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EDITORIAL

The 2nd issue of Slovenský národopis/Slovak Ethnology of 2014 was dedicated to recent folkloristic and ethnomusicologist research in Central and South-Eastern Europe in the general processes of paradigmatic changes in humanities since the 2nd half of the 20th century. The folkloristics of this period as part of ethnology and also ethnomusicology is characterised by a major expansion of the research fields, the deepening of interdisciplinary approaches and research methods (the concepts and analytical tools used), and massive anthropologisation. The second line of research is represented by a focus on summarising the image of folklore, perceived as cultural heritage and linked in Central Europe to a historic period that is already closed in terms of style.

The topics raised in the call for papers to be published in the Slovak Ethnology journal, issue 2/2014, met with a positive response by many researchers[1]. Besides authors from Slovenia (S. Poljak-Istenič, K. Šrimpf, M. Kropej), the Czech Republic (M. Pavlicová and L. Uhlíková, P. Janeček), Hungary(M. Domokos) and Slovakia (H. Urbancová, J. Belišová), whose papers were published in issue no. 2/2014, other authors, too, were willing to have their articles published, and successfully passed the review procedure. After one year, the editorial board decided to publish an issue in English again. The results of research in the form of articles, discussions and research reports are presented by experts also from other countries: Poland, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro. In particular, they offer interesting materials on their research of current processes. Three case studies from new fields of research, which are presented in our journal, enrich the picture of current folkloristic research in the post-Communist part of Europe. They deal with the characteristic forms of religious rituals in Poland or with the building of a new identity through religious symbols in a specific Bulgarian locality. The third case study focuses on the processes of identification of the members of a diaspora living in a different ethnic environment (Serbs and Montenegrins in Argentina). A paper by another Polish author is thematically linked to the article by M. Domokos from Hungary (2014), and deals with folkloristics, mass media communication research and other fields of science, and the up-to-date and relatively "new" issues of internet communication.

For over a decade, the academic focus of Teresa Smolińska from Opole was on the research of narrative genres and the present forms of rituals and their transforma-

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1 For more details see Krekovičová, E.: Editorial, In: *Slovenský národopis / Slovak Ethnology, 62*(2), 158-162.

tions in the Silesia region on the border between Poland, the Czech Republic (formerly Czechoslovakia) and Germany. The published study by this author forms part of an important field of scientific research of transition processes at the turn of the 20th and the 21th century, like the research of rituals. The paper provides a perspective of the complicated relation between churches and traditional folk rituals of a calendar cycle in Poland. The author observes this relation through case studies of selected ritual expressions in new places – in the streets of Polish towns and in the new political, economic and social reality. The author explores the world of urban processions linked, on one hand, to the annual church cycle (e.g. calvarias before Easter, Corpus Christi processions, carolling during the Three Kings holiday) and, on the other hand, to calendar rituals accompanied by folk religiousness. These forms of folk religiousness as part of the lives of urban people of the 21st century also represent a certain contrast to the general tendency of secularisation of society, so typical for change processes since modern times.

Albena Georgieva based her paper on the concept of collective memory by J. Assmann, and presents the results of her research in a concrete rural locality in southwestern Bulgaria after the political changes in 1989. The author observed "live" the process of creation and domestication of the symbols of local identification of the population related to the case of St. Nedelja's Chapel near the village of Garmen in southwestern Bulgaria. During the examined period (in 1998–2001), the original narration of a family related to the chapel became a symbol adopted by the members of the local community, just as holidays the celebration of which is linked to the same chapel.

The research report by two authors from Belgrade – Branislav Pantović and Milesa Stefanović-Banović – offers interesting material on the research of a diaspora, the members of which come from south-eastern Europe but live outside of it, in South America. In general, the results of the field research of this small minority from former Yugoslavia (Serbs and Montenegrins originating mostly from Croatia and Montenegro; approximately 30,000 people according to official sources) point out similar processes taking place among diaspora ethnic minorities.

The research on electronic communication represents a big, scientifically attractive and, at the same time, a difficult challenge for folkloristics and for many other fields of science. This mainly refers to the need to create "other", "new" approaches and methodological tools. Janina Hajduk-Nijakowska entered the debate with an attempt to provide a picture from the folkloristic perspective, while highlighting the need to create a new paradigm at the level of genres. She proposes to create new genre systematics for research on the forms of internet communication. A small comment to add: this topic appears to have many different levels, which requires, along with a single-field perspective, also multi- or trans-disciplinary approaches, for example, a broader view of fine arts disciplines in connection with the globally determined specific poetics of these communications.

The SN2/2015 issue is supplemented by news and book reviews, through which our readers can learn not only about what is new in Slovak ethnology, but also about the work of our colleagues abroad. The report by Vladimir Roganović from the Institute of Ethnography of the Serbian Academy of Sciences (SASA) informs about the content of the last year's Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnography, published in Belgrade.

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CONTEMPORARY RITUAL SPECTACLES
IN THE STREETS OF POLISH CITIES

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Observation of traditional folk rites taking place in contemporary culture frequently shows that today's people are not able to break with tradition and, especially in Poland, with many rites related to the Church's liturgical year. Since the Middle Ages the feast of Corpus Christi has been celebrated in Poland with ceremonious processions in which religious solemnity mixes with folk customs (picking leafy birch twigs) and the city life (road closures, decorated streets and buildings, altars). We have recently witnessed an ever increasing number of new examples that show believers celebrating publicly in the city streets: All Saints' March with relics that is juxtaposed with Halloween, arrival of St. Martin on a horse, walking the Way of the Cross during Lent, Easter-time burning of the effigy of Judas in Skoczów and recently the Cortege of the Three Wise Men (commonly called the Cortege of the Three Kings). These processions are turning into noisy street events – as the believers are going out of the churches into the city streets, the way they participate in the religious 'mystery' is changing: it becomes a peculiar cultural event. Features of folk theatre are clearly visible in religious ceremonies (there are leading and supporting actors who are dressed up, royal crowns become mere common props, stages are erected for amateur and professional artistic groups). Many of the religious ceremonies are perceived only as a social gathering ("We all were having fun") or a "street show", which testifies to a tectonic crack between the traditional society and a modern one. Strong presence of this kind of ritual spectacle in the media and participation of teachers, students, preschoolers, scouts and a vast audience aside from priests and believers, and also politicians, devils, angels and medieval knights in the Cortege of the Three Kings, make the folkloristic analyse this phenomenon in the category of a fair or fete (festive, commemorative, educational), search for the limits of eccentric ideas that turn a ritual into a theatre, for trivialised signs of traditional folk rites and for folklorisation and hybridisation of contemporary culture, and thus the way of leaving the sphere of *sacrum* and entering the sphere of *profanum*.

Key words: religiousness and folk piety, street spectacles, Corpus Christi, All Saints' March, Cortege of the Three Kings (Three Wise Men), Poland

A feast must refer to a myth as a world-view justification of the present day. But the myth is never the literal meaning of the text nor the word expressed. So a show, performance, spectacle is the easiest way to understand it. And then the opportunity arises that the morals and the encouraging examples will be carved in the heart and engraved in the memory.

(A. Zadrożyńska, K. Braun, *Zielnik świętowań polskich*, 2003)

My initial opinion about the attitude of the Church towards annual folk rites is quite unambiguous. These relations have not always been harmonious over the centuries. The Church authorities often used to give new meanings or new functions to the original forms of cultural heritage related to the agrarian culture, seasons and the accompanying rites of transition, or explicitly denied them. Or, instead, they used to introduce their own ceremonies in line with the liturgical principles. So many pagan rites, magic and symbolic actions have been tamed by the church and gained new features. But many of them have stepped out of the liturgical framework. Stefan Czarnowski underlined that the social environment "is not passive matter, but a community that is alive and consequently active, irresistible in the pursuit of possibly full expression in every single area. It leaves its own stamp on a religion. [...] It transforms the religion for its personal use, in its own image" (Czarnowski, 1956: 89). We have to agree with Ryszard Tomicki when he states that "the participation in church rites has been mainly the proof of belonging to the divine world order, and it has been treated at the same time as one of the human duties to God and the Saints, which – if performed regularly – ensures *ex opera operato* the preservation of the natural and desired course of events" (Tomicki, 1981: 47). We have to admit that the church has been active and its superiors have accepted many of the already existing religious practices and used other ones to stimulate the believers. And yet some practices did not withstand the test of time and disappeared. New forms have appeared in this centuries-old process of change and they are still coming into sight, but they are not always Polish, European or worldwide, but very often regional or even local.

I would like to show how complex the process is, looking at the examples of selected ritual spectacles that take place in new places in Poland, namely in city streets, and in the new political, economic and social reality. I see the original street processions in the changed social, moral and religious reality as a religious phenomenon in the increasingly secular society.

1. IN THE CIRCLE OF FOLK RELIGIOUSNESS, FOLK PIETY AND LITURGY

This content, modified and overriding the theological aspects and church teachings, as well as individual visions and images supplemented with new religious practices are called folk piety. Other synonymous terms are used as well: folk religiousness/religion, folk Catholicism, folk Christianity. Priest Władysław Piwowarski, referring to interdisciplinary research, says that "the term 'folk religiousness' is one of the most unclear terms as regards both its content and scope" (Piwowarski, 1983: 6). He sees the reason for this 'confusion and the lack of consistency' in the multitude of terms used often interchangeably. And, following sociologists of religion, he looks for the characteristic features in the contrast: folk religiousness – élite

religiousness, religiousness experienced – religiousness postulated, spontaneous religiousness – institutionalised religiousness. Piwowarski seems to be closer to the stand of those researchers who see Polish Catholicism in the category of "faith of the nation" ("faith of the folk", "religion of life"), who link folk religiousness with patriotism, and who recognize its values as a "reference point" for religious and national identity (*ibid.*, 5–19). Priest Janusz Mariański, another well-known theologian, agrees with the pioneer synthesis of folk religiousness by Stefan Czarnecki and emphasizes the process of constant transformations of folk religiousness in the contemporary culture (Mariański, 1983: 241–280).[1] Members of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments adopted the following definition in a Vatican document (so-called Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy. Principles and Guidelines) in 2001: "The term 'popular piety' designates those diverse cultic expressions of a private or community nature which, in the context of the Christian faith, are inspired predominantly not by the Sacred Liturgy but by forms deriving from a particular nation or people or from their culture" (Directory, 2003: 18). According to the Directory "Popular religiosity refers to a universal experience ... Popular religiosity does not always necessarily refer to Christian revelation. ..." and so provides the foundation for 'popular Catholicism' where the elements from the religious aspect of life, individual culture of each nation or from Christian revelation co-exist more or less harmoniously (*ibid.*, 18–19). On the basis of these definitions we can see that the terminology of the terms overlaps in many aspects and the boundaries between them are not very clearly drawn. There are many similarities and shared areas of synonymous co-existence. Designing the model of folk religiousness "developed in the sphere of Catholic influence", Michał Buchowski observes that the term folk Catholicism "should refer to the influence of folk beliefs on Catholicism, whereas folk religiousness denotes all behaviours of religious nature, taking place also out of the institution (out of the Church)" (Buchowski, 1979: 97). His conclusion, similarly to other research, is as follows: folk religiousness is a wider term than folk Catholicism.

The basic and in some cases already classical views of the specialists on religiousness and folk piety in Poland – as we can see – refer mainly to rural communities and peasant culture. While discussing the specificity of folk religiousness in the past centuries, researchers analysed the transformation process of many phenomena using the examples of local communities only. As we all know, in the contemporary culture of very diverse communities exposed to a powerful influence of pop culture, omnipresent mass media and globalisation that is "a magic formula, a password opening the door to all present and future secrets" (Bauman 2000: 5),[2] we can no longer limit our analysis of the manifestations of folk piety, active rites and the related ceremonies to people living in villages. That is why I am interested in the transformation process of traditional rite forms – many of which have obscure origins now – which either have been present in the streets for ages or which were ousted from the church to the town square or streets in the Middle Ages; or which nowadays, e.g. in Upper Silesia, come back to the church from the stage in a local community centre; or which have been celebrated in Poland since the Middle Ages, like the Corpus Christi procession

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1 Ryszard Tomicki (1981: 63) also emphasizes folk religiousness in the category of a "dynamic system", observing that "like the whole peasant culture, it has undergone numerous transformations in time and space".

2 Zygmunt Bauman rightly notices that the term "globalisation" as a "trendy word" is "on everyone's tongue" (Bauman, 2000: 5).

that despite many transformations still excites strong interest of the Catholics who take part in the religious event (the event not yet deprived of old beliefs and folk customs) to manifest their faith and unity with the Church. Hence theologians maintain that this procession is a "typical form" (Directory, 2003: 117). The most recent form of a street theatre, the Cortege of the Three Wise Men (commonly called the Cortege of the Three Kings), is of a completely different nature. This street spectacle seems to complement the liturgy spontaneously and superficially only, although – as I am going to prove – it is directed by its organizers at the national level with active support from both regional and central mass media. The elderly parishioners are not the only ones who participate in the joyful procession or the street nativity play (sic!) as the organizers call it in the mass media – the whole parish communities with their priests, and young couples with children in particular, teachers with preschoolers and pupils from Catholic schools, representatives of lay municipal authorities, members of local religious associations and lay organizations like firemen take part in it, too.

2. FROM A CEREMONIOUS RITE TO A STREET PARADE: DIVERSE FEAST THEATRE

Anthropologists point out that the unusual time of lay and religious ceremonies that compose the festive performance resembles the theatre, (e.g.: Zadrożyńska, 1985; Dąbrowska, 1989). At the same time this is a very special theatre where the play must be staged at a specific time of the day and year because then "the creation of festive space takes place" and the "real festive performance" comes in two dimensions i.e. "people showed other people a spectacle about contacts with supernatural powers ..., all participants of the event became actors in a spectacle for inhabitants of the other world and communicated their expectations to them" (Zadrożyńska, 1985: 33). In the Polish "festive theatre"[3] we can distinguish many traditional behaviours and folk customs that are of different genealogical, geographical, historical and social origin.[4] We have to mention at least the **traditional forms of lay rituals** that are cultivated nowadays in Polish villages, cities or their suburbs, e.g. Shrovetide masqueraders (so-called *bakusy*, *bachusy*, *bekusy*, beggars, *kumedyjanty*, Turkish soldiers, giants, scarecrows); walking with the bear (*bera,* little bear), goat, billy goat, horse, stork, bull; the Shrovetide spectacle "Beheading Death" on the Jedlińsk town square; Easter parades with a cock (*kur*, *kokotek*) and animal mascarons (*muradyni* or *ziandary* with a bear, horse, or so-called grey horse); waking with the straw dummy representing winter (*marzanna*), death (*śmiercicha*, *śmierć*, *śmierztka*) and a decorated tree (*gaik*, summer, *nowe latko*) in the spring;[5] spring (Easter) wassailing of *włóczebnicy* (*wołoczebnicy*) as well as harvest festival masqueraders.

Traditional street spectacles that owe their origin to medieval liturgical drama form a separate group in the ritual year. Originally these were performed in the church. As we know, the first forms of medieval liturgical drama were related to the

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3   The term suggested by: A. Zadrożyńska (1985: 33).

4   G. E. Karpińska (1996; 2002) got interested in the phenomenon of lay street carnival forms, happenings and techno parades organized nowadays in bigger cities.

5   This spring *gaik* "ritual" parade follows streets of villages and towns for the last few years on the 21st of March. This day is known as the hooky players' day among teachers and students.

birth and resurrection of Jesus Christ, which led to the development of three thematic groups: Christmas, Passion Week and Easter. These cycles have dominated the liturgical drama over the centuries, and the props, like Jesus' baby crib and grave, remaining in churches testify to it. Researchers trace the origins of liturgical drama to theatrical pieces in Latin which were included in the Christmas or Easter liturgy as a dialogue (most often dialogical singing) and which were based on biblical epic plots. These performances in churches were accompanied by liturgical singing. Priests, seminarists and, less often, boys from *scholae cantorum* served as actors, wearing costumes "from the sacristy" (Okoń, 1989: 183). These mystery plays were transposed to Poland by Franciscan monks[6] and they were further popularized also by Jesuits, Capuchins and Benedictine monks. City inhabitants showed great interest in the plays at that time (Jurkowski, 1978: 24, and his further publications; Lewański, 1981: 412–479; Okoń, 1970). Becoming self-independent and enriched with apocryphal stories, these forms of liturgical drama turned – via intermedia – into humorous dialogue scenes of a lay nature. They were officially banned from the liturgy as a result of the Council of Trent, and they slowly started to wane. The theatricalisation of ceremonies that led to the development of religious drama,[7] partially due to "excess showiness of secularization, the invasion of epic quality (the monstrous size of mystery plays in the late Middle Ages), didacticism" (Sławińska 1989: 189), is the reason why these forms faced a crisis. Eventually, the originally pious mystery plays were banned from churches to the streets.

Jędrzej Kitowicz distinguishes Capuchins among the monks who used to include secular content in the nativity plays. He observes that they "excelled" at it and Reformati, Bernardine and Franciscan monks quickly followed (Kitowicz, 1970: 59). Other researchers maintain that "the process is known from the Middle Ages when mystery plays, handed over to guilds and craftsmen, became the land of literary initiatives for the city inhabitants who, seeking supernatural events, showed more interest in apocrypha than in the dry exegesis of the Gospel and dogmas as officially practiced by the Church" (Jurkowski, 1996: 285).

Those who know the old customs well point to the modification of religious mystery plays about Jesus' birth and the Three Wise Men visiting him (religious plots were enriched with new secular components, new heroes were introduced, original functions were replaced with playfulness). Henryk Jurkowski writes that "theatrical performances underlined to a greater degree the apocryphal view on events in the Gospel. This was due to the preferences of the simple and uneducated audience. Hence one can risk a statement that the farther the theatre was moving out of the church aisles, the greater the share of apocryphal and secular plots" (*ibid.*, 289).

Many regional forms of wassailing have been preserved in Poland till this today (mainly in the south, east and north-east). The wassailing groups go from house to house typically between Christmas and 6 January (Epiphany) dressed up as and called in local dialects as: shepherds, *połaźnicy / podłaźnicy* (*winszownicy, szczęściar-*

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6   See more on the 12th century tradition of Jesus' baby crib as started by St. Francis of Assisi (Jurkowski, 1978: 24, and his further publications). Waszkiel maintains however that "the concept of tracing back the origins of the crib to the traditional church crib, which was a part of the Christmas mystery play, is purely hypothetical". See Waszkiel, 1990: 28, and others.

7   The term "religious drama", which many researchers use nowadays in reference to the two historical periods: Middle Ages and Baroque, was introduced as late as in the 20th century – as Sławińska writes – "because of the revival of these drama forms in Europe" (Sławińska, 1989: 188).

ze, nowoletnicy), *szczodracy (szczodrocarze)*, *wiliorze, wigiliorze, dziady żywieckie, jukace, droby, ślachcice*, Three Wise Men... Researchers more and more often point to the fact that even the custom of wishing all the best by children, very popular in the Silesian Beskids, Żywiec and Nowy Sącz regions, is also fading away. There are even cases where some people (mainly the older generation) who appreciate such traditional visits invite their relatives' or neighbours' children in advance (Kwaśniewicz, 1984: 171). One can judge that the wassailers try to compete with the pop culture influence which offers the young people other types of entertainment. As recently as after the 2nd World War, wassailing in Christmas time was a long-awaited event in the rural communities, both for wassailers and the visited ones. Researchers note that "all wassailers were greeted with joy and happiness. If they had missed one of the houses, they would have caused its inhabitants a lot of hurt" (*ibid.*, 173), who in turn would have worried that a very difficult year was in front of them. It seems that only the diverse and widely organized regional festivals and contests of wassailing as the artistic activity (different ritual groups, choirs and carolling bands) have developed high aspirations among the participants and explained the importance of the phenomenon, showing that the performances bear the stamp of art and artistry (Smolińska, 1996: 358–359). The traditional wassailing forms have been moved from houses, farmyards and streets, i.e. from its natural environment, onto the stage. During the wassailing contests, actors learn how to behave on the stage, how important their costumes are for the audience, how to take care of articulation, singing, and musical setting, how to design decoration... As a result the awkward and spontaneous wassailing started to transform into theatrical performances with well thought-out artistic preparation behind them – so far from the traditional rituals fraught with magic. The contemporary Polish contests of wassailing groups allow the researcher to observe the process of folklorisation of religion as well as christanisation of folklore.

The Corpus Christi processions are unique and spectacular forms of **liturgy celebration in the streets of Polish cities**. This way of street celebration, popular not only in Poland since the Middle Ages, has already caught the interest of researchers (see e.g. Gawełek, 2010, 91–151; Hołda, 2013: 61–74; Zalewski, 1973: 102–107; Zaremska, 1978: 25–40). The feast of Corpus Christi, established by Pope Urban IV in 1264, definitely stands out among the other forms of celebration in the liturgical year as well as the ritual year. Theologians maintain that popular piety made it much easier to institute the feast of Corpus Christi and it still remains the main driver of Eucharistic piety (Directory, 2003: 116).[8] Researchers agree that the procession with the consecrated Host is the most important part (ritual) of the feast. It is worth noting that as early as in the 16th century "deformation of the religious setting" started to lead towards "theatralisation of devotional demonstrations" because the participants were marching in the city streets to the "sound of horns", which did not enhance religious concentration, similarly to the omnipresent tumult (see Zaremska, 1978: 32–33). "Ludic moments" started to accompany the feast at an early stage: religious as well as secular and historical performances, contests and guild events (e.g. a special *theatrum* is reconstructed in Cracow nowadays at the end of the octave of street ceremonies: *Lajkonik – konik zwierzyniecki*). Having analysed medieval processions in Cracow, Hanna

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8   Theologians admit that "in the 16th and 17th centuries, the faith, revived with the need to react against the negation of protestants, and culture, i.e. art, literature and folklore, united to revive and add meaning to various forms of folk piety aimed at the Eucharist mystery" (*ibid.*, p. 116).

