sign of penitence: this rite is '*latm*' or 'mea culpa'.

The respect of this penitence rite allows the viewer to observe the penitents' mental experience. In fact, the coordinated rhythmic movements, the repetition which is both monotonous and filled with emotional ritual exclamations, the bodies' attitude, the faces' mimics, and closed eyes are all signs that show that

the celebrating actors are fully plunged into the intellectual and emotional festive celebration. As such, in this exaltation moment, they relive in a mystical way the central moment of the founding event: the treason that their ancestors perpetrated against Imam Husain, 'the grand-son of the Prophet' and they want to atone for this crime. Processions are repeated during the first nine evenings of festivities, based on the same pattern.

On the tenth day of the festivities, the very day of 'Āshūra', the celebrating actors see and the researcher observes a new form of Husaynite processions: the '*procession of the swords*':

- These processions include small groups of men of all ages;
- The members of these small 'processions' hit their wounded heads with their right arms, rhythmically chanting the ritual exclamation 'Haidar':

This scene, which is quite impressive, offers the viewer a second opportunity to see the celebrating actors' mental experience: they seem to find themselves in a state of religious enthusiasm. In fact, by mystically reliving the treason perpetrated by their ancestors regarding Imam Husain, they want to repair it. It is an act of atonement.

Condolence Assemblies

The second series of liturgical activities is made of prayer gatherings, commonly called 'condolence assemblies'.

These assemblies occur either publically in mosques or in Husayniyyahs, and are guided by an *imām*; they may also be celebrated in private homes, in small communities, under the guidance of an *imām*.

The *ceremonial sequence* of assemblies occurs in three phases:

- It starts with the recitation of a Koranic periscope;
- Then a high-rank *imām* gives a '*khutbah*' or sermon;
- Eventually, an *imām* recites the martyrology.

The reading of the martyrology is, in fact, the monologue reading – by a reader – of an episode of the founding event; the 'reader' is usually a professional, such as an *imām* formed in Najaf, and represents a high artistic level.

I have observed the ceremony of condolence assemblies in the Husayniyyah of the city of Nabatiyyeh, apart from some visits to some individuals.

'Ta'ziyah' or the Scenic Celebration of the Founding Event

On the tenth day of the festivities occurs the liturgical *mise-en-scène* [composition; visual style] of the founding event.

The scenic celebration occurs in three acts:

In *the first act* the viewer sees the entrance of the two armies and their maneuvers. This mise-en-scène is – usually – used to present the viewers with antithetical images of Islamic society; in fact:

- Husain's army embodies the authentic Islamic society;
- Whereas the opposing Umayyad army is the image of the Islamic society of the depraved Yazid Caliphate.

Thus, the first act is the scenic expression of the theological idea of the true Islam, one which Husain wanted to resuscitate when he launched this 'suicidal' enterprise (according to the expression of some contemporary ulema [Muslim scholars and religious leaders]).

In *the second act*, the viewer sees the uneven battle between two armies; it includes a numbers of duels. In each scene, one of the *Imām*'s companions is opposed to the powerful Umayyad army. Thus, the second act is the scenic representation of the intellectual supreme ideal of sacrifice, which is embodied by *Imām* Husain's freely consented martyr.

In *the third act*, the viewer sees the final assault by the Umayyad army against Husain's camp: it is the scene of the massacre of the men, and the humiliation of the women of the Prophetic home.

These are the three acts of a political-religious tragedy that is compared by a number of researchers to the 'passion' genre.

The Guiding Thoughts of the Karbalā' Tragedy

The careful viewer is likely to come out with two guiding thoughts in this tragedy:

- Based on the first idea, Imām Husain and his companions engaged in a hopeless, 'suicidal' battle in order to sacrifice themselves for a just cause. In fact, *justice* represents – in the Shiite theological thought – a fundamental value, which is explained in detail in the festive sermons.
- The second main idea is summed up in the *husaynite spirit of sacrifice*, which was evident in the freely consented martyrdom for the victory of the cause of the true Islam. Therefore, martyrdom is in Shiite Islam the quintessence of moral perfection.

It is clear that the mise-en-scène of this idea of moral perfection exerts a profound influence on the viewers, as seen in the ritual crying. In fact, a scenic commemoration of the founding event helps viewers to relive it over and again. The strength of this scenic commemoration resides in the fact that the mise-en-scène refreshes the initial tragedy of Shiite history.

The careful observation of the viewers and of their behavior during the scene allows the researcher to follow the transformation process in this public gathering of viewers, who are the celebrating community.

This transformation process highlights a remarkable phenomenon, which makes it possible to see the celebrating actors' mental experience. In fact, the limits that separate the scenic action from historical reality disappear from the

conscious thought of the celebrating-viewers as the scenic action evolves; the celebrating viewers forget that they are watching a play, which then becomes in their mental experience, a historical reality. It is in this mental process of *semantic shift* that resides the nucleus of the religious experience of the scenic commemoration's viewers.

The Viewers' Cathartic Experience

This rapid presentation of the celebrations of 'Āshūra' makes it possible to distinguish the framework of the celebrating actors' poignant religious experience. The faithful – who attend the ceremonies – and the actors – who carry out the ceremonies – *relive spiritually and intellectually* the founding event of the Shiite confessional community. The founding event is then made actual through ritual symbols. Through this ritual activity, they renew their loyalty to the Prophetic House, as well as to the entire Shiite community. They live a moment of communal enthusiasm, which unifies them in a unitary body and they become a sacral community.

The Thematic Content of the Cathartic Experience

The study of the discourse held by the celebrating actors in different occasions and in many contexts allows the researcher to study the thematic content of their mental religious universe. I was able to observe two types of religious discourse: on the one hand, occasional commentaries and unexpected gatherings by various speakers; on the other, sermons that the festive orator gave within 'consolation sessions'.

The 'leitmotiv' and/or central theme of this discourse is the idea of the community of the Shiite confessional community; it organizes the main themes of the Shiite discourse.

The Main Themes of the Shiite Discourse

The main themes of this discourse may be summed up in the following series of standardized statements:

1. *Imām Husain is the iconic personality who embodies the essential moral values of the Shiite confessional community*.
2. *The Shiites' predetermined destiny is to fight for justice and to resist the unfair masters.*

In fact, the idea of justice is at the heart of the Shiite theological thought so much that it became the second of the religion's five principles ('asl'). Then, the

idea of justice has produced a conception of history based on which the Shiite community's predetermined destiny is to fight injustice and to resist unfair masters.

First, this discourse highlights the Shiite socio-religious group's historical destiny as they fight injustice and commit to achieve justice. This destiny is embodied in an exemplary way by Imām Husain.

Second, this discourse combines two enemy groups in the same class, that of the 'unjust': distorted Islam and foreign enemies, which are both considered as the enemies of Shiites. Thus, resistance to these enemies is what distinguishes Shiites'.

'Āshūra' Celebrations are the Emblem of Shiite Identity

In fact, 'Āshūra' festivities have two functions to fill in the life of the Shiite community:

- On the one hand, they are a manifestation of their identity through a system of semiotic signs, which also reinforce their awareness of their identity;
- On the other, they bring out their autonomy and highlight their own personality facing other socio-religious Muslim groups, namely the Sunni.

The Husaynite Spirit of Sacrifice Finds its Roots in Islamic Ethics

These ethics, which the Prophet rooted in *generosity* and *dignity*, reaches its fullness in the martyr of Husain.

In this context, the orator has many times cited the Prophetic tradition, which attributes to the Prophet the following: 'I have been sent to complete good morals with generosity' (قال خألا مراكتم مكال لمّكأل تلسرأ).Based on the Shiite interpretation, the martyr Husain freely consented to is, in fact, the achievement of this Islamic conception of ethics and presents him as the living archetype of these ethics.

These four themes are the theological context of the Shiite ethics that are represented in the 'Āshūra' ceremonies.

The Structure of the Shiite Discourse

The meta-textual presentation and the thematic analysis of the Shiite discourse show that the latter discourse carries a coherent thought and a well-structured ideology. The main themes, which are the semantic field of this ideology, are signaled by a series of thematic categories: they may be presented under the following matrix form:

AUTHENTIC ISLAM	**PROCESSION HUSSEIN**	**DISTORTED ISLAM**	**ENEMIES STRANGERS**
Prophet	Prophetic House		
Hussein Mayrtyr	Love of Hussein Spirit of sacrifice		
	'Āshūra'	UMAYYAD	
	Resistance	Abbasid	
		Ottomans	
	Al-Sistani	Saddam Hussein	
	Martyrs		England
	AUTHENTIC		America
	IDENTITY	LOST IDENTITY	Israel
JUSTICE		INJUSTICE	

This matrix disposition of the thematic categories – spread over four columns – highlights the internal articulation of this vision of the world:

- The left column groups the thematic categories that characterize authentic Islam as realized at the time of the founders: this is the universe of eschatological justice.
- The two columns to the right include the thematic categories that describe the world of injustice, through its two fractions: distorted Islam and estranged enemies.
- In the middle, there are the thematic categories that represent the party of Hussein who – in this earthly world – commit to the struggle for justice and the fight against the powers of injustice.

