



**COMMERCE  
AND  
TRADITIONS**

14<sup>th</sup> Conference  
of the SIEF Ritual Year  
Working Group  
1 – 4 June 2022, Riga (Latvia)

ABSTRACTS

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Co352

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### **Organizers**

Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia  
Archives of Latvian Folklore

International Society of Ethnology and Folklore (SIEF)  
The Ritual Year Working Group

## Commerce and Traditions

The theme of the conference is related to the impact of product marketing, which is visible in everyday life and a wide range of traditions and festivities, which have lately become highly commercialized. We have all experienced the pre-Christmas gift buying madness and have visited souvenir counters at major historical sites and cultural venues in different countries, each promoting their “brands”. In marketing terms, the values of traditional culture are considered “products” to be branded, marketed and sold.

Historically, annual church markets, fairs and pilgrimages had provided opportunities to buy, sell, and trade durable goods in addition to food and drink required by pilgrims and merchants. Amidst them, items, such as religious symbols, protective objects, and healing substances were available similar to modern souvenir shops. The means for advertising such objects for sale were, at that time, limited. Today, advertising and marketing campaigns appear everywhere. Many people protest against what they perceive as excessive commercialization of their favourite secular or religious festivals. However, marketing practices attract larger crowds and help to preserve and popularize traditions that might otherwise be lost. Commercialization has made the sale of traditional crafts financially viable, preserving them for future generations. Thus, craftspeople can continue practicing their traditional arts and crafts. Not only have the traditional artisans benefited, but religious institutions have witnessed an increase in income, which is needed to maintain the facilities visited by the growing numbers of visitors. New forms of commercialization of rituals with the developing practices of creating new festivals and making them local tourist brands can be seen in many geographical areas.

The conference aims to investigate and evaluate the impact of marketing practices on traditions and rituals, and to consider the changes commercialization has brought about — both positive and negative — in the past, as well as in the present. In the conference the following topics are discussed:

- the viability of traditions in terms of economics;
- changes in tradition caused by marketing practices;
- the role of marketing in preserving traditional culture;
- the commercialization of state and national holidays;
- the commercialization of religious celebrations;
- the impact of commerce on holy places and pilgrimages;
- the marketing of ritual and magical practices and objects;
- annual fairs and markets past and present;
- the commercialization of the intangible cultural heritage;
- changes in traditional rituals and celebrations due to marketing;
- changes in interrelations of commerce and traditions of the ritual year caused by Covid-19;
- any other subject related to the ritual year (i.e., to calendar or life cycle celebrations and rituals).

The conference has been supported by the International Society for Ethnology and Folklore, basic budgeted sub-programme 05.04.00 “The Krišjānis Barons Cabinet of Folksongs” of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Latvia, and the State Culture Capital Foundation of Latvia.

Aigars Lielbārdis

## Wednesday, June 1

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17.00–19.00: **Conference opening, reception**

The National Library of Latvia, Mūkusalas street 3, floor 11

**Aigars Lielbārdis** (Conference organizing committee)

**Eva Eglāja-Kristsons** (Director of the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia)

**Rīta Grīnvalde** (Head of the Archives of Latvian Folklore, ILFA)

**Irina Sedakova** (Chair, The Ritual Year Working Group, SIEF)

## Thursday, June 2

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The National Library of Latvia, Mūkusalas street 3, Conference centre

### Room A

#### Session 1

Chair: Irina Stahl

9.30.–10.00.

**Laurent Fournier**. Re-Localizing Cultural Economy through Heritage Building

10.00.–10.30.

**Emily Lyle**. The Festival Year in Relation to the Spatiotemporal Perception of the Cosmos

10.30.–11.00.

Coffee (**Room B**)

#### Session 2

Chair: Evy Johanne Håland

11.00.–11.30.

**Cătălin Alexa**. Commercialization of Căluș Tradition

11.30.–12.00.

**Ksenia Klimova**. The Ritual Easter bread Tsoureki in Greece and Abroad: from a Rural Folk Tradition to the Supermarket Shelf

12.00.–12.30.

**Emmanuel Jayson Bolata**. Against Tradition and Commercialization: Marjun Sosa Moreno's Pugutan Script

12.30.–13.00.

**Ekaterina Anastasova**. The Martenitsa: National Identity, Commercial Dimensions and International Representation

13.00.–14.00.

Dinner (**Room B**)

#### Session 3

Chair: Rīta Grīnvalde

14.00.–14.30.

**Lina Gergova**. Annual Fairs and Town Holidays

14.30.–15.00.

**Tiziana Soverino**. All the Working Men that Would have the Grass of a Sheep from their master, they Should Sell the Lambs on that Date: Midsummer Fairs in Ireland

15.00.–15.30.

**Gabriela Boangiu**. Authenticity and Silent Narratives within the Craftsmen Fair in Craiova, Romania

15.30.–16.00. Coffee (Room B)

**Session 4** Chair: Lina Gergova

16.00.–16.30. **Oksana Mykytenko.** Winter Carnival in Vevchani (NR Macedonia):  
Between a Commerce Holiday and Folklore Tradition

16.30.–17.00. **Lina Petrošienė.** The Winter Festival at the Lithuanian Open-Air Museum  
in Rumšiškės in the Late Soviet Period (1981–1990)

### Room C

**Session 2** Chair: Aigars Lielbārdis

11.00.–11.30. **Alexander Novik.** Silver Filigree in North Macedonia:  
Commerce and Traditions at the Turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

11.30.–12.00. **Alena Boganeva, Mare Kõiva.** About Saints in the Russian Collection  
of the Folklore Archive of the Estonian Literature Museum

12.00.–12.30. **Skaidre Urboniene.** Ritual Year Attributes and Souvenirs:  
Street Markets and Fairs in Vilnius

12.30.–13.00. **Jonas Mardosa.** Transformations of the St. Casimir Festival in Vilnius:  
from Honouring the Prince to the Craft Fair

13.00.–14.00. Dinner (Room B)

**Session 3** Chair: Arūnas Vaicekauskas

14.00.–14.30. **Maria Span.** The Commerce and the Transformations of the Elements  
of Intangible Cultural Heritage and of their Space of Manifestation:  
an Example of a Village from the Region of Transylvania

14.30.–15.00. **Mateja Habinc.** Commercialisation of the Traditionality of Events in National Parks:  
Triglav National Park (Slovenia) and National Parks Kozara and Sutjeska (BiH)

15.00.–15.30. **Svetla Kazalarska.** Kystendil Spring Day and  
the Predicaments of Post-Socialist Transition

15.30.–16.00. Coffee (Room B)

**Session 4** Chair: Skaidre Urboniene

16.00.–16.30. **Kira Sadoja.** Changes in Rural Wedding Traditions  
in the Carpathian Mountains of Ukraine in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

16.30.–17.00. **Ieva Pīgozne.** The Marketing and Ideology of Wearing a Crown  
with Latvian Folk Dress

# Friday, June 3

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The National Library of Latvia, Mūkusalas street 3, Conference centre

## Room A

### Session 1

Chair: Maria Bernadette Abrera

9.00.–9.30. **Žilvytis Šaknys**. Historical Memory, Cultural Heritage and Commercialization: Ritual Year in Three Settlements of Southeast Lithuania

9.30.–10.00. **Vivek Raj**. Moral Economy of Gayāwāl Panda and the Pandemic

10.00.–10.30. **Ruchi Rana**. Aipan: Tracing its Journey from Ritual Folk Painting to Cultural Commodification

10.30.–11.00. Coffee (Room B)

### Session 2

Chair: James Deutsch

11.00.–11.30. **Irina Stahl**. Commerce and Religion: An Icon for All Means

11.30.–12.00. **Maria Bernadette Abrera**. Pilgrimage and Economic Activity in a Philippine Marian Shrine

12.00.–12.30. **Mare Kõiva, Andres Kuperjanov**. Transborder Routes and Rituals: Between Global, Local and Niche

12.30.–13.00. **Rasa Račiūnaitė-Paužolienė**. Digital Representation of the Funeral Celebrations in Lithuania under the Conditions of the Pandemic

13.00.–14.00. Dinner (Room B)

### Session 3

Chair: Mare Kõiva

14.00.–14.30. **Irina Sedakova**. A Name of a Holiday as a Problem: Poetic Translating and the Ritual Year

14.30.–15.00. **Mariyanka Borisova Zhekova**. A Village for a Day: Annual Meetings of Relocated/Flooded Villages in Bulgaria

15.00.–15.30. **Tobias Boos**. The Spatio-Temporal Rhythm of the Palio di Siena.

15.30.–16.00. Coffee (Room B)

16.00.–17.00. Room A

The Ritual Year Working group meeting. Chair: Irina Stahl

18.30. Conference dinner.

## Room C

### Session 1

Chair: Dace Bula

9.00.–9.30.

**Evy Johanne Håland.** Festival and Communication in Modern and Ancient Greece: a Comparison of Values

9.30.–10.00.

**Rasa Paukštytė-Šaknienė.** Gifts for Children throughout the Ritual Year in East Lithuania and West Belarus

10.00.–10.30.

**James Deutsch.** Candy is Dandy, but Not Victuals for Rituals: The Rise and Fall of “Candy Day” in the United States

10.30.–11.00.

Coffee (**Room B**)

### Session 2

Chair: Sandis Laime

11.00.–11.30.

**Arūnas Vaicekauskas.** The Commercialization of Public Events and the Carnival

11.30.–12.00.

**Dalia Senvaityte.** Commemoration of Spring and Autumn Equinoxes in Contemporary Lithuania: the Spread of Tradition

12.00.–12.30.

**Kristina Blockytė-Naujokė.** Midsummer’s Eve in Lithuania Minor: Changes and Continuity in Tradition

12.30.–13.00.

**Maria Vasekha, Elena Fursova.** Ivan Kupala Day (John the Baptist Day) in Novosibirsk: Between Deviation and Commercial Potential

13.00.–14.00.

Dinner (**Room B**)

### Session 3

Chair: Oksana Mykytenko

14.00.–14.30.

**Frances Wilkins.** Adaptation in Contemporary Performances of Scottish Gaelic Psalmody

14.30.–15.00.