Boys with bells during the Corpus Christi procession (Kluczbork, 1978). Photo by T. Smolińska

Zaremska reached a very straightforward conclusion: the religious mystery play "transformed into a party" (*ibid.*, 34, 39). And following Peter Burke we can assume that Corpus Christi became a Carnival feast (Burke, 2009: 228).

We have to add that the celebration of Corpus Christi and the octave is accompanied in Poland with numerous beliefs, customs and magic folk practices, e.g. even nowadays the procession participants pinch young birch branches, pick up sweet rush, bring flowers and herbs for consecration during the octave, parishioners in a number of parishes (mainly in the region of Opole Silesia and in Spycimierz near Uniejów in the Łódź area) use fresh flowers to form flower carpets on the streets that stretch for many miles. I have observed for many years not only how the local communities prepare locally for the street "carpets" every year (picking up flowers, splitting the carpets into family or neighbourhood stretches; making the carpets: the youth, children at the age of the first Holy Communion, the youth at the age of the confirmation or taking secondary school final examinations etc.; designing the patterns) but also how they document it (gather photos and films, upload photos and films to the internet). A peculiar type of visitor make a subject of my research too – they come not to participate in the procession, but only to look at the wonderful carpets, which they call "a beautiful tradition" or "a sensation". Such diverse participation in the procession makes us think about the dimensions of folk piety in Poland, about functions of the original religious ritual that transforms into a ceremony. It forces us at the same time to ask questions about the new type of "religious" tourism developed by the lovers of flower carpets,[9] about hijacking the liturgy by the ceremony or the religious functions by the aesthetic ones...

More importantly: nowadays in many places in Poland priests define new areas for the street feast (e.g. the "traditional" routes of many processions were extended after 1989) and by encouraging believers to participate they remind Catholics of the necessity to manifest faith in public. It proves the researchers' assessment that the Corpus Christi ceremony has changed: from the original form of adoration and penance, via propitiatory, via the manifest of faith and the triumph of Christ over death (Zalewski, 1973: 134) to the development of the new form of religious tourism in some regions in Poland.

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9   See e.g. selected internet forums in the Opole diocese (deaneries of Ujazd, St. Anna Mountain region, Racibórz, Głubczyce) and Spycimierz (province of Łódź).

Children from Jelowa (Opole Silesia) with a marzanna (2004). Arch. T. Smolińska

While analysing the Corpus Christi processions, Renata Hołda refers to Victor Turner's concept of "social drama" and perceives the feast in the category of a street interventional performance. We have yet to see if her assessment of the contemporary Polish reality is correct when she maintains that the feast of Corpus Christi "is already for some [believers] a conventionalised empty ritual form lacking justification" (Hołda, 2013: 61).

The **traditional forms of regional nature**[10] clearly deserve special attention in **the group of street spectacles linked to the Church**. These forms can be related to the Holy Week, e.g. the procession with Judas that is still a very popular parade in Skoczów in Cieszyn Silesia, the "Passion play" in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska; or to Easter: horseback processions in the Racibórz area, processions on foot in central Poland; or to Pentecost: processions around the fields; or be of propitiatory nature: e.g. processions on St. Urban's Day, St. Stanislaus processions in Cracow (organized since 1253, except for the WW2), processions with the relics of St. Wojciech in Gniezno and Cracow. However, all these original street processions require a separate article.

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10 Highlighting the growing vitality of street spectacles in Poland, I would like to mention that many of the old street celebrations have died out, e.g. "leading the oak Christ to the city" – a custom in the Polish and German Church (as it was very common in Germany) that was still observed at the beginning of the 17th century and which, as researchers recorded, was a "procession-like walking with an oak sculpture of Christ on a donkey put on the cart" (Bystroń, 1994: 52). Even at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a "procession with a princess" on the Pentecost day in Podlasie. As Barbara Ogrodowska describes: "the prettiest girl in the village got beautifully dressed, a crown made of flowers on her head, and she was guided along the field borders together with other girls" (2005: 185). The processions of pitch burners (*smolarze*), which used to take place on the second day of Pentecost in the region of Greater Poland, disappeared after the WW2.

Writing about the contemporary spectacles in the city streets, I include **St. Martin** in this catalogue, too. **He arrives on a white horse on 11 November** and invites parishioners / inhabitants not only for a special croissant, but also for a grilled sausage and – sometimes – adults get mulled red wine, too. The worship of St. Martin, who is one of the patron saints of France, was popular even before WW2 mainly in Pomerania and Greater Poland, particularly in the cities of Poznań and Bydgoszcz. In the last years (more specifically since the beginning of the 21st century) the cult has been developed in many Silesian parishes, particularly in the Opole diocese (see Smolińska, 2011: 196, and her further publications for more information). The organizers assess that St. Martin's Day "has a long tradition in our land" which "vanished after WW2". They also call the "feast" with its German name: Martinfest. It seems that the origin of this type of celebration may be traced back to the search for German cultural heritage, which has been recently very popular in this region of Poland. My informants have mentioned it repeatedly. Apart from priests, local clubs of the German Social and Cultural Society in Opole Silesia are the main organizers of the feast, and local bakers, butchers, members of voluntary fire brigades, teachers, pupils, and employees of local community centres join in. The priests indirectly confirm the preference for the German heritage, referring to oral tradition (they have heard more often from other priests about such processions held in Germany rather than in Poznań), and so do the secular informants, considering St. Martin to be a patron saint of Germany – their common knowledge does not include the French biography of this saint. Therefore not only the name of the feast is German in some parishes, but also the pupils prepare the staging and songs in the German language. Hence it seems that the revival of St. Martin's worship in Opole Silesia is not purely of a religious nature.

Trivialisation of this ceremony – not only in Upper Silesia where the saint arrives on a white horse, dressed up as a Roman legionary, and brings croissants for children (local bakers are the sponsors) – confirms what the researchers claim: the contemporary St. Martin's worship is "a mere shadow of his adoration in the old days" (Zaleski, 1996: 710).

There are always certain fixed points in the cultural offer for inhabitants on St. Martin's day: a street procession with lanterns, candles and torches goes to the church square (or town square). St. Martin leads the procession and usually rides a white horse (or the animal is covered with a white cloth). Then the spectacle "How St. Martin helped a beggar" follows (the saint offers him his overcoat or tears it in half) and later a short service in the church and croissants for children or all the participants (the croissants "represent" a horseshoe lost by St. Martin's horse). This agenda grows year by year: children present different scenes from St. Martin's life in the church (also in the German language), sing German songs and pray to St. Martin, there are concerts of religious music, offerings are collected for orphanages (toys, books, crayons), a local brass band participates in the procession, a disco for children and a dance party for adults are organized in the local community centre – people are treated with croissants, grilled sausages and mulled red wine in a big tent next to the church.

Inhabitants (not only the believers) do not always treat the celebration of St. Martin's name day as a religious event, but more as a party of ludic nature. The integrative function of this specific cultural offer is very clear.

In recent years we have been recording more and more new examples of believers going out into the city streets. **The Stations of the Cross during Lent and marches of the Saints are good cases in point here**. The Stations of the Cross are organized by

Children from Jelowa (Opole Silesia) with a marzanna (2004). Arch. T. Smolińska

priests and parish communities in many cities (and districts) as almost compulsory church street ceremonies on Good Friday as well as on other days. The suffering of Christ is presented in the street where relevant religious songs are sung. The exit of believers from the church building and the procession with a cross in the streets explicitly testifies to a different way of participation in the passion play. The procession transforms into another noisy street event where it is difficult to maintain the original frame of mind and concentration and to identify with the suffering of Christ. Probably the oldest procession in Poland is worth mentioning in this context: **Ecumenical Stations of the Cross** organized in the city of Łódź since 1994. Believers and clergy of different faiths participated in the passion liturgy (Catholics, Evangelics, Calvinists, Mariavites and others). There was a well-thought out scenario: representatives of different social and professional groups carried the cross (students, officials, firemen, policemen) and the clergy of different faiths led the reflections. This ecumenical "tradition" continued for 12 years but in 2013 it was significantly modified by Archbishop Marek Jędraszewski. He replaced the word "ecumenical" in the name of the procession with the name of the city. Catholic priests took over the organisation. The ecumenical symbols were removed and professional actors (sic!) led the reflections at each station. Even the route of the procession was modified as well as the date (it was held one week earlier).

Marches of the Saints held on the 31st of October enjoy growing popularity in Poland and they deserve special attention in the group of city street spectacles related to the Church. Generally, we can say that the marches have become an alternative for Halloween. For example, the March of the Saints in 2012 in Opole took place under the catchy banner of "HolyWins". The activists of the international Catholic community "Emmanuel" are said to be the originators of this peculiar event, and the parish communities, i.e. priests and believers, execute the plan in Poland. Organizers invite "whole families, especially children and the youth" to participate in the procession so as to celebrate

together "life and the way to sainthood of the individuals raised by the Church to the glory of altars". Priests appeal to Catholics, like during the Corpus Christi procession, to take part in the procession and thereby manifest their faith. The March of the Saints should "be a symbol of joy, harmony and unity for families". Children, dressed up as saints and little angels "sing happy songs, it is so joyfully". The script of the noisy procession differs among cities, e.g. the following masqueraders participated in the Warsaw procession in Krakowskie Przedmieście street accompanied with the images of saints and the blessed: monks, nuns, hermits, St. Casimir, St. Juan Diego; participants of the 2013 "dancing" parade in Poznań, dressed up as the city's patron saint, "were supposed to make a little noise" so they brought drums, guitars, glockenspiels and rattles; the participants in Katowice-Panewki dressed up as angels and saints and they carried images of saints and the blessed "promoting in this way the Feast of All Saints". The organizers provided "additional entertainment" and they were treating people with candies wrapped in paper with saints' quotes. The Litany of the Saints was recited at the end of the event at All Saints' Night. Both the march and the night event "were – according to priests – a response to the culture of evil which is spread in the contemporary world by advertising and the mass media". Participants carried relics of 20 saints in Opole whose profiles were presented during the march in the city streets. The religious street spectacle was held under the auspices of the president of the city. The integrative and ludic functions of this peculiar spectacle seem to co-exist with its religious function. Time will show whether this joyful All Saints' procession will counterbalance the non-Slavic Halloween, which is becoming increasingly popular in Poland.

Because of the limited volume of this article, I will confine myself to some introductory remarks on the most recent street spectacle commonly called the Cortege of the Three Kings that has accompanied the liturgical celebrations of the Epiphany day (6 January) for 6 years. This peculiar street performance will be analysed by me in more detail in another publication. It should be added that the examination of the "old Polish tradition" – as its organisers call it –must include the prior festive initiative of the Church, systematically developed by priests nowadays, i.e. missionary wassailers.[11]

PHENOMENON OF THE CORTEGE OF THE THREE WISE MEN IN POLAND

I will say straight away that the noisy procession promoted by its organisers (Cortege of the Three Kings Foundation – a public benefit organisation) as "the largest

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11 The wassailing group of the Three Kings is well known in the folk culture. Nowadays, inspired by priests, they go as missionary wassailers from a church to parish households right after the mass on the Feast of Revelation with a special socio-religious mission. As I have established, special instructions and scripts for wassailers have been circulated internally in the Opole diocese since the 1970s. Since 1993 the missionary wassailers have been operating under the auspices of the Pontifical Mission Society for Children (based in Warsaw). Apart from the pursuit of their goal: "to preserve the dying wassailing tradition", it is worth emphasizing that the patronage adds another target to their social work: to collect money for missionary purposes. "Children who participate in wassailing evangelize themselves at the same time. Because they prepare for this missionary event, they learn traditional carols and they gain deeper insight in the Biblical events. They also attend catechesis where the purpose of the wassailing is shared. Thanks to this, they become real Gospel preachers from their earliest years" (Lendzion, 2004: 17). The anthology of missionary wassailing scripts was published in the Opole diocese, including editions in the Silesian dialect and in the German language (see Globisch, 2000).

The 'African King' in the Cortege of Three Wise Men (Opole, 6 January 2015). Photo by T. Smolińska

street nativity play in Poland" (that according to them brings back the tradition of "a street theatre, public carol singing and animals in the city centre") is for me the most trivialised form amongst contemporary ritual spectacles of religious nature.[12] The fight for the reinstitution of Epiphany as a public holiday was started by a right-wing politician Jerzy Kropiwnicki, the then President of the city of Łódź. With this end in view he set up the Return of Three Kings Association and carried out numerous community actions (e.g. street happenings in Łódź, canvassing and gathering signatures all over Poland), and as a result in 2010 the President of the Republic of Poland signed the Law (amending the Polish Labour Code) that officially restored the 6th of January, which was banned in 1960, as a public holiday. The Cortege of the Three Kings Foundation together with Catholic kindergartens and schools and parish communities followed suit. Doing it instantly and with a flourish they started to organise street parades on that day in the form of a "large nationwide family outdoor event" (characterised by "colourful costumes, banners, and firework shows"), beginning

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12 In many cities the organisers overused the phrase "Let's make a mess" to encourage the participants to sing carols and cheer. This vernacular word for commotion and noise is a direct reference to the words of Pope Francis directed to the youth gathered in Rio de Janeiro in August 2013.

Front of the Cortege of Three Wise Men at Opole (6 January 2015). Photo by T. Smolińska

from the biggest Polish cities.[13] It has all led to the creation of a logo and a street parade scenario (binding nationwide), preparation of "royal gifts for the cortege participants": three types of royal crowns made of coloured paper and special songbooks; as well as posters, badges for the participants, billboards and city lights, solicitation of sponsorship, advertisements in national and regional mass media, etc. It should be added that Michał Lorenc, famous Polish film music composer, has composed a special fanfare for the cortege. It is also worth mentioning that the nationwide scenario played out in successive scenes in all cities and towns in Poland recommends that the main characters of the "street nativity play", i.e. the Three Wise Men: European, Asian and African, should ride horses or even camels (or travel in carriages) and they should be accompanied by an "entourage", namely children suitably dressed up: in red, green or blue. The cortege stops several times to watch the enactment of four

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13 Its dynamic development can be seen in the following figures: in 2011 in Warsaw teachers and students from 11 schools took part in the event, in 2012 the cortege was held in 21 cities, in 2013 – in over 90 locations, and in 2014 as many as 187 towns and cities in Poland organised the cortege (organisers handed out 500.000 paper crowns and songbooks, and 1 million stickers with the cortege logo), which was acclaimed by the organisers as 'the biggest street nativity play in the world'. Another 34 locations have already signed up and they will take part in the cortege in 2015.

street scenes, called "gospel scenes": staging of fight for wooden sabres and pitch-forks by the children dressed up as angels and devils commanded by two generals; staging of the "Herod's court" visit; a scene showing an inhospitable Jewish inn and finally – in the main city square – staging of a visit and bow to the Holy Family (at which time bishops and presidents of the cities take the floor). Then the performances of professional and amateur music bands follow (e.g. Luxtorpeda band led by Robert "Litza" Friedrich, Trzecia Godzina Dnia – an ecumenical band, or folk ensembles). People participating in the parade are usually dressed up as knights, kings, queens, angels, members of highlander bands in Bielsko-Biała and animals: not only horses and camels but also sheep and donkeys. In 2013 in Opole there was a firework show and "2500 fireworks were shot in the sky". The organisers mention the following 'attractions' of the cortege: the bow of the Three Kings, Herod, a chariot, camels, a Chinese dragon and battle between devils and angels. They assess that the cortege is certain to 'delight' any participant as it offers "joy, great fun and sense of belonging to the community". In each and every city the individuals responsible for the cortege encourage its participants to sing carols, they commentate on successive superficial and trivialised theatrical scenes and the gaudy and loud (because of microphones) call for "making a mess" seems to be ubiquitous. The boisterous performances in Bielsko-Biała give the impression of improvisation as they are fraught with the elements of pantomime, dances, whip cracking and forms of theatre deriving from *commedia dell'arte* (just to mention only the New Year ritual group *Dziady żywieckie* marching in the religious cortege).

St. Matthew's testimony to the bow of the Three Wise Men in the Gospel (Mt 2, 1–12) has turned from a minor event into a national public holiday in Poland when "everyone is having great fun" according to the journalist from the national public broadcaster TVP1 – "the cortege ambassador" (sic!) (a live coverage from Warsaw, Lublin and the village of Dziemiany in Kashubia that started at 11.55 a.m. on 6 January 2014).[14] Thus the journalist calls the Warsaw cortege – in which "there is beauty, love and joy" – "a tremendous evangelisation movement" and "a grand spectacle", and announcing the enactment of the bow of the Three Kings the journalist states that "something far from banality is going to happen here". Archbishop Józef Michalik, dressed up as a shepherd, agrees with this statement and concludes that "there is a need for joint experiencing of religious feasts". And when the journalists announce successive groups parading in the cortege: "and now famous sportsmen are parading", "and now the scouts", "and now the ladies from the Country Women Club" etc., the older generation will certainly recall that the same style of reporting was used during the live coverage of the former May Day parades.

INSTEAD OF CONCLUDING

It is worth noticing that some characteristic trends are emerging in the contemporary Polish culture: not only new forms of celebrating religious feasts in the streets have arisen, which are developing very rapidly, but also – more importantly – they are ori-

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14 The cortege of the Three Kings has gained the status of a very important cultural event and it is very much in the foreground not only in the regional but also in the national mass media (extensive coverage in the news in all television channels).

ginally initiated in the biggest cities in Poland. Then they are spreading quickly and spontaneously among smaller urban locations. It should be underlined that social groups interested in traditional forms of wassailing are also changing: the rural audience is being replaced by city inhabitants. Social acceptance of such peculiar street processions is so fascinating for the researcher because the parades attract not only the elderly but also young adults together with the youth and children. At the same time the process of secularisation of the society is also highly visible in Poland, there are noticeable discrepancies and inconsistencies in the outlook of many individuals and the relativisation of the Poles' attitudes towards experiencing the *sacrum* is progressing.

We can state that the wassailing groups of the Three Kings – so popular in traditional culture – who visit households practically in the whole territory of Poland on the Epiphany Day, singing carols and pastorals, have been appropriated by popular culture with all its trendy theatrical preferences. The traditional wassailing of the Three Kings has become a city street spectacle nowadays, a conventionalized performance with predefined tricks, theatrical gestures and costumes. The arrangement of these respective components leads to the disappearance of symbolic meanings and functions (desemiotisation) of traditional ritual structures. The original magical wassailing with its symbolic function is transforming before our eyes into a superficial street spectacle with the structure of conventionalised signs. Phenomena of this type cannot be overlooked by a researcher into traditional and contemporary culture.

I believe that the "religious community – identification with a religious group", which was enumerated among the parameters of religiousness by Priest Władysław Piwowarski many years ago (see Piwowarski, 1971, 34, pp. 19-21; 1977, 41, pp. 33–41),[15] has become one of the dominant features in the street landscape of the Cortege of the Three Kings. This form of wassailing has left the parish courtyards and marched into the streets of the largest cities in Poland. Communities of city parishioners create new wassailing quality in the reality of pop culture, which is only a poor substitute of nativity plays. They play the amateur street theatre and manifest their membership and identification with the Catholic Church.

Therefore we cannot skip the superficial nature of folk religiousness while assessing the religious value of the Cortege of the Three Kings. We have to agree here with those researchers who, referring to "the ritualism of rural religiousness", highlighted the commitment to external manifestations and the fact that the external manifestations become the most important factor in assessing the religious affiliation. Their conclusion was unambiguous: "Catholicism is deep in rites, customs, gestures, and this makes it superficial" (Buchowski, 1979: 109; also: Czarnowski, 1956: 105). I would like to remind of another hypothesis formulated in the eighties of the 20th century. It says that "folk religiousness in Poland maintains continuity and remains at a high level; it even grows in some circumstances" and "it is the religion of life" in the "festive life" dimension for a massive majority of the Poles (Piwowarski, 1983: 16). The Cortege of the Three Kings fully supports this hypothesis at the beginning of the 21st century. My objective is to capture the studied phenomena "from the inside', i.e. from the side of the participants. The etic view of the ritual spectacles is just a starting point for the emic analysis based on the qualitative method (here: participant observation, different interview types).

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15 Czarnowski, writing earlier about distinctive features of folk religiousness, highlighted its social, collective and parochial nature just behind religious nationalism. He concluded that religion is firstly the matter of collective life, and only secondly the matter of individual life. See Czarnowski, 1956: 88–107.