The matrix representation of the categories of this world vision pivots around the idea of eternal conflicts between the forces of Good and those of Evil. This conflict started with the battle of Karbalā'; as such, you find a list of Sunni tyrans, British colonialists, American occupants, and Zionist enemies who oppress the people of Hussein. Thus, the conflict of Karbalā' became the paradigm of all the conflicts against injustice and for justice. Thus, the 'Āshūra' festivities represent a complex process of updating of the archetypal past. Behind this vision of the past there appear the contours of a group who founds its cohesion on conflict-based relations with its socio-political and religious environment.

The Sacral Transfiguration of the Shiite Socio-religious Group

It is this thematic constellation that is at the heart of the 'Āshūra' celebrations by forming the thematic content of the cathartic experience lived by the celebrating actors. It is a mise-en-scène of a moral ideal, which has a mobilizing strength.

In the light of what has been said, the idea of *martyr*, as understood in the theology of Shiites and lived in their religious experience, is comparable to the idea of *sainthood* in Christian theology and spirituality. In fact, in each of their theological systems, these two ideas represent the supreme ideal of moral perfection.

Similarity of Form [vs] Content Difference

This apparent similarity of the Shiite idea of martyr and the Christian idea of sainthood as two ideals of moral perfection cannot conceal the profound difference in the respective theological contents. The idea of *martyr* implies in its semantic field the idea of active resistance, which, in its turn, reaches its climax in the holy war, the 'djihad' led against the forces of injustice. This 'holy war' is predestined by the Shiites to God. As a result, the Shiite ideal of moral perfection includes in its semantic field warring violence. Thus, the violent struggle led in order to achieve noble aims – such as the active resistance to injustice – is the supreme ideal of moral perfection. It goes without saying that this moral perfection also implies the disposition to agree to sacrifices, or even to sacrifice one's life.

The idea of active and violent resistance is one of the leitmotivs in the Shiite theological thought, especially in the works of Lebanese ulemas who – since Mussā AL-SADR – use it to justify the warring resistance against Israel. This idea lies on two master thoughts:

- On the one hand, the idea of martyrdom as a supreme ideal of moral perfection;
- On the other, the idea of reincarnation of this ideal in Hussein's destiny.

Christian theological thought also sees martyrdom as violent death endured for Christian faith. The death of the martyr is considered as a 'sign' that shows God's action through the perseverance of this witness, i.e. the martyr. As such, the Christian idea of martyrdom does not include in its semantic field active resistance.

Thus, it is clear that the difference between the two ideals of ethical perfection lies in the moral evaluation of violence, namely warring violence of each of the two theological systems.

To conclude, it should be noted that these two ideas of martyrdom are related to two ideals of moral perfection. In Shiite thought, this ideal is represented through the figure of a martyr. The Shiite martyr is, in fact, comparable to the epic hero. The epic hero embodies a system of ethical and religious values by living those values in his personal destiny, including those leading up to the ultimate consequences. He represents the perfect, accomplished man who commits to the end in order to put into practice sublime ideals, thus sacrificing his own destiny. The idea of this type of hero includes in its semantic field armed violence.

The Christian ideal of moral perfection is, on the other hand, embodied by the figure of the saint. The saint represents a type of man who is distinguished by both an intense internal life and the will to serve others.

'Āshūra' Festivities as the Sacral Transfiguration of the Shiite Socio-religious Group

In this context, 'Āshūra' festivities bear a clear meaning: For the celebrating actors, these ritual activities are a period of intense socialization. The activities have two functions:

1. The manifest function – represented by the celebrating actors' motives and aims – is the celebrating actors' subjective desire to have a communal religious experience through performing a work of piety;
2. Behind this manifest function of the festivities, there is a latent function. The analysis of data makes it possible to deduce two consequences that the celebrating actors have not considered:

First, periodic festivities help create and renew the institutional structures of the local socio-religious group.

Thanks to its coherence and monolithic unity, such a reference group is the center of power inasmuch as it exerts psycho-social pressure – or even sometimes physical pressure – in order to get its members to conform to a specific lifestyle. This reference group is based on a holistic concept of society, one which controls the members' socio-political practices and their existential experience. Through this holistic experience and this inclusive practice, the Shiite confessional group might be considered as a 'hierocratic group', to use M. Weber's words. Civil society and confessional community are the two complementary dimensions of this hierocratic group, which is the focus point of its members' loyalty. As a result, the group, which is very cohesive, shows relentless resistance to any attempt to break up its two constitutive dimensions.

The second consequence is the following: The celebrations help the celebrating actors to live a cathartic experience through the updating of basic religious ideas and main moral values as conveyed by the founding event.

Thus, as a result of this mental process of updating the founding event, 'Āshūra' celebrations – like similar rituals in other religions, such as the Easter celebrations in Christianity – become a tool that allows the religious participant to manipulate time.

In the light of these considerations, it is possible to consider the 'Āshūra' celebrations as a *mise-en-scène* of the Shiite idea of moral perfection, embodied by the heroic figure of the martyr. These celebrations are the sacral transfiguration of the Shiite community, which presents itself as the 'community of the companions of Imam Hussein, martyr of the Islamic cause'. It is the complex process of integration of the sacred and the profane in a holistic socio-religious group. In a way, the two dimensions are inseparable.

POLITICS OF FOLK RITUALS

THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD IN LATGALE[1]

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Abstract: This article is devoted to the Office of the Dead – a tradition that began in the Latvian culture at the end of the eighteenth century and continues to be practiced today. In various forms of the High Latvian dialect, the Office of the Dead is called 'saļmi', 'saļmas', 'saļmes' – from the word 'psalms', because the texts of psalms take up the largest part of performance. The Office of the Dead is widespread in the Latvian Catholic community in Latgale (the eastern part of Latvia) and in isolated places in Augšzeme (the south-eastern part of Latvia).

The Office of the Dead developed as a self-contained body of prayers from the Liturgy of the Hours since the eighth century. In Latvia the origins of the Office of the Dead can be dated at 1786, when texts of the officium were published in the Latgalian written language for the first time in a prayer and songbook. In Latvian communities the Office of the Dead tradition was disseminated by Jesuits. The Office of the Dead took over the functions of similar traditions, which had existed in the Latvian community earlier: the wake, wailing for the departed at funerals, feasts for the dead in the autumn, etc.

Nowadays in Latvia, the Office of the Dead is performed 1) at funerals and remembrance days for the deceased after the funeral (on the 2nd, 9th, 30th, 40th day); 2) at remembrance events for the deceased in autumn (September 29 – November 10); 3) at the cemetery celebrations; and 4) on occasions when the deceased appears in a dream and is asking for something. In rural communities, which are the tradition's main functioning environment, nowadays the number of singers is diminishing due to complexity of the performance; decreasing interest in it by the next generation; changes in lifestyle; and community migration to the cities.

Keywords: The Office of the Dead, psalms, Latvian tradition, Latgale, Catholicism, Jesuits.

Historical Context

The Office of the Dead is a Latvian tradition that began at the end of the eighteenth century and continues to be practiced today. It is linked to funerals and the remembrance of the deceased on certain subsequent days, as well as to annual family events dedicated to the departed. In this way the tradition relates to both family and annual traditions. The Office of the Dead is widespread in the Latvian Catholic community, both in Latgale (the eastern part of Latvia) and in isolated places in Augšzeme (the south-eastern part of Latvia).

Latgale's cultural peculiarity and its difference from the other Latvian regions – Kurzeme (the western part of Latvia), Zemgale (the southern part of

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Latvia), Vidzeme (the northern and central part of Latvia) and partly also of Augšzeme – has evolved mainly due to gaps in dialect and religion, which have been influenced by cultural-historic circumstances. After the Polish-Swedish War (1600–1629), Latgale was separated from the other Latvian regions, which during the thirteenth–sixteenth centuries were part of the Livonian Confederation. Even though Latgale became part of Tsarist Russia in 1772 – which already included Vidzeme and, at the end of the eighteenth century, Kurzeme, Zemgale, and Augšzeme as well (the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, a vassal state of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1562–1795), right up to the time of the creation of an independent nation in 1918 – there weren't close links between Latgale and the other Latvian regions.

Historian Jürgen Beyer points out that the Baltic Sea region had, since the sixteenth century, been split between Catholicism and Lutheranism[2] and that there were confessional clashes and disharmonies that had existed since the beginning of Protestantism, especially in Riga. The confessional disharmony continued to exist in the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia throughout its existence, whereas Latgale, which had remained in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after the division of the Livonian Confederation (including Latgale, Vidzeme, and southern Estonia) in 1629, retained its Catholicism. Protestantism meanwhile consolidated itself in Vidzeme, which came under the control of the Swedish Empire in 1629. Looking back at history, the territory of Latvia has continually found itself in religious confrontations and the ensuing war zones between its larger neighbours. The Jesuits were the most active promulgators and defenders of Catholicism in the territory of Latvia, especially in Latgale, from the end of the sixteenth century until the early nineteenth century. The implementation of the Office of the Dead traditions in Latvian society is a result of the Jesuits' work.