**Victoria Legkikh.** Italo-Croatian Folk Tradition as a Special Tourist Attraction: the Italian Community in Rovinj

15.00.–15.30.

**Aušra Žičkienė.** Cultural Intertextuality: Songs as Emotional Resources for Commerce

## Saturday, June 4

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10.00.–14.00.

Excursion and visit to the annual craft fair at the Latvian Ethnographic Open-Air Museum.

**Ekaterina Anastasova**

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## **The Martenitsa: National Identity, Commercial Dimensions and International Representation**

The paper is dedicated to the history and development of the semantics, functions and economic specificities of the Martenitsa in Bulgaria. Although the Martenitsa is known not only in Bulgaria, it is where it has developed numerous specific characteristics. On the one hand, it is a traditional family and friends' calendar's gift, which symbolizes the arrival of spring, as well as wishes for health and prosperity. On the other hand, the Martenitsa is now perceived as one of the most emblematic symbols of Bulgarian national identity, presented to Europe and the world as an "Identity card" of the Bulgarians. The history of the Martenitsa in Bulgarian public space is represented by numerous and diverse narratives in which, along with the traditional (pre-national) motives, new texts emerge every year, telling about its ancient and "deep national" (Bulgarian) origin.

At the same time, the Martenitsa has a number of important commercial characteristics. For many families its production is an important source of income, especially in the period of transition in Bulgaria, accompanied by financial difficulties for many social groups. The Martenitsa progressively became a family business and a part of the national industry, carrying several messages (aesthetic, political, national). The market, in search of new and more profitable producers, turned the Martenitsa into an element not only of the nation but also of the global trade industry.

This paper examines the dynamics of the semantics, functions, production and marketing of the Martenitsa in Bulgaria in the recent decades. A special place is devoted to its role in the formation of the Bulgarian national identity in the context of the fundamental changes in the Bulgarian society during the period of transition and post-transition: the transformation of the ritual system, deficit of "patriotic festivity" and search for identity in the "deep pagan past". It also examines the specific discourses in which the Martenitsa realizes its meanings—in the Bulgarian Society (national), the Diaspora (migration), the European Community (European) and International institutions such as UNESCO (global).

The paper has been prepared on the basis of research and popular literature, as well as personal studies and observations of the author in Bulgaria and EU in the recent decades.

**Maria Bernadette Abrera**

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## **Pilgrimage and Economic Activity in a Philippine Marian Shrine**

Strong religious traditions sustain the cultural life and spiritual piety of communities and places that become devotional sites emerge as centers of trade and commerce, particularly during the time of these historical rituals. The major Catholic traditions in the Philippines revolve around the seasons of Lent and Christmas with a strong Marian devotion during May. The acknowledged pilgrimage capital of the country is Antipolo, where the shrine to the image of Our Lady of Peace and Good Voyage is located. This is believed to be a powerful and miraculous image to whom numerous Catholic Filipinos bring their petitions. There is a traditional “alay lakad”, or penitential walk to this mountain shrine that occurs annually on the eve of Good Friday and the eve of May 1. In 2019, the last time that the regular Holy Week pilgrimage was held, there were an estimated 4 million penitents who visited Antipolo to pray at the shrine of the Blessed Virgin during that week alone. On the other hand, the entire month of May is traditionally devoted to the more festive devotion of the pilgrimage where Filipinos from all over the country, including those returning or visiting from abroad, visit to lift up a petition, pray in thanksgiving for favors received, or continue a family tradition of devotion to the Virgin of Antipolo.

This sustained and growing pilgrimage tradition has generated numerous opportunities for livelihood and commerce around the shrine. This paper will describe the numerous economic activities found in the vicinity that cater to the pilgrims undertaking a religious and spiritual activity. Pandemic conditions have deterred a more comparative discussion on the changes in the cultural content of such commerce to reflect changing cultural tastes and demands. Nevertheless, it has provided the opportunity to enumerate the economic goods and services that have remained despite the quarantine conditions. It will describe the chances for employment and livelihood that people have created for themselves on various scales from individual to collaborative and cooperative, and even government endeavors. Likewise, it examines the products and services that the pilgrimage has generated which have come to symbolize the centrality of a religious tradition in creating economic livelihood.

**Cătălin Alexa**

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## Commercialization of Căluș Tradition

Căluș, an ancient ritual practice still performed by a men's group in the villages and cities during the Whit Sunday period, is one of the most representative and emblematic traditions in Romania and was the first intangible value included on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2005. Renowned for its fertility and healing rites, the deeply rooted Căluș ritual has always been associated with an economic function, that encouraged the performers and also helped to pay for the regular expenses incurred by this tradition: food, drinks, transport costs, and musical support. In addition, it used to be performed during an entire week, but today the ritual is generally performed over two or three days, with groups that might be active during the Whit Sunday week only for one day. The new socioeconomic conditions that affect Romanian villages and the people who are part of the Căluș along with the shorter number of days dedicated by its performers have forced the groups to develop different strategies to assure an income that will cover all their expenses. Due to this context, some groups adopt performing strategies that call for special attention granted to the people that might pay more or to the local economic agents. Another tendency observed over the last few years is related to the groups willingness to perform during private events or additional shows—which happen outside the ritual context. During these staged versions include spectacular dance performances which are totally different from the original and genuine model, but performers consider them as a solution for keeping the tradition alive. Seen as an extreme form of commercialization, the new form, promoted on Facebook or YouTube, might become a trend for the performing groups. This situation might affect the form and how the ritual will be performed in the villages, its authentic environment.

**Kristina Blockytė-Naujokė**

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## **Midsummer's Eve in Lithuania Minor: Changes and Continuity in Tradition**

Due to historical circumstances, Lithuania Minor, separated from the main trunk of Lithuania, developed its own distinct features of life, religion and material culture. The historical and cultural fate of the Lithuanians of Lithuania Minor includes many centuries of Germanization, assimilation, loss of ethnic identity and the constant struggle to preserve their rights, language, customs, traditions, art and national consciousness. From ancient times the spiritual and material culture of the Lietuvininkai of Lithuania Minor have attracted the attention of travellers and chroniclers of other countries and were described in the historical sources. Verbal folklore was recorded and studied here earlier than it was in other regions of Lithuania.

The report, using authentic Lithuanian material, will analyze the specifics of St. John's/Midsummer's Eve in Lithuania Minor in a chronological aspect (from the first mentions to the present day), seeking to reveal the general stages of development of the festival and modern transformations of customs. The main task is to differentiate and characterize models of the Lietuvininkai Midsummer's Eve holiday: archaic (from first mention of holidays to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century); end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup>; and the present time (since 1990).

Archaic Lietuvininkai rituals for the Midsummer's Eve holiday featured abundant relicts of the ancient Baltic worldview and mythology: worship of flora, fire and water, and attempts to stave off the effects of evil spirits, especially witches, through all sorts of ritual activities, as well as to protect livestock, ensure health, a happy life and a bigger harvest. In the 1870s and 1880s the ancient summer solstice holiday rituals began to disappear throughout Lithuania Minor, and the customs began to take on new forms.

Interwar national strategies, Germanization, the Soviet ideological heritage and modifications made to customs at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century caused the disappearance of the distinctness of these customs. Under increased influence from urban culture, Lietuvininkai holiday customs evolved into a form of entertainment acceptable to consumer culture. Some of the former rituals survived due simply to their attractiveness as entertainment, but the new and topical significance of the calendrical holidays as demonstrations and purveyors of ethnic traditions and customs and as a declaration of ethnicity should also be recognized.

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## **Authenticity and Silent Narratives within the Craftsmen Fair in Craiova, Romania**

The Craftsmen Fair is organized in Craiova, a city of Romania, on the day of Saint Dumitru. In 2019, it celebrated its 26<sup>th</sup> edition. It gathers craftsmen from all over Romania, where you can find traditional art—ceramics of Oboga, Horezu, pitchforks from the Valcea ethnographic area, skimmers from Bihor, popular costumes from all over Romania, etc. We propose an analysis of traditional art objects, their story of production and their consumption in the urban area, which are subscribed on a symbolical axis between bargaining and negotiating their value and authenticity. The metaphor of "bargaining" preserves marks of the local aspect of the rather occult interests, unexpressed directly, but accepted tacitly, which fascinates through text, local colour, the sudden familiarisation that is established between the performers; that of the "negotiation" implies the rationality, the construction, and interests formulated contractually, predictability, transparency—at least as a rhetorical necessity. Thus, a question is: who are the buyers? The identification of the "consumers" of traditional art and the analysis of their impulse of buying can unravel interesting information about their identity. Everyone finds themselves amidst these silent narrations of the artefacts—negotiation-bargain, choice or impulse buying. The dialogue with the artisans seems to show few aspects of these stories told by the objects. Some of the traditional craftsmen have adopted an ethnographic fragmentary discourse; others reconstruct artefacts by studying archives and archaeological collections from museums. The silent narratives of traditional art artefacts may speak about authenticity and preservation practice.

The metaphor of bargaining, respectively of the negotiation of the value, authenticity of objects of traditional art is articulated through constantly relating to the contemporary cultural context and to the redefinition of these artefacts as goods involved in complex economic relations, into a specific economic and cultural circuit. The social-symbolic space of the craftsmen's fair allows their temporary activation. The romanticisation of the small communities reproduces a symbolic horizon of a genuine community. The bargaining and negotiation are interconnected in this reinvented space, in which the rural-urban dialogues are re-established, and in which the economic calculation is present, and, therefore, it is slightly occulted by the old-time stories of the recent artefacts. This mixture of old and new, of kitsch and authentic, of history and recovery, of personalisation and a vanishing past considered significant fixes a particular horizon—a space characterised by a specific sensoriality.

Some of the recent artisans have gained a bookish traditional-ethnographic culture, which they insert in the discourses on the artefacts meant for the economic circuit, for this reason resorting to possible certificates of guarantee: diplomas, and archive documents that attest the similarity with the new products.