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BUILDING A NEW IDENTITY ON RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS: A CASE STUDY OF A VILLAGE IN SOUTH-WESTERN BULGARIA

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The article deals with the restored role and significance of religion in Bulgarian society after the political change in 1989. The revived interest in religion covers a wider scope than the specific spiritual one: many shrines develop or reaffirm their significance as the identity marks of their region or of various ethnic and confessional groups.

The case of St. Nedelya's chapel near the village of Garmen is analyzed. As a result of the author's work as a scholar and of the activities on a civil project aimed at investigating and reviving the traditional heritage, the chapel itself, the religious narratives relevant to it and its two holidays (Veneration of the Cross on the third Sunday of Great Lent and 7 July) become emblematic symbols for the local community. Subsequently the building of St. Anne's church in the centre of the village is completed and a great number of villagers visit it on big Christian holidays.

Keywords: Orthodox Christianity, civil activities, religious holidays, Christian shrines, local identity, Bulgaria

TURNING BACK TO RELIGION

In Bulgaria 1989 did not put an end to communism; rather, it was the starting point for a complex and sustained process of social change, at first aimed at opposing and overcoming the ongoing communist regime. For more than four decades Bulgarian society, although nominally part of Europe, had been isolated from Western Euro-

pean countries and from the model of a "normal" and "civilized" development. Unlike some other countries in the former COMECON, "Late Bulgarian communism is a regime without a 'history' as nothing significant happened during this period. In Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland we can say that there was a history parallel to the official one, but in Bulgaria the chronicle of the period is reduced to that of communist party life" (Znepolski, 2009: 713–714). Still pending was the creation of a civil society and the (re)establishment of democracy based partly on that of pre-communist Bulgaria, but more on democracies elsewhere, in the "civilized world". Ivaylo Znepolski characterizes the communist period in this respect "as a moment of breakage, of interruption in the natural evolutionary course in the development of society" (Znepolski, 2009: 711).

After the change, a single party with its solely permitted ideology was replaced by a multitude of parties and a variety of ideologies suppressed or absent during communism and now freely and openly articulated. This political and conceptual pluralism was proclaimed liberation of thought and speech and a significant step towards the establishment and the development of democracy. However, as a pendular reaction to the previous immobility the process swung to the opposite extreme: "It expressed and in a sense also created tendencies toward fragmentation, toward antagonism of social groups and strata, toward atomised and nonnegotiable subjects and positions. This process undermined the state's foundations, made institutions unstable, weak and ineffective, delayed economic change, and accumulated aggressive energies in society" (Bogomilova, 1995: 18; my translation here and below).

One of the ways that people tried to counteract those destructive tendencies was through the consolidation of Orthodox Christianity and its spiritual values. Although not very popular among the political elite, this impulse toward integration was widespread among writers, poets, historians, philosophers, clergy and other intellectual groups, who sought to revive the emotional and unifying significance of Christianity at the eve of Bulgaria's Liberation from the Turks (1878), when the Bulgarian nation became identified with Orthodoxy (Bogomilova, 1995: 18–19). Prior to the development of this theoretical perspective and soon after the 1989 political change, however, ordinary people, especially in the villages and in the small towns, had already turned to religious symbols. They recuperated or continued now legally and more visibly a practice that, while marginalized for decades, was never fully interrupted even in the most rigid years of totalitarianism. This "natural" turning back was not directed towards official, institutional Christianity, but rather to "religious festivals, connected with patron saints' names, miracle-working icons, etc. – i.e. to the popular and conventional ways of looking for a miracle" (Bogomilova, 1995: 20).

In religion many people find strength during economic and especially spiritual crises. Faith seems to be an instrument for managing reality and its deficiencies that has proved its effectiveness through the millennia by providing spiritual support, especially necessary in times of trial. The "socialist ideals" by which the Communist Party disguised its dictatorship had failed, and it became clear that the state was an economic and moral wreck. The revival of the interest in religion in Bulgaria was experienced as a return to pre-communist moral values of the bourgeois society, now favourably recalled as "the good old days". The whole situation worked to the advantage of Christianity. But the Bulgarian Orthodox Church as an institution, in spite of a visible surface activity, played little part in the major religious events, which took place in spite of it. As a whole, the Church was unable to lead the popular interest in

faith or channel the new religiosity toward official Christian doctrine and knowledge. It was unable, for instance to institute the study of religion or of history of religion in public schools[1]. Learning about faith and the principles of Christianity, therefore, remains a matter of individual initiative and interest; as in the time of communism, it still depends on one's upbringing, social milieu and personal inclinations. Nonka Bogomilova shows that Bulgarian Eastern Orthodoxy's dogmatism largely isolated it from the popular cultural and spiritual ferment and so Orthodox Christianity "proved to be 'unfit' for popular use" with its God excessively "transcendent and aloof" (Bogomilova, 1995: 22).

In contrast, so-called "folk Christianity" undergoes a vigorous revival and becomes the main feature of local religious culture. The Orthodox Church as an institution and priests with specialized training lead only a part – even if one agrees it is the most important part – of Christian ritual and religious practices in and around shrines. Lay believers themselves play a decisive role in maintaining local religious culture and initiate many activities, including promotion and proselytism. Without it being their conscious goal and with the full conviction that they strictly observe the official religion, instead of being simply supporters of the local religious culture, lay believers become its makers and interpreters, its true **creators**. This kind of creative intervention is manifest most obviously in ritual practice and oral religious narrative.

THE CHANGE IN THE OFFICIAL DISCOURSE

After dismissing Todor Zhivkov as leader of the Communist party and head of the Bulgarian state on November 10, 1989, the remaining leaders' main concern was to maintain their own political and economical power. It was not an easy task, because significant groups of people led by intellectuals, especially in Sofia and in some other big cities, were already quite active and refused to be manipulated any longer. Mass meetings, processions and the slogans chanted during them showed that the power of the Communist party was by no means secure. Hence, in the several months that followed the remaining leaders had to negotiate a series of compromises and concessions to stay in power, one of which was an official declaration of respect for the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and acknowledgment of its role in the nation's spiritual life. This declaration was also a way to earn international dividends, an official (re)affiliation of the country to the universal human values of the Christian Church – as maintained throughout the "normal" and "civilized" world.

The government's declaration was also a result of the developments within Bulgarian Orthodoxy. At the beginning of 1990 the organ of the Communist Party and official newspaper of the government *Rabotnichesko delo*[2] printed (on page six) a statement of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church's Holy Synod addressed to the Chairman of the National Assembly expressing full support for the nationwide process of renovation and the aspiration for "a highly civilized, democratic-constitutional state". The Synod also made a number of demands, among others for legally guaranteed religious freedom and freedom of conscience, for regulated relations between the state

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1   Religion in Bulgaria is an optional subject in schools with little popularity. Another possibility for religious instruction in some churches is Sunday school.

2   The title translates as 'Worker's Affair' or 'Worker's Cause'.

and the church, and for the convocation of a national church council in the autumn of 1990. Especially significant were demands for the restoration of the religious use of churches and monasteries that during Communism had been turned into museums, and for re-establishment of the official celebration of religious holidays[3].

A special characteristic of the Bulgarian case is that the official Orthodox Church had never taken a stand against the Communist government, whether before the change or after it. The then Patriarch Maxim was elected to his position in 1971 with the approval of the Communist Party, which at the time controlled all social activity. After the change in 1989, Father Christopher Sabev, as leader of the Committee for the Protection of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience and Spiritual Values[4] and the Christian association *Salvation*, challenged the legitimacy of the 1971 election. Both of these new organizations worked for the reformation of the Church and joined the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)[5], marking the start of a long process of dissent in Bulgarian Orthodoxy[6]. This dissent became the main concern of religious organizations and the central topic of the religious news during the subsequent years of transition. In this light, the Holy Synod's statement from the beginning of January 1990 was an attempt of religious leaders to strengthen their own power; by expressing support for the communist government, they trusted that the government in its turn would guarantee their own **legitimacy**. The Synod in the meanwhile also wanted to gain authority in the eyes of the general public by demanding the restoration of the Church's significance and for increasing its social role.

Because of the mutual support between the Communist Party leaders and the Holy Synod, on 25 February 1990 for the first time *Rabotnichesko delo* officially published news (on page two) about a religious event. The reporter, Violeta Zheleva, with the title "The Sunday of Penance and Forgiveness" briefly reported on Patriarch Maxim's special evening service from the previous day on Shrovetide (the first Sunday before Lent, known as the Sunday of Forgiveness). The article informed that the Patriarch had delivered "nationwide forgiveness" and appealed for love, compassion, charity and penance. He also expressed his satisfaction because of the restoration of this hitherto neglected church ritual, and in turn had asked for forgiveness for his own conscious or unconscious words and deeds that may have caused offence[7].

Soon to follow was another such article on 4 March 1990 – this time on page one – about the Patriarch's thanksgiving service in the Sofia St. Alexander Nevski memorial temple on the occasion of the Bulgarian National Holiday (3 March) commemorating the liberation from Turkish rule. The reporter Zina Sokolova pointed out that, "There is hardly a more suitable place for the start of our national holiday than the temple built in memory of our liberators"[8]. The state television (then the only one) broadcasted the service and Bulgarians nationwide were able to see that government members, who

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3   No. 9, 9 January 1990, p. 6; my translation; the source of the information is the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency.

4   Established in October 1988 in the town Veliko Tarnovo.

5   The Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) was created on 7 December 1989 as a political opposition against the totalitarian system.

6   For the dissent in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church compare: www.pravoslavieto.com.

7   Violeta Zheleva. Nedelyata na pokayanie i proshka [The Sunday of Penance and Forgiveness]. – Rabotnichesko delo, No. 57, 26 February 1990, p. 2.

8   Zina Sokolova. Blagodarstven moleben v chest na Osvobozhdenieto [A Thanksgiving Service in Honour of the Liberation]. – Rabotnichesko delo, No. 63, 4 March 1990, p. 1 (my translation).

were also members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, officially attended, including the prime minister Andrey Lukanov, the chairman of the national assembly Stanko Todorov, the minister of defence Dobri Dzhurov – the same people who for years led the Party's policy of marginalizing the church and persecuting its activities.

The articles about church services in the official communist newspaper and the participation of the Party leaders and members of the government in one of these services were the first and quite unambiguous signs, that marked the end of "aggressive atheism", which collapsed along with the "damned totalitarianism", as Maxim Maskin would put it at the end of 1990 in the same newspaper[9]. The order of these events seemed symbolic. The official religious discourse was introduced by a "nationwide forgiveness" and then followed by "national integration" on the official holiday – as if all the contradictions, persecutions and oppression of religious life and group identity based on religion could be magically erased in one fell swoop. Doubtless, no one really thought the return to **normality** and age-old religious values could be that simple; but it was also clear that after these symbolic acts religious life could no longer be repressed or marginalized. The events signalled an irreversible restoration of the role of religion, with results that were soon visible.

Gradually, first with caution and in some places with fear, more and more people attended church services and in one way or another became involved in religious activities, repairing monasteries, churches and chapels or building new ones; taking part in charity campaigns or organizations; and, with the most immediately perceptible effect, participating in pilgrimages and religious processions. National radio and television began to broadcast church services on major Christian holidays[10] and report on religious events from various parts of the country; so did the newspapers. The revived interest in religion and sacred places and the stories and the activities connected with them covered a wider field than the exclusively spiritual. Many churches and chapels, and especially monasteries, developed or reaffirmed their significance as the markers of identity for their region or for ethnic or confessional groups. Sacred places became the symbolic centres of communities for communication and consolidation, taking on a highly visible role for healing and psychological transformation, for salvation and the transcendence of the barriers that divided and limited people in their daily lives.

ST. NEDELYA'S CHAPEL NEAR GARMEN

This case study analyses observations and narratives about the chapel to St. Nedelya[11], documented during field research, beginning in 1998, in the village of Garmen[12]; it also analyses observations and experiences from the pilot project *New Life for the Old Tradition in the Valley of Mesta*[13].

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9   Maxim Maskin. Hristiyansko-folkloren kokteyl [A Christian-Folklore Cocktail]. – Duma [Word] (the new title of Rabotnichesko delo), No. 265, 24 December 1990, p. 3.

10   This practice began on Christmas Eve 1990, when a First TV program directly broadcasted at 6.00 p.m. the liturgy from the Sofia St. Alexander Nevski memorial temple; at 0.55 – the Christmas Ceremony from Saint Peter's, Rome; and on the next day at 12.55 – the Ceremony from Rome with the Pope's message (compare the TV program in the newspaper Duma, No. 263, 22 December 1990, p. 8).

11   In Greek Agia Kyriaky, literally St. Sunday.

12   In the Mesta river valley, Gotse Delchev region, South-Western Bulgaria.

13   The project was led by Georgi Garov and was carried out by the cultural centers (the characteristic Bulgarian chitalishta) in the four villages of Garmen, Dabnitsa, Koprivlen and Pletena, near Gotse

A colleague, Georgi Garov[14], suggested my field research in Garmen, where relatives were willing to let a specialist record for future generations the story of St. Nedelya's chapel. In the summer of 1998, together with another colleague, Georgi Minchev[15], I recorded two versions of the legend from the direct descendants of the chapel's founders – their grandson Yordan Ralev and his wife Sophia Raleva. The two retold the story of Yordan's mother, whose parents were the main protagonists. In May 1999, the national TV centre in Blagoevgrad[16] made a documentary film about the chapel, including the story and its narrators.

Later I analysed the recorded texts in two papers – one discussing the differences between the man's and the woman's strategies of narration (Georgieva, 2000) and the other outlining the way universal and recurring motifs were localized (Georgieva, 2000a). I included both the studies in a book (Georgieva, 2000b) for which a special presentation was organized at the village cultural centre on December 2, 2000. The event was a great success, and the people were proud that a scholar from the Academy of Sciences had studied their village. Again, I took part in another audio and video recording the chapel's story in the spring of 2001 with yet another colleague – Vihra Baeva[17]. In the meantime, I had made close friends in the village and began to visit it regularly, as I still do.

I also participated in the project *New Life for the Old Tradition in the Valley of Mesta* which began in June 2002, the initiative of an expert from the King Baudouin Foundation of Belgium and a team of Bulgarian professionals. It involved amateur groups and activists at the cultural centres of four villages, lasted for a year and was then the only project in Bulgaria in which groups of local people were organized and trained to research their own culture and recuperate valued and emblematic activities from the past. The first phase was fieldwork that recorded beliefs, rituals, local memories and historical narratives; this material was stored in the four village libraries and a selection was published as a book (Georgieva-Angelova et al., 2003). The subsequent phase was the revival of activities significant for the past of the different villages. In Garmen the people revived an amateur theatrical group that had existed until the 1970s and had been quite popular in the region. Since at the time of the project there were one women's and two children's folkdance groups and one men's folksong group active in the village cultural centre, the team decided to organize a musical performance that would involve some of the previous actors and all of the existing folk groups. The local historian and writer Iliya Milev suggested that the theme be the story of St. Nedelya's chapel, for it was part of local history, had dramatic potential and due to my previous research had acquired a new importance in Garmen.

14 He is Associated Professor at the South-Western University 'Neophyte Rilski' in Blagoevgrad and takes part in various initiatives, connected with training or consulting local amateur folk groups, civil projects, festivals, etc. He led the above-mentioned project.

15 He is Professor, Doctor of Sciences, and the Head of the Department of Slavic Philology at the University of Łódź (Poland).

16 The district's main town.

17 She is Associate Professor, PhD, and works in the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

In brief, the story tells about a dream of the main protagonist Linka, in which St. Nedelya demands that she and her husband should find out an icon hidden in the earth not far from the village, and then they should restore the monastery which once existed on that place. The husband Stoyan refuses to go looking for the icon on the grounds that they are rather poor to build a monastery. The dream recurs and finally, when on their way to the nearby village, Stoyan gets paralyzed, not being able even to speak. With a sign of his head he agrees that they should start looking for the icon and immediately recovers. Then they dig the icon up and with it Stoyan goes around the neighbouring villages to collect alms for building a chapel. Thus in a few years the chapel is built and some miracles start to happen on it, the most emblematic of which is the recovering of a paralyzed boy, who after spending a night in the chapel, starts to walk freely (Georgieva, 2000; Georgieva, 2012: 196–199).

I participated in all the stages of the project, helping to train the groups of volunteers, direct the fieldwork, advise on the transcription of the material and supervise its storage at the libraries of the four villages. But my work with the most impact, it became subsequently clear, was to help in composing the script and staging in Garmen of the musical production *The Miracles of St. Nedelya*. The scenario, written with Iliya Milev, followed the plot of the legend, focusing on the saint's holiday – 7 July, with the emotions and devotional practices that constitute the celebration. Petyo Krastev[18] composed special music for the performance, and local people constructed the scenery. In the course of the preparations and rehearsals, the participants became more and more enthusiastic and increasingly identified with the events they represented. Some phrases from the script became proverbs on their own and started circulating the village in everyday situations, initially by the direct participants, and later by others. Several of these phrases are still in use. The performance in April 2003 was a great success that far surpassed the expectations of both participants and audience. People recognized and identified as their own the story on stage and incorporated it as part of their community heritage. The national TV centre in Blagoevgrad videotaped the spectacle and made a TV novel from it, organizing for that purpose a "real life" performance at the sacred site itself.

Gradually the legend of St. Nedelya's chapel drawn from a private family story acquired for the people of Garmen significance as an emblematic statement of their history. In the summer of 2003, volunteers partly repaired the chapel. In connection with other projects villagers laid out an eco-path[19] from the village to the chapel, put up a fence to prevent robbery and vandalism, carried out other repair work, and in the autumn of 2009 repaired the roof with money from the municipality and private contributors. In 2004, the chapel's story was once again included in a broadcast of the Aloma regional cable TV centre in Gotse Delchev. The story and the chapel took on more and more importance as a sign of the local identity. Whereas in 1998 few villagers knew about the legend and would hardly mention the chapel among the significant sites in the settlement's territory, in 2004 when a questionnaire was circulated among the inhabitants, all pointed to it as a significant local landmark (compare

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18 Petyo Krastev is a musician and a composer and at the time of the project an Orchestra Conductor in the professional Pirin Ensemble in Blagoevgrad; at the time of this writing he is the Ensemble's Chief Artistic Director.

19 Actually an eco-path with two branches, starting from two different places in the village – from its centre and from the neighbourhood Zagrade.

also: Georgieva, 2004)[20]. The two days connected with St. Nedelya – the Veneration of the Cross on the third Sunday of Great Lent (in Bulgarian *Krastopoklonna nedelya*) and 7 July (the day of the saint's death) – have become important feasts for the village community. Villagers celebrate with a special solemnity 7 July: there is a service in the chapel attended by a great number of villagers; they prepare *kurban* (a boiled and shared animal offering) and after its blessing hand it out to those attending; and there is a small scale fair with sellers selling sweets, children's toys and sundries.

The increase in the chapel's significance had another, unexpected, side effect. For many years a half-built church stood in the village centre, its construction abandoned. The main sponsor of the building was a prosperous businessman in Sofia. For a while, he had regularly contributed funds for it until he realized that instead of building of the church the village priest, well known for his corruption, was building his own house. After the success of *The Miracles of St. Nedelya* and the increased popularity of the chapel, the church board expelled the priest. The Sofia sponsor resumed his contributions and in two years the church (which is rather big for the village) was completed, decorated and consecrated to St. Anne. Now the two holidays of the saint – 25 July (the Dormition of St. Anne) and 9 December (the Conception of St. Anne) are important feasts for the village, and many people gather in the church on those days[21] and on all the major Christian holidays.

RELIGION – THE "NEW-OLD" CONSOLIDATING SYMBOL

The briefly described activities in Garmen and their positive and constructive results consolidated the community and increased its self-confidence and self-esteem. After forty-five years of Communism, it took more than a decade for the village inhabitants to take their first steps towards an active civil society. When I started my study of St. Nedelya's chapel, they were of course proud, but considered it **my own business** as a scholar. My work made their community visible in the social space and significant in their own eyes; but still they thought it as something which **happened** to them, coming from **outside**, or, if we stick to totalitarian terminology, from **above** – from the centre Sofia and from those who **own** knowledge and control all activities. During the pilot project, they still regarded it a matter concerning professionals, whom they were simply assisting. Only at the end, when the results were available and they could see the published products of their own work – the book, together with an audio cassette and an audio CD, and even more so after the production of *The Miracles of St. Nedelya*, did they adopt the St. Nedelya story as **their own** endeavour, **their own** culture, and **their own** lives. Moved by the magic of what turned out to be deeply affecting theatre, they underwent a kind of transformation as a community, taking responsibility for what happened to them. It seemed to be an *initiation* into the *communitas* defined by Victor Turner as a state of wholesome and equal individuals

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20   There are two books about the history of Garmen, both written by local historians; one was published before, the other after the Change (Siderov, 1987; Milev, 1999). In both the information about St. Nedelya's chapel is rather sparse; to compensate, in his book about the Orthodox shrines in Garmen written after the project's work Iliya Milev devoted several pages to the chapel and included three photographs (Milev, 2004: 31–34, 88–89).

21   As one is in the summer and the other in the winter, family members who do not live in the village can choose to attend the feast most convenient.

that is "a means to the end of becoming more fully involved in the rich manifold of structural role-playing" (Turner, 1995: 139). Like a hero in a fairy tale who acquires "magic" power by learning how to make use of his or her abilities, the Garmen activists became aware of the community's resources, which then they successfully promoted, winning recognition from the community at large.