Historical sources and Latvian folklore materials show that the Office of the Dead took over the functions of similar tradition that had existed in the Latvian community earlier – the wake, wailing for the departed at funerals, feasts for the dead in the autumn, etc. In turn, so that the wider community could be taught the musical material with its complex content and form, its execution and teaching method had to be already well known, developed and refined in cloister cells. Ethnomusicologist Martin Boiko (Mārtiņš Boiko), who has been researching the Latvian psalm singing tradition since the 1990s, has shown that similar folklorized Catholic psalmodies, which are carried out at funerals, are also known in Lithuania, Poland, and part of Belarus. However, in the case of Latvia, it is surprising that for a period of more than a month in autumn, an Office of the Dead meeting for the deceased of a respective household was held at almost every peasant farmhouse.[3]

The aim of this article is to reveal cultural-historic circumstances of the issue and spread of the Office of the Dead in Latvia. The content, form, and origin of tradition performance and geographical distribution, as well as the tradition's

2 Beyer 1997.
3 Boiko 2001. 89–90.

functionality in the wider community are analysed in this article, based on information from historical sources, Latvian folklore materials, and field research. As pointed out by American folklorist Richard Bauman, it is specifically the contextual information that helps to understand the value of folklore in today's society.[4] The analysis of the Office of the Dead tradition's context reveals the influence and role of Christianity, not just in Latvian history, but also in European cultural history.

Roots and Evolution

The Office of the Dead developed as a self-contained body of prayers from the Liturgy of the Hours, which nowadays consists of Matins, Lauds, Terce, Sext, None, and Vespers. In the fourth century, the Liturgy of the Hours gained a more defined content and outline of form and began to be used at cloisters. By the eighth century, the cycle of Day Hours and Matins had become the general pattern for all the clergy, secular as well as monastic.[5] As shown by Martin Boiko, the Office of the Dead also appeared in the eighth century as an addition to the Liturgy of the Hours and was performed on the day of a funeral and during the wailing for the departed.[6]

In Latvia, the origins of the Office of the Dead can be dated at 1786, when texts of the officium were published in the Latgalian written language[7] for the first time in a prayer and songbook called "Nabozenstwo ku czci y chwale Boga…"[8] But, as revealed by historical sources (travellers' notes, historic studies, and church visitations),[9] the Latvians, like their neighbouring peoples, recognized the honouring of their departed ancestors at certain times, as well as traditions of wailing and crying for the departed at funerals, from as far back as the fifteenth century.

The honouring of the departed in the autumn, inviting them home and feasting, was a widespread tradition throughout the territory of Latvia. These were called 'zemlikas', 'iļģi', 'veļu laiks' (time of the dead), 'tēvu dienas' (fathers' days) and 'dvēseļu dienas' (souls' days), – from Michaelmas (September 29) until Martinmas (November 10).[10] Jesuit Jānis Stribings (Joannis Stribingius)[11] provided evidence of souls' days in Latgale in 1606:

> On souls' days they invite the souls of their departed into their homes, calling each by name, and having prepared a meal, chide them for not having

4 Bauman 1983. 362–368.
5 OD 1998. 1177.
6 Boiko 2001. 71.
7 Latgallian written language – written tradition of High Latvian dialect, which is spoken in Eastern part of Latvia.
8 Nabozenstwo 1786.
9 Boiko 2001. 90.
10 Šmits 1940–1941. 1951–1965.
11 Mannhardt 1936. 440.

> protected them from forest animals, from thunder and other mishaps: after this, they offer them bread and beer, regaling the invisible souls. Finally, they throw everything in the fire and sweep the house with brooms from all directions, driving the invited souls away again. They then hack into the walls of the house here and there with an axe, so that no souls are left hanging around. When they've all been driven away in this way, then they feast like there's no tomorrow in the custom of pagans.[12]

In the texts mentioned there's no evidence of the Office of the Dead tradition, which appears in later – late nineteenth and twentieth-century folklore material from Latgale:

> They observed their fathers' days in October... They prepared for their fathers' days in advance. A fine meal, to feed all of the fathers' days participants, had to be prepared so as not to aggrieve the dead... The relatives arrived a bit earlier. The neighbours gathered in the evening. Then they ate and drank, and sang psalms, which are special songs for the dead. The psalms are long songs and that's why the singing dragged on late into the night. In between they had a drink and prayed to God for the departed.[13]

Martin Boiko has noticed relics of burial laments in the Office of the Dead's musical materials.[14] Although there are relatively few descriptions of Latvian funerals in historical sources where burial laments are mentioned, having found such traditions with the Estonian, Lithuanian and Slavic peoples, and by comparing texts, the situations where they are performed and the functions, one can however, see similarities with the few descriptions of Latvian past traditions. One of these is in Johann Meletius' book "Libellus di Sacrificiis et Idolatria Veterum Borussorum, Luionum, aliarumque uicinarum gentium..." (1551):[15]

> The peasants perform these rituals at funerals. They take the clothes and shoes off the deceased's body, and sit them up straight on a chair; the departed person's relatives sit around this and drink and feast. When the beer is drunk, then the funeral wailing begins: Oh dear, why did you die? Did you lack food and drink? – Wailing in this way, in turn, they count out all of the temporal possessions of the person whose death they are bemoaning, namely, his wife, children, sheep, cows, horses, geese, chickens et al. As they count out all of these things, they sing this funeral refrain: why then did you die, you, who owned all of this?[16]

12 Mannhardt 1936. 444.
13 Čudare-Eriņa 2005. 196.
14 Boiko 1998. 152–162.
15 Spekke 1995. 219.
16 Spekke 1995. 219.

Priest David Celak's 1664 report to the Consistory from Alūksne (north-eastern Latvia) provides information about similar funeral customs:

> According to the pagan traditions they wail for them (the departed), and good friends and neighbours gather, cry, wail and howl, even though they have no internal pain. Then they ask the deceased why he has departed from them, did he lack food, drink or clothes...[17] When they bury the corpse, there's tremendous howling again and each of the friends throws sand on the coffin.[18]

Polish ethnographer Stefanie Ulanovska (Stefanija Ulanowska) also points out particular funeral songs which were still sung earlier in Latgale at the end of the nineteenth century:

> In the evening, the womenfolk come together, light a candle and sing the sacred songs, psalms and litanies. Earlier they sang songs of grief, which are remembered only by the oldest folk, and not by all of them either.[19]

From the previously mentioned historical and folklore evidence, it can be concluded that the Office of the Dead assumed and took over the already existing funeral and deceased honouring traditions in Latgale. From the thirteenth century and especially after the Reformation, church representatives tried to eliminate customs which did not conform with the principles of Christianity in all regions. This battle only started making inroads from the late eighteenth century when Christian values began to be spread by representatives of one social stratum amongst themselves, i.e. the Latvians: in Vidzeme – influenced by the United Brethren (Herrnhuters), in Latgale – as a result of the work by Jesuits.

The Jesuits

The Jesuit Order was officially recognized in 1540, and was founded by Ignatius Loyola. The Order quickly gained supporters as well as enemies. The local powers couldn't influence the activities of the Jesuits, as it was under the direct command of the Pope in Rome, and in this way, they could operate freely in all Catholic territories. Their missions were spread over Europe, Japan, India, the American continent, and elsewhere.[20]

Jesuits arrived in the territory of Latvia in 1582, with the Polish King, Stephen Bathory.[21] Soon thereafter, the Jesuits began promoting the Christian religion throughout all of Livonia. In 1583, the Bishopric of Cēsis was founded; it became

17 Straubergs 1936. 118.
18 Straubergs 1936. 122
19 Ulanovska 1892. 208.
20 OD 1998. 870–872.
21 Kleijntjenss 1941. VII.

an important mission base for the Riga and Tartu Jesuits as well, from which they headed to more distant places.[22] The success of the Jesuits' activities is hidden in the discipline, perseverance, and diplomacy of their Order. The Jesuits took confession, blessed and healed people, freed them from their obsession with the devil, and also organized theatre performances and founded schools. The Jesuits gained the community's trust, due to their ability to break down the social barriers between the simple people and the monks of the Order, as well as their use of the local language in their missionary work. The release of ecclesiastical literature in the Latgalian written language, which helped promote the development of literacy in the broader community, can also be included among the achievements of the Jesuits.