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## About Saints in the Russian Collection of the Folklore Archive of the Estonian Literature Museum

The purpose of our report is the description and primary systematization of the texts about saints in the Russian collection of the ELM folklore archive labelled ERA Vene—records from the 1920s–40s, recorded by ELM collectors from the Russian population of Estonia. So, among the texts about saints in the Russian collection of the ELM archive we can distinguish fairy tales (magical and legendary), spiritual and ethical legends, narratives about local landscape features, natural and cultural objects, legends, stories about miracles, stories about help and punishment from saints, and celebration practices. Thus, texts about saints in the Russian archive can be classified into two large groups: 1) narrative texts, i.e. texts that tell a story; 2) discursive texts—descriptions of beliefs, customs, perceptions.

The most frequent heroes of texts of different genres and beliefs are such saints as St. Nicholas of Myra (commonly known as Nicholas the Wonderworker or Saint Nicholas), the Great Martyr George the Victory-bearer (known among Estonian Russians as Yegorij), the Old Testament prophet Elijah (Elijah the Prophet), the Venerable John Cassian the Roman (popularly known as Kasyan the Merciful). Russians of Estonia also knew local saints or saints of the nearby lands including St. John, Archbishop of Novgorod (12<sup>th</sup> century), the Monk Makariy, Roman of Novgorod (late 15<sup>th</sup>–early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries), the Monk-martyr Korniliy of Pechersk (16<sup>th</sup> century), the Monk Nikandr of Pskov (16<sup>th</sup> century), the Izborsk righteous man Matvey the Miserable (early 20<sup>th</sup> century).

The list of all the saints is quite extensive: Archistratigus Michael, King Solomon, Forerunner and John the Baptist, Andrew the Apostle the First Called, Venerable Sergius of Radonezh, Great Martyr and Healer Pantheliimon, Great Martyr Paraskeva Friday, Martyrs Cyricus and Julita, Hymenless and Wonderworkers Cosmas and Damian, Martyrs Florus and Laurus, Great Martyr Anastasia of Sirmium, Monks Savvatiy and Zosima of Solovtsy, Holy Martyr Antipas of Pergamon, etc. At the same time, King Solomon is a hero of fairy tales, in one tale the main character is Andrew the First Called, and the other saints are mentioned in connection with beliefs about what needs they help with, what prayers are addressed to them, what holidays and how they are celebrated. In many cases, the customs coincide with those of the Seto ethnic group living in the same area, and there are similarities with the traditions of the Ludza region.

Thus, the texts of the Russian ELM archive on saints represent a unique collection that is a reflection of the peasant worldview peculiar to the 1920s and 1940s.

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## Against Tradition and Commercialization: Marjun Sosa Moreno's Pugutan Script

Pugutan (ritual beheading) is a traditional theatrical performance held during the Holy Week on the island province of Marinduque, Philippines. Its story centers on Longinus, a Roman soldier who later became a follower of Jesus Christ and was persecuted by the authorities. In Marinduque, the Moriones personify the figure of Longinus. They are local devotees seen with the attire and weapons of a Roman centurion; the turbante helmet and the mask that hides their identities complete the look of a Morion. Among the Moriones, a Longinus is selected, and during the Pugutan play, he is chased by the other Moriones, until his capture cathartically ends with his beheading.

The play has undergone several modifications. Initially, it was performed after the Salubong procession during Easter Sunday. Following the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the narrative of Longinus' conversion, proselytizing, chase, and martyrdom would follow. It was a "community theater" which involved all the present devotees and observers, and its dialogue and actions were mostly spontaneous. However, during the popularization initiated by the local and national governments in the 1960s, a script for the play was drafted and formalized. Moreover, Governor Carmencita O. Reyes' intervention in the 1970s placed the schedule of the Pugutan at the evening of Black Saturday. These transformations were partly motivated by political patronage, if not only to revive such a dying tradition but also to produce culture-based commodities to be patronized by foreign and local tourists.

In this context, Marjun Sosa Moreno's script for the 2006 Pugutan in Gasan, Marinduque can be read as a deviation from tradition and commercialization. Calling the piece "Ang Landas Tungo sa Katotohanan" (The Way Towards Truth), he underlined the things he changed: making Barabas a revolutionary leader rather than a thief, showing the "good" side of Judas, situating Claudia within the Roman perception of women, removing the "love triangle" between Longinus, Claudia, and Pontius Pilate, and recentring Jesus Christ.

My paper presentation attempts to interpret Moreno's text by situating it within the history of Christianity and the metamorphosis of the local cultural form. It appears that his unique intervention speaks about the text's potential to "historicize" the mythical and to subvert the tendencies of plot directions to cater for popular, safe, and romanticized reception and consumption. Such a script is not just a simple literary revision but also a critique against the prevailing local ideologies mirrored, produced, and maintained by the traditional text. It is therefore hardly surprising that Moreno's script remains to be shelved in the local information office.

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## The Spatio-Temporal Rhythm of the Palio di Siena

Based on the case of the urban festivity "Palio di Siena", a horse-race, and inspired by Lefebvre's "rhythmanalysis" (1992–2004), the aim of the study is to scrutinize the ways in which this festivity introduces a festive spatio-temporal rhythm into the city. The main protagonists of the festivity are the seventeen neighbourhoods of Siena's inner city, the so called "Contrade", which orchestrate the festive spatio-temporal rhythm by periodically showing up in front of various layers of audience (citizens of Siena, students, tourists etc.) and retreating into places where they keep among members of the single Contrada. Furthermore, the talk shows that the beat of this rhythm accelerates, the closer the competitive encounter of the Contrade, the horse-race, gets and that the rhythm is linked to processes of giving meaning to places.

The Palio is a horse-race which takes place twice a year on Siena's central square Piazza del Campo. While throughout the year the limits of the neighbourhood's districts are rather invisible, during the festival around this horse race, which last for a week, the territories are decorated with the contrada-symbols such as their flag and colours and some streets and squares of their district are closed for traffic and non-members. Thus, during the festivities, the districts in some aspects become under the contrade's control. At the race, trail races and other occasions of the festivity, members of the seventeen Contrade gather on Siena's main square which becomes a "place of appearance" (Arendt 1958). They appear in front of the wider audience (non-members) to celebrate their collective identities and to encounter each other in a competitive way. At the same time, in such situations of the appearance, the community members tend to stay inside their group and to build intimate spaces counteracting the publicity of the open square. On other occasions the Contrade retreat from these encounters moving into their neighbourhoods where the members of each Contrada gather in "intimate places" (Goffman 1963) such as the club house. The study shows that the Palio di Siena is the point of reference from which intimate places and places of appearance are created through a mutual relationship and in a rhythmical manner by the members of the contrade and audiences.

**James Deutsch**

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## **Candy is Dandy, but Not Victuals for Rituals: The Rise and Fall of “Candy Day” in the United States**

Many Americans not only tolerate the marketing and selling of holidays during the ritual year, but even actively anticipate and enthusiastically participate in the ensuing commercialization. For example, “Black Friday,” “Small Business Saturday,” and “Cyber Monday” have become eagerly expected and now even traditional elements of Thanksgiving weekend rituals in late November. Americans have also learned that the best time to purchase steeply discounted mattresses is the “Presidents Day Sale” in February. Similarly, purchases of jewelry, perfume, and women’s apparel are often done around Mother’s Day in May, just as Father’s Day in June offers favorable prices for the purchases of watches, menswear, and home tools.

However, not every attempt at holiday commercialization succeeds. This paper will explore the rise and rapid fall of “Candy Day” in the United States as a case study of holiday rituals failing to take hold. Most Americans seem to enjoy candy as a consumer product, but in the early twentieth century they rejected the idea of an invented tradition that had as its primary purpose the sale and consumption of candy.

Preliminary research indicates that the National Confectioners’ Association, based in Washington, D.C., first proposed a “Candy Day” holiday in 1916. It would take place on the second Saturday in October and would foster a spirit of “good will, appreciation and good fellowship,” while also “exploiting the real food value of candy—pure candy,” according to the trade journal, *Candy and Ice Cream*, in July 1916. V.L. Price, the director of publicity for the National Confectioners’ Association was more direct: “What we want is ways and means of increasing the consumption of candy and the holidays offer these means.”

However, the “Candy Day” holiday never caught on. Its failure does not seem related to the First World War nor to the Influenza Pandemic of 1918–1919. Nor were the rituals of the Halloween holiday (also in October) a deterring factor, in part because candy treats (in response to “trick or treat”) did not emerge until the late 1920s and early 1930s. Rather the failure of “Candy Day” seems related to the public’s perception that commercial companies had invented these traditions purely for the purpose of selling more candy.

Primary sources will include various trade journals, including *Candy*, *Candy Factory*, *Candy and Ice Cream*, and *Confectioners Gazette*, as well as archival records of the National Confectioners’ Association in Washington, D.C. (if permission is granted).

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## Re-Localizing Cultural Economy through Heritage Building

In this talk I would like to consider contemporary heritage building as a productive process helping the re-localization of cultural economy in a post-crisis context. Economists have traditionally tried to think of cultural development at a global level, emphasizing the role of cities and central marketplaces as motors for the production of wealth. However, in the seventies, the oil crisis gave birth to some alternative theories on local development, and the place of local resources in the economy was reevaluated. A few decades later, heritage building has become a widespread manner to fuel local economies. I would like to focus on a few examples of festive rituals in Western Europe (France, Italy, UK) which have recently been revitalized and built up as cultural heritage in the hope of boosting local growth and development. Studying the impacts of such processes on the economy is not an easy task, and it often comes down to making simple economic assessments on the “positive” versus the “negative” aspects of the commodification of traditions. As a social-cultural anthropologist, I will use the data collected during my fieldwork to show that the transformation of festive rituals into local economic resources also has a deep influence on the complex structures and meanings of local traditions. This talk will eventually give the opportunity to compare “traditional” and “modern” ways of thinking the place of festive rituals in the economy.

First, I will use examples of festive rituals which have been granted the status of “intangible cultural heritage” in France by UNESCO, to show what economic impacts were hoped by the local practitioners of the rituals when they proposed their candidature and which real impacts can be observed ten years later. Second, I will document some UK festive rituals which have not asked for the “intangible cultural heritage” status and I will explain how they nevertheless have a strong relation to the local economy. Third, I will focus on Italian festive rituals which have asked for the “intangible cultural heritage” status but which haven't got it yet. I will try to understand how the local practitioners use the UNESCO candidature process in itself as a means to re-localize regional cultural economies.