The fact that it was the St. Nedelya's chapel and subsequently the church of St. Anne that acquired central significance requires special attention. As recounted in detail in the first book about Garmen's history, people from the region were active in the revolutionary movement for the liberation of Macedonia from the Turks before 1912 and later participated actively in the legal and in the underground and partisan movements of the Communist Party (Siderov, 1987: 36–47, 48–110). There is a monument in the centre of the village to the partisan Boris Munchev, killed by the police on 6 May 1943. Up to the time of this writing, although now attendance is sparse, communists in the village still commemorate this day, paying tribute at the monument and at the memorial tablet at the location of the partisan's death in the mountain. Despite this revolutionary and communist heritage of the village, after the collapse and the discrediting of the "proletariat's dictatorship" in 1989, communist ideals and symbols no longer served to unify and bring together the inhabitants. With the end of the previous regime's political compulsion, the community disintegrated and became segmented with no real social centre.

The intensive emotions provoked by *The Miracles of St. Nedelya* thus filled a gap – they served as a connecting bridge between the generations and between the different political groups, and the chapel itself provided a needed **integrating** symbol. As explained in the beginning of this text, by then religion was already officially recognized in Bulgaria and was successfully involved in the process of self-defining various groups despite the difficulties in "reviving ... spiritual life in a predominantly secular society" (Heppell & Norris, 2001: 5). Religion in general acquired prestige in Garmen, the most telling confirmation of which was the publication of a book especially dedicated to the village shrines (Milev, 2004). Of course, not all people were in fact believers, nor could they become believers at the drop of a hat; but those who used to be believers in the past now gained advantage and became the bearers and the spokespersons of the old customs. Their religious behaviour and knowledge in general, and in particular about the history of St. Nedelya's chapel, became significant for the community and for the maintenance of its updated collective memory, understood here as "an evoking of a past to frame a present but also to conform that past to the present" (Wodak & de Cillia, 2007: 340)[22].

The project's work and especially the musical theatre performance caused in a shift in the community's idea of history. In communist times, the emphasis was on the heroic struggle of the Party and on the victims of the capitalist system before the "Socialist Revolution" in 1944. For the subsequent period until 1989 the emphasis was on the successes of the so-called People's rule. Now the interest centred on the sacred places – on the beliefs and the narratives connected with them. As underlined by Elżbieta Hałas, "it is not the past and memory of it that shape the present, but the present that makes use of the past, creating memory or, rather, it is done by the actors

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22 Actually, as the authors point out, the citation is from Gronbeck (1998: 58) with whom they agree. Compare also with the observation of Jan Assman on **cultural memory**: "Cultural memory works by reconstructing, that is, it always relates its knowledge to an actual and contemporary situation" (Assmann, 1988: 130).

of social change drama" (Hałas, 2002: 116). Thanks to the initial scientific work and that of the project participants, the stories of miracle dreams and healings at the sacred sites acquired special significance. These stories circulated in the social space as the proof of the saints' presence, agency and effective patronage in the community (compare Brown, 1982: chapter 5). Identifying with St. Nedelya's chapel and later with St. Anne's church, the Garmen villagers sought to re-establish contact with the patron saints themselves; in their own belief, they aspired to their intervention and protection. This relation is clearly put by William Christian: "The linking of a religious figure to a shared identity seems to have this effect: It elevates or generalizes the basis for identity to the status of a family relation under the love, authority, and protection of a divine parent" (Christian, 1989: 12).

Fixing their new community image on the two saints and their holy days, the Garmen inhabitants rearranged their relations in several directions at the same time. First, they settled their own past, in which along with the revolutionaries and communists pious and divine figures emerged. Then, they shifted toward the values accepted in the post-1989 society, which were the values of the "normal" and "civilized" world. Furthermore, they restored the balance with the supernatural and the divine, which was repressed and denied under Communism, but which even then did not cease to signal its existence through dreams, omens and miracles. In addition, and most importantly, they assured their future through the restoration of divine agency and patronage and their own consolidation as a civil society.

The preference for Christian religious symbols as identifiers for the Garmen community has an additional reason. The municipality of Garmen is situated in the relatively closed and isolated valley of the river Mesta at the foot and on the slopes of the Rhodope Mountain; it comprises 16 villages and includes a variety of ethnic and confessional groups – Bulgarian Orthodox Christians, Bulgarian Muslims, Turkish Muslims, Roma Muslims, and Roma Protestant Christians. Religious belonging, therefore, is of great importance as a sign of identity. The Muslims in the region – both Bulgarians and Turks, underwent the forcible conversion of their Arab-Turkish names into Christian-Bulgarian ones during the so-called Revival Process (1984–1989) of the Communist regime. After the political change at the end of 1989, they sought to restore their true names and demonstrate their ethnic and confessional identity. This process took a tragic turn in neighbouring Bosnia, but as John Nandriş explains, "The misery of Bosnia or Kosova is not primarily a 'religious conflict in the Balkans' but a pay-out from the Peace Dividend of Marxism which for so long suppressed group identities" (Nandriş, 2001: 23).

Fortunately, this dramatic pattern of deep tension, and in its extreme form even war, was not repeated in Bulgaria. In Garmen's region in particular, the inhabitants are accustomed to and tolerant of the variety of ethnic and religious groups living there with differences in appearance, rituals and habits. As pointed out in a study of one of the most popular sacred sites in contemporary Bulgaria, *Krastova gora* [Cross Mount], which is also situated in the Rhodope Mountain and is visited by both Christians and Muslims, "It is true nationwide that in the ethnically homogeneous Bulgarian-Christian communities and regions intolerance towards Muslims is much greater than in the mixed ones, where communication is carried out almost entirely on a face-to-face basis". In mixed regions "the local inhabitants, used to the Muslim presence as well as to their rituals, display much more understanding and tolerance" (Ivanova, 1995: 110, my translation).

The same has held for the municipality of Garmen. From time to time, there have been attempts to create political tension, especially during election campaigns, but these efforts, however, have largely been ineffective. After 1989, most of the mosques in the region were restored with the help of both Muslims and Christians. In the few villages where Muslims and Christians live together, people celebrate all the major holidays in both religious calendars literally hand in hand[23], gathering for a joint chain dance – *horo* – in the square. The Garmen people's identification with the two sacred sites of St. Nedelya's chapel and St. Anne's church is therefore also a way to stabilize their affiliation to Christian Orthodoxy in that mixed and varied region; a way to claim a centuries-old religious and cultural heritage.

CONCLUSION

I had the rare opportunity to participate in and to observe first-hand an almost laboratory experiment in the establishment of a chapel as one of the community's significant markers of identity. In 1998 when I recorded the story of St. Nedelya's chapel for the first time, it was merely a part of the family chronicle – a significant and a very representative part, but one hardly known outside of the circle of direct descendants. When in 2001 the interlocutors were asked to tell the story again, they quite naturally remembered additional events and details and further elaborated the account. The culmination of the process was the production of the story on stage. Created and produced by a team of specialists, the spectacle, although performed by amateurs, transmuted into an impressive piece of art that left a deep mark on the community. Participants and audience recognized in it their **own** story, which in the same time expressed wider human and moral values and became a significant sign of their local identity. One might say that the initial family story gained importance and acquired significance for all the villagers because it was **properly** promoted.

The main achievement in this process, however, was the fact that what was promoted was the **proper** story – the one that corresponded to the pattern of "cultural memory": "a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behaviour and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation" (Assmann, 1988: 126). For centuries shrines have been places for contacting the unknown and the supernatural, places for maintaining the delicate balance between the human community and the divine: they were places of sacrifices and prayers, of dreams, healings and other miracles, places of consolation for managing various crises and difficulties in life. An "effective" sacred place is the one with an uninterrupted cult, with an "active" patron saint – a "living" saint, in folk usage – one who appears in dreams and visions, solves problems, gives instructions and provides signs. Although during the Communist regime authorities repressed religion and tried to eliminate its basic teaching through rationalism and atheism, faith remained a vital resource for many people. When after 1989 the restrictions ended, shrines became what they used to be – places for community's consolidation and identification. Symbolically expressing universal values and moral

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23 The only exception is the village of Skrebatno, where in recent years the inhabitants have been divided into two hostile groups who in the elections support different candidate-mayors, both of whom however are Bulgarian Muslims.

norms, the restored or newly built sacred places and their holidays regained significance as local markers of identity. This proved to be so even in villages like Garmen, which for a long time used to be "red" with supporters of the previous Communist, now the Socialist Party, predominant.

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IN BETWEEN EVERYDAY LIFE AND NOSTALGIA
(Emigrants from Serbia and Montenegro in Argentina) *

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This study deals with the members of the Serbian and Montenegrin diaspora in the Republic of Argentina, which has developed a specific social character due to various historical and geopolitical circumstances.
According to the data of the Embassy of The Republic of Serbia in Buenos Aires, some 30,000 people of Serbian and Montenegrin origin live in the territory of Argentina. This population originates mostly from the territory of today's Montenegro and Croatia, and, to a lesser extent, from Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Looking into the contemporary life of these emigrants and their descendants, we encountered an array of very complex issues, particularly regarding their relationship towards identity (ethnic, regional, cultural, religious) and the way this identity is formed and manifested in everyday life. Field research showed that the respondents, even though greatly assimilated, are still emotionally bound to their ethnic origin. On the other hand, they are frequently either unable or reluctant to define their ethnic identity, and thus almost all of them use the term "our" to refer to their origin, language, culture, and community. This relationship with identity is caused by former historical and political circumstances, since the very beginning of the immigration. In the contemporary context, identity formation with the diaspora is influenced not only by a greater degree of assimilation, but also by reactions to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and the state union of Serbia and Montenegro.
In addition to a brief historical review and summary of the contemporary situation, this study will introduce a part of the field work conducted in Argentina, focusing on the emigrants' connection to attitude towards traditional heritage, the sustaining of traditional customs and religious practice, connections with the country of origin and mother tongue, forms of social organizations, and the role of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the contemporary life of emigrants.

Key words: diaspora, Argentina, identity, origin, history, everyday life

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INTRODUCTION

During 2011 and 2012 researchers from the Institute of Ethnography SASA[1] had the opportunity to spend time in the territory of the Republic of Argentina on several occasions, where they gathered information on emigrants. On these occasions we became acquainted with this unusual diaspora, which has not been researched sufficiently to date. This discovery sparked the researchers' interest and desire to document and bring closer this diaspora, through various scientific studies, monographs and projects.

According to the data of the Embassy of The Republic of Serbia in Buenos Aires[2], some 30,000 people of Serbian and Montenegrin origin live in the territory of Argentina. They originate mostly from the territory of today's Montenegro and Croatia, and to a lesser extent from Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the very beginning we would like to point out that even though this study will mention other South Slavic peoples, the focus of this research is the Serbian diaspora, and descendants of the emigrants with Serbian ethnicity in Argentina.

Studying the contemporary life of these emigrants and their descendants, we encountered a series of very complex issues. Of particular interest is the relationship of emigrants with identity (ethnic, regional, cultural, religious) and the way this identity is formed and manifested in everyday life.

Very often studies that deal with ethnic issues point out that certain characteristics of ethnic identity – such as flexibility, partiality, dependence on context, vulnerability to manipulation for a variety of reasons, politically or otherwise, etc. – make it hard to define. All these elements are the reason why defining ethnic identity is very challenging and may fog the view of social scientists, making it difficult to stay objective during the research. Interestingly, respondents themselves, the members of certain ethnic communities, often encounter the same problem, as is the case of the diaspora in Argentina.

The field research demonstrated that the respondents are very much emotionally bound to their ethnic origin, even though they are greatly assimilated. On the other hand, they are frequently either unable or reluctant to define their ethnic identity, and thus a great number of them use the term "our" to refer to their origin, language, culture, and community. Therefore, we also chose to use the term "our" when referring to these subjects. This type of attitude towards identity might be caused by former historical and political circumstances, since the very beginning of the immigration, which will be discussed later.

For this reason, without the intention to get deeply into theoretical controversies, in this research we accept and implement the definition of Barth, who insists that the ethnic group is actively formed by its members, based on their subjective belief that they belong to the particular group (Barth, 1969). A similar definition is provided by Wsevolod W. *Isajiw*: an "ethnic group is an unintentional group of people who share the same culture, or the descendants of these people who identify themselves, or are identified by others, as the members of the same group" (Isajiw, 1974: 122).

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1   During 2011 and 2012 SASA researchers Branislav Pantović, MPhil and Dragana Radojičić, PhD visited Argentina. The field research was performed according to a questionnaire put together by a SASA research team: Dragana Radojičić, PhD, Aleksandra Pavićević, PhD, Milesa Stefanović-Banović, MPhil and Branislav Pantović, MPhil. We would like to use this opportunity to express our gratitude to Dragana Radojicić, PhD and Aleksandra Pavićević, PhD who on more than one occasion offered insight into our work, and their critics and suggestions helped us improve this study.

2   There is a Serbian embassy in Buenos Aires where we got information about diaspora; on the other hand, at the indicated time of research, Montenegro officials did not have a diplomatic office open in Argentina.

The field research performed during the study of this subject in 2011 and 2012 had 32 respondents[3]. The focus of the research was on emigrants' attitudes towards traditional heritage, the sustaining of traditional and religious rituals and practice, their relationship to their motherland, forms of social structure in diaspora, etc.[4] A part of this research will be shown later in this study in order to better illustrate the contemporary situation in the field. More thorough research of the diaspora in Argentina is still in progress.

The greatest challenge while dealing with this area of research is definitely the lack of bibliography. Among the few works there is a monograph by Ljubomir Antić *Naše iseljeništvo u Južnoj Americi i stvaranje Jugoslovenske države* published in 1987, a scientific paper about the emigration from Boka Kotorska Bay based on sources from the Archive in Herceg Novi by Marija Crnić-Pejić, and the contemporary study *Crnogorci u Južnoj Americi* by Gordan Stojović and Marjan Miljić.

A very large potential source of information for the study of this diaspora that has been underutilized is archival materials, mainly from the Yugoslavia Archive and Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Serbia, where we were researching in 2011 and 2012.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL COMMENT ON THE EMIGRATION TO ARGENTINA

Occasional emigration from the South Slavic territories to overseas countries occurred even in the 18th century, but it is only since the late 19th century that the first mass emigration and creation of emigrant colonies from the territories of today's Balkans were officially documented. The emigration from these territories to overseas countries is most commonly classified in four phases. The first phase started in the middle of the 19th century and ended by the end of the First World War, the second refers to the period between the two World Wars, the third occurred during the Second World War and after war years, and the fourth phase started in the late 1950s and has lasted until today (Krstanović-Lukić, 1992: 26-30).

The most massive emigration from the South Slavic territory overseas and to Argentina occurred during the first and the second phase[5], while the later waves were notably less sizeable. The first emigrants were sailors from Boka Kotorska Bay and Dubrovnik. Later, influenced by the sailors, other people started emigrating, firstly from Dalmatia, then from neighbouring territories – Lika, Montenegro, and Herze-

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3   Since we contacted the Serbian Embassy in Argentina and the representatives of Serbian Orthodox Church in Buenos Aires, we would like to use this opportunity to express our gratitude to the ambassador Gordana Vidović, and the priest Boško Stojanović for all their help during this research.

4   We also had access to *Ján Botík's* monograph *Slováci v Argentínskom Chacu – Los eslovacos in el Chaco Argentino*, published in 2002, which deals with the Slovaks in Argentina. In this study the author gave systematic and detailed comment about the Slovak emigrants based on his own research and stay in the field, in the first place in the Chaco province. Even though this detailed ethnic and anthropologic study deals with the Slovaks, the author, due to historical context, naturally mentioned also the Serbs and the immigrants who saw themselves as ethnic Serbs. The fact is that for the time being, unfortunately there is no such complete study on the Serbs in Argentina, like the previously mentioned monograph by *Ján Botík*.

5   Migrations to Argentina and other South American countries were even more intensified in the late 19th century, after the USA had introduced annual quotas for immigrants. During this period entering

govina – a bit later from Bosnia and Vojvodina[6], and lastly from Serbia and Macedonia (Slijepčević, 1917: 14).

Reasons and circumstances for emigration in different territories certainly have some timely and territorial peculiarities. However, one can say that the fundamental reasons for the migration of most people were in the first place economic, and partially political[7].

Until 1918, 90% of emigrants were farmers and stockmen, and a small number of them were sailors. They were mostly men able to work, and mainly unmarried (Antić, 1987: 17). "If they got married, in most cases they would take a girl from the native city by recommendation. Mixed marriages were very rare and mainly not well received by the family" (Crnić-Pejović, 2007: 196). The ships travelled mainly from Trieste and Genoa, and a large number of travellers did not even know there was a difference between North and South America. The travel costs were usually covered by the relatives who emigrated earlier and were well off.

Argentinean immigration laws did not require literacy, so the majority of immigrants were either illiterate or semiliterate. Still, many of them made an effort to educate their children, which made them look good in the eyes of the local population. Education, however, also implied a threat of assimilation, and so in order to preserve their native language and culture, emigrants founded national schools (Antić, 1987: 24–25).

Archival research and existing bibliography indicate that it was difficult to determine the exact number of "our" emigrants in Argentina, as well as in other overseas countries, during all the phases of emigration. One of the most important reasons was the fact that the immigrants were very often registered incorrectly. For example, during the first phase of emigration, if emigrants stated Austria, Hungary or Turkey as their country of origin, they were registered as Austrians, Hungarians and Turks.

After the First World War ended, the South Slavic citizens from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Montenegro (of that period) became the citizens of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The newly founded state made efforts to unite and satisfy the needs of all of its emigrants. In July 1920, a decision was made to open a General Consulate in Buenos Aires, which opened up in 1922. In 1928, the Consulate was transformed to an Embassy[8]. However, even after the foundation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, most of the immigrants stated other countries as their countries of origin, most frequently because they were unaware of the aforementioned political changes at their own home country.

Argentina was less difficult than entering the USA and Canada, mainly because of the lack of work force and low population density. This state gave numerous benefits to the immigrants, such as paying for the travel costs inside the country, cheap agricultural land, and very favourable terms on loans (Antić, 1987: 12).

6   It is interesting to mention that *Ján Botík* in his work *Z Dolnej zeme do Argentíny* mentions that the Slovaks came from Vojvodina (from Padina, Kovačica and Stara Pazova) between 1924 and 1930 to the Argentinian province of Chaco, where they appointed a Slavic teacher and school in 1934, inorder to preserve their origin. The author also mentions that Slovak colonists in Chaco kept their customs until the 60s and 70s of the 20th century (Botík, 2011: 239–245).

7   During the first phases, a very important reason for emigration to overseas countries was also a desire to escape the Austro-Hungarian three-year military service.

8   Isailović (2000) states that at that moment this was the only diplomatic branch in the whole South America of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and also later of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Still, it is very curious to mention that during this time there was a general consulate of the Kingdom of Montenegro which was sporadically issuing passports, even though it did not have any authority by the Kingdomof Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. We found this detail in the Yugoslavian Archive: fond no. 765, folder 2, description unit 9–21.

We are still facing the problem of determining the exact number of descendants of "our" emigrants, and very often this gap in information represents one of the greatest challenges while researching this diaspora, and defining emigrants' ethnic identity. Our research indicated that, regardless of the degree to which a respondent had assimilated, the events following the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s caused the greatest confusion regarding the determination of identity of emigrants who originate from Serbia and Montenegro. The sense of being a Yugoslav and being a part of a (united) Serbian-Montenegrin diaspora can still be found in a number of emigrant's descendants. This is why the question of defining identity, especially with emigrants of Serbian and Montenegrin ethnicity who come from the territory of today's Montenegro[9], has become further complicated after the disintegration of the state union of Serbia and Montenegro in 2006.

A resolute referendum[10] on the independence of Montenegro was held on the 21st of May, 2006. The referendum question was: "Do you want the Republic of Montenegro to be an independent state with a full international and legal personality?" and the options offered were YES and NO. The question of independence deeply divided Montenegro. History and economy were the two pillars of on which both blocks' campaigns rested, but they were interpreted in different ways[11]. According to official results, independence was supported by 55,4% of voters. Therefore, with a margin of 0,4% of votes, Montenegro became an independent and sovereign state[12].

The above-mentioned situation caused new ethnic polarizations between Serbian and Montenegrin populations, in the first place in Montenegro, and later among the diaspora in Argentina. This polarization will be a part of the discussion to follow.

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9   The issue regarding Montenegrin and Serbian identity in the Republic of Montenegro also refers to historical and political issues, and its analysis exceeds the scope of this study. We would like to use this opportunity to enclose data from the Montenegro census in 2011, which gives a more colorful explanation of the mentioned situation. From 620 029 people in Montenegro, 278 865 of them identified themselves as Montenegrins, whereas 74 806 from this group listed Serbian as their mother tongue. 178 110 respondents identified as Serbs, and 1 360 listed Montenegrin as their mother tongue. For more details please refer to: http://monstat.org/cg/page.php?id=534&pageid=322.