The previously mentioned prayer book "Nabozenstwo ku czci y chwale Boga…"[23] in which the text of the Office of the Dead appeared for the first time, was published by the Jesuits. The tradition could only come alive after the publication of the officium, due to its complex form and great deal of text. This particular year also provides the answer as to why the Office of the Dead only established itself in the territory of Latgale. The activities of the Jesuits were interrupted in Vidzeme by Swedish King Gustav Adolf in 1625,[24] whereas in the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, the Jesuits ceased their activities in 1773,[25] as the Order was closed down. In Latgale, the Jesuit Order continued to operate as Rome's Pope Clement XIV's Bull, which banned the activities of the Order, and was not proclaimed in the Russian Empire by Catherine II.[26] In this way, the Jesuits were still operating in the territory of Latgale right up until 1820, when Tsar Alexander I also banned the activities of the Jesuits in Tsarist Russian territory. These 34 years were the establishment period of Office of the Dead. After this time people continued to maintain the tradition even without the presence of the Jesuits.

Time and Space of Performance

Nowadays in Latvia, the Office of the Dead is performed 1) at funerals and remembrance days for the deceased after the funeral, 2) at remembrance events for the deceased in autumn, 3) at the cemetery celebrations, and 4) on occasions when the deceased appears in a dream and is asking for something. At both funerals and remembrance days after the funeral, as well as in autumn, the Office of the Dead is performed at home. Women who are known around the area as good psalm performers are invited. Usually 5-8 are invited nowadays, but at times even 12. The singing usually takes place in a room while sitting around a table. A white

22 Kleijntjenss 1941. 283.
23 Nabozenstwo 1786
24 Kleijntjenss 1941. 284.
25 Kleijntjenss 1940. 7.
26 Andreev 1998. 92.

tablecloth is placed on the table, two candles are lit, and a small crucifix is placed there. In some places a loaf of bread and some salt are placed there as well. Afterwards the singers are fed and sometimes even paid for their performance.

In autumn, remembrance events for the deceased can take place in every house, or are performed just once and at one site for all of the departed in the village. The Office of the Dead is also performed in church on the 2nd of November, All Souls' Day. On such occasions prayers are said for everyone who has departed from the families, the village, or the county. At the cemetery festivals, which take place at every cemetery in the summer, prayers are said for relatives and those who are buried in the respective cemetery. At the cemetery festivals, the Office of the Dead is performed until the moment when the priest arrives, and therefore the local women arrive at the cemetery in advance.

At funerals the Office of the Dead is performed on the night before the deceased is buried, on the morning of the funeral at church (if the deceased is seen off from a church), or at home (if the deceased is seen off from home), before the priest arrives. Earlier the Office of the Dead was sung each evening until the funeral, as the deceased was kept at home until burial. After the funeral they can continue to be performed on the next 9th, 30th, or 40th day, depending on the local traditions. The psalms are also performed a year after the death, as well as on specific anniversaries, for example, after 5 or 10 years, if the family's relatives so wish.

The Office of the Dead is also performed at home on occasions when the deceased appears in a dream to someone close and is asking for something: "If the person appears in a dream, they say that he, the dead person, might want something. They say that you should pray to God for him. Then money is sometimes given to the priest to hold a mass at the church, but sometimes it's given to a lady so that she'll sing some psalms. Then she gets someone to help her and they then sing psalms".[27] M. Boiko links such dreams with several Latvian belief legend plots and calls them "request and gratitude dreams".[28] And after the performance of the Office of the Dead, the deceased person may also appear in dreams to express gratitude: "After the death of my husband, every year for five years, I sang psalms on the anniversary of his death. He didn't appear in a dream to me, but he did in my children's dreams. Something like gratitude... You feel better yourself if you've done something like that".[29]

In recent years, more and more often instead of performing the Office of the Dead on the remembrance days after the funeral and on anniversaries, as well as when the deceased is seen in dreams, money is given to a priest so that a requiem can be held at the church. As the number of Office of the Dead singers diminishes, the practice of holding a requiem is becoming more widespread, especially as the performance of the Office of the Dead requires a lot of experience and knowledge, due to its complex musical and textual material.

27 From an interview with Marija Supe (1932) in 2008, at Šķilbēni parish, Viļaka municipality.
28 Boiko 2002.
29 From an interview with Valentīna Keiša (1940) in 2008, at Šķilbēni parish, Viļaka municipality.

Content and Structure

In various forms of the High Latvian dialect, the Office of the Dead is called ‘saļmi’, ‘saļmas’, or ‘saļmes’ – from the word ‘psalms’, as the texts of psalms take up the largest part of its execution. The Office of the Dead is a musical performance, which lasts about two hours, with psalm singing and prayers mixing with solo or multi-singer recitations. Usually, there is one lead singer in every singing group who assumes leadership of the meeting. If there is a large group of singers, then it splits into two parts and the singing is done in an antiphonal way – with the groups of singers alternating consecutively. In performing individual readings, all or only one singer stands up. For the reading of the texts, late nineteenth-century, early twentieth-century, or newer recently released prayer books are used. Sometimes texts are written by hand in individual exercise books from prayer books.

Even though, historically, the Office of the Dead is made up of three parts: Vespers, Matins, and Lauds, the last two parts are the ones that are usually performed in the Latgale tradition.

Prior to the commencement of the Office of the Dead singing, the Rosary and a litany in honour of the Virgin Mary are recited. This is followed by the Matins, which is composed of three nocturns in the Latgale tradition:

1. Nocturn 1 consists of Ps. 5, 6, 7, prayers, Lesson 1, Responsory, Lesson 2, Responsory, Lesson 3, Responsory, in consecutive order;
2. Nocturn 2 consists of Ps. 22, 24, 26, prayers, Lesson 4, Responsory, lesson 5, Responsory, Lesson 6, Responsory, in consecutive order;
3. Nocturn 3 consists of Ps. 39, 40, 41, prayers, Lesson 7, Responsory, lesson 8, Responsory, Lesson 9, Responsory, in consecutive order.

Then the Lauds follows, which includes: Ps. 50 (Miserere), 64, 62, 66, Canticle of Ezechias (Ego dixi), Ps. 148, 149, 150, Canticle of Zachary (Benedictus), prayers, Ps. 129, versicles and orations, in consecutive order.[30]

After the performances of the Matins and Lauds, songs dedicated to saints are also sung. Usually, songs dedicated to Jesus and the Virgin Mary are also performed. If the deceased had the name of a Catholic saint, for example, St. Thecla or St. Anthony, then songs in honour of these saints are also performed, as they are also considered to be the guardians of the deceased.

The need to pray for the dead is closely connected with the Catholic Church’s understanding of purgatory. The prayers help the soul of the deceased to endure suffering when it enters purgatory after death. Pope Gregory the Great even drew attention to the fires of purgatory in the sixth century. In the mid-sixteenth century, at the Council of Trent, the role of prayer in the soul’s journey to heaven was emphasized.[31] The psalm singers in Latgale are aware of these notions as well, which gives their performance emotional depth:

30 Lielbārdis & Boiko 2012. 27–28, PGL 1857. 259–292.
31 OD 1998. 1349–1350.

> Psalms are sung to release the sins of the person who has died, so that God can forgive the sins and let the person enter the Kingdom of Heaven, whether he has ended up in Hell or in the fires of purgatory – so that his sins can be forgiven and he can get to the Kingdom of Heaven.[32]

In Catholicism, the Virgin Mary also has a significant role in saving the soul. Due to her origins as a human, she is an intermediary between people and the post-death judges. In Catholic legends one often comes across a motif – if one fervently prays to the Virgin Mary, then she is able to influence her son Jesus Christ's decisions when, together with God, they decide on the deceased's soul's journey after death.[33] That is why prayers, songs, and litanies are dedicated to the Virgin Mary and Jesus, both before and after the Office of the Dead.

Even though the Office of the Dead is firmly connected with religious practices, it is still performed mainly in the absence of a church representative – a priest. The knowledge and performing skills are passed down from generation to generation, independent of official church practices. Nowadays the Office of the Dead has become a Latvian folklore tradition – it is passed down from generation to generation without special studies, and there are many variations in both content and melody throughout its region of distribution.

From Soviet Period up to Nowadays

During the period of Soviet regime in Latvia (1940–1941; 1945–1990), action was taken against religious activities in the community, and research on religion in the area of folklore didn't take place. Such research was considered undesirable.[34] However, direct sanctions weren't imposed against the Office of the Dead tradition, as the meetings were mainly private and were performed in the home in rural communities. Furthermore, the tradition is closely linked to the memory of the deceased, and in this way, the Office of the Dead was perceived in the community, not so much as a religious act, but more as a general humane obligation, as it continues to be: "(In the Autumn) 'Saļmes' are sung, to honour the departed, the deceased. That's why they sing. People go to church to pray to God for themselves, but 'saļmes' are sung for those who have already gone to the other world."[35]

The Catholic Church has also partly helped to maintain the tradition until the present day, as the officium has been included in most prayer and songbooks since first publication of the Office of the Dead in 1786. Even though changes have been introduced over time in the published Office of the Dead texts and

32 From an interview with Helēna Šakina (1933) in 2008, at Šķilbēni parish, Viļaka municipaly.
33 Power 2011. VI.
34 Sideļņikovs 1953. 44.
35 From an interview with Marija Supe (1932) in 2008, at Šķilbēni parish, Viļaka municipaly.

melodies, in most cases the singers have still hung onto the version of the tradition of the performance, which has been handed down over the generations.