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## Annual Fairs and Town Holidays

In the Balkans, annual markets are an Ottoman heritage, and, after the empire's collapse in the 1890s-1910s, they gradually lost their significance because of borders and market system changes. Annual and weekly markets in many towns in Bulgaria are relatively new. Some of them inherited livestock or craft products from seasonal markets and others appeared as side events at traditional festivals. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, annual and weekly markets in Bulgaria were coordinated on a national level to facilitate all of them because merchants and even customers travelled around to buy livestock and products for households or just for entertainment.

After 1944, and mainly after 1950, when the market of products became centralized and almost all livestock—a state possession—local markets lost their trade significance and remained predominantly entertainment events that attracted local people who previously migrated to other towns to return to their hometown. Thus, annual trading initiatives turned into local cultural events and town holidays. Although in the 1970s-1980s, they were suspended or even forbidden, but in the 1990s, they were declared the official holidays of many towns.

The study is based on several case studies; however, the presentation will highlight one of them—the case of Haskovo. It is a main province town, and the history of its market (that today is celebrated as the town's holiday but is not a market anymore) represents a variety of possible developments of traditional fairs within urban festivity through the years.

The fieldwork was done within the project “Civil Festive Calendar – National and Local Dimensions”, funded by the National Science Fund at the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science.

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## **Commercialisation of the Traditionality of Events in National Parks: Triglav National Park (Slovenia) and National Parks Kozara and Sutjeska (BiH)**

The areas of the Bosnian national parks Kozara and Sutjeska, where, during the Second World War, important liberation battles took place, evolved into two of the most important destinations of the socialist Yugoslav tourism. On the other hand, much older Slovenian Triglav national park was protected primarily because of its "natural values" and even after 1945 has not evolved into an ideologically or politically important tourist destination. Nevertheless, after 1945 it was still supposed to exploit the benefits of massive tourism which is why many massive tourist events evolved there as well. Considering the past, the developments and the contemporaneity of all three national parks, the presentation will therefore focus on those contemporary events taking place in three parks which their organisers perceive and present as traditional. To which pasts these traditions are tied to, how their selection is related to the contemporary socio-political situation of each of the parks, how the selected pasts or traditions are nowadays presented and interpreted, how their contemporary memorialisations are justified and commercialised are therefore the main questions which will be raised in the presentation. The culture of selective traditions will be considered while the selectivity and variability of the usages of the past will be analysed. Similarly, as heritage, authenticity, or sincerity tradition can namely also function as yet another marketing strategy supposedly adding a special (economic) value to, for example, touristic events. But is it only commerciality and profit which are the main driving forces for the selectivity of traditions? And further on: what are the contemporary approaches towards the once common Yugoslav past? Is it merely a nationalist reinterpretation or does it still sustain also the (an economic) potential of an emancipatory Yugonostalgia?

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## **Festival and Communication in Modern and Ancient Greece: a Comparison of Values**

During modern and ancient religious festivals in Greece, everyone offers what one wishes to receive more of in return, based on a logic very similar to the one Hesiod (ca. 700-650 BCE) expresses in his poem "Work and Days" (349 ff.) when he recommends the giving of a large gift in order to get more in return. Today, the significance of gifts and counter-gifts is obvious within Orthodoxy, since in Greek terminology, "antidōro" signifies the blessed bread (literally, "counter-gift"); that is, their bread offerings, or gifts, which have been blessed by the priest during the service, and what people are preoccupied with during the liturgy is the blessed bread they are going to obtain when the liturgy is over. During the festival of Agios Nektarios, a piece of the blessed bread might, for instance, be used as a healing remedy.

In the Mediterranean clientela system, people employ strategies based upon gifts and benefits to gain return gifts. The gift makes the recipient morally obligated for return giving, a favour for a gift. All personal and social relations rest on expectations of reciprocity. This principle also pervades the relations between people and their saints. The religion reflects a culture in which reciprocity and feasts are important elements. As the British anthropologist, Edmund Leach once stated in his book, *Culture and Communication* (Themes in the social sciences. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, or. 1976), the logic of sacrifice illustrates how a religious ritual serves to express a relationship between the human world and the other world. By making a gift to the gods, the gods are compelled to give back benefits to man. This logic is also found elsewhere in the Mediterranean, and in the ancient Greek, Roman and Jewish worlds.

This paper, therefore, will not deal with commerce and traditions per se, but rather the economic foundation of modern and ancient Greek religion by discussing topics related to the communicative aspect of Greek religious festivals.

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## **Kyustendil Spring Day and the Predicaments of Post-Socialist Transition**

The paper will trace and analyze the transformations a traditional local holiday, reinvented during socialism, has gone through in the years of post-socialist transition in Bulgaria. Kyustendil Spring Day was built upon the local tradition of welcoming spring in the town of Kyustendil—a tradition integrating pre-Christian rituals related to the day of spring solstice, the Day of Forty Holy Martyrs in the Orthodox calendar, and Mladentsi in the folk calendar. The holiday was gradually “domesticated” by the socialist authorities in the late 1960s, purged of its religious elements and re-invented—loaded with “new, socialist content”. The holiday eventually established itself as a successful “invented tradition” during the socialist period, including a number of elements: a beauty contest, a ceremony for handing over the symbols of spring, a carnival procession, a public celebration on Hisarlaka hill above the town, and an accompanying program of cultural and sporting events. Despite the significant changes it has undergone since 1989, the holiday has continued to take place uninterrupted through to the present day.

The paper will examine the challenges posed to both the form and the content of the holiday after the collapse of the Bulgarian socialist state in 1989 and the ensuing political, economic and social transformations. The analysis will examine the strategies employed by local authorities to adapt, modify and instrumentalize the holiday in the context of the new politics and economics of culture and the new practices of managing and marketing cultural events. The imperatives of popular culture and the new political realities have brought about the introduction of new symbols, rituals and venues in the old festive scenario. At the same time, critical voices have been raised about the holiday’s exhausted social function and its commercialization in the present. What is basically at stake is the central place of Kyustendil Spring Day in the local festive calendar and its significance for the local community and for local identity. The analysis rests upon archival material, articles in the local press, photographs, discussions and comments in the social media, as well as upon interviews conducted by the author.

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## **The Ritual Easter bread Tsoureki in Greece and Abroad: from a Rural Folk Tradition to the Supermarket Shelf**

The paper focuses on commercial innovations of the Greek culinary Easter tradition in Greece and in Russia. Baking of ritual pies and cakes (e.g. vasilopita, phanourpita, etc.) is certainly one of the main characteristics of the modern Greek folklore tradition in general. During the Easter period, Greeks, not only in Greece, but also in other countries with Greek communities like Russia, bake the Greek holiday Easter bread tsoureki that is made from sweet yeast dough of flour, milk, sugar, butter, sometimes with red Easter eggs pressed into the dough. Similar Easter breads are known in Russia (kulitch), and in Romania and Bulgaria (cozonac). Tsoureki in Greece can be given as an Easter gift to a godparent or to a godchild.

Nowadays this initially rural family calendar tradition of making tsoureki has become an urban custom. In Greece you can buy tsoureki at the supermarket to avoid the laborious process of making it on your own. Moreover, it has lost its seasonality and has become an ordinary custom, as you can buy it not only on the Easter period, but all year long. For the Greek diaspora in Moscow, the situation is different: the ritual bread tsoureki functions both as an attribute of quasi-nostalgia, recalling the memory of the "motherland Greece" for the Greeks, and as an element of the exotic Greek cuisine for the Russians. The tsoureki bread is made exclusively for Easter and is usually sold in ethnic cafes and restaurants with the Greek component ("Pita-Souvlaki", "Molon Lave", "Porto Mykonos", etc.), it can also be ordered privately from these cafes.

The paper is based mostly on data from field research performed in Moscow (2017-2020) and it shows some local features of this Greek culinary custom in a foreign context, which can be explained by specific practical difficulties (lack of necessary ingredients, need to promote a product unfamiliar for Russian consumers, etc.).

In addition, some significant changes in the presentation of the appearance of the Greek tsoureki in Russia should be noted, as it has acquired new elements, unknown in the Greek tradition, but very symbolic for the Russian one, e.g. a decorative willow branch on the top, white sugar glaze, etc. These phenomena can be explained, on the one hand, by cultural interference, and on the other, by the commercialization of a traditional rite which seeks to make the Greek tsoureki more understandable and attractive to Russian consumers.

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## **Transborder Routes and Rituals: Between Global, Local and Niche**

In recent decades, European countries have been searching for and rediscovering regional features for marketing. Local nature, history, man-made monuments, church holidays, arts and crafts, and even food are marketed. One popular project is Wayfare Churches, which allows you to travel to Estonia to explore churches (and participate in church holidays).

Beside church life and church holidays, visitations of hometowns and cemeteries play a significant role as well as the continuation of old fair traditions and the development of new fairgrounds also has an important role. For example, a part of the Orthodox and the Old Believers' culture is characterized by so-called Sibulatee (The Road of Onion) activities, which advertise themselves as "One area, two nationalities, three cultures", or joint ventures in areas where Estonian, Russian, and Baltic German cultures overlap. The complex service includes museums, food culture, church life, nature, etc.

One of the most unconventional regions is southeastern Estonia, which has long been divided between Estonia and Russia. The so-called "Seto Village Belt" connects villages that remain on the territory of modern-day Estonia, and we observe the celebration of St. George's Day (May 6, Värksa) and the Feast of Saint Paraskeva (July 27, Saatse) which have also had consistent financial support from the municipality.

The celebration has many parts: a church service, grave visitation, and a village party. In the morning, a service is held, then the graves of relatives are visited. Food and drinks are placed on the grave covered with white linen, food is eaten together on the graves, and some food is left for the deceased. In the afternoon, a village party begins on the festive ground. Celebrations were also held in Soviet times—the unique church and its singing culture played their role as well as the local cultural movement.