10 In 1991 Badinter Arbitration Committee (which consisted of presidents of Constitutional Courts of France, Spain, Germany, Italy, and Belgium) ranged Montenegro among other Yugoslavian states that did not have any political obstacles in order to become autonomous state. According to the findings of this commission, the states have the right to self-determination in the boundaries of federal units and the right to constitute a sovereign state in the process of separation from the federal state - Yugoslavia. The referendum in Montenegro was held on the 1st of March in 1992. To question "Do you want Montenegro as a sovereign republic to continue to be a part of a community – Yugoslavia, completely equal with other republics which want the same thing?" 95.94% of the total number of people who voted circled affirmative answer, so Montenegro stayed in state union with Serbia(Rastoder, 2011).

11 The representatives of independence block insisted on the fact that "in Montenegro there will not be neither winners nor defeated because the independency will represent the victory for the whole Montenegro" and that their goal is "affirmation of state and national interest for Montenegro". On the other hand unionists were promising that "regime will finally be removed from the people's back and the prosecutor's office and judiciary will be professionalized so that criminals with the power and those close to them would be held responsible", and they were saying that the independency will aggravate the economic situation and complicate family and political relationships with Serbia. For more details please visit: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/5006380.stm and http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=453244.

12 For more details, please refer to: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/5006380.stm.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE – FIELD RESEARCH RESULTS

Nowadays, "our" emigrants in Argentina are primarily descendants of the first emigrants and emigrants who came after the Second World War. A substantially smaller number of descendants originate from the emigration in the late 20th century, and they are mostly highly educated immigrants[13]. Also, in the last couple of years, there has been a growing trend of immigration for the purpose of forming marriages between citizens of Serbia and Argentina; the majority of emigrants have been women.

As previously mentioned, it is estimated that the diaspora in Argentina numbers some 30,000 people. The majority of this population originates from the territory of today's Montenegro and Croatia, and a smaller number originate from the territory of today's Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. They live in different regions of Argentina, but mostly in the provinces Chaco, Buenos Aires and Santa Fe. Only a small number of emigrants use the ancestors' language for spoken and written language, and it is mostly used in colonies. It is thought that the number of people who regularly use this language does not exceed 200 (Stojović, Miljić, 2012: 144). The largest number of "our" people, totalling approximately 10,000, live in the northern Argentinean province Chaco, which used to house the biggest colony of emigrants from Montenegro, called La Montenegrina.

During our research in 2011 and 2012 we performed interviews with 32 members of the diaspora in Argentina, from Buenos Aires, Rosario, Ensenada, Machagai, and Roque Sáenz Peña. Fieldwork consisted of direct interviews. Except for criteria determined by this study's focus, no other specific criteria were taken into consideration in the selection of respondents. The interviews were performed with the people available, and inclined to participate. However, it should be noted that the respondents were mainly active members of this community, whose ethnic consciousness is presumably more developed, as they were the ones who were the most motivated to participate in this research.

The majority of members of the diaspora who responded to our questions were descendants of the second and third generation emigrants from Montenegro, while three originated from Kosovo and Metohija (Peć), three from Raška (Golija), and four from central Serbia (Belgrade and Niš). We concluded that ancestors from Montenegro mainly belong to the first and second wave of migration, at the beginning of the 20th century and between the two wars, while ancestors from other areas arrived with the third wave of migration, after The Second World War.

The first significant piece of information to be obtained from respondents was the emigrant generation they belonged to. Eleven respondents belonged to the third generation, as their parents were also born in Argentina. The majority consists of second-generation emigrants, whose parents – some even as children – came to Argentina. The last three respondents belong to the wave of the newest emigration, and they have been in Argentina since the 2000s. Four of the members of the diaspora who responded to our questions belong to the older generation (born before 1943), the greatest number is middle-aged (born between 1943 and 1955), and twelve of them were born after 1970. Even though most of the respondents completed college or university studies, the respondents from the older generation only have elementary education. The occupations of respondents are very diverse, but most of them work in administration and management.

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13   According to the data acquired by the Embassy of the Republic of Serbiain Buenos Aires.

Bearing in mind the aforementioned historical and political reasons and theoretical perplexity, it is not simple to establish firm research criteria to define the members of this community. As previously mentioned, this complexity is the reason that during field research our basic criteria for ethnic affiliation was awareness of the members themselves of belonging to this community. In order to preserve this awareness, the existence of ethnic symbols is necessary, as members use these symbols to identify themselves (Prelić, 2008: 193).

In the case of emigrants in Argentina, members of this diaspora consider themselves both as an integral part of Serbian native people and loyal citizens of Argentina. Almost all respondents described themselves and the whole community as closer to Argentinean people than to those in the country of origin, with regards to mentality, value system and everyday life.

On the other hand, field research and conversations with the respondents confirmed that in the case of this community, the most important factors were ethnic symbols, awareness of the same origin and cultural and historical heritage, and awareness of common tradition. In addition, for most of the emigrants, Orthodox religion acts as a very significant ethnic symbol. As the most important elements of social and cultural life the emigrants emphasized existence of the home country's clubs and the Serbian Orthodox Church. For the older emigrants a very important symbol of identity was knowledge and usage of mother tongue, even though almost all of them speak Spanish much better. Almost none of the younger emigrants speak their mother tongue.

RELATIONSHIP TO MOTHERLAND AND MOTHER TONGUE

Almost all of the respondents had the same response to the question of which country they consider as their home country: Argentina. One respondent answered with a delayed, "No. One and the other" (m, 1933); by "the other" he most probably meant his home country, but he did not specify. It is interesting to note that the only time someone mentioned the home country (Montenegro) in addition to Argentina, the respondent is a member of the third generation in Argentina (f, 1970), and as her mother tongue she stated Spanish. However, to the question "What does the native country mean for you?" almost all respondents paused to think and reconsider their previous answer. Some of them reacted too emotionally, and were unable to give an answer. The majority of answers related to belonging: "native country is a country of the people you belong with, a place where you belong spiritually", "a sense of belonging somewhere", "a birth place", "a place where family is, where I was born", "where my family comes from" and etc. Three respondents could not give an answer, as one of them stated: "I do not know, it is a place where you come from, and in both cases I am a frog from the other puddle"[14].

Only a small number of respondents had never visited their country of origin (Serbia, Croatia, and Montenegro), and most of them have been for a visit at least two times. Those who have closer or more distant relatives in the country of origin keep in touch with them through internet or telephone.

From the country of origin the respondents keep letters, books, documents, photo-

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14 "*Soy el sapo de otro pozo*" is an expression in Argentina. It might be compared with similar English ones "To be a misfit" or "To be out of place".

graphs, national costumes, *gusle*[15], icons, flags, musical records and CDs, etc. It is curious that these objects are not only from descendants' native countries, but from all the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

All the respondents agreed that on no occasion is a deceased buried or posthumously transferred to origin countries.

The question "What is your mother tongue?" inquires more as to a connection with the culture of the country of origin than a sense of belonging to the country of origin. The majority of respondents (twelve of them) consider "our" or Serbian language as their mother tongue, and they are the members of the first and second generations of emigrants. Those whose answer was Spanish (five of them) are the members of the second and the third generation of those born in Argentina. Surprisingly, among all these emigrants born in the territory of former Yugoslavia, only one person speaks his mother tongue better than Spanish.

The field research confirmed that the respondents who represent the second and third emigrant generations most commonly talk with their children in Spanish, or, very rarely, in both languages. According to their testimonies, their children are completely assimilated and the majority of them do not speak the language of the country of origin.

In most families, even though the parents spoke Serbian, they conversed with their children exclusively in Spanish or, "a bit in Serbian, a bit in Spanish". There was only one case in which the child spoke Serbian very well, and in seven cases they understood Serbian but spoke only a little. In the majority of cases, they did not speak Serbian at all. During the field research, most of the younger emigrants stated that they would like to learn Serbian and they are really interested in their ancestors' culture, but they do not have any free time.

SOCIAL LIFE

On arrival to Argentina, the emigrants, as in other overseas countries, gathered and founded various societies, homeland clubs or/and associations, mainly based on their own national or home basis. According to the available data, during early waves of immigration there were not any major distinguishable divisions between the emigrants, because the tendencies towards independency and liberation existed between all Slavic people under the ruling of Austro-Hungarian Empire, until 1918. After Yugoslavia was formed, almost all societies used word "Yugoslavian" as a prefix, even though there were those who held on to their national characteristics (Crnić-Pejović, 2007: 177).

Today, there are several homeland clubs in Argentina where "our" diaspora participates, and all of them, except the "Cultural Centre Nicola Tesla"[16], still contain the pretext "Yugoslavian" in their names, no matter what the national background or state of origin of the people in those clubs is[17]. Interestingly, even though the names were given during the time Yugoslavia still existed as a state, the field research indicated that this prefix in the name was not only kept by default, but because it actually reflects the

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15 The *gusle* can be a single-stringed or two-stringed musical instrument, used in the region of the Balkans. It is most commonly made of maple wood. As a single-stringed instrument *gusle* can be found in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia.

16 It was founded in 2009, as an economic and cultural institution. Serbian language courses were occasionally held at this center.

17 It refers to former Yugoslavian states.

ideals of the society members, no matter what their ethnic affiliation and/or citizenship is. This can be confirmed by the fact that emigrants who originate from present day Montenegro in Venado Tuerto registered their church community as the "Yugoslav Church of Belgrade Patriarchate", and continue to use this name even today[18].

The program and goal of all societies is very alike: the gathering of emigrants, their protection, mutual aid, the sustaining of communication with the homeland, the preservation of mother tongue and identity (Crnić-Pejović, 2007: 177).

The first society/association in Buenos Aires, which gathered people from the territory of former Yugoslavia, then from the Habsburg monarchy, was the Austrian Mutual Aid Society (*Sociedad Aústriaca de Socorros Mutuos*) founded in 1878. In1919 this society changed its name to "Yugoslav Mutual Aid Society from La Boca" (*Sociedad Yugoslava de Socorros Mutuos de la Boca*). In 1988 it was united with the society from Dock Sud "Yugoslav Centre" (*Hogar Yugoslavo de Dock Sud*) and the society changed its name to the "Yugoslav Joint Society Our home" (*Sociedad Mutual Yugoslava Naš Dom*). At present, this is the only active society where emigrants of "our" origin gather in Buenos Aires[19].

The Province of Buenos Aires (Provincia de Buenos Aires) has five different associations which gather people of "our" origin: in Mar Del Plata, the "Cultural Centre of United Slavs"[20] (*Centro Cultural Eslavos Unidos*); in General Juan Madariaga, the "Yugoslav association Njegoš"[21]; in Tandil, the "Yugoslav social and cultural centre"[22] (*Centro Social y Cultural Yugoslavo de Tandil*); and in Berisso, in officially "the capital city of emigrants" in the province of Buenos Aires, the rejuvenated "Yugoslav association" (*Colectividad Yugoslava*).

The Province of Chaco(*Provincia Chaco*) has two societies where Argentinean people of "our" origin gather. The first one is situated in Presidencia Roque Sáenz Peña and is called the "Yugoslav cultural and sport association" (*Sociedad Yugoslava Cultural y Deportiva*). The other society is situated in La Montenegrina and is named the "Yugoslav society Durmitor", but currently it is not active.

It is important to emphasize that the members of "our" diaspora were a part of many societies, homeland clubs and emigrant organizations in the Republic of Argentina that no longer exist. For example, the "Kosovo association" (*Sociedad Kosovo*) from Ensenada was active from 1911 to 1947. Members of this society included people from

18 For more details please refer to public announcement regarding reactions to the visit of Metropolitan Amfilohije to South America: http://www.mitropolija.me/?p=9891.

19 During the field research we realized that the members were mostly older people, who belong to the first or the second emigrants' generation from all territories of former Yugoslavia, whereas their children are not a part of association work. The members of the society live in harmony; they are very well organized, and have their own incomes from memberships and renting their own real estate. They have a folklore group (*Conjunto Marjan*) and sport section as well.

20 According to the data of the Serbian Embassy in Buenos Aires, this association has 120 members originating from all over the former Yugoslavia's territory. In addition to social and cultural activities, courses of Serbo-Croatian language are occasionally organized.

21 After meeting with the Serbian ambassador Gordana Vidović in Buenos Aires in 2011, we found out that this is one of the most compact associations of "our" diaspora in the Republic of Argentina. Also, we learnt that during the regular gatherings members of the society try to cherish customs, language, culture of the homeland, and to hand down the same to their children.

22 They have choir and folklore group. Very often they meet in order to celebrate *our a*nd Argentinean holidays, they actively participate in public events of the city Tandila, but they do not have their own premises.

Montenegro, Bosnia, Macedonia, Croatia, and Serbia, and the name "Kosovo" was chosen as a symbol for national recognition through history[23], as explained during the field research in 2012 by a member of that society, Domingo (Neđeljko) Jovanović.

One can say that emigrants' social life is not noticeably determined by their ethnic origin and sense of belonging. None of the respondents take their ethnic origin into consideration when choosing a friend, and they generally state that they are friends with "all Argentineans, but in the church with the Montenegrins and the Serbs – *ours*". Although homeland clubs or associations are not found in the majority of local communities, in the places where there are gatherings they are mainly based on their ethnic origin. All the informants believe that the existence of this institution is very significant for the preservation of folk customs and sense of common origin. They say "it is significant for custom preservation", "it is important that the tradition and customs are cherished closely to church", "it is for people who came and for the customs to remain", "because it is a way to preserve roots awareness", "it's important for the roots that bring us together and for the language", "in order to cherish identity and to spend time together".

THE ROLE OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE CONTEMPORARY LIFE OF EMIGRANTS IN ARGENTINA

A study of the archival material revealed that since their very founding, almost all associations emphasized the need to form Serbian Orthodox Church[24] in their statutes and plans. Since the first emigrations, until the late 40s in the 20th century, there were no representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the territory of South America, so the Orthodox emigrants from the territory of former Yugoslavia were mostly directed to the Russian Orthodox Church[25] and to some other local Orthodox churches.

The first temple of the Serbian Orthodox Church was built by "our" emigrants in 1938 in Machagai (Chacoprovince), honouring Saint Nicolas. However, until the 1950s, in the absence of a priest of the Serbian Orthodox Church, there was a Russian priest[26] who was sent by the Serbian Patriarchate. The foundation of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Argentina began just after the Second World War in 1948, when the Serbian Orthodox Church patriarch[27] sent the first Serbian priest to Argentina.

Today the Serbian Orthodox Church has five churches in Argentina. At "Yugoslav association Njegoš" facilities in General Juan Madariaga, religious services are also held from time to time. In 2011 the "Buenos Aires' and South-central American' Eparchy"[28] was founded, with the headquarters in Buenos Aires and metropolitan Amfilohije of Montenegro as administrator. In 2011 and 2012, five new priests were appointed to the new eparchy of Argentina, Venezuela, and Chile.

Even though assimilation is present and there is a distancing from the motherland, certain events in the country of origin are reflected within the diaspora in Argentina as well, and they lead to new divisions that can also be observed in the church. Dur-

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23 For more details please refer to http://www.semanarioserbio.com/?p=2969.
24 Please refer to Yugoslavia archive, fond number 385 "The Embassy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Argentina– Buenos Aires" (1926–1945).
25 It existed in this territory since the late 19th century.
26 Alexander Konovalenko (?–1952).
27 Gavrilo Dožić (1881–1950).
28 In Serbian: Buenosaireshka i juzhno-centralnoamerichka eparkhiya.

ing the 1920s, the *Montenegrin Orthodox Church* started operating in Montenegro. This church claims the canonical jurisdiction of the Serbian Orthodox Church with regards to the legal Metropolitanate of Montenegro and the Littoral, after the cancellation of Peć Patriarchate in 1766. The *Montenegrin Orthodox* church has not been recognized by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and other autocephalous Orthodox churches. In addition to this canonical issue, the *Montenegrin Orthodox Church* also takes issue with the Serbian Orthodox Church and its properties, mostly in the territory of the Republic of Montenegro.

The conflict between Serbian Orthodox Church and Montenegrin Orthodox Church is reflected within the diaspora in Argentina as well. The most prominent example is in Chaco province, where most of the emigrants of Montenegrin origin live (Stojović, Miljić, 2012: 149), and the religious community is very well connected. In addition to issues regarding jurisdiction, property issues occurred as well. The research also shows that the issue between Serbian Orthodox Church and Montenegrin Orthodox Church created a series of dilemmas and complicated issues regarding identity for a number of emigrants, which they do not like to talk about.

THE CONNECTION TO RELIGION AND TRADITION IN EVERYDAY LIFE

The field research performed in Argentina points out that the dissolving of the Serbian Orthodox religious community has been occurring for a long period of time, mainly because the second, third and following emigration generations are completely integrated within Argentinean society and within mixed marriages[29]. Even though a large number of them are still getting married and being baptized in the Serbian Orthodox Church, until recently most of them had no participation in the church life. During a conversation with priest Boško Stojanović we found out that the founding of the eparchy and appointing new priests led to a noticeable increased tendency for participation in the church life. This finding was confirmed during conversations with the emigrants.

All the respondents were baptized in the Serbian Orthodox Church, except for two who were baptized in the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia. Twelve of them got married in the Roman Catholic Church, and eight of them in the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad. It is interesting to mention that even though there was evidence of significant assimilation, the majority of the younger generation got married in the Serbian Orthodox Church.

The children were mainly baptized in the Serbian Orthodox Church, and in a few cases in the Roman Catholic Church or the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad ("baptized by Russian priest at home"). The most interesting answer to this topic was "Yes, they are baptized in Orthodox and Catholic Church in order to choose their religion on their own".

To the question of whether they go to the church, all respondents gave affirmative answers. Twelve of the respondents answered that they go to the Serbian Orthodox Church and the rest of them stated that they go both to the Serbian Orthodox Church

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29 Also, all the respondents agreed that today mixed marriages are a common event, which was not the case earlier. One respondent told us "Yes, it is normal now, but it was not before. For example, in Madriaga there were 300 men, and only 20 of them got married, because there were no women from the Balkans, and they were very conservative and wanted a wife from the Balkans, so some of them met the women from their homeland through letters and photos".

and to the Roman Catholic Church or to the Serbian Orthodox Church and Russian Church Abroad, "when *our* priest is not available", one respondent said.

Most of the respondents go to church for religious holidays, weddings and baptisms, or "when the priest comes". The same answers were also given by believers who go to church on the regular basis, because in certain churches religious services are held only few times a year. Among the respondents who stated that they go to both churches, there are those who go to Catholic or Russian Church when the priest in the Serbian Orthodox Church is not available.

Half of the respondents answered that "our" people are mainly buried with a funeral service performed by an Orthodox priest, whenever it is possible, served by Serbian or if not available by a Russian priest.

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Strategies of identity used by ethnic groups most commonly refer to history and tradition, which implies that certain patterns will last and will be transferred from generation to generation (Prelić, 2008: 289). This suggests the inclination for tradition of the members of minority groups, which was confirmed by our field research. It was demonstrated that in the case of diaspora in Argentina, the strongest components of people's tradition are folk customs connected to the church calendar or life cycle of an individual. The results of the research, which describe in detail the situation in the field regarding custom practice, are outside of the scope of this study. However, we will illustrate this notion with some data.

Except for two respondents, all the respondents answered that they know when their *slava*[30] is and what *slava* represents. Thirteen respondents stated that they celebrate their *slava*, while the rest do not. Only one respondent answered that he does not have *slava* day. The majority, ten of them, celebrate Saint Nicolas Day, while St. John Chrysostom, St. Elijah's Day, St Stephen and St. John the Baptist were mentioned by four respondents.

Also, everyone but one respondent has a religious icon of a saint in their house, mainly the icon of the saint they celebrate, their family's patron. Most of those icons are family icons, inherited from their grandparents. In several cases the icons were brought by emigrants from Serbia and Montenegro, while other respondents had obtained the icons themselves.

A little over two thirds of the respondents, 23 of them, answered that they remembered at least some customs they had seen from their parents, grandparents, or in the country of origin. Most of them remembered the *slava*, which one of the respondents described in Spanish as "bread passed from hand to hand, between the members of a family standing in a circle". Another respondent remembered wedding customs as well, and still another explained in Spanish that he remembered burning of the wood for Christmas[31], but he could not remember the name of this custom. Two respondents stated that they remember everything.

More than a half of the respondents stated that they celebrate Serbian New Year[32], and one respondent stated that he remembers that this day was celebrated "when

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30 It is a Serbian Orthodox Church tradition of the ritual glorification of one's family's patron saint. The family celebrates the *slava* annually on the saint's feast day.

31 Refers to *badnjak* (log of a holy tree - oak).

32 According to the Julian calendar, introduced by Julius Cesar. It was the predominant calendar in most

there were elders, but not anymore". Orthodox Christmas is celebrated by all the respondents, and Orthodox Easter is celebrated by most of them, 23 from 32 respondents. It is curious to mention that to the question, "What is your favourite religious holiday?", an equal number of respondents stated New Year, *slava*, Christmas, and Easter, and only one stated that all the holidays are equally important.

Some responses indicated the fading or forgetting of tradition or assimilation. For example, for 21 respondents, the description of rituals performed during religious holidays came down to formal food allowed by fasting or regular food, family meals, then baking and breaking of ritual bread (*slavski kolač*, *česnica*) and *žito*, and going to the church together whenever it is possible.