Catholic priests began to focus on documenting the tradition in the 1970s, and in later years the keepers of the tradition, ethnomusicologists and folklorists, paid attention to documentation as well. The first known audio recording was made secretly from the regime in 1971, when a priest Miķelis Jermacāns and poet Ontans Slišāns recorded a singing group from Upīte (Northern Latgale). In 1976, Catholic priest and organist Staņislavs Čužāns recorded a performance of the Office of the Dead in Krāslava (Southern Latgale).[36] Scholarly research was commenced by M. Boiko, and in the period from 1997–1999, he documented 29 of the groups performing the Office of the Dead on audio cassettes.[37] Since 2005, the author of this essay has also made video and audio recordings of the tradition in various places in Latgale.

The current interest of scholars in the Office of the Dead tradition, its documentation and use in the broader Latvian community, has given the keepers of the tradition additional stimulus to maintain it, as the number of those performing the tradition and its area of distribution are diminishing. The diminution of the tradition can be explained by the complexity of its performance, changing interest in it by the next generation and a change in lifestyle, as well as community migration away from rural communities, which is the tradition's main functioning environment.

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Fig. 1. The Office of the Dead in 2009 at Rekova, Šķilbēni parish, Viļaka municipality. (Photo: Martin Boiko)

THE POLITICS OF TRADITION:
FOLK HEALING ON TWO CONTINENTS, PART I

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Abstract: This article is a continuation of my collaboration with Nancy Cassell McEntire, former director of the Indiana State University Folklore Archives in the USA, comparing traditional healing practices in Sweden and the United States. In our first joint presentation the subject of investigation was healing trees; this time we have turned our focus to the healing practices for warts and burns. In Part I of this topic I take a closer look at the explanations for the occurrence of warts, the different types of cures used to get rid of them. I also examine remedies for healing burns, and give examples of the use of ritual acts, which in turn reveal the belief systems surrounding warts and burns. In Part II Nancy McEntire makes a case study discussing current yet traditional healing practices for warts, burns, and asthma in the USA.[1]

Keywords: curing warts, healing burns, traditional healing practices, political correctness in medicine.

In Swedish folk tradition, many causes and cures were used to explain and take away warts. There also were many cures for healing burns, for which no explanation from folk belief was needed, as the cause was apparent from working with fire and hot materials, whether it was men's work in the forge or women's work in the kitchen or doing the laundry. This paper takes a closer look at the traditions, the different types of rituals used to achieve the healing, and the belief systems surrounding these traditions. Research examples come from the folklore archives of the Department of Dialectology and Folklore Research in Uppsala, Sweden, where the majority of data was collected from persons born in the mid-nineteenth century, and who lived in different parts of the country.

Explaining Warts

The most common explanation for how a person had been afflicted with warts (not to be confused with ageing/life warts, which were not to be touched)[2] was that he or she had washed in the same water used for boiling eggs, or had counted warts, or come into contact with blood from warts; other explanations could also

1 McEntire 2014.
2 ULMA 7635. 14.

be found, such as touching *tetterwort* (Lat. *Chelidonium Majus*)[3] or a toad[4] – i.e. using contagion to explain the occurrence of warts. Also in these examples is the fact that warts are similar in shape to eggs or the bumps on *tetterwort* or toads. Other explanations for the occurrence of warts are using water from cleaning the bread oven to clean oneself (bread baking being guarded by many rules to ensure a good result), or pouring water used for boiling eggs on grass, and even suffering the consequences for disturbing the elves.[5]

Looking at the explanations, Swedish folklorist Jan-Öjvind Swahn concludes that: "The presence of warts are associated with breaking a taboo of some kind, such as touching a toad or being 'defiled' by blood from someone else's warts".[6] Investigating this line of thinking further, British anthropologist Mary Douglas offers a key:

> Defilement is never an isolated event. It cannot occur except in view of a systematic ordering of ideas. Hence any piecemeal interpretation of pollution rules of another culture is bound to fail. The only way in which pollution ideas make sense is in reference to a total structure of thoughts whose keystone, boundaries, margins, and internal lines are held in relation by rituals of separation.[7]

So what does the Uppsala archive material tell us, applying this thought? I find that Mary Douglas' theories on dirt as matter out of place on one side and cleanliness and order on the other can give helpful insight to the structure of thoughts in a society. After looking through hundreds of examples of rituals for curing warts and relieving the pain of burns, I hope to trace the underlining thought behind these ritual acts. We have already looked at the explanations for the occurrence of warts, and we will now go on to look at the cures.

Common Cures for Removing Warts

In the Uppsala archive catalogue the cures for warts are divided into five predominant categories of actions: 1. rubbing pork fat on the wart, 2. counting and/or 3. tying warts away, 4. throwing away salt or peas, and finally 5. washing the warts away. There are plenty of examples to be found, and the categories do overlap, so I have limited my scope to the more common rituals connected with each of these five categories of actions.

3 Excerpts under heading '*Vårtor*' (warts) in the Catalogue of Realia at the DFU Archives in Uppsala.
4 Swahn: "Vårta".
5 Swahn n.d.
6 Swahn n.d.
7 Douglas 1979. 149-152.

Rubbing Pork Fat on the Wart

A common cure for warts was to rub the wart with pork fat which was then buried under an earthbound stone or in a dung heap. When the pork fat decayed the wart would go away.[8] You could also increase the power of the cure in different ways:

In many rituals secrecy was of the essence, including stealing the pork, and not letting anyone see where you buried it, nor speak of where you had hidden it. In some instances you were also required to walk backwards performing the ritual, or rub the pork fat counter clock wise around the wart.[9]

When a corpse passed through a gate you could also rub the gate post with pork fat and then smear the pork fat on the wart. Note that this ritual involves both a dead body, which is connected with the underworld, and a gate, which is a boundary and a gap between worlds. Both considered powerful and dangerous spaces. In another ritual you could also bury pork fat under stone in the cemetery.[10]

Specific times of the year such as Midsummer and Christmas, the lunar calendar, the week, and the cardinal points were also thought to hold power which could be drawn upon: for instance smearing the warts with pork fat from the Christmas ham, or acting when the moon was new, or on a Thursday (i.e. the day of Jesus last supper), or burying the pork fat on the north side of an earthbound stone.[11] (The north side being the mossy wetter side where things buried would decay faster and thus act sooner on the wart).

As you performed these ritual acts you could also add "readings" (charms) – rituals when something religious or magical was spoken: "I grease the wart that she goes away, and take it he who wants it"[12] or on a Thursday night go out and turn to the moon, stroke the warts with the fleshy side of the pork fat and say: "See moon, see moon, see moon". If done when the moon was receding, the warts would disappear.[13]

On a more sinister note, the wart could also be transferred to a living thing, human or animal, following an idea based on contagious magic; that a bond is created between the wart and the pork fat, and that the two can act on each other, and also that the wart can be forwarded to someone else. The pork fat can be given to a dog for instance, or buried under a stone; whoever then touches the stone gets the warts.[14] The transfer of illness from a person to an object and on to another person is discussed by James George Frazer in *The Golden Bough*, where

8 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.
9 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.
10 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.
11 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.
12 ULMA 1642. 31.
13 ULMA 3307: 2, 14.
14 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.

he reveals the magic belief systems embedded in ritual acts.[15] This line of investigation was later continued by Alan Dundes in his theories on the balance of the universe, where the amount of available good is limited and your fortune can affect the fortune of someone else.[16]

Counting and Tying Away Warts

Another common treatment was to tie the warts away, usually by counting them, making one knot on a thread for each wart, and then burying the thread under an earth-bound stone or in a dung heap, or some other wet place where it would rot quickly. When the thread had rotted away, the wart would be gone. The thread itself could be made of cotton, wool, silk, a strand of hair, or a horse hair.[17]

To increase the potency of the cure you could look at the wart, tie three counter-clockwise knots, and bury the thread; if you used a stolen end of woollen yarn for the thread, it was even better. You could also bury a thread (with a knot for each wart) under stone on a Thursday night. And if you buried it on the north side of a stone, it was even more effective.[18]

Either there was a correlation between the number of knots and the number of warts, or a magic number was used, such as the number three, symbolising the Holy Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or the number nine (three times three for extra effect). You could also spit three times.[19]

Counting and tying away was often performed by a wise man or woman who would also "read" over the warts.[20] Three knots could be tied around each wart saying "Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit",[21] or the person afflicted could throw the thread in running water saying: "Take this!"[22]

Throwing Away Salt and Peas

Another way to get rid of warts was to take as many grains of coarse salt as there were warts, and throw the salt into the bread oven. Often the salt had to come into contact with the warts before it was thrown, but in order for the actions to work, you had to be quick about it and get out the door before the salt crackled from the heat.[23]

15 Frazer 1922.
16 Dundes 1992.
17 Excerpts *'Vårtor'*.
18 Excerpts *'Vårtor'*.
19 Excerpts *'Vårtor'*.
20 Excerpts *'Vårtor'*.
21 ULMA 1550. 3.
22 ULMA 24484. 48-49.
23 Excerpts *'Vårtor'*.