As for the Saatse church, back in 1930s a rich tradition was known. The etiology of the church stated that "Whatever was done during the day, everything would fall apart at night. The cross went miraculously back to the top of the pine. But when they started to build [the church] in Saatse, it kept growing." Legends, fantasy and borrowed cultural texts intertwine in tradition. Already the text from the year of 1938 reports the wider notoriety of the Day: "On this last day a fair number of people will gather in Saatse. Not only from the southern corners of Estonia, but also from Latvia. To honor, there is a stone cross, which is worn on the shoulders around the church on this day, dipped in water and this water collected in bottles."

We will look at the example of both days, how global, local and niche combines in complex beliefs and practices, and what the influences help these traditions to survive.

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## **Italo-Croatian Folk Tradition as a Special Tourist Attraction: the Italian Community in Rovinj**

Rovinj (Rovigno) is a small Venetian town on the Istrian half-island in the northern part of Croatia. It was established as a fishing village on the seaside. Because of the history of Istria, which belonged both to Italy and to Croatia, the Italian community is very strong and has a long tradition. Modern Istria has two official languages: Croatian and Italian. The Old town of Rovinj is situated on top of a small hill on the seaside around the church of St. Euphemia. According to legend, the relics of St. Euphemia arrived from the seaside, and since that time St. Euphemia is a heaven patron of the town. On the day of commemoration of St. Euphemia there is a feast of the town, and there several Italian folk songs are devoted to her. One of them, where St. Euphemia is directly called a holy patron of Rovigno, is often sung during the feast of St. Euphemia, which is one of the main feasts of the town. Lately Rovinj has become a very popular resort, and it is connected not only with the seaside and beauty of the town but also with folk events of the Italian community in Rovinj.

The main organizer of the events is the Batana eco-museum devoted to the flat-bottomed boats called batanas. Due to their longevity and traditional way of construction, they are under the protection of UNESCO. The museum organizes trips on the boat and a fish dinner accompanied by fisherman songs in a typical tavern called Spacio. These types of dinners try to represent the typical life of a fisherman in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but, of course, since it is a commercial event, the groups try to make it more beautiful. Moreover, it organizes evenings with folk group singing and a fish-grill on the small square, where there is a traditional constructing of a batana, which takes place every year. When the batana is constructed, there is an official ceremony launching the new boat with songs and festive food.

The Italian community keeps the tradition of special acapella singing in the way of Rovinj. There are several groups practicing it both as a hobby and as a profession. Several groups of Rovinj make concerts on the street and in some closed spaces. The tradition of singing is still alive, which is proved by concerts of children, which are organized every year by the Italian community. The children's concert is an attempt to show the typical life of the fishermen village with clothes, songs typical of the occupation. This paper analyses the activity of Rovinj as both keeping of tradition and tourist attraction.

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## The Festival Year in Relation to the Spatiotemporal Perception of the Cosmos

I shall be drawing examples for a theoretical model from Indo-European sources without any implication that the concepts are exclusively Indo-European. The thought world in the remote past when the basis of current calendrical structures was laid down was one where various aspects of the cosmos interrelated. This kind of thinking has been retained at the borders in recent centuries in such contexts as alchemy and astrology, but it was once a much more mundane matter of day-to-day living in a framework that was created by people but contained their imagined invisible counterparts, the gods. Gods can be very numerous, but my understanding is that they were envisaged as belonging to specific locations within the spatial framework. In this framework, they are limited in number, and it is suggested that there are eight basic gods connected to regions of space and time plus two 'king' figures who relate to the totality.

Linguistically, spatial concepts underlie temporal ones, as, e.g., "before" meaning prior in time but being based on "in front of" or "before" a person in space. Time is more elusive than space, and this suggests that we may come to a clearer understanding of aspects of time through considering the spatial register of the spatiotemporal continuum.

In an article which is available online at present and will shortly be published in print, I laid out the materials for both space and time with a special emphasis on the neglected special place of the female. See: <http://nouvellemythologiecomparee.hautetfort.com/archive/2021/12/19/emily-lyle-the-female-quarter-6355959.html>

I should like now to explore further how the sectioning of space into four vertical levels and four directions on the horizontal plane can alternatively be presented in ritual space as an eightfold set of places on the horizontal. Since time (in this traditional context) is one-dimensional, it can be mapped onto the single dimension of the horizontal presentation of space. Since space is oriented in relation to the human body facing east (in Indo-European and many other cultures), time takes on part of its meanings from these connections. The year is a totality which is divided up by festivals, and these can be seen in relation to space which has (a) four faces (E, S W, N), (b) eight points including the intermediate directions (e.g., E and NE), and (c) eight regions related to these eight points. Festivals may mark the beginnings or centres of the regions which, in the course of the year, correspond to half-seasons. A foundation for this spatiotemporal approach is laid in articles on the temporal structure of the Slavic year by Nikita I. Tolstoy and Irina Sedakova in *Cosmos* 18 (2002).

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# **Transformations of the St. Casimir Festival in Vilnius: from Honouring the Prince to the Craft Fair**

On the basis of historical data and material collected during ethnographic field studies, this report examines the transformations of the St. Casimir Festival in Vilnius, as a regional example of folk religious and Catholic Church activities. The focus is on the results of the author's research from 2013–2019. The report is intended to analyse the circumstances of the occurrence of the Festival of Honour of Prince Saint Casimir held on March 4<sup>th</sup> in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. After the emergence of the St. Casimir Festival, fairs began to flourish in the church environment and they became a place to sell groceries, wooden items of craftsmen and a buying place for peasants who needed products on the farm in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Following World War I, the numbers of pilgrims increased during the period from 1920–1939, when Vilnius and the Vilnius Region became a part of Poland. The pilgrims and merchants came to Vilnius from Eastern Lithuania, Western Belarus and Poland. Due to its liaison with Saint Casimir, the fair was named after Kaziukas according to the local Polish language and became primarily an expression of regional Polish culture.

This report focuses on the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the 21<sup>st</sup> century when the religious significance of the festival weakened and the Kaziukas Fair eventually established itself as a trading event according to research data. The name, space and symbolic time of the fair are still associated with St. Casimir, but in the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the ecclesiastical celebration and the integrity of the fair declined for political reasons and the modernization of public life. During the Soviet era, the Honour of St. Casimir remained in the church sphere, and the fair became a symbolic supplement to the town's bazaar. After the collapse of the Soviet system, the Kaziukas Fair was reopened. In 1991, the fair returned to the Old Town of Vilnius. In the post-Soviet era, the fair has taken the form of Lithuanian urban culture and the rituals lasts three days. The craftsmen are from all over the Lithuania as well as from neighboring states. The Kaziukas fair also features music and dance, and it has turned into a commercial city event. The honour of St. Casimir fell away from the paradigmatic religious and social idea. Whereas Vilnius is the historical

capital of Lithuania, the Kaziukas fair for Lithuanians gained an ethical shade as a means to confirm their national identity. Kaziukas became a trademark of spring fairs and has been spreading in other Lithuanian towns. This development expresses the conflicting tendency of the development of modern ritual culture. The religious aspect of the festival is disappearing, and the commercial and secular content of the celebration is emphasized instead.

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## Winter Carnival in Vevchani (NR Macedonia): Between a Commerce Holiday and Folklore Tradition

The paper is based on my field research carried out in 2019 in NR Macedonia, where I witnessed a folklore carnival “Vasilitsa”, annually held January 12–13 in Vevchani village near Ohrid. The holiday of Saint Vasilij known as Vasilitsa has a connection with the customs and traditions of the Orthodox New Year. This tradition of the bright winter masking carnival during the period of the so called “dangerous” unchristian days from Christmas until Voditsi (Epiphany), is unique to the Ohrid region, existing on the whole ethnic territory of Macedonia with different names of its participants (vasilichari, babari, dzamalari, survaskare, eskari). The traditional drama play during Vasilitsa is an element of the ritual that imitates a wedding and is called to actualize the semantics of fertility in the context of new-year customs. Adults as well as children participate in the carnival as performers, preparing themselves for this holiday well in advance.

Masking equipment, things for jingling, knocking and making noise have both traditional ritual and modern entertainment aim. The customs performed represent folk drama with given roles, but also urgent political satiric scenes. Masking, cross-dressing as women, noise and the permanent transmission of new-year’s wishes by microphone all create a cheerful atmosphere. The holiday of Vevchani carnival (which today is the member of the International Carnival Association) has a long tradition that has never been broken. Here we can observe the simultaneous coexistence both traditional and modern elements. Modern culture places the holiday in a completely different context. The traditional holiday was “built in” as part of the production life cycle, and the place of today’s holiday is the process of mass culture, consumption, entertainment and secondary forms of folklore. This holiday is widely attended by people from different parts of the country and abroad who stay in the hotels in Ohrid (and environs) for the Orthodox (named Serbian) New Year celebration. Analysis in the context of the globalization process with its dominants of multicultural trends and idea of consumption, the carnival in Vevchani depicts the synergy of traditional and modern holiday culture today. In this paper I also examine the way the mass media supports, and local administration promotes the carnival in Vevchani, and its status as a sign of national identity.

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## **Silver Filigree in North Macedonia: Commerce and Traditions at the Turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

The study analyzes the results of field and museological work in the Republic of North Macedonia from 2017–2021, which made it possible to collect data about silver jewelry made in the filigree technique by Macedonian craftsmen (including females). Expeditions took place in the cities of Ohrid, Struga, Krushevo, and Skopje. Production technologies among the representatives of the dynasties of jewelers have persisted for several centuries. A number of craftsmen in the city of Ohrid (Mariana Pipeleva and others) mastered the manufacturing of filigree silver jewelry at the beginning of the 21 century, according the old traditions and new commercial demand. In recent years, there have been transformations in the forms, manufacturing techniques and aesthetics of the products being created. Traditional silver jewelry is complemented with inserts made from the so-called Ohrid pearls which is mother of pearl a semi-precious stone. In the region of the Western Balkans, the Ohrid-Struga Jewelry School of Filigree has firmly declared itself.