We asked several questions regarding traditional food, bearing in mind that food can be a faithful guardian of the past and indicator of national and religious identity. The literature points to certain situations with individual migrations and minority groups where culinary characteristics have remained preserved even in cases when the mother tongue is long forgotten. On the other hand, food is a domain of constant innovations and one of the ways to shift from one culture to another, without even noticing and without great resistance, unlike some other cultural inheritance (Radojičić, 2012: 36–45 and 180–201).

Only two respondents stated that they do not or cannot make any national dishes or drinks. The rest stated they can make at least one or two dishes or drinks. They stated: pies, strudel, *gibanica* (with potato, dock leaves or dried meat), *sarma*, *ćevapi* and cakes. One respondent said that they made sauerkraut (sour cabbage) each year, and most of them mentioned that their mothers and grandmothers used to make more national dishes, which they can no longer remember.

Eight of them drink *rakija*, and the same number of them drink "our coffee". Two respondents stated that they eat *slatko* and *ratluk*. On the other hand five respondents did not know or have never heard about *ratluk*, and six of them have never heard about *slatko*. Those who stated that they drink "our coffee", *ratluk*, *rakija*, etc. told us that these products are generally ordered from Serbia, some from Montenegro, and some from Croatia. Two respondents told us that they order everything through the Serbian Embassy in Buenos Aires.

CONCLUSION

The given historical review and summary of the contemporary situation points out that these so far unexplored populations of emigrants in South America represent a complex phenomena, and a community whose identity is built from various historical, political, cultural, religious and ideological layers.

It is obvious that despite the small number of people and great degree of assimilation, this community is showing a desire to sustain its ethnic and cultural characteristics and fulfilling its specific cultural needs.

In order to sustain the awareness on ethnic affiliation for a longer period of time, the awareness must be bound to a certain number of cultural elements, which in certain contexts become the symbols of ethnic differences. The existence of a network of

of Europe, and in European settlements in the Americas and elsewhere, until it was superseded by the Gregorian calendar. However, most branches of the Eastern Orthodox Church still use the Julian calendar. Serbian New Year is on the 14 of January according to the Gregorian calendar.

cultural institutions, not only today, but in the past as well, can be cited as one of the key factors of the minority groups' survival. One can say that the continuity of existence and functioning of the institutions guarantees the continuity of the social life of the group and the existence of its inner social dynamic (Prelić, 2008: 366–368).

During the archive and field research, which is still ongoing, emotional bonds, awareness of being a part of the same origin and having the same cultural and historical heritage, and the awareness of common tradition have surfaced as the key elements in the case of this diaspora. The need for group survival, throughout history and today, manifested itself through organizing and gathering in homeland's clubs and the Serbian Orthodox Church.

Being in the field, we found out that among the younger generations of emigrants' descendants there is an increased interest in history, culture, tradition, so in this regard even the ancestors' language would be a very useful support in the form of organized help from the homeland, and countries of origin.

By presenting this preliminary research, our aim was first to point to this diaspora, which is not well-known, even though it represents one of the key elements of cultural and historical Serbian heritage abroad. We hoped to raise some issues or establish certain processes and situations that can initiate further, more detailed study of this diaspora.

The field research and extensive archival study proved to be the best sources for future, more detailed research of 'our' emigrants in Argentina.

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TOWARDS THE NEW FOLKLORE GENRE THEORY

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The rapid development of new media, especially the Internet, triggered major changes in culture and caused a general change in the status of texts. These changes call for a new folklore genre theory. A word is no longer the only element that builds folklore texts when they enter the Internet – the new multimedia space. On the one hand, the phenomena known as e-folklore, combining different means of expression, show similarity to traditional folklore (due to anonymity, collectivity, multi-variant dimension and emphasis on the value of tradition), and on the other – they are radically different due to their unique dynamism. New technologies successfully stimulate creative activity of the network users, showing the signs of folklore activity. As a result, not only are traditional genres subject to progressive modifications and changes (e.g. chain letters, fake warnings against viruses, urban legends, rumours, conspiracy theories, miraculous events, e-revelations), but also new forms and genres (new Internet-based humour, photoshopping, Internet memes, blogs, chats) as well as the so-called visual folklore phenomena are created. The users' activity on social networking websites is also important. It enriches the structure of contemporary folklore messages and at the same time strengthens the power of emotions and imagination of the virtual community. Furthermore, the modern folklore, functioning in the media context, creatively uses the popular culture content. In this situation, it is necessary to analyse the context of contemporary folklore-creating situations, inspiring not only the existence, but also transformations of folklore genres understood as models of specific communication situations.

Key words: folklore genre theory, folklore-creating situations, new genres, e-folklore, visual folklore

The discussion about the specifics of a folklore genre has intensified along with the development of the scientific discipline itself, which has led to a change in the perspective of perceiving the research subject and, consequently, imposed the need to abandon the paradigm of literary studies by folkloristics. As a result, the theory of folklore genres, which is modelled on genre theory of literary studies, is becoming purposeless. Folklore does not use any formulated poetics and the concept of a genre cannot be used in the meaning of literary science. "Folklore does not have any formulated normative poetics;

it has only the immanent normative poetics", said Czesław Hernas years ago during a discussion on the diversity of folklore in terms of genres (Hernas, 1976: 9), exposing the creative role of the narrator at the same time. Roch Sulima supported him: "The concept of a genre is a research construct, a manner of historical and systematising thinking in folkloristics. There is a cultural model that functions in folklore (not in folkloristics). It assigns various texts (including texts of different genres) to typical existential situations created by a specific world model" (Sulima, 1976: 11).

THE SITUATIONAL CONTEXT AS AN ELEMENT CO-FORMING A FOLKLORE GENRE

The basis to determine the specifics of a genre is a repeated number of single texts that are, however, subject to dynamic changes. Therefore, as I concluded a long time ago when analysing the genre of legend (German: *Sage*, French: *lègende locale*) (Hajduk-Nijakowska, 1980), in order to determine a genre (material from the typological point of view), one must take into account the whole context of the situation, in which a folklore communication is sent, as well as the creative activity of the narrator and the participation of recipients in a folklore event (feedback when sending the message). Shifting the focus from the very text itself to the context within which it functions, causes the concept of a genre to be perceived primarily as a model of a specific communication situation (the abovementioned 'cultural model' of Sulima), in which the major role is assigned to the intentions of the performer (narrator).

The above issue was also raised by Jolanta Ługowska, who formulated theoretical bases to separate the genres of folk tales: "the ability to assume dynamic components of the creative process in folklore is conditioned in genre theory research by the application of the concept of a genre as a model of a specific communication situation popular in the theory of literature" (Ługowska, 1986: 12). In the given situation, a major role in the development of the genre (the way a text is 'used') is played by the intention of communication connected with its pragmatic dimension. Ługowska believes that the genres of folklore as such, "due to the high degree of their conventionalisation, simplification and predictability, as well as nearly common occurrence, can be considered the primary genres of speech described by Bachtin", in which the 'expressiveness of intentions' plays the major part (Ługowska, 2002: 15).

Focusing on the transmission process as such requires that stresses should also be moved towards the folklore functions of communication (productive) situations, their cultural syncretism should be exposed and interactions between the narrator and listener(-s) should be analysed during the text formation. The above was already postulated by Herman Bausinger who stated that the 'performance (*Performanz*) style' is subject to evaluation by listeners, and the evaluation "co-decides about the duration and stability of the transmitted stories" (Bausinger, 1975: 326).

I should expand the above statement by saying that the specifics of operation of the direct (natural, contact) transmission was analysed also by Kiril V. Chistov, who perceived the cultural conditions of communication situations and pointed to the creative process during such a transmission, determined by the "synchrony of the process of sending and receiving" (Czistow[1], 1977: 47). On the one hand, this syn-

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1   K. W. Czistow is K. V. Chistov in Polish transcription.

chrony reinforces the "so-called co-participation effect consisting in parallelism and concurrency of feelings of the performer and the accompanying listener or spectator," and on the other hand, it affects by feedback the variety of the transmitted content and simultaneousness when the recipient "at the next stage of the existence of a folklore text can become a performer equally valuable as the first one" (Czistow, 1977: 50). The comments by Chistov, expanded by the previous concept of Piotr G. Bogatyriev[2] and Roman Jacobson (1973),[3] concerning the analysis of folklore as a specific form of literary work (especially the role of preventive censorship), makes us realise that the examination of the specifics of the operation of a text in a 'natural' conversation needs a complex look, and most of all considering the narrative activity as a specific creation of the way of understanding and learning the world by a particular social group.

Also, the conclusions of Victor Gusiev are interesting; by exposing the 'obviousness' of the syncretic character of folklore, he considered a genre as a form important from the typological perspective, susceptible to transformations of genres, "these – let us call them – knots that occur when phenomena continue to transform into others" (Gusiew[4], 1974: 167). Moreover, what is also important, especially in terms of the contemporary considerations of genre theory: "The process of absorption of strange components is one of the limited features of folklore; therefore, folklore is not an eclectic combination of various factors, but a kind of art that develops according its own rules" (Gusiew, 1974: 125).

THE DIRECTIONS OF CONTEMPORARY TRANSFORMATION OF FOLKLORE GENRES

All the conclusions referred to above consider obviously the 'classical' folklore determined by the paradigm of orality, aestheticism and rural character. This paradigm, as we know, has been recently questioned because, due to the development of media and the expansion of new manners of transmission of cultural contents, folklore as such has changed. However, the conclusions of classical authors show us the direction of interpretation of the contemporary folklore phenomena. If we assume that communication (productive) situations have an effect to a great extent on the operation of folklore, and at the same time the way that genres of folklore operate, then, we cannot analyse folklore phenomena today, neglecting the relationships occurring between media and folklore carriers. The expansion of media in the realm of folklore results not only in their influence on the development of new interactions connecting people with media, but they also direct interactions between people, inspire the occurrence of spontaneous situations, which encourage the telling of stories and cause the transformation of the traditional forms of oral narration (Hajduk-Nijakowska, 2007). Today, we face a new type of culture, determined by the occurrence of electronic media (especially the Internet) that has created new relationships between people. Such transformations clearly support the tendencies of capturing folkloristics in the anthropologic dimension (Hajduk-Nijakowska, 2011) – also because they lead to a general change of the status of texts, which requires a new folk-

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2   P. G. Bogatyriew is P. G. Bogatyriev in Polish transcription.
3   The article was published for the first time in German in 1929.
4   W. Gusiew is V. Gusiev in Polish transcription.

lore genre theory to be developed. The word is not the only component building a folklore message, especially when it lands on the Internet, a new multimedia space. New technological solutions invaded the structure of texts, which in the opinion of Eugeniusz Wilk discloses an important regularity: "a primary scheme of direct conversation is subject to major modifications and changes under the influence of technical factors [...] one cannot read without the breach of the essence of the message, the meanings that are hidden in media conversations if he/she does not interpret the meanings determined by the technological conditions" (Wilk, 2009: 25). The Internet requires that in a way "speech should be made written and at the same time written language should be made oral" (Górska-Olesińska, 2005: 458) and also inspires the active use of iconographic and audio-visual components in e-conversation.

The 'absorption' by the Internet (obviously due to the network users) of the contents previously existing mainly in direct circulation (which obviously is connected with the change of the text structure as such) is only one of the aspects of the major changes occurring in contemporary folklore. New forms of creative activity appear much more important in the realm of folklore inspired by the interactivity of the Internet (Hajduk-Nijakowska, 2010b). The content, existing so far beyond the network, after entering into the Internet as something quite obvious, successfully 'surrenders', at the same time, to the Internet inspiration, which enriches their formula in terms of quality, and co-creates the social dimension of new media, leaving the Internet users unaware of the fact. And this is the most exciting task for today's research on folklore. The folk tradition cannot do more than "determine one of the possible frames of reference, points of view and approach towards the issues under analysis; however, the basic research paradigms must be provided by the present" (Waliński, 1999: 98).

These days, let us repeat, it is impossible to analyse folklore phenomena without assuming the media context. May it suffice to examine the process of receipt of the contents transmitted by the media, in which we face, among others, the two-step-flow of information phenomenon, as a result of which folklore plays a new function: it promotes contents transmitted by the media, using on the one hand the traditional forms of folklore narration and on the other hand – the models of 'translating' feelings and emotions into narration promoted by the media, 'prompted' validation formulas, not to mention the promotion of a particular variant of a story (Hajduk-Nijakowska, 2012). Therefore, it is hard to discuss the existence of traditional contents and genres in the contemporary transmission, as they are subject to far-reaching transformations. "A text that yesterday was (...) a folk text" – as Jan Kajfosz stated – "does not have to be a folk one today, (...) it becomes nothing more than the representation of a previous status of folklore activity, namely folklorism" (Kajfosz, 2011: 58). On the other hand, the analysis of texts published in the Internet, reminiscent of traditional folk texts, clearly shows technological, Internet-related inspiration of progressing modifications and changes. Nevertheless, they were subject to material qualitative changes in the virtual space, and such changes need other analysis methods to be adopted by researchers. What is more, it is hard to prove that in the virtual environment they continue with traditional genres. Michail Alexeevskiy proved for instance that "in the Internet one can find mainly humorous 'remakes' of classical fairy tale plots" (Alekseevskiy, 2010: 155) or chastushkas that are only indirectly connected with folk tradition. The classical genre is used mainly as a parody, it turns out to be one of the instruments to construct a new text the comic effect of which is evoked by the juxtaposition of "the folk form and new contents" (Alekseevskiy, 2010: 156).

But in some cases, the traditional folklore genre is subject to such far-reaching modifications that it becomes in fact a new genre and represents a quite new quality. Just analyse the so-called 'chain letters' originating from the 'letters from heaven' popular in the traditional folk religiousness. Some of them still believe in the magic of the word and are clearly of the character of a prayer, but others "contain the moral message of other religions [...]. Others provide a list of pieces of ethical advice (usually known as 'commandments') or a parable of ethical overtone [...]. There are also chain letters that do not teach any lesson but only guarantee happiness to anyone who sends them" (Grębecka, 2006: 209–210). In every case, the purpose of such chain letters is to connect people into a community integrated with one religion or secret knowledge, obviously on condition that a member forwards the given text to further recipients by e-mail. Unsurprisingly, the chain letter formula is used today by advertising companies (creation of the so-called voluntary marketing chain). In exchange for forwarding a promotion letter companies offer trips or gadgets. Therefore, "a person who does not agree to receive and forward chain letters, jokes and information about viruses, who does not use the function *reply to all*, reduces e-mail to the role of quickly-operating mail only. [...] At the same time, he/she voluntarily resigns from a certain new community created by the Internet mail" (Grębecka, 2006: 214). The contemporary chain letters contain, apart from the text, also photographs or drawings; they can also include a multimedia presentation.

The popularity of chain letters on the Internet (Graliński, 2009) is a result of the false authority syndrome. In fear of the consequences that the recipient can suffer in the case that he/she ignores a message, 'just in case' he/she takes the actions expected by the sender. "Along with the development of the Internet, the computer has become a liminal, mystic intermediary that allows crossing the limits of personal perception and to enter the *extra-natural virtual universe* where everything seems to be viable" (Meder, 2001). This in the opinion of the Dutch researcher justifies people's belief in the most extraordinary stories published in the Internet, including false alarms concerning computer viruses. They have the form of e-mail chains. "Whole groups of people let themselves be deceived" – proves Meder having analysed hundreds of warnings received by Dutch computers – "because they believe that computers are not composed of a collection of processors that simply wait for rows of zeros and ones, but they are magic boxes with unknown and incomprehensible capabilities, steered by witch-doctors and magicians known as programmers and hackers" (Meder, 2001). A recipient forwards the information fearing that his/her computer can break down, his/her health can deteriorate or a chance to win can be lost or simply due to remorse. The rich material collected by the Dutch researcher on the one hand clearly proves that false warnings of viruses chasing the Internet users take the form of chain letters and are often enriched with comments of the subsequent senders, and on the other hand they compete in the Internet with electronic chain letters about a deadly sick child and as such can already be considered the urban legend. Nevertheless, Jan Harold Brunvand classified warnings of viruses as urban legends (Brunvand, 2001), including them under the category Computer Folklore.

Although there are theoretical controversies among researchers in respect of the genre of the urban legend used in accordance with the Anglo-American tradition (Hajduk-Nijakowska, 2010a), everyone jointly stresses that such new stories are

clearly connected with simple, historic forms (*einfachen Formen*) of narration and traditional genres: mythical stories, fairy tales (e.g. urban fantasy, Grzybkowska--Lewicka, 2005), legends, ballads, news, huckster songs that confirm the justification to use the *homo narrans* category to analyse the creative process of narration in contemporary society. "Urban legends – often referred to as contemporary legends, contemporary myths or gossip – are current, spontaneous, hot communications that spur emotions and make listeners react immediately" (Czubala, 2005: 5). This settles the question of their competitiveness against information in the media. Zuzana Panczová has noticed also that such stories, even if they sometimes are similar to the genres of the 'traditional' folklore, especially to the mythical stories (also old, folk issues can be found there), in some cases exist in the memory convention (have features close to memories) or are characterised by clear references to the poetics of pop culture genres: detective stories, movie horrors or thrillers (Panczová, 2013: 143).

Today, however, they exist mainly in the media, especially on the Internet; they exceed cultural boundaries and become a part of the global, modern world. Urban legends have become a fashionable equivalent of the old myths and legends. This explains, among others, the exceptionally impressive explosion of uncountable conspiracy theories on the Internet after 11th September 2001 (Allan, 2008: 74 ff.).

Not only do the media support their direct circulation of urban legends (raise interest in information about a particular event), but they also 'trigger' new folklore events, for example with intermediation of journalists who treat various amazing stories as credible relations and publish them in the media and co-create or inspire their new versions. Therefore, we observe a kind of infiltration between mass circulation and folklore circulation, which results in the popularisation of specific issues and stereotypes and to a great extent expands the so-called public domain (the information about a particular event is publicly known, obvious and nothing is to be proved). This is probably the reason why the phenomenon discussed here is also a subject of interest to sociologists, managers and media experts.

This phenomenon was analysed from the perspective of folkloristics by Zuzana Panczová (2005a), who completed a typology of conspiracy theories on the Internet pages and considered such theories as a subgroup of rumour (gossip). Undoubtedly, the concept of rumour (gossip) among the Czech and Slovak researchers was promoted by the work of the French sociologist Jean-Noël Kapferer, entitled *Rumeurs: le plus vieux media du monde,* published in 1987 and translated into Czech in 1992 by Dušan Provazník under the title *Fáma – nejstarší médium světa* [*Hearsay – the Oldest Medium in the World*]. Since that time, J. N. Kapferer has been dealing mainly with managing gossip and trademarks in business, but their expansion in the Internet made him analyse again the issues of existence of rumours, for example their use to shape the behaviour of recipients.[5] In his first work, Kapferer formulated the thesis that "considering certain information as true information depends on the system of relationships that emerged in our ancient thinking that we use to evaluate the information. Until the given information conforms to such principles of thinking, it is highly probable that we accept it as true" (Kapferer, 1992: 64). This thesis was confirmed by Zuzana Panczová who conducted research on Internet forums: "in spreading rumours (gossip) and conspiracy

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5   A new edition of *Rumeurs…,* expanded with the Internet issues, was published in 2010. Compare also the interview with J. N. Kapferer about rumours in the Internet: 'Journal du Net'. 28. 02. 2001, www.journaldunet.com/itws/it_kapfere.shml

theories the main role is played by whether information complies with our existing beliefs and stereotypical ideas" (Panczová, 2005a: 161).

Folk stories on the Internet forums are a hybrid of oral and literary statement: on the one hand the participants use colloquial communication and – on the other hand – lacking in any para verbal components typical of the direct oral communication – they use replacement components, such as emoticons. As Zuzana Panczová concluded the Internet communication can be considered today as "an efficient substitute, i.e. an alternative of an informal, oral story" (Panczová, 2005b: 28).

The use of the options to enrich texts with additional graphical or photographical components offered by computer programmes is especially popular in humorous presentations. It is hard, however, to consider such forms of expression to be a continuation of anecdotes or jokes of the 'traditional' folklore, even if we trace in the Internet plots already confirmed in traditional folklore. These are, however, quite different manifestations, new texts in terms of quality. An Internet joke cannot be compared with a joke told in reality, in which case not only the context determines that a laughing community is formed, but predominantly it is the narrator's skills of verbal expression (story-teller) that make the given story funny. Most concepts and schemes have emerged in particular situations: laugh is caused by an event that suddenly breaks a norm. A joke is always born in the direct communication (among well-known companions). The obvious components are missing from virtual contacts. The Internet changes the mutual relationships between the sender and the recipient of a joke: "the role of the performer weakens and the capabilities of the addressee expand. The addressee is activated and formulates his/her own body of texts that meet his/her needs; they specify the area of interest and ideological opposition" (Frolova, 2009: 171). This is facilitated by the structure of numerous websites (mainly commercial ones, using the need to have fun to attract a potential client) with collections of anecdotes, equipped with special browsers, thematic catalogues, indices, so that the Internet user can find a group of texts that he/she is interested in. A list of nearly one hundred such websites with anecdotes was prepared by Olga Frolova (Frolova, 2009: 128-130).