Here too the ritual act could be combined with other acts to increase the magic. And again there could be a correlation between the number of warts and the grains of salt, or a magic number could be used. The size of the grain of coarse salt could also correlate approximately with the size of the wart. Furthermore, there could also be an inversion of action, such as going out the door backwards before the salt crackled.[24]

More commonly though, the warts would be counted, and as many peas as there were warts would be thrown into a well or a body of water, often after coming into contact with the warts. When the peas rotted, the warts would go away.[25]

The remedy for ridding a person of warts could be enforced through additional ritual acts: For instance, you could throw as many peas as there are warts into a well and then walk backwards home. You could also throw three peas over the left shoulder into a spring and not look back or speak thereof (a theme you may recognise from Greek mythology and the story of Orpheus and Eurydice). And it was particularly good if the ritual acts were performed on a Sunday (i.e. the Lord's day) or on a Thursday, using a north-running well.[26]

As with the rough grains of salt, peas too are approximately the same size as warts, and the power of similarity was thus drawn upon. Magic numbers could also be used, such as counting as many peas as there were warts. The ritual included the act of tracing each pea three times around each wart before throwing the peas into a well.[27]

Here too the effect of the ritual could be enhanced by "reading" over the warts. For instance. you could drop one pea for each wart in the well and say: "When this pea is dissolved into dust, so this wart will be dissolved into flesh",[28] or throw as many peas into the well as there are warts and say: "I put my peas and warts here".[29]

As with the example of throwing salt into the oven, there was also a sporting element to the ritual, where you should throw the peas into the well and run under a roof before the peas hit the bottom of the well and splashed against the water surface.[30]

Washing Away Warts

Warts could also be washed away, using rain water, water gathered on a stone or an earthbound rock, or a raindrop from gate through which a body has passed. Besides increasing the power in raindrops and dew by magical rituals, you could

24 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.
25 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.
26 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.
27 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.
28 ULMA 33921: 1, 196.
29 ULMA 11555. 758.
30 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.

also wash the warts in unusual conditions, such as moonlight; or you could make use of Christening water, water from cleaning the bread oven, water from washing a corpse, human spit, drool from a horse, frog roe, menstrual blood, or urine for the ritual act.[31]

There was a common belief that the use of water from church gates, church steps, and cemeteries, i.e. sacred places or places where the dead had passed through or were resting, increased the chances of getting rid of warts. Even water gathered in wheel tracks from the hearse carrying the dead could hold potency.[32]

These rituals were thought to be more effective if they were performed on a Thursday or Friday night (Friday being the day of the crucifixion of Christ); when the moon was full; using dew collected on Midsummer (one of the most potent times of the year); using rain water left after thunder; or using water from a gravestone.[33]

As with the grains of salt and the peas, raindrops have a similar size and shape to warts. And again, magical numbers could also be used, such as the number seven (representing the seven days of creation).[34]

"Reading" was not uncommon in asking the moon to take the warts: "Moon, Moon, wash the warts away".[35] One could go out, wash the fingers in the moonlight, point to the warts and say to the moon: "Look what I have and you don't", whereupon the moon would get jealous and take the warts.[36] You could also point to your warts as a coffin was passing by and say: "Go along, go along".[37] However, silence and absence of words could be just as powerful.[38]

In some cases a sacrifice was also needed, usually consisting of coins or needles being thrown into a well; however, if anyone washed in the well afterwards, he or she would get the warts.[39]

Healing Burns

In reviewing the cures for burns, a few main courses of treatments become apparent. These treatments consist of both physical and psychological acts.

31 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.
32 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.
33 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.
34 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.
35 ULMA 5911. 9.
36 ULMA 2706:2. 45.
37 ULMA 3932. 14.
38 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.
39 Excerpts '*Vårtor*'.

Physical Acts

One way to take away the pain from burning your fingers was to pinch your own ear. You could also burn the burn again,[40] either with something hot, or something strong that was connected with heat or burns: "If burnt in the smithy one can burn the burn back to avoid a blister".[41] A hornets' nest could be put on a burn, or newly pressed juice of stinging nettles. Other cures were to apply poisonous wormwood put in vinegar, castor oil, or bile from a bear or a swine, and smear it on the burn.[42] Behind these practices lies an old Swedish saying, "Ont ska med ont förgås" (Evil shall with evil be destroyed), going back to the Latin phrase "similia similibus curentur" (like cures like), coined by German-Swiss Renaissance man Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, better known as Paracelsus (1493–1541).[43] His work in turn goes back to Hippocrates (460-377 BC) and the idea of humoral pathology: "By similar things a disease is produced and through the application of the like is cured". I mention this because I find it interesting that this idea of 'like curing like' could influence the thinking and practices hundreds of years on, and hundreds of miles away − becoming such an integral part of traditional folk cures in Sweden.

Physical Acts: Ointments and Bandages

Today, more politically correct remedies for burns are those that use healing, disinfectant, or cooling agents such as alcohol, fat, juice from the aloe plant, egg yolk, honey, breast milk, or shredded potato. Flour made from tree bark could also be put on the wound to stop it from oozing.[44]

Also cooling, but no longer thought politically correct, were the common remedies of applying snot or spit to the burn. Among the ointments that were mentioned, I also found references to mixing cream with manure from a swine, sheep, lamb, or horse:[45] "For burns of fire or hot water. Take swine pearls [i.e. manure], dry them in a pan, crush and mangle them through a sift leaving the rough, boil the flour with thick sweet cream, left on the milk after half a day, as thin as thin gruel: thereupon anoint the burnt limb, as warmly as can be tolerated".[46] These references relate to practices in the nineteenth century, but surprisingly the cure is not Swedish but of Neapolitan origin, taken from the book *Magiae Naturalis*, written by Giovanni Battista Della Porta and published in Naples in 1558.[47]

40 Excerpts under heading '*Brännskador*' (burns) in the Catalogue of Realia at the DFU Archives in Uppsala.
41 ULMA 28879. 61b.
42 Excerpts '*Brännskador*'.
43 Paracelsus 1529-1530.
44 Excerpts '*Brännskador*'.
45 Excerpts '*Brännskador*'.
46 ULMA 170. 68-69.
47 Battista Della Porta 1558.

This provides a second example of how a scientific work has travelled through Europe over centuries, and become part of folk cure tradition.

Psychological Acts: "Reading" Away Burns

Besides physical cures you could also "read away" burns. The contents of what was said was either religious or connected with death.[48] For example: "The fire shall lose its heat as certain as Judas Iscariot betrayed his saviour".[49] You could also trace your finger three times counter- clockwise around the burn and read: "It should dry as fast as man turns to dust in the soil".[50] If you did not read over burns it was believed they would continue to hurt for nine days.[51]

Summing Up

We have now looked at explanations for the occurrence of warts, as well as five categories of actions for curing warts, and remedies for healing burns. In doing so we have seen examples of the use of ritual acts, which in turn have revealed something about the belief systems surrounding warts and burns.

With burns, the causes were self-evident, such as exposure to fire and hot materials. Looking at the cures, the remedies often involved "readings" with spoken references to holy contents or to death. Warts, on the other hand, had more obscure causes, and were usually transferred through actions involving pork, peas, or thread; these "contaminated" items were then left to decay under a stone or dung heap, or were dissolved in a well. By establishing a bond between the wart and another substance through the use of contagious magic, the wart would be affected and would dissolve. However, the wart could also be transferred to other humans, to animals, to the moon, or even to the realm of the Dead.

When analysing the traditional folk cures for warts, I first thought that the ritual acts were solely designed to draw power to give the cures potency. However, examining them on a deeper level, using Mary Douglas' theories on defilement, I realised that warts were often connected with death and thought to originate from the underworld, and that the core of the ritual acts were thus intended to put the warts back where they belonged, thereby restoring the order of the world.

48 Excerpts '*Brännskador*'.9
49 ULMA 27505. 40.
50 ULMA 4006 8. ,7371. 6.
51 Excerpts '*Brännskador*'.

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THE POLITICS OF TRADITION:
FOLK HEALING ON TWO CONTINENTS, PART II

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Abstract: The practice of folk healing seems implausible in today's world, especially as we rely increasingly on new medicines and technologies to cure us from afflictions. Yet even within a modern, Westernized setting, traditional healing rituals do persist, sustained by personal testimonials, and passed from person to person. As they continue, these rituals maintain an important role in their communities.

This article continues an investigation of healing traditions in collaboration with Marlene Hugoson, of Uppsala, Sweden. My fieldwork, in rural Illinois, USA, draws on interviews with Pat Rhoads, the owner of a local restaurant. In her spare time, Pat uses a prayer and a ritual that she learned from her grandfather, Ernest Marvin, to heal afflicted children at the base of a large oak, known as "the asthma tree". She also has applied the same prayer to cure warts, and she tells how similar rituals can mitigate the pain of contact with fire or intense heat, a process known as "blowing out a burn". Despite the fact that such cures are uncommon, Pat continues to practice them. Furthermore, she is strengthened by her success, which she sees as a validation of her Christian faith.