Pale pink translucent corundum is very effectively combined with the silver surface and silver grain in filigree products. Particularly expressive is jewelry with a "Macedonian ruby" made using the techniques of patination, the artificial aging of silver by blackening. But mineral inserts look no less impressive against the background of boiling and simple standard silver. With the Macedonian ruby, jewelers create rings, pendants, and earrings. Breast crosses are especially expressive. In North Macedonia, Orthodox Christians usually wear crosses—this is both a striking marker and a symbol of religious belief and ethnicity. According to unofficial statistics, up to 800 thousand Muslims live in the country (with a population of 2 million). Orthodox Macedonians—women and men, young and old—love to emphasize their religion and ethnicity, wanting to oppose themselves to others. That is why most believers wanting to identify themselves as Orthodox wear bracelets with the faces of saints and religious paraphernalia, medallions with saints, the Mother of God, the face of Jesus Christ, and body crosses.

Silver jewelry made in the technique of filigree and representing the mass reproduction of traditional jewelry, as a rule, is not very expensive, and therefore is one of the most popular gifts for the memory of summer holidays among tourists. Because of this approach, the tradition of making jewelry that has been in the region for quite a long time (at least about a century) is preserved.

In a study parallel to the main task—the description of the state of the jewelry craft in the field of filigree and innovative processes in this area—a comparative analysis is carried out of the Macedonian jewelers' items being created nowadays and products made by Albanian and Arumanian craftsmen working in western North Macedonia.

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## **Gifts for Children throughout the Ritual Year in East Lithuania and West Belarus**

Expensive gifts for children on birthdays, Christmas or New Year's are not surprising in contemporary society. Gifts for children in our days are one of the most important aspects of the commercialization of the holidays. Even seven-hundred years ago, the situation in some rural areas of Lithuania and Belarus, was different. In many agrarian cultures, social prestige was acquired with age. Experience accumulated throughout the course of life was the chief value. This resulted in a relatively low prestige of children. This situation was also reflected in the gifts given to them. Even in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, name days or birthdays of children in villages of districts of an agrarian East Lithuania and West Belarus were rarely remembered. During various festivals and holidays, they usually donated candy or other food products, instead of toys, clothing or other material items. Sometimes children are given a fake gift. For example, in the vicinity of Gervėčiai (West Belarus), in the Middle of Lent, a child is offered to pick up red shoes left by a bear in the yard. On returning home, the child is shown his frozen and reddened feet, saying that they were donated shoes by a bear.

In the report, I'll analyze the gifts presented to children in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, during the various calendar holidays (Christmas, New Year, Epiphany, Middle of Lent, Easter, Child's Easter (next Sunday after Easter), Stork Day (25<sup>th</sup> of March and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary), St. George's Day, Pentecost, and Parish holydays), life cycle (name day, birthday, baptism, wedding party), work celebrations (the first and the last herding day) or ordinary Sundays or Market Days. These gifts were donated to: 1. own children, 2. godchildren, 3. children of relatives, 4. hired children (herder, babysitter); 5. children of neighbors. On these occasions gifts were given to single children or groups. On the other hand, we can see differences in the way these gifts were presented. Gifts were giving directly or through mediator. It could be a Santa Claus, a stork, or a bear. I will analyze all of these in my report.

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## The Winter Festival at the Lithuanian Open-Air Museum in Rumšiškės in the Late Soviet Period (1981 – 1990)

The second stage of the Sovietization of Lithuanian Culture started in 1944 and included one of the most public calendar holidays—the Shrovetide. Communist ideology and instructions from the central government of the USSR led to changes in the form and content of Shrovetide. Sometime during the early 1960s, the Shrovetide Festival had to be renamed a “Winter Festival” or the “Ushering-out of Winter Festival” and become an institutionalized mass event.

At the Open-Air Museum of Lithuania in Rumšiškės, the Winter Festival started in the late Soviet period in 1981 and is still going on. This study analyzes the reports-files of the Winter Festival from 1981-1990, which have been stored in the Open-Air Museum Library. The documents contain material relevant to this research: the content of the celebration, the repertoire, the photographs, the organizational and financial features.

The events organized in Open-Air Museum differed from similar ones, previously held in Vilnius or other places in Lithuania because they did not (or almost did not) include any propaganda of the Soviet ideology or demonstrative fights with social or other evils. However, high officials of the Communist Party were involved in the organizing committees of the festivals. The invitations were sent to the most upper clerks of ministries and party functionaries. The Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Trade, and their subordinate district organizations were involved in the organization of the Winter Festival.

The environment of the Open-Air Museum was a kind of shelter, protecting and legally enabling the participants to manage without the Communist ideology and to undertake the activity of neutral revival of the ancient traditions. The Winter Festival programs implemented in Rumšiškės did not require an artificial merger of folklore and the works of writers and composers.

The commercial nature of the Rumšiškės Winter Festival is evidenced by the following features: ticket sales, trade-in food, folk crafts, unique festive attributes (badges, flyers, posters), sound design, and visualization. The active festival advertising through the press, the radio, audio broadcasting of invitations to the festival before the films at cinemas, etc., were recommended. The issues of public catering were agreed upon with commercial organizations. The structure of the festival was strictly regulated. Folklore groups were given assignments, a clear plan, and program requirements.

The Winter Festival of an ethnographic character at the Open-Air Museum of Lithuania in Rumšiškės during the period 1981-1990 became an event of national significance, which was accepted by the official Soviet ideology.

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## The Marketing and Ideology of Wearing a Crown with Latvian Folk Dress

Metal and textile crowns were worn by all adult Baltic women between the 6th-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century crowns became the exclusive head ornaments of unmarried young girls. In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the tradition of wearing a crown decreased. Traditional dress was gradually substituted by European town fashion.

Starting in the 1880s, the idea of creating and wearing a folk costume became popular. In the 1930s it resulted in creating folk costumes based on the garments stored at the museums.

There are several indications that these sets of costumes can be considered an "invented tradition". There were strong ideological and political opinions that were taken into account when creating and marketing these costumes. Ideas of pure Latvian dress, showing off the most elaborate garments and ornaments, taking care of handcraft skills, and taking pride in Latvian maidens' traditional qualities resulted in many alterations of the historical tradition. One such introduction was a crown that was promoted to be worn by all young unmarried girls. This led to older crowns being worn together with more modern attire—an invented tradition that is still very popular and strongly supported by both the wearers and the producers of the folk costume, as well as the organizers of local and national cultural events, artists, and the media. This exaggerated practice has become part of common knowledge about the Latvian folk dress.

Another practice that was introduced by folk costume wearers on the stage (choristers and dancers) was wearing a crown by all women. This again did not correspond to the etiquette of clothing in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, adherence to a historically correct customary code of behaviour has been strongly advocated for, and an ongoing discussion has taken place. Here an imbalance can be observed as the marketers of wearing a crown prove to be able and even willing to commit to the tradition of headgear reflecting marital status. At the same time, they are rejecting to observe the historical period of crowns being worn. This rejection is so strong and widely accepted that scholars have so far not questioned it in their research.

This paper reflects the results of Ieva Pigozne's research within the research project "The area of present-day Latvia as a zone of cultural, religious, political, and economic interaction from ancient times to the present". It provides a historical overview of changing the tradition and analyses argumentation used in the marketing.

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# Digital Representation of the Funeral Celebrations in Lithuania under the Conditions of the Pandemic

Death has become an integral part of our everyday life under the conditions of the pandemic; thus funeral celebrations have received great attention in contemporary society. Today people die in hospitals, nursing homes without their loved ones, without being able to say goodbye. Families are prohibited from visiting their loved ones suffering from the disease and from contacting their bodies after they have died. At present people are constantly compelled to accept prohibitions caused by Covid-19 and adapt themselves to new situations; for example, accepting digital alternatives of funeral celebrations when physical proximity is impossible. Nowadays, funeral rituals help people to vent emotions and serve important psychological functions in regard to separation and integrations of the loss (Johnsen, Fjærestad 2020).

The author presents digital research of funeral celebrations in the time of the pandemic by interweaving the predominant theoretical perspectives of ethnologists, anthropologists, and psychologists. The present study is focused on visual and content analysis of funeral celebrations from contemporary Lithuanian mass-media. The field research is based on digital material gathered by the author from 2020–2022 regarding funeral celebrations on Lithuanian mass-media websites. In addition, the method of participant observation has been used.

In the last decade, secularization and individualization in Western Europe have led to a degradation of traditional religious rituals, whereas the personalization of rituals has become more popular (Holloway, Adamson, Argyrou, Draper, & Mariau, 2013; Venbrux, Heessels, & Bolt, 2008). These days, performing individual rituals can also play an important role in the grieving process. The bereaved can light candles, write memorials and send flowers from home, as the alternative digital forms of funeral process.

By analyzing the funeral celebrations, the author attempts to find answers to certain questions: Why and how have funeral celebrations changed during the last two years? What new images of death representation in contemporary Lithuanian mass-media websites have emerged? What differences of funeral celebrations between contemporary and traditional cultures have emerged? What changes in the interrelations of commerce and traditions of the funeral celebrations caused by Covid-19 have occurred?

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## Moral Economy of Gayāwāl Panda and the Pandemic

Gaya, a city in south Bihar (India), is a city of historical, mythological, and religious significance. It is a site of confluence of Hinduism and Buddhism. For Hindus, it is one of the most sacred places for the performance of the Śrāddha Yajna (ancestor worship) ritual—to pay homage, offer tarpaṇa (a libation of water), and pinda (a ball of rice/barley flour, barley/sesame seed, honey, ghee, and milk/water as food) to their ancestors. This ritual is performed after the death of a person for the salvation of that person's soul by his sapindas or, more precisely, prospective heir. This ritual can be performed in Gaya, Banaras, Haridwar, Badrinath, Kurukshetra, Pushkar, and Allahabad. But among all, Gaya is considered as the most sacred place for it. Hundreds of thousands of Hindu pilgrims from India and abroad, and even foreigners come to Gaya to perform this ritual throughout the year, but especially during Pitra paksha (fortnight of the ancestors). This ritual gives spatial and temporal characteristics to the city. Sizeable populations in Gaya—like Gayāwāl Panda, shopkeepers catering to the needs of pilgrims and tourists, hotel and guest house owners, transport personnel, etc.—are involved in earning their livelihood by serving the needs of pilgrims and tourists visiting the city for the performance of this ritual.