New jokes trigger the wish to comment, reply or expand narrations and put them into the electronic circulation, mainly by e-mail among friends (accepted to the group of the initiated). "The visualisation of a joke is not limited only to statements included in e-mail attachments; it is seen in films and animations, and sent in the form of presentations, too" (Krawczyk-Wasilewska, 2009: 21). Another issue that must be analysed is the role of YouTube in the development of the visual folklore and the inspiration of the creative activity of the virtual 'video society'.

An Internet joke has simply developed new forms of existence. Relying mainly on the written word, it exposes puns, dialogues, and ascribes the traditionally known concepts to media characters or politicians. Most of all, it uses funny pictures or film scenes. Nevertheless, on the other hand "funny photos, jokey MP3, demotivators or the so-called PPSs, i.e. multimedia presentations created in Power Point, can have the structure of a joke, caricature, authentic life story, riddle, chain letter, sentence or parable" (Grochowski, 2013: 50).

Rolf Brednich believes that the escalation of the process of transmission of humorist contents in the Internet leads to the occurrence of a new global culture of humour characterised by anonymity and availability of variants (Brednich, 2005). A special place is taken by disaster jokes, usually pictorial jokes, suddenly spreading after the

terrorist attacks on the WTC of 11th September 2001 (cf. Kuipers, 2002). The above is confirmed by the research by Theo Meder: "in a short time, the Internet was swarmed with jokes and rumours [...]; however, they were mainly a manifestation of the visual folklore – a digital successor of Xerox copies. Never before had so many manipulated images been sent" (Meder, 2001: 7). The information about disastrous events play in most cases a therapeutic role; they 'help come to terms' with the tragic dimension of the contemporary world. Violetta Krawczyk-Wasilewska, who analysed this phenomenon, using a Polish example stressed also that the terrorist issues, usually transmitted by e-mail, found their place also in the youth folklore and even the child folklore. She enumerated examples of counting rhymes, rhymes, riddles, as well as text messages referring to chain letters (Krawczyk-Wasilewska, 2003: 25–35).

THE NEW FOLKLORE DIGITAL GENRES

Using the potential offered by the Internet to exchange information and comments about contents important and exciting to recipients of media transmissions or particular events becomes natural today. The Internet enables people to take part in various discussion forums, triggers the need to join groups interested in a particular topic. This fosters the creation of strongly emotionally integrated virtual social groups the members of which start conversation via the computer that ensures not only anonymity, but also allows controlling the disclosure of personal data. Simply, "virtual communities have generated numerous new communication models that help the new folklore events" (Burszta, Pomieciński, 2012: 5), which – at the same time – become the new space to create the senses of texts available in circulation. Moreover, the Internet that inspires the need to actively participate in narrating, tell various stories, share thoughts leads also to the "transformation of conversation rituals" (Sulima, 2007: 209).

In the opinion of Robert G. Howard: "New media, however, can be more folkloric than old media because much online communication is more like a process than an object. When these processes occur in dynamic webs of discourse, they give rise to what Appadurai and Breckenridge call zones of contestation, where "national, mass, and folk culture provide both mill and grist for one another" (Howard, 2008: 200). And the above encourages the creation of genre theory conclusions and pays attention to folklore digital genres. Apart from the 'technologically mediated' traditional genres of folklore, Robert G. Howard distinguished also the new forms of online communication and considered them to be new digital folklore genres – private pages (home pages) or 'personal' pages (vanity pages). When analysing the above, he divided them into numerous subgenres: personal vanity pages of individuals, online diaries, photo album pages, travel pages, pet pages, birth pages, holiday pages, memorial pages (for both humans and pets), missionary pages, political pages and joke pages. Stressing the major influence of new technologies on the creative activity of the Internet users connected with the exchange and edition of digital photographs, he pointed to the popular photo-shopping, the name of which was derived from the commercial software (Adobe Photoshop). Pictures edited with the use of this programme are full of funny comments (Howard, 2008: 193). Manipulated or parodied images (photo and video) circulating in the Internet accompanied by jokes and sometimes vulgar inscriptions or malicious comments that impose new, unexpected asso-

ciations are very popular today in the form of the so-called memes (Kamińska, 2011) that can be easily created by the Internet users on their own thanks to the special websites. The discourse created on the basis of the Internet is called by Howard the 'vernacular web' that due to intertextuality and interactivity is characterised by the hybridity of contents. "While hybridity complicates documenting and analysing of online communication, folklorists are particularly well-equipped for these tasks, because their subject is precisely those expressions that emerge upward from the local, the specific, and the informal to permeate a community's shared expressive meanings." (Howard, 2008: 194). Therefore, a folklorist that has always been between the official and the unofficial and has analysed texts in circulation, has been looking forward to mutual relationships between the mass, institutional and folklore circulation, the unofficial one must, at the time of online communication, expose most of all the processes developing in the web that are a result of the fulfilment of common needs, expectations, experiences and emotions. Howard believes that the best way to analyse the above is to observe the suddenly developing blogs that have become a synonym of the Internet. "Primarily focused on personal content (and the interactive commenting on that personal content), the participatory components of these sites render them dynamic vernacular communication processes" (Howard, 2008: 211).

The Internet simply inspires its users to create quite new phenomena; it triggers the 'bottom-up convergence' (by Henry Jenkins, 2007: 135), e.g. computer games or film scenes are modified, new versions of stories are created, there are discussions on forums and communication about various extraordinary events. Interactivity simply enriches the structure of the contemporary folklore communication (e-folklore). We can also mention the specific "environmental folklores that are 'owned' by particular groups of the Internet users (e.g. players of a particular Internet game or participants of a particular phantom)" (Grochowski, 2013: 51). Thus, the folklore creative activity stimulates the power of the virtual community, liberates the need for them to participate in the process of circulation of the contents of interest to the Internet users who immediately receive a global (unofficial) circulation. It also facilitates making a new guise for new versions or interpretations of events, satisfying emotions necessary to integrate a particular virtual community, among others, due to social online services, such as Facebook, the most popular service of this kind today. "The ease to create groups and discussion topics inside the groups means that apart from the great-scale, attracting masses initiatives on Facebook there are also smaller communities, in which the discussion atmosphere – even if they concern politics – reminds rather of the atmosphere of a pub" (Levinson, 2010: 198). The above enriches the relationships with additional emotions and unofficial character. However, Facebook should be considered as a "kind of a central terminal of our Internet activity, where various forms of our participation in the web are linked up (...) In short, Facebook and Twitter can be for us whatever we make of them", but this requires from the users much competence "that is obtained by performance, with the trial and error method, experimenting with the available tools" (Nacher, 2010: 12).

It is worth recalling in this place the following philosopher's reflexion: "The occurrence of virtual worlds does not mean a simple 'supplement' to reality but a transformation of reality. It is a dynamic process, in which the virtual modifies the real and the real shapes the virtual. Reality and virtual reality penetrate each other. In our experience, the boundaries between them are liquid, and in some cases they even disappear" (Wilkoszewska 2005: 9). Thus, it is hardly possible to assume that the theory

of folklore genres should not take into account this context if theoreticians of literature themselves see the need to create multimedia genre theory, understood as "a division of semiotics that analyses and systematises the genre theory consequences of existence of various transmitters in the area of culture" (Balcerzan, 2000: 88), which resulted among others in the concept of the multimedia theory of the genre by Edward Balcerzan. The concept assumes that a genre "is a repeated combination of measures that decide about the composition (morphology) of a text, directed in terms of communication and determined by the material and transmission technique (medium)." This manner of understanding a genre in fact takes into account any creative activity of man; it stresses its features such as repeatability, direction towards the recipient and close connection with the specific features of the means of transmission that decides about the 'kind of the inter-human connection'. The latter component was in the opinion of Balcerzan stressed by Roman Jacobson, who "commenting upon his scheme of the act of communication stated that the 'contact' should be understood as 'a physical channel and mental contact between the sender and the receiver'" (Balcerzan, 2000: 92). What is more, Balcerzan's concept of the quasi-genre multimedia triad, a typological order of the contemporary genre theory, concerns the forms "existing between the art and non-art" distinguished due to the three constitutional features – the qualities of report, essay and column. The given features are based by the researcher on the intention (manifested or hidden) that is the text's substance focused respectively on three 'germinal forms', such as message, sentence and joke.

CONCLUSION

The far-reaching changes occurring in the contemporary culture under the influence of expansion of new electronic means of transferring content, have delineated – which is what I wrote to prove – directions of transformation of folklore genres, both the "traditional" and new ones, rising in a spontaneous manner. This requires then also working out a new folklore genre theory which will take into account the specifics of modern communication situations that inspire the establishment and transfer of folklore phenomena. This entails indeed some determined consequences of genre theory which should be the object of researchers' interest. Communication models and conversation rituals are undergoing changes under the influence of new technologies and this forces us to shift the focus away from analyses of the very context itself to analyses of the context in which it functions. What is more, it imposes also the need for carrying out such an analysis in the anthropological dimension, since – as a matter of fact – man's creative activity, including that of folklore character, is dominated by modern multimedia cultural space which provides us with new research paradigms.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

JANINA HAJDUK-NIJAKOWSKA, PhD with a postdoctoral degree, a folklorist, a cultural expert and an associate professor in the Department of Theatre, Film and New Media at the Opole University. She deals with the issues of social memory and popular historical consciousness, folklore genre theory, functioning of folklore in the era of mass and new media, and e-folklore. She has written over 80 papers and theses. She has published the following monographs: *Temat śpiącego wojska w folklorze polskim. Próba typologii* [*The Theme of Sleeping Army in the Polish Folklore: An Attempt at a Typology]* (1980), *Żywioł i kultura. Folklorystyczne mechanizmy oswajania traumy* [*Element and Culture: Folklore Mechanisms of Getting over a Trauma*] (2005), a volume entitled *Nie wszystko bajka. Polskie ludowe podania historyczne [Not Everything Is a Fairy Tale: Polish Folk Historical Tales] (1986).* She is a co-author of the following publications *Folklor Górnego Śląska* [*Upper Silesian Folklore*] (1989), *Księga humoru ludowego* [*The Book of Folk Humour*] (1981), *Nowe konteksty badań folklorystycznych* [*New Contexts of Folklore Studies*] (2011), *Praktykowanie tradycji w społeczeństwach posttradycyjnych* [Practising traditions in post-traditional societies] (2014).

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NEWS

THE BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE OF ETHNOGRAPHY SASA (LXII, Vol. 1-2)

Institute of Ethnography SASA, founded in 1947, in its periodical publication *The Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnography* since its first Volume (1952) has been publishing results of ethnological and anthropological scientific research by the authors who are associates of the Institute and affiliated institutions from the country or abroad. *The Bulletin* keeps the tradition of *Serbian Ethnographic Series,* founded in 1894 by the Ethnographical board in the framework of The Serbian Royal Academy, thanks to the suggestion given by Stojan Novaković, philologist and diplomat. During more than six decades of the existence of the periodical, in spite of social and conceptional changes, the editorial staff has been persevering in the endeavour that the quality of contributions remains on the scientific level appropriate to the publisher – the leading national scientific institution in the fields of ethnology and anthropology. The Bibliography of *The Bulletin* abounds in contributions by the authors belonging to the circle of the most eminent individuals of the Serbian science. The newest volume of the periodical follows that trail, too.

The Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnography LXII for 2014 consists of two volumes. The elaborated subjects are distinguished by scientific value, contemporaneity, considerable quantative scope and interdisciplinarity. Both volumes begin with the theme titled "The Research of Migrations" edited by J. Đorđević Crnobrnja. In the editorial of the first volume, *Who, Where, How and Why – Aspects of Contemporary Migra-*

tions, the theme editor clearly relates principles followed by editorial staff, underlining certain aspects of contemporary migrations, with an intention to shape the critical retrospective of migration research performed in Serbia. The theme consists of the following works: *Sveta putovanja: Letnica na Kosovu* [*Sacred Journeys: Letnica in Kosovo*] by B. Sikimić, *Multidimensional Identity among the Youth Bulgarians in Diaspora (Case Study of Odessa, Ukraine)* by P. Hristov, *The Integration of the Asylum Seekers and the State of Permanent Emergency of Immigrants in Calabria* by P. Riso and C. Mazzilli, and *Presenting as a Problem, Acting as an Opportunity: Four Cases of Socio-Political Conflicts Taking the Presence of Migrants as a Focal Object in Serbia* by M. Stojić Mitrović. It is worth mentioning the fact, as a particular value of the works, that the presented results are consequences of definite empirical research. While elaborating migrations, the authors applied relevant theoretical methodological attitude, where interdisciplinary attitude, the property of all kinds of research, appeared to be useful and necessary.

The Varia section in the first volume consists of 14 scientific works with the participation of 17 authors. It's necessary to underline several contributions. In her work entitled *On the Border with Culture: or who are the "Green" Natives?* M. Simić, contemplating the anthropological problem of relationship between nature and culture, in this case as a political notion which gives shape to the political struggle, worthily suggests

that the concept of "primitive people" who have ecological wisdom represents the legacy of European colonial history. In her contribution entitled *Telo duhovno – koncept (Slovenske) duše, II* [*The Spiritual Body – Concept of the (Slavic) Soul, II*] I. Bašić, in context of general representation of soul, investigates the concept of soul in Slavic and Serbian culture. With their work entitled *Nastava jugoslovenskih učitelja u Argentini* [*Yugoslav Teachers in Argentina 1939–1944*], M. Stefanović-Banović and B. Pantović continue their series of valuable research about Serbs and Yugoslavs in South America. J. Đorđević Crnobrnja attempts to define which are the 'commonplaces' in a memory of individuals of their weddings *'Opšta mesta sećanja'u okviru ličnog sećanja – na primeru svadbe u Gori*; [*'Commonplaces of memory' in personal memories – the example of weddings in Gora*]*,* and M. Ivanović Barišić investigates social transformations in Yugoslavia and Serbia and notes their influences on the state holiday calendar in the work entitled *Praznična sećanja u Srbiji od sredine 20. veka do danas* [*Remembering Holidays in Serbia, from the Mid-20th Century until Today*]. M. Smiljanić analyzes the publishing activities under the patronage of the Serbian Orthodox Church *Izdavaštvo monografskih publikacija Srpske pravoslavne crkve u period od 1990. do 1995. godine – teme i poruke*; [*Monographs Published by the Serbian Orthodox Church from 1990 to 1995 – Themes and Messages*] and B. Ćupurdij writes about the First Drežnica Gathering (2012) in the work entitled *Istorijski i društveni temelji prvog Drežničkog prela* [*The Historical and Social Foundations of the First Drežnica Gathering*]. The corpus of scientific research in the first volume is encircled with a significant co-author study by I. Todorović, A. Vučetić-Dragović and A. Marić, based on genetic indicators, entitled *Neposredni rezultati novih multidisciplinarnih etnogenetskih istraživanja Srba i stanovništva Srbije (na primeru Aleksandrovačke župe)* [*Direct Results of Recent Multidisciplinary Ethno-Genetic Research of the Serbs and the Serbian Population (in the Aleksandrovac District)*].

Serialized sections, "Discussion and Polemics" and "Memory", with articles by T. Škorić, Đ. Šijaković, M. Luković and N. F. Pavković, as well as N. Vujadinović and S. Stanković, are redolent of contemporary and successful tones as well.

The supplements in the second volume also elaborate a vast span of subjects. The second part of the theme with its own title of the prologue, *Who, Where, How and Why – Aspects of Contemporary Migrations in Foreign and Serbian Ethnological/Anthropological Literature (2)*, imply both a variety of aspects of migration and the possibility of their study from many aspects. In the contribution entitled *Migration Studies: Ethnology and Policy of the Institute of Ethnography SASA (1947–2014)* M. Lukić Krstanović, applying methodological procedure which allows analysis of all relevant questions, argued and using carefully selected resources, considers scientific policy of The Institute of Ethnography SASA and the contribution that this institution made in the field of migration studies (1947–2014). The theme is also enriched with works entitled *Migracije iz Gore krajem dvadesetog i početkom dvadeset prvog veka* [*Migrations from the Gora Region at the end of the 20th and the Beginning of the 21st Century*] by J. Đorđević-Crnobrnja, *Fenomen izbjeglištva u modernom političkom sistemu* [*Phenomenon of Exile in the Modern Political System*] by D. Petrović and *The Influence of Migrations on the Ethnic/National and Religious Identities: the Case of the United Methodist Church in Banat* by G. Blagojević. The volume also consists of 10 scientific studies by 16 Serbian and foreign scientists. On the eve of the anniversary – 150 years since the birth of Jovan Cvijić (2015), M. Prelić in her study titled *Jovan Cvijić i prve decenije formiranja i institucionalizovanje etnologije kao nauke u Srbiji* [*Jovan Cvijić and the Beginnings of Establishing Ethnology as a Discipline in Serbia*] analyzes his role in the development of Serbian ethnology and mindfully looks for the answer if it is, even today, right to align Cvijić in the ranks of founders of this science in Serbia, which is a subject of various estimates and interpretations. The contribution by A. Pavićević, entitled *Od munje do groma – Smrt, sahrana i posmrtna sudbina Nikole Tesle* [*From Lighting to Dust – Death, Funeral and Post Mortem Destiny of Nikola Tesla*]*,* analyzes the

polemics inflamed on the occasion of the question whether to move the urn of the great scientist from Tesla's Museum to a certain sacral urban space, is distinguished with actuality and validity. In their useful study entitled *Komparativni analitički osvrt na najnovija genetska istraživanja porekla Srba i stanovništva Srbije – etnološka perspektiva* [*Comparative Analytical Review of the Latest Genetic Studies of the Serbs and the Serbian Population – an Ethnological Perspective*], I. Todorović, A. Vučetić-Dragović, A. Marić connect results of genetic research with ethnological facts indicating the domination of Haplogroups I2a and R1a, which had decisive influence in the ethnogenesis of Slavs confirming justifiability of the most represented perception of the Serbs as a nation, of a Slavic language, origin and ethnonyms.

The section entitled "Memory" brings articles by S. Rakočević and B. Milenković-Vuković and in the part dedicated to scientific criticism and polemics, there were contributions by S. Radović, A. Pavićević, M. Luković, M. Žikić, A. Abramović.

International editorial staff of *The Bulletin of the Institute of the Ethnography SASA* and the editor-in-chief, Dr. D. Radojičić, succeeded in their aim to keep the periodical at the high level created over decades, which is attained with adequate selection of subjects and contributors, clearly established conceptual orientation and scientific value of the two volumes for 2014.

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VLADIMIR ROGANOVIĆ,
Institute of Ethnography SASA in Belgrade

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DOCTORAL THESES DEFENDED AT THE INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY SAS IN 2014

On 7 October 2014, two doctoral theses were defended at the Institute of Ethnology SAS at Klemensova Street 19 in Bratislava by two PhD students of our institute – Monika Sirkovská and Táňa Grauzelová. Doc. RNDr. Tatiana Bužeková, PhD. was the supervisor in both cases.

In the first thesis titled *Vplyv kultúrneho kapitálu rodiny na voľbu sekundárneho vzdelávania adolescenta* [*The Impacts of Family Cultural Capital on Adolescents' Choice of Secondary Education*], Mgr. Monika Sirkovská evaluated the results of her research on cultural capital. This concept, offered by the influential French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in the 20th century, describes the relationship between cultural activities of family and the success of people at schools. Cultural capital is understood here as a set of organised social representations, knowledge and preferences acquired by individuals on the basis of the cultural quality of a family environment. Family is the key institution of socialisation and, at the same time, a place which not only shapes, but also transmits values, standards,

life-style, tastes, and ambitions. The interpretation of cultural capital also includes the ways children are able to meet school requirements.

In her thesis, Monika Sirkovská published the results of her long-term research conducted in families and in classes of two elementary schools in Brno, Czech Republic. She focused on applying the cultural capital concept in anthropological research, which aimed to provide an explanation of parent engagement in the education process with regard to the choice of secondary education for their children. The research brought findings which, surprisingly, point out the important role of the emotional capital of parents, which can influence the future education pathway of the child. The research revealed two types of different educational strategies of parents in relation to the different education aspirations of children, which can fundamentally influence their future studies and professional careers. The first type of educational strategy is connected to a higher level of parents' institutional cultural capital and to the perception of a negative

emotional capital by the child, which was reflected in practice mainly through the decision to study at a secondary grammar school. The second type of the educational strategy of parents relates to   a lower level of institutional cultural capital and to the perception of a positive emotional capital, detected in children that rather chose to study at secondary vocational schools.

In the second thesis titled *Vplyv etického diskurzu na reprezentácie rodinných a partnerských noriem (Prípadová štúdia evanjelického spoločenstva mládeže)* [*The Effects of Ethical Discourse on the Representation of Family and Partnership Standards* (*Case Study on the Evangelical Youth Community)*], Mgr. Táňa Grauzelová described the representations of selected family and partnership standards of the members of an Evangelical youth community. This doctoral thesis, which applied quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis, is based on a field research conducted in a municipality in north-western Slovakia. By means of semi-structured interviews, the author sought to find out what factors had the major effects on the attitudes and the level of tolerance of the breach of such norms. In her work, the author successfully described the expressions of the ethical discourse on divinity and community in young respondents justifying their attitudes and legitimising their statements. She also described the concrete ways of disseminating representations at church youth community meetings, and the overall impacts of this community on the opinions of individuals and related community norms. In addition, she sought to link and confront the representations of the norms with the actions of respondents in the respective areas of practical life.