Keywords: folk healing, traditional healing, curing warts, healing burns, folk medicine, ritual cures

Acknowledgments: For last year's Ritual Year presentation, Marlene Hugoson and I offered comparative data on the topic of healing trees. Marlene focused on traditions practiced in Sweden, and I offered data collected from ethnographic research with a contemporary healer, Pat Rhoads, in America. Pat lives not far from my former home, just beyond the border between the states of Indiana and Illinois. The healing tree, where she takes children who are suffering from asthma, is in Illinois. After interviewing Pat, I wrote up my findings in the paper that I delivered in Bulgaria. As is customary for folklorists who use fieldwork as data for their presentations, I showed the paper to Pat, to make sure that my observations were correct. Pat made a remark that caught my attention. "What you said about the tree was fine," she told me. "But you didn't talk about how I could heal warts!" This comment made me realize that the world of the folk healer is seldom focused on only one cure or ailment. In Pat's case, her reference to other folk cures has expanded my range of inquiry as well as Marlene's. We are grateful for Pat Rhoads' continued cooperation with this research project.

In 1946 the author Wheaton Phillips Webb published an article in the *New York Folklore Quarterly* entitled "The Wart". It is an account of his investigation of wart cures among German-American settlers in rural Schenevus Valley, New York. The impetus for his research was that he had developed a large wart on his own hand, which made his subsequent inquiries about folk medicine more personal

and urgent than they might have been otherwise. The wart was unsightly and annoying, and he wanted to be rid of it. After talking to people who referred to magic words and rituals, such as drawing a circle around the wart and reciting passages in German; seeking out a man with special powers, who claimed to be the seventh son of a seventh son (and who tried to blow off the wart with his breath); and trying applications of various substances to the wart, Wheaton Webb was discouraged. The wart was still there—and it was growing. Just when he was ready to abandon his quest for a cure, a neighboring preacher who had heard of his affliction knocked on the door. "Tie a ribbon to the affected hand", the preacher said. "Tie a knot in the ribbon for each wart, and drop the ribbon on the highway. Whoever picks it up and unties the knots will get the wart". Webb was skeptical; he was clearly exasperated. "Let's see that wart", the neighbor said at last. Webb stretched out his arm and looked into the palm of his hand with amazement. The wart was gone. "It had disappeared as suddenly and mysteriously as it had come", he concluded.[1]

Mr. Webb's experiences are not unlike those of many people who are confronted with a troubling ailment, whether it is their own or that of a relative, and who turn to folk medicine for a cure. In some cases, their quest follows a number of unsuccessful attempts to find relief through conventional medical procedures. According to David Hufford, professor emeritus of medical humanities, folk medicine is regarded as a health system that is "at variance with modern medicine". He notes that many scholars still conceive of a layered model to explain this variance, with folk medicine lying "somewhere between official, scientific medicine (the top layer) and primitive medicine (the bottom layer)". He continues:

> In part this scheme reflects the nineteenth-century view of cultural evolution, in which medicine, like the rest of culture, is seen as having developed from its crudest, most primitive form into its modern, Western, highly sophisticated state…This notion is summed up in the German term *Gesunkenes Kulturgut* ["sunken cultural materials"].[2]

This model, Hufford notes, remains influential to this day. Many modern, highly sophisticated people are reluctant to acknowledge folk medicine, regarding it as old-fashioned and backward, at a lower level than official medicine. As we rely increasingly on specialized medicines and technologies to cure us from afflictions, the practice of folk healing seems implausible. And yet, even within a modern, westernized setting, traditional healing rituals do persist, and in some cases maintain a vibrant presence among those who embrace them and pass them on.

In my ongoing investigation of the persistence of folk medicine in the modern world, I will begin by reviewing specific healing traditions in rural Illinois, USA, through interviews with Pat Rhoads, the manager of Millcreek, a local restaurant near the small town of Clarksville. In her spare time, Pat uses a prayer and

1 Webb 1946. 105-106.
2 Hufford 1988. 228-229. See also Hultkranz 1960. 1958-1959.

a ritual that she learned from her grandfather, Ernest Marvin, to heal children at the base of a large oak, which local people refer to as "the asthma tree". She has applied the same prayer—and her intensity of belief—to cure warts, and she has witnessed firsthand the practice of mitigating the pain of contact with fire or intense heat, known informally as "blowing out burns". Even though she knows that some people may regard healing rituals of this type as irrational, Pat continues to practice them and believe in them.

In an interview, Pat shared the following account of curing warts:

> I came across a brother and sister who had warts all over their hands and arms. I had an uncle who could take warts off. I never knew how he did it. He never taught that to me. He probably taught it to somebody else. But I felt so sorry for those children. I thought, "Why can't I use this same concept and do those warts?" So I did. And I did the same thing he did. I took a bean—a great northern bean—and rubbed it across the warts. Then I took the bean outdoors and I hid it, so they didn't know where it was at. My uncle did that. And when the bean sprouted, the wart went away. So I did that. I took several beans and rubbed them across the warts, and hid the beans in separate places. I hid them to where they could actually sprout.
>
> I didn't ever know if it worked [at the time]. But two years later, the brother and sister came back to the restaurant, and they told me that the warts went away. I bet you that they—the two of them—had fifty warts on their hands and arms. I used the same prayer that my grandfather had taught me. But, like I say, it's all in God's hands…I guess I just knew what grandpa taught me, and I used that.
>
> Somebody might say, "Why didn't you tell me that you could do that?" Well, that's boasting. That's not what God would want us to do.

Pat also mentioned the rituals of blowing out burns and of bloodstopping, both often regarded as a sign of special powers. In this case, she offered a personal experience narrative of how her husband Bill was cured after suffering severe burns in an accident.

> My brother-in-law's dad could blow out burns. He could even do it over the phone. His name was George Farris. My husband got burned one time. The corn sheller [a machine that separates kernels of corn from the cob] blew up when he was on it, and he got burned so bad. And I knew that George could help. So I called my sister and said, "Can you check to see if he's home? I'll run Bill [Bill Rhoads, Pat's husband] over there. And before Bill got to his house, it quit burning. When he got there, George said, "I've already taken care of it". Before we even got to his house, Bill quit burning. George could do that. What he did I have no idea, but he didn't even have to see Bill.

> I know there's people who can stop blood as well, keep you from bleeding. I believe that God gives us all of those different gifts.[3]

Pat's understanding is that gifts of curing asthma, or getting rid of warts, blowing out burns, or bloodstopping come from a divine power outside of the healer. She does not question it, even in the case of George Farris, a healer who can cure a person without even having to see him. Pat notes in her narrative that she had no idea of how the healing was accomplished, but she believed in it nonetheless. It *happened.* The importance of faith—for the healer, for the healed person, and for members of the community surrounding them cannot be underestimated. Pat's story and similar narratives or testimonials that surround the ritual of folk healing—before, during, and after its completion—help sustain what might be described as oral prominence; each time the story of healing is transmitted, the belief in healing is confirmed.

Pat also alludes to another aspect of folk belief about healing—that the verbal charm or prayer that accompanies a healing ritual must be passed from a male to a female to a male. Pat believes that her grandfather [Ernest Marvin, who taught her the ritual] learned it from his grandmother. "She passed it to him, and he passed it on to me, and I have to pass it on to a male", she said. Another important aspect of Pat's healing tradition is that she does not "boast" about healing powers to other people, and she certainly will not take credit for them. Even though the power of the healing is confirmed through oral, informal stories that emphasize the importance of the cure, the healer does not encourage personal attention—or monetary payment for having accomplished it. As Pat notes, she doesn't actually *do* the healing. It comes from a higher source.[4]

Although the healing rituals that Pat describes are still practiced in modern times, there is nothing modern about them. For example, charmers (folk healers who rely on verbal prayers or sayings as a part of their ritual cures) have been recognized for centuries as important transmitters of folk medicine. Documented accounts of charmers in eighteenth-century England suggest that they kept their knowledge of specific charms a secret, fearing that random or untimely disclosure of the charm would cause it to lose its efficacy. In some cases, the charm was best revealed at the time of death, and always contra-sexually.[5] Further emphasis was placed on the importance of sustaining the power of the charms exclusively through oral transmission. In 1870 a Cornish charmer was asked to write down some of his charms. He responded that if he did so, "their virtue would be utterly destroyed…by their being put into ink".[6]

Another key ritual that is imbedded in Pat's folk healing practices is the enactment of transference. In the case of the healing tree, the disease is transferred from the asthmatic child to the living tree. A lock of hair from the suffering child

3 Rhoads, Interview, April 7, 2012.
4 Rhoads, Interview, April 7, 2012.
5 Davies 1998. 42-43.
6 Hawker 1870. 173.

is plugged into a hole in the tree at a place that matches the height of the child. Once the child grows to a height above the level of the hole, the asthma will be cured. The act of transference is accomplished through the law of contact or "contagious magic": despite physical separation, the child and the tree remain connected.[7] In the case of curing warts, Pat's example also involves a shift of energy from the wart to the bean. The wart's essence is transferred to the bean, and again, although they are separated, they continue to act on each other. As soon as the bean sprouts, the warts will disappear. In the examples of the asthmatic child and the sprouting bean, a change must occur, and in both cases, it will involve growth or development. The child progresses towards adulthood and the bean starts the first stage of becoming a plant. It is not so much that a disease is transferred in these cases; instead, a necessary transformation in one realm results in a necessary reaction, or in this case the end of affliction, in another.