With the advancement in technology, the state government and some private agencies have introduced an online mode of the śrāddha in recent years. Gayāwāl panda, a priest community in Gaya solely entitled to officiate the performance of the śrāddha during the pitra paksha, have protested against this mode of performance of the ritual. During the Covid pandemic of 2020, it was expected that the online mode of śrāddha would be undertaken, but due to a strong protest by the community, it was cancelled. This assertion of the right of the panda community based on age-old beliefs and customs can be called, in terms of E.P. Thompson, their “moral economy”. Based on textual analysis, telephonic conversation, and fieldwork experience, this paper is an endeavour to explore that the Gayāwāls' protest was not merely to save their source of livelihood but also their “moral economy”.

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## **Aipan: Tracing its Journey from Ritual Folk Painting to Cultural Commodification**

Aipan, which is a ritualistic floor painting, is believed to have originated amongst the people of the Kumaon region in Uttarakhand, North India, between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is a kind of floor painting that traditionally includes geometrical designs typically for religious and decorative purposes. These patterns are passed down through the generations amongst womenfolk and are drawn using a paste made out of white rice against a background of “geru” aka ochre, created using red clay. Aipan translates to “likhai” in the Hindi language, which simply means “writing”. Hence, Aipan really is free-hand writing with the use of natural colours. Well, today of course, you will be able to spot chemical variations as well as ready-made stickers of the Aipan designs, just like in everything else.

This paper discusses the origin, development, oral tradition, as well as processual changes that Aipan has encountered in the 21st century. After coming in contact with the forces of change upheld in the modern world ruled by the digital age and market economy, it has undergone a modern revival. This has allowed a creative intervention of adapting or applying its traditional knowledge in domains that are unconventional. The attempt is to highlight details of new meanings Aipan achieves through intermingling beyond traditional scope, space, and temporality. The paper thus seeks to trace the Aipan folk painting method from its traditional sources to its contemporary transition. It is interesting that today Aipan is being adapted in innovative ways, and likewise has found multiple expressions in materiality, such as its motifs and patterns seen painted on the surface of bookmarks, nameplates, diary covers, wall painting, poster, educational colouring tool kits, apparel printing, etc.—almost every surface that can accommodate it. Thus, Aipan has crossed a specific threshold to become much diverse cultural material that has now even become an identity marker for the Uttarakhandi migrant communities.

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# Changes in Rural Wedding Traditions in the Carpathian Mountains of Ukraine in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

The commercialization of lifestyle has influenced the structure of the traditional rural wedding in the Carpathian Mountains of Ukraine. The transition from subsistence to market economy and an increased role of money in the life of villages has caused changes in specific elements and in the overall structure of the ritual. From the two functions of the wedding, a ritual securing of happiness and wealth for the newlyweds and demonstrating the status of the two families whose members are getting married to the entire village, the second function has been steadily increasing since the late Soviet times as the relative well-being in the villages started improving and has continued to improve up to the present times.

The changes are noticeable, and sometimes drastic, in several areas, concerning the participants, the wedding attributes, the place of celebration, and the character of preferred wedding presents. Transformations are especially manifest in wedding roles and functions, including: increased numbers of groom's men and maids of honor (as opposed to one of each in the old times), with the subsequent inviting of former best men and maids of honor as godparents to the newborn child expecting them to give expensive gifts; inviting only wealthy members of the family (as opposed to inviting all relatives in the past). Female wedding singers who used to accompany every step of the wedding with their songs, are not part of the ritual nowadays; while the role of the starosta (male master of ceremonies, nowadays a paid person, before, a family member) has increased. The wedding attributes, such as the wedding banner and the wedding bread, have grown noticeably in size and ornamentation. Commercialization has also affected the character of wedding gifts (from chickens, eggs, breads and homemade cloth in the past to large sums of money today), the place of celebration (from home or outside canopies in the old times to prestigious restaurants in the nearby town, with a small at-home celebration for the neighbors the next day), etc.

The paper will discuss and analyze the changes in the wedding ritual from the 1920s up to recent times. Our findings are based on interviews with rural people, mostly women, born between 1900 and the 1990s.

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## **A Name of a Holiday as a Problem: Poetic Translating and the Ritual Year**

The paper discusses some issues of Ritual Year terminology which cause misunderstandings when translating from Russian into other languages.

Boris Pasternak, Nobel Literary Prize winner, in his poem "August" writes about the Christian Orthodox holiday of The Transfiguration of Jesus Christ. He refers to this feast three times, twice denoting it by the Church term 'Преображение' (Preobrazhenie) and once by the folk term 'второй Спас' (vtoroi Spas). The first term does not cause any problem, while the popular one is rarely correctly understood or adequately translated.

The Transfiguration in Russia (and in other East Slavic countries, Belarus and Ukraine) is celebrated on August 19<sup>th</sup> in the Gregorian calendar and on August 6<sup>th</sup> in the Julian calendar and August 6<sup>th</sup> is the date that Pasternak refers to in his poem. The folk term literally means "second Saviour", which misleads the translators. In August, Russians celebrate three feasts called "Saviours". The first "Saviour", on August 14<sup>th</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup>, is The Procession of the Venerable Wood of the Life-Creating Cross of the Lord, the second is The Transfiguration, and the third, on August 29<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup>, is The Transfer of the Miraculous Image of the Saviour. The three holidays, apart from their numeral denotation, have their figurative epithets, due to the products which are blessed on the corresponding days in the church, the first being "The Honey Saviour", the second "The Apples Saviour" and the third "The Nuts Saviour". For the Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians the sequence of the three "Saviours" is well known, while such a triad of feasts does not exist in other calendars.

I have analyzed 19 translations of the Russian poem in Slavic and other European languages. One of the types of errors occurs in the translations into Balkan Slavic languages, where the term "Spas" (Saviour) signifies not the Transfiguration, but the feast of the Ascension of Jesus Christ. This holiday is celebrated on the fortieth day after Easter and is a moveable one that can take place at the end of May or in June, but never in August. Bulgarian, Serbian and Macedonian translations, by mentioning the Ascension at the beginning of summer, contain a mismatch with the poem "August" which depicts the Transfiguration both as a sacred event and as the change of the season from summer into autumn.

Another type of error is typical for non-Slavic languages, where "Spas" is translated as "Saviour" as a being not a festival, or as Salvation. The ordinal numeral "second" in the Russian calendric term adds even more confusion and causes theological misconception. Thus, in many languages the folk term for Transfiguration is translated as "the second Saviour", or "the Second Salvation", which cannot be understood from the Christian point of view.

Concerning the few examples of poetic translations which have avoided mistakes, several suggestions about how to translate regional and popular chrononyms which do not exist in other languages are made.

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# Commemoration of Spring and Autumn Equinoxes in Contemporary Lithuania: the Spread of Tradition

The celebration of the spring and autumn equinoxes is a relatively new and still evolving tradition in Lithuania. Since the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the commemoration of the spring equinox relates to Earth Day in Lithuania. Later, other meanings associated with that day started to appear (primary linked with the imaginable holiday of the ancient Balts). Since 2008, celebrations of the spring equinox in Vilnius public spaces have been organized by the initiative of Vilnius Ethnic Culture Centre. Soon, relevant events started to be organized in other locations in Lithuania by different cultural organizations including the new pagan groups as well as solitary enthusiasts.

The tradition of commemorating the autumn equinox is even more relevant. The first initiatives appeared in Lithuania in the last decades of previous century. In the year 2000, the autumn equinox day in Lithuania (as well as in Latvia) was officially associated with Baltic Unity Day (historically, it is linked with the commemoration of the Battle of Saulė that was fought on 22 September 1236 between the Livonian Brothers of the Sword and pagan Baltic troops of Samogitians and Semigallians) and became the commemorative day. Bonfires in places important to ancient Baltic history (on mounds, ancient sacred places, burial grounds, in battlefields and similar places) started to be organized. Gradually, the tradition took on a more different forms of expression. Both the autumn equinox and Baltic Unity Day commemorations are arranged by different cultural organizations and by individual initiatives in different localities.

The presentation will be dedicated to the systematic analysis of this tradition of commemorating equinoxes in Lithuania. The circumstances of the creation of the tradition, the search for historical foundation of the tradition (in the ancient Baltic culture, in the ancient pre-Christian Baltic religion as well as in Lithuanian ethnographic tradition in general), the creation of new meanings of those days, ways and forms of celebrations of the holidays, specific motivations of organizers of the celebrations and celebrators, and related broadcasting information on the Internet will be discussed. The features of celebrations in public and in relatively private spaces will be explained.

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## **All the Working Men that Would have the Grass of a Sheep from their master, they Should Sell the Lambs on that Date: Midsummer Fairs in Ireland**

Midsummer/Saint John's Day, June 24th, was a festival formerly—and in some cases, still—celebrated in parts of Ireland, especially west of the River Shannon, and in Cork City, in the south-west of the country. The hallmark of the festival consisted of lighting bonfires on the eve of the feast, June 23rd. The bonfires were either communal or family affairs, and the ashes were said to protect livestock and to guarantee the growth of crops. Saint John's Day, a holiday of obligation until its abrogation in the 1860s or 1870s, was also marked by fairs, which were held throughout Ireland. Some of those fairs were held in rural settings, such as in Carrigadrohid, County Cork; others were held in urban settings, such as in Limerick City, as immortalized by Thomas Dineley (or Dingley) in travel writings from the late 1600s. The paper will investigate fairs associated with Midsummer in Ireland, drawing on the archives of the National Folklore Collection (NFC), UCD, Dublin. More specifically, the replies to the questionnaire on the feast of Midsummer which was circulated in 1943 will be investigated, as well as the entries about fairs and festivals from the Schools' Collection, a folklore collection scheme undertaken in primary schools across the 26 counties of the Republic of Ireland in the 1930s. Possible reasons why the fairs were held at Midsummer or at other times of the year, and links with other aspects of the festival and work on the farm will also be investigated. Last but not least, the reasons why some of the Midsummer fairs such as the fair of Nash, Co. Wexford, were discontinued or moved to another date, will be analysed. The material from the NFC will be complemented by surveys and interviews with traders and attendees of contemporary Midsummer fairs, such as the Spancil Hill horse fair, County Clare. The fair has been made famous by a traditional song, "Spancil Hill", written by an Irish emigrant to the USA, and performed by musicians such as The Dubliners and Paddy Reilly. Fairs add a financial and practical dimension to a festival which can be considered a blend of secular and religious customs and beliefs, and which tradition-bearers interpreted variously as a celebration of pagan or Christian origin. More than anything, both bonfires and fairs encouraged social cohesion. The impacts of the current COVID-19 pandemic, and associated restrictions on Midsummer fairs in the last two years, will also be investigated.