Thanks to the consistent and successful scientific work by the authors and by their supervisor and opponents, as well, both doctoral theses were successfully defended.

VLADIMÍR POTANČOK,
Institute of Ethnology SAS in Bratislava

MILAN LEŠČÁK AMONG PERSONALITIES AWARDED BY THE PRIZE OF THE SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC 2014

On 23 October 2014, Pavol Paška, Speaker of the Slovak Parliament, awarded prizes in the historic building of the Parliament. The Prizes of the Speaker of the National Council of the SR for the development of culture and humanities have been awarded since 2007. The prizes are awarded on the proposal by a committee composed of the following members: Michal Babiak, Peter Dubecký, Miroslav Marcelli, Peter Michalovič, Ondrej Šulaj and Karol Weisslechner. Among the first holders of the prize were Ján Komorovský in 2007 and Soňa Kovačevičová in 2008.

This year, the prize for outstanding achievements in ethnology and folklore studies was awarded to Milan Leščák. Among other 2014 awardees were Etela Farkašová for outstanding achievements in literature and philosophy, Milota Havránková for outstanding achievements in art photography, Mária Kráľovičová for outstanding achievements in performing art, Jozef (Dodo) Šimončič for outstanding achievements in cinematographic art, and Marián Vach for outstanding achievements in musical art.

At the official award-giving ceremony, the scientific, pedagogical and personal achievements of Milan Leščák were appraised by Hana Hlôšková.

On behalf of all their colleagues, the editorial team of Slovenský národopis hereby joins the congratulators!

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BOOK REVIEWS/REVIEW ESSAYS

OĽGA DANGLOVÁ:
Modrotlač na Slovensku
[Blueprint in Slovakia]
Centre for Folk Art Production (ÚĽUV),
Institute of Ethnology SAS, Bratislava
2014, 376 p.

Issues of material culture are highly topical in present-day ethnology. Academic researches and researchers' interest concentrate mainly on the current globalisation processes and on their cultural and social contexts and consequences in the development of modern society. Evidence of a society's material culture is usually the subject of interest of memory institutions and museums, which mainly focus on its protection and preservation. A return to the traditional elements of material culture can be partly observed in the revitalisation efforts of our regions, towns and municipalities along with the raising number of handicraft festivals.

Blueprint is one of the areas of material culture which constitutes an important element in the development of our society not only within the narrow circle of clothing culture; it is the evidence of historic ethnic processes in a wider geographical context and a reflection of the social and cultural development both in the urban and rural environment from the 18th century until the end of the 19th century or, in the countryside, until the 2nd half of the 20th century. Blueprint manufacturing is linked to peasant production of flax and linen, and, as such, it is one of the strongest expressions of the visual arts of a community. The importance of blueprint is also proven by its expansion and use across almost the entire territory not only in tradi-

tional folk clothes (mainly parts of female clothes), but also interior textiles.

In spite of the importance of blueprint, the only comprehensive publication on this topic is by Josef Vydra from the 1950s. This area was later studied by several ethnologists who mostly dealt with partial thematic or regional relations and with their context. In spite of the recent massive boom in traditional handicrafts, blueprint production is slowly fading out.

The book *Modrotlač na Slovensku* [*Blueprint in Slovakia*] by Oľga Danglová, launched at the end of 2014, is a new comprehensive monograph on blueprint. The author builds on her well-informed overview of the issue. The monograph proves her long-year systematic and consistent field work in ethnic, cultural, social and partly also economic contexts. Her own research materials are completed, documented or compared with the existing published knowledge by other authors in a diachronic development order and also in a synchronic regional and geographical context. The work is based on archival academic researches of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAS) and on the current condition of this part of cultural heritage, preserved in authentic environments, and, in particular, on the collections of Slovak museums. Thus, the monograph is a complex modern scientific work on blueprint from the perspective of present-day science, which has so far been absent in our academic literature.

In the first parts of the publication, the author describes the historic and ethnic conditions and the context of textile printing up to its extension to our territory. The next large part deals with the economic and socio-cultural contexts of production after the disappearance of guilds, which largely contributed to the ex-

pansion of dye workshops in rural areas up to the competitive and, at the same time, liquidating rise of industrial production. The author also focuses on the social dimension of production in the role of the very dyers, observing them as peasants, craftsmen and traders at a time. She also tackles the importance of mutual relations in blueprint production and linen production, not leaving out the regional context of production in the background of journeymen's wanderings and sale regions.

Oľga Danglová dedicates much space to workshops, including a chapter on the technological and production process: generally known issues described by most authors in partial thematic publications. Because of its complexity, this topic is indispensable, and the author goes beyond of just describing the well-known facts by making them original thanks to regional examples or clarifying the meanings of apparent, yet often key details.

The book also describes the links of blueprint production to the Centre for Folk Art Production (ÚĽUV), which later remained the only institutional form covering blueprint production and a bridge to preserving traditional blueprint production until today. The work mentions in various contexts the name of Stanislav Trnka, an important and so far the last blueprint master, through concrete examples, thus accentuating his importance in this field.

Blueprint forms represent the most comprehensive part of blueprint production. In addition to their practical function in linen printing, they can be considered a separate type of folk art given their specific nature and the way of production. Besides the specific technology of the production of forms, the design as such constitutes their essence. It not only shows the chronological development of craft manufacturing or adherence to a specific region or locality: they reflect the social context and links, and prove the skills and art of the masters. The author managed to fully present this essence of forms as elements of material culture with links between the meaning of patterns and the spiritual level.

The book not only fills the vacuum with regard to studies on material clothing culture in our present-day ethnology in terms of its topic, but is also the result of the author's long-year consistent research and her expert potential and serious work with sources. It proves her
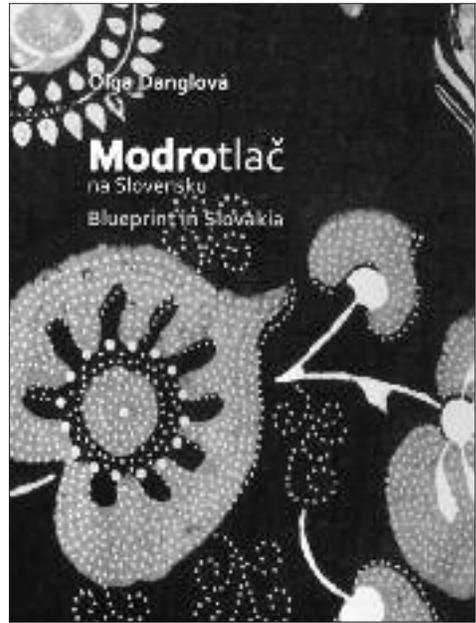
geographical knowledge, as reflected in the number of concrete regional background materials. The language of the book is professional and comprehensible at the time, and the refined and natural stylistics proves the author's high professional status. Given the monograph character of the publication, a wider elaboration on its methodological basis in the introduction would be desirable.

Undoubtedly, the high level of the publication is also due to rich, high-quality images both from field researches and archive sources. They document the preservation of blueprint production items in our museums, thus providing a comprehensive picture of the production, extension and use of blueprint in our territory throughout its development. The professional level of the book is adequately highlighted by its artistic layout. The monograph not only fills the academic vacuum in this specific area of ethnological science, but also provides high social benefits in clarifying and preserving the elements of the culture of our ancestors.

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ZORA VANOVIČOVÁ:
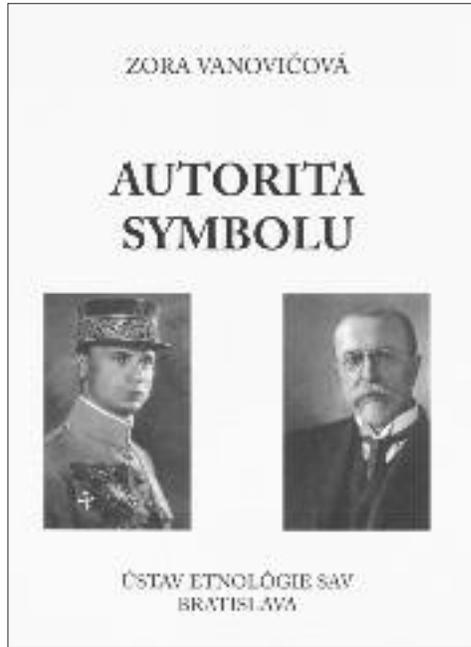Autorita symbolu
[The Authority of a Symbol]
Institute of Ethnology SAS, Bratislava
2014, 119 p.

The publication *Autorita symbolu* [*The Authority of a Symbol*] offers a collection of studies by PhDr. Zora Vanovičová, a long-year researcher of the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAS), published in different academic journals between 1991 and 2009, as well as a lecture given at the Basel University, Switzerland, which has not been published yet. All studies relate to the shaping of the picture of a hero in Slovak fictional folklore on the basis of an analysis of materials on important historic personalities of our recent history, such as Milan Rastislav Štefánik, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk and the members of his family. These personalities largely contributed to the birth of the Czechoslovak Republic, and were and still are publicly presented, for example, at state celebrations, in school education, etc. However, the narratives recorded by the author create a unique parallel picture of these personalities on the basis of folk traditions, focusing more on the fates, relationships and characteristic features of these heroes.

In the cycle on Štefánik, the author highlighted eighteen episodes which are most present in narratives, and compares them with the bios structure in the biography of St. Cyril and St. Method. In both cases, the most elaborated episodes are the ones on living in an alien world and on their tragic death and post-mortal cult. Zora Vanovičová followed the dissemination of the tradition on Štefánik in a return research also among the youngest generation. By means of experimental compositions she found out that children preferred using information obtained at school than the memories of the older generations of their families. The fairy-tale and sci-fi motives incorporated by children in their school knowledge were also worth noting.

The studies were primarily based on the materials from Štefánik's birth place and its surroundings, but also describe different activities across Slovakia (national pilgrimages to the burial-mound at Bradlo, the erection of memorials, etc.), which leads to a hypothesis about an all-Slovak folklore response to Štefánik topics. Štefánik was the symbol of fight for freedom and justice in many crisis periods. It would perhaps be interesting to also follow in the future the different reactions and fantastic or conspiracy theories, found on the internet especially in the periods of celebrating special anniversaries of his death.

President Tomáš Garrique Masaryk (TGM) is a slightly different type of a hero in the narratives recorded by the author. People mainly highlight his folk character and his open relationship to local people in Topoľčianky and Bystrička pri Martine where he used to spend his summers together with his family. The author also mentions certain confessional differences in the narrations on TGM in the Catholic town of Topoľčianky and the Evangelical town of Bystrička. These differences may relate to the fact that Topoľčianky used to be the representative seat of presidents also after Masaryk's death and that its inhabitants still preserve narratives about Jozef Tiso and other presidents. The apparently senseless idiom "When Tiso

was Masaryk" in a narratives clearly shows which of the two is perceived as a symbol of presidential authority.

The villa in Bystrička was the private summer residence of the Masaryk family, and the other family members also have their place in the narratives. Masaryk is seen here as a "good ruler", as common in Slovak fictional tradition, like in the narratives about King Matthias. I believe that a research in other Slovak locations could also reveal other topics related to TGM. I remember that during a Sunday family trip to Kopčany, while seeking to visit the architectonic monuments of this region, the local inhabitants were showing us in a very assertive way the birth house of TGM which was under reconstruction and in which they planned to create a commemorative room. They referred to the testimonies of older generations, according to which he was "registered" in Moravia, but was born in Kopčany.

In her studies, Zora Vanovičová warns about the creation of folklore myths around these important personalities of the Czechoslovak history. She points out the main criteria on the basis of which personalities have become symbols in the cultures of any civilisation. It was mainly their folk character, moral credit or the status of a victim, as can be observed in the narratives about Štefánik and Masaryk.

Though I was familiar with most studies contained in the book *The Authority of a Symbol,* by reading this collection I realised the targeted and sophisticated way by Zora Vanovičová of collecting materials and analysing them, and studying the different aspects and bringing theoretical generalisations. For conclusion, I would like to quote the apt evaluation of her work in the foreword to the book, written by PhDr. Jana Pospíšilová, PhD., Head of the Branch Office of the Ethnological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic: "The novel character of the works by Z. Vanovičová lies, in particular, in her sophisticated approach to the given topics and thorough elaboration on the different aspects, which are original and intrinsic to her work. She is not afraid of experiments, and does not doubt about the correct choice of topics. This feature stems from the very essence of the author who knows the right values of this world."

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Bratislava

PETER SLAVKOVSKÝ:
S nošou za industrializáciou krajiny. Tradičné podoby dopravy na Slovensku.
[**Pursuing the Country's Industrialisation with a Back-Basket. Traditional Forms of Transport in Slovakia**]
Veda, Bratislava 2014, 127 p.

Given the life-long priority focus of his research on agrarian and ethnographic issues, the unusual title of the latest book S nošou za industrializáciou krajiny (Pursuing the Country's Industrialisation with a Back-Basket) by Dr. Peter Slavkovský surprised not only the reviewer, but also many readers from academic circles. The picture on the cover page of the book (by Theodor Jozef Mousson, an important personality of Slovak painting) and the content of the text would, however, convince the reader that, regarding the thematic focus of the publication, the title is accurate. The author decided to produce this book in the form of a compendium with the aim to provide an ethnological perspective of the ways of traditional transport in the Slovak countryside (p. 10). The four chapters of the first part of the publication (pp. 13–63) offer a picture of the different kinds of transportation and transport, following the common systematic approach in ethnological works. The author presents the different kinds of transportation and transport according to the corresponding means: carrying by human force (braces, sheets, cloths), towed (sliding) means of transport [sleds for transporting persons, or materials (*vlačuhy*), chutes (*smyky*)], wheeled means of transport/types of carriages and tools (*jarmice* – single frames for animals, yokes, horse-collars), and water transport (boats, rafts, ferries). Given the increased focus on this topic in older researches and data recording by prominent personalities of Slovak ethnography (R. Bed-

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S nošou
za industrializáciou krajiny

carrying loads in the everyday work process until the mid-20th century in land farming and stock-raising as the main source of livelihood of more than 60% of inhabitants of rural communities in Slovakia.

The second part of the book with the title Appendixes (pp. 69–105) presents the wider context of the traditional ways of transporting loads, and describes the special methods of transportation and transport used in agriculture, meadow and pasture management, forest management – primary forest production, and water transport. The material presented in the book allows obtaining more in-depth knowledge about the individual phases of the work process of selected jobs and about the work tools used. The text and the selected pictures are properly combined, offering the possibility to "reconstruct" the different work phases and techniques. It should be noted in this respect that this part of the book is not just a common appendix, but has the quality of a separate chapter, the content and formulations of which are equivalent to the previous parts.

The way of presenting this already "archaic" issue in ethnology from the perspective of the author Peter Slavkovský is truly comprehensive, describing the existence and the functions of the means of transportation and transport in actual everyday work processes of not only peasants, but also other important activities related to logging and timber transportation, the floating of logs and other goods to remote areas by water-currents running across the Slovak territory and joining the Danube river. We should not forget to mention other topics which can be hardly observed on the ground at present (for example, the ways of harnessing animals during field works and the tools used for this activity, the means of transport related to the carrying trade, or the traditional way of transporting ploughs to the field, etc.). Besides phenomena of purely material nature, the author also tackles the division and organisation of work in the different carrying or load transportation activities given the differences between sexes (for example, the carrying of loads or the harnessing of animals by means of cloths – sheets, tablecloths, etc.), as well as some other data documenting the magic and ritual acts tied

nárik, J. Mjartan, M. Markuš, J. Koma, J. Podolák), as well as later researchers and disciples studying this topic, we dispose of a rich body of data from the end of the 2nd half of the 19th century and the 1st half of the 20th century, published in works of local or regional nature. Although these works did not always deal specifically with transportation and transport, they enriched the database and preserved the results of researches which addressed other areas of traditional material culture – agrarian culture, stockraising, meadow and pasture management, crafts, trade, complementary jobs and sources of livelihood – with typical means of transport of tinkers, glaziers, travelling merchants selling loom harnesses, spices, healing oils and ointments, etc.

As noted by the author, the most complex overview of the central topic of this book in terms of territorial scope is offered by two synthesis works of Slovak ethnology, published in the 1990s: the *Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia* and the *Encyclopaedia of Slovak Folk Culture* (p. 11). This body of selected phenomena (documented in both synthesis works by means of maps and comments, instructive illustrations and entries) proves the long persistence of traditional ways of

to these works (e.g. the sprinkling of yokes with holy water).

The main benefit of the work, which can be characterised as a monothematic monograph on traditional forms of transportation and transport, was achieved by the author mainly thanks to his in-depth knowledge of the facts obtained during long-year field researches focusing on the author's life-long topic of his research – traditional agrarian culture "live", i.e. at times when these phenomena still existed in some regions and localities as an inseparable part of the work process in the Slovak countryside. Last but not least, the high quality of the expert interpretation of the topic is also due to the many years' work experience of Peter Slavkovský, who at the beginning of his professional "career" obtained exceptionally broad education thanks to his work in the Slovak National Museum in Martin and the generation of his older colleagues (J. Hyčka, A. Polonec and others), at that time active ethnographers with many-year practice in research and museology. It was undoubtedly a quality launch of his later academic work and field researches. In this context, it is by no accident that the author dedicated his books to his close friend, excellent photographer of the Ethnographic Museum in Martin Ján Dérer – according to the author – *"a photographer with the heart of an ethnographer"*. This close human and professional "alliance" definitely played a role in producing the rich, demonstrative and unique appendix, which presents the documents and the atmosphere of the phenomena in natural, candid situations, predominantly from the period of the first half of the 20th century. As for illustrations, we should mention the excellent drawings by our colleague A. B. Mann in terms of their factual and documentary value, originally produced for the purposes of the Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia.

These facts are also reflected in the presentation and interpretation of the issues of transportation and transport, which are formulated in such way that the reader would understand both in the introductory parts and in the next chapters of the book the significance and the close relationship between this area of material culture, the natural environment, and the historic and economic conditions of Slovakia until mid-20th century. And finally, we also appreciate the overall graphical adjustment of the book, preserving the professional character of the work with an extensive list of reference literature, sources and an English summary.

And finally, I would like to express my personal thanks for this publication, which took me, through my recollections, into my student years completed by a thesis on transportation and transport in Orava and, later, to the period of my long-year participation in the preparation of the Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia. I was happy to read this interesting book, by which our colleague Peter Slavkovský closed this topic, delivered valuable knowledge for the Slovak ethnology and young ethnologists, and contributed to the list of books addressing this topic, previously commonly studied by European ethnology.

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Call for the next issue of Slovak Ethnology/Slovenský národopis, volume 64, number 2/2016

ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF FOOD IN THE POST-POSTMODERN AGE

Hosting Editors: ŁUKASZ ŁUCZAJ and RASTISLAVA STOLIČNÁ

The traditional use of plants for food has always been an important part of classic ethnographic works. Traditional societies needed plants as source of nutrition, medicine, dyes and construction materials. They were also linked to plants in a symbolic way and some plants also played a large role in the non-material part of local culture.

Throughout the 20th century a large decrease in the traditional use of mainly wild plants occurred. People stopped collecting wild greens in spring, the number of self-harvested herbs also decreased. At the end of the 20th century even the gathering of wild fruits and making home preserves was also nearly abandoned in the most industrialized European countries.

However, nowadays a strong counter-movement of looking for local plant resources for food is growing strongly. This is mainly due to the increasing urban and middle-class ecological awareness. However, over the last few years media attention to wild food plants, food security, food sovereignty, has been so strong that it permeated e.g. via internet portals to all literate classes of the society. Some of the old traditions have been resurrected but also new uses and traditions are borrowed from other cultures or created. In this issue we would like to look at this process and the relationships between the old and the new.

The editors of this journal invite analytic, theoretical or synthetic articles, research reports, essays and discussions in the fields of ethnology, social and cultural anthropology and ethnobiology, as well as related disciplines on the following issues:

• the transformations of traditional use of wild edible plants, mushrooms and animals in the last few years
• the emerging uses of wild plants and animals in contemporary haute-cuisine
• the dynamics of vegetable and spice in the postmodern world
• organic farming, urban allotments and plant uses in urban environments
• food in foraging and survival workshops
• "breaking food taboos" – food from rubbish, dangerous meats, insects in European cuisine etc.

Submission guidelines: please follow the guidelines for submissions as given on the website of Slovak Ethnology/ Slovenský národopis:
http://www.uet.sav.sk/?q=en/slovak-ethnology
Final date for abstracts: 15. 12. 2015

Authors of accepted abstracts will be notified by the end of the year 2015 and will then be invited to submit a full paper. An invitation to submit a full paper does not constitute a commitment for publication; all papers will be subject to anonymous peer review following the submission.
Final date for papers: 28. 2. 2016

Please send your abstract as an e-mail attachment to the editors, at:
slovensky.narodopis@savba.sk

Apart from contributions focused on the above mentioned issues, the journal of Slovak Ethnology also invites major articles, research reports, essays, discussions, overviews, annotations, book reviews and review essays year round, beyond the thematic call for papers.