Of all the traditional folk cures that have been documented in journals, diaries, archives, encyclopedias, and compendiums, cures for warts are among the most prevalent. My review of several hundred of them resulted in a number of obvious trends or categories of healing: 1. Passing the wart to another person; 2. Passing the wart to a plant or a fruit; 3. Passing the wart to an animal; 4. Relying on magical powers to remove the wart; 5. Relying on religious faith/prayer to remove the wart; 6. Relying on deception/secrecy without transference to remove the wart.

According to Texas folklorist John Anderson, coins are a favorite device for transferring warts to another person. He cites the following: "To remove a wart, rub it three times with a penny, then give the penny to someone that you want to receive the wart". Even more widely known, writes Anderson, is the practice of transferring warts to an unspecified person through an intermediate agent, such as: "Peas, beans, pebbles, straws, or string, which is rubbed on the wart and left in a public place for an unsuspecting victim to touch".

Rags, handkerchiefs, and other kinds of cloth also may be rubbed on the wart and then discarded, eventually to be picked up by an innocent person who becomes the recipient of the wart. Folklorist Wayland Hand comments that "…a dishrag, preferably a stolen one, is one of the best known agents for the disposal of warts". He also cites a Spanish example from New Mexico, in which a rag is knotted (one knot for each wart), and then discarded.[8] More common remedies are to tie knots in a string or a piece of yarn—a knot for each wart—and then burying it or burning it or throwing it away.[9]

A Tennessee researcher documented a secretive cure for warts in 1938: "Steal a dish rag from somebody that is not any kin [not related] to you and hide it without anyone seeing you and your warts will disappear".[10] Several decades later, an informant in El Paso, Texas, spoke of rubbing a pea on a wart. The pea is

7 Frazer [1922] 1996. 13-15. See also Frazer in Dundes 1999. 109-118; Anderson 1968. 198-99.
8 Hand 1980. 22-23. See also Baker 1982. 102.
9 Hyatt 1965. #6917-6943. See also Baker 1982. 101; Cavender 2003. 106; Hand 1980. 22.
10 Redfield. 20-21.

put in a box, which is given away. "Whoever opens the box will get the wart". In another case the wart is rubbed with sand. The sand is put in a box, wrapped like a present, and left at a crossroad. "The person who picks up the attractive package will get the wart".[11] Hand reports a similar case from Switzerland:

> A tempting package is reported from the French-speaking parts of Switzerland, where as many hairs and as many peas as the person has warts are placed in a parcel with an address on it, and left in the road for an inquisitive person to pick up, and thus contract the warts.[12]

In his 1883 publication *Folk-Medicine,* William George Black documented folk cures throughout his native England. He writes the following description of passing the wart to a plant:

> In Cheshire the absolute transference of warts is worth noting. Steal a piece of bacon and rub the warts with it, then cut a slit in the bark of an ash tree, and slip in the bacon under a piece of the bark. Speedily the warts will disappear from the hand, but will make their appearance on the bark of the tree as rough excrescences [ugly outgrowths]. The success of this remedy has been vouched for.[13]

Other examples of passing the disease to a piece of a once-living plant or animal involve rubbing a slice of apple or potato, a bean, a kernel of corn, or a piece of bacon on the wart and then burying the "contaminated" object. According to Frazer's principle of contagious magic, the wart and the apple, potato, bean, corn kernel, or piece of bacon continue to act on each other despite the physical separation of burial. Similarly, according to imitative magic ("like resembles like"), when these organic materials rot (and vanish), the wart also will disappear.[14] In a few cases, the item that is rubbed on the wart does not have to be buried, but it must be put out of sight. Harry Hyatt shares this account:

> My uncle came to see me one day. I had some warts on my hands. He said, "Do you want to lose your warts?" I said, "Sure I do". He said, "Well, give me a grain of corn for each wart". I had five warts. I went and got five grains of corn and gave them to him. He rubbed each grain of corn over my warts, and put the corn in his pocket, saying, "Your warts will soon be gone". And they were.[15]

11 Anderson 1968. 192-93.
12 Hand 1980. 21.
13 Black. 38.
14 Frazer [1922] 1996. 13-15. See also Hyatt 1965. #6341-6352 (apple); #6353-6374 (bacon); #6379-6448 (bean); #6509-6565 (corn); #6822-6857 (potato).
15 Hyatt 1965. #6529.9

In examples collected by Hyatt, the kernels of corn were thrown to the chickens or to a hog and were eaten. This presumably had the same result.[16]

The magical aspect of healing is a recurring motif in wart cures. Webb, for example, notes that some healers are blessed with special powers. He cites a case where a seventh son of a seventh son can "blow off a wart".[17] Harry Hyatt's collection of folklore from Adams County, Illinois, contains this account: "A woman living near Clayton said that a house painter took her son's warts off merely by looking at them. This, she heard, was a special gift accorded to most members of that trade".[18] Reliance on the magical aspects of healing also may be accompanied by reluctance on the part of the healer to reveal the "secret" for removing the warts, especially if the secret includes a special ritual or a prayer. The general belief is that the healer will lose his or her power if the secret is revealed.[19]

Another important motif in many narratives about folk cures is that of faith. Pat Rhoads is not alone among folk healers who have emphasized the importance of faith in conducting ritual healing. Furthermore, after personally experiencing a wart cure, Webb emphasized the importance of faith to the person who is healed as well as to the healer. "You have to believe in the charm", he writes, "or the healer can't help you".[20]

Imagine for a moment the range of human behavior represented in these examples. There is a prank-like mischief in the act of passing the wart to an innocent person, and more benign behavior in transferring it to a plant or a fruit. Passing the wart to an animal projects an attitude of human superiority. Using secrecy without transference puts more emphasis on deception. Relying on magical powers to remove the wart suggests a worldview large enough to accept nonlogical thinking, and relying on religious faith or prayer to remove the wart suggests a personal commitment to a larger, all-knowing force. Indeed, a rich and psychologically intriguing mix of attitudes can be found in the large number of folk cures for this familiar ailment.

How does Pat Rhoads' treatment of warts compare with the cures I have described? Her remedy, borrowed in part from her uncle and enhanced by the prayer that she learned from her grandfather, combines religious, magical, and practical elements. The wart is transferred to a bean, but the bean is not an agent for passing the affliction to another person. Instead, the bean must change its basic structure; it must sprout. Once a sprout forms on the bean, the wart will vanish. In this case, sympathetic or imitative magic is not involved, as it is with the examples of rotting fruits, vegetables, rags, or bits of string that imitate the deterioration of the wart. It is just the opposite: the wart disappears when the bean creates new life.

16 Hyatt. #6545; #6548-6552; #6556.
17 Webb. 103.
18 Hyatt 1965. #6336.
19 Hyatt 1965. #6339. "If a healer reveals his secret for removing warts, the power will disappear."
20 Webb 1946. 99.

Inherent in Pat's practice, as with many belief-based cures, is an acceptance of the mystery of folk medicine. After conducting a wart-removal ritual Pat assumes, for example, that the children's warts have gone away, but her assumption is not confirmed until two years later. She is in no hurry to validate her actions. She simply performs the cure and goes on with her life. She contributes what she can, taking pity on those who are afflicted and delivering what she hopes will be an end to their affliction. Although her remedy is not an "official" medical solution, she is not regarded as subversive or contradictory. She is known as a leader in her community, so her actions are both accepted and admired.

This article has offered both historical and contemporary examples of curing practices. The Swedish examples of cures for warts and burns, provided by Marlene Hugoson in Part I, have supplied an important international dimension to the study. She also has alluded to the larger concept of using folk cures to restore order to everyday life through a balance of cleanliness and pollution—or of good and evil. All of these are significant aspects of folk healing: The power of belief, the prominence of oral tradition—in the use of traditional prayers, in spoken testimonials, and in taboos regarding writing the prayers—and the necessity of passing the prayer alternately from man to woman to man. Furthermore, extensive interviews with a knowledgeable informant, such as Pat Rhoads, can reveal important psychological and philosophical aspects of the healer's worldview. Within this larger context, folk medicine can be examined as a creative and positive force. Its practitioners are aware of and respectful of tradition; they are connected to and respected by their local communities; and, without fanfare or self-congratulation, they are accepting of the unknown.

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Fig. 1. Ernest Marvin and his wife Lilly Belle

Fig. 2. Pat in front of one of her paintings