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## **The Commerce and the Transformations of the Elements of Intangible Cultural Heritage and of their Space of Manifestation: an Example of a Village from the Region of Transylvania**

The Transylvanian region is a well-known multi-ethnic and multicultural space. Since Transylvania has long been under foreign rule, the Romanian people have always tried to keep their identity—their language of Latin origin, their Orthodox faith, their traditions, including their traditional costumes.

This explains the why that even the Sibiu area is one in which the traditions have been well preserved over time. A rapid and interesting phenomenon has occurred starting in the 90s, after the fall of communist regime, when tourism began to develop and the commerce had the power to transform what were believed to be some of the most unshakable elements of intangible cultural heritage in the villages from the region of Sibiu, as well as their space of manifestation. The idea was to attract as many tourists as possible.

This communication proposes an analysis of the situation of these transformations in one of the most famous villages in the Sibiu area, Gura Râului (the village with the simplest traditional black and white costume in the region—in fact, the term often used in Transylvania to refer to the traditional costume is “haine românești” (in translation, “Romanian clothing”), unlike “haine nemțești” (in translation, “German clothing”) which refers to pieces that do not belong to the traditional costume—this is a situation that repeats the universal and presents a reality similarly existing in other “traditional” villages in the area.

The commercialization of the intangible cultural heritage will be shown as follows: in the way traditional costumes are sewn and worn, in the modification of the utility of the traditional textiles, their transformation and adaptation to the taste of the buyers, the transformation of the village holidays, the adaptation of different traditions ("junii", "craii", the Christmas carols) to the tourist requirements, the transformation of traditional recipes, the transformation of houses (of the main space for the manifestation of the intangible cultural heritage in the village). In addition, the Covid 19 pandemic led to an even greater search for houses in the village, many people, even if they had no relatives here, chose to buy a house in the village and become citizens of the village. Has the pandemic itself played a role in all these transformations? To what extent do all these transformations help or not to preserve the local intangible cultural heritage? This communication, through the voice of the field, will try to answer these questions.

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## Commerce and Religion: An Icon for All Means

Early Christians crafted religious icons, in limited quantities, for personal use. Once Christianity became a state religion, the demand for icons increased and artists had to accommodate the needs, tastes and most importantly, the financial means of the faithful. Commercial viability depended on the use of inexpensive materials and rapid production techniques. The mass production of icons in Romania can be traced to the late 1600's, where it was associated with pilgrimages to miraculous sites. Confronted with increasing demand, artists replaced traditional wooden panels, which were too expensive and time consuming to be profitable, with other materials such as glass and later, fabric and paper, which proved to be more cost-effective.

Today, faithful pilgrims purchase icons to both mark their devotion and as a sort of memento of the event. And, as in the past, icons are commercially marketed. Successful competition requires efficient and inexpensive mass production to deliver a product at an attractive price-point. Recent technologies have expanded the availability of religious items, most notably paper icons (copies of traditional icons) and photographs of saints, which are both often laminated to increase their durability.

After the fall of Communism in 1992, the Romanian Orthodox Church was granted the sole right of production and sale of Orthodox religious items, including icons. Any other person or enterprise wanting to produce or sell icons must obtain permission from the Church, or risk government fines. Orthodox authorities have developed retail shops which sell religious items (candles, icons, vestments and cult objects, religious books and audio-visual materials etc.). Churches also have their own shops, marketing essential religious items (candles, incense, calendars, and icons), and items related to the specific place (icons and publications referring to the saint whose relics rest in the church, copies of a miraculous icon in the church, photographs of a local saint, etc.). During pilgrimages or important holidays, religious fairs, monastics commonly sell their own products. These commercial enterprises provide substantial income to the Church which, since 2000, is exempted from taxes.

To discover how Romanian Orthodox Christians feel about icons, eleven brief, semi-structured interviews with parishioners attending service at Radu Vodă Monastery in Bucharest were conducted in 2016. An additional three interviews were granted by members of the clergy and another interview was completed with an icon painter and restoration expert. Qualitative analysis of participants' responses was accomplished through a two-step iterative coding process.

The difference between hand-painted icons and the reproduction of icons, as well as between these and photographs of contemporary saints (e.g. Saint Nektarios) were inquired. Two dominant themes emerged from the analysis: a photograph is less than an icon, which is "something holy, something consecrated", but it may still encourage the faithful in the act of prayer; and, the material of icons, or the technique applied, makes no difference. The image of a saint enhances and inspires prayer, whether depicted in an original icon, a reproduction of an icon or simply in a photograph.

Over the centuries the religious meaning and purposes of icons have not changed, but their configuration and construction have varied to meet the needs of the faithful. Regardless of the medium, the intrinsic religious value of icons remains the same.

## Historical Memory, Cultural Heritage and Commercialization: Ritual Year in Three Settlements of Southeast Lithuania

As noticed by John Helsloot in the 1970s, new rituals and celebrations were massively created in Western Europe. Their organizers sought to revive and legitimize these celebrations. They usually formed the locally suitable product from the ingredients of folklore, tradition and history. In such festivals, commerce, no less than other interest groups, tends to turn people's emotions towards specific rituals. In Lithuania this process has been delayed for several decades. This report deals with the influence of historical memory and cultural heritage on commercialization in famous settlements of Southeast Lithuania—Trakai, Kernavė and Medininkai.

The history of the important political centers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the past, led to a different destiny. The former capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Trakai, is more recently a town and the administrative center of the Trakai district municipality (4933 inhabitants). In 2020 it was the cultural capital of Lithuania. It is most famous for its 15<sup>th</sup> century insular castle housing (reconstructed 1961), and Trakai is also famous for its Karaite cultural heritage; tourists are attracted by the beautiful nature as well. Kernavė is a small town (272 inhabitants), and the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė was founded in 1989. This present cultural reserve, and UNESCO World Heritage Site since 2004, harbours complex archaeological strata from prehistoric times, and the entire area is used only for cultural tourism and scientific research. Medininkai village (493 inhabitants) is famous for the Medininkai Castle, the largest barn castle of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Since 2004 it has belonged to the Trakai History Museum, which adapted it for tourism purposes and restored the castle's northeast tower—the donjon. All of them are small settlements near Vilnius. However, all three locations are rich in tourist attractions and traffic increases over the festivals and holidays. In addition to traditional, religious, national holy days, newly created festivals are celebrated. These include a Medieval Feast (Medininkai, Trakai), the International Festival of Experimental Archaeology "Days of live archaeology in Kernavė", the Trakai City Festival "Trakai Summer", celebration of the historical reconstruction, "Medininkai Castle Defense" and others.

In this report, I'll analyze ritual years of these localities, answering the question: do the different administrative subordinations and sizes of the settlements (town, small town, village) have significance for the commercialization of the festivals and holidays? I will also determine the place of the newly created holidays in the structure of the ritual year, and disclose the attitudes of the local people towards the new festivals and the commercialization of the ritual year.

The sources of the report are fieldwork material, archive, publications and internet sources, collected from 2017–2020 within the framework of the project “Leisure, Festivals and Rituals in the Vilnius Area: Social and Cultural Aspects”.

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## Ritual Year Attributes and Souvenirs: Street Markets and Fairs in Vilnius

Several large fairs take place every year in the streets of Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital. Some of them are connected with calendar or religious festivals. Many craftsmen and traders from provinces and other cities come to sell their works in these markets. Among the abundance of goods, there are religious and other artefacts, which are related to the traditions of certain religious or calendar feasts. In this presentation, I will focus my attention on fairs connected to these religious festivals: Christmas, St. Casimir's Day and Easter.

In Lithuania, Christmas is one of the most important calendar festivals, during which people exchange gifts with family members, friends, and colleagues. Although Christmas gifts began to spread in Lithuania only in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, today they are an integral part of the Christmas ritual. Quite a few people prepare 10 or more gifts that are presented not only to their family members, but to friends and colleagues as well. For several years in the pre-holiday period, since the beginning of December, fairs have been held in Vilnius where people can buy Christmas presents.

The biggest fair in Vilnius is held in early March, celebrating St. Casimir's day, and is called "Casimir's fair". The beginning of the fair dates back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The fair especially flourished in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when merchants from afar began to enter it, as did peasants with their goods, consisting mainly of food and household utensils. Today, this fair is also full of household appliances, foods, sweets, candy, and also works of art—paintings, sculptures, and jewelry. A large number of participating folk artists present their products, from wooden Easter eggs and decorative palms to textiles, earthenware, wood and straw items as well as paintings, wooden sculptures, metal works. The pre-Easter fair is the smallest of the mentioned two others and takes place at the churches on Palm Sunday.

The presentation is based on data collected from 2019–2022. The period includes pandemic restrictions, so it will be highlighting the impact of Covid-19 on those fairs. The object of research is souvenirs and folk-art works that are sold at the markets. My aim is to highlight differences between those objects at different markets, as well as their connection to particular festival and traditions. Which objects are most popular at those fairs and why? Does popularity depend on price or correspondence to tradition?

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## The Commercialization of Public Events and the Carnival

All forms of culture exist only at a certain time and only in a certain socio-cultural context. When at least one of these factors changes, the culture changes. Festive traditions are no exception here.

The festivals associated with the calendar cycles of nature have best preserved their ritual forms in a rural settings, and this is no surprise. Until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, many areas of the farming communities were regulated through festive rituals. The change, of course, took place in the countryside as well. Land tenure and land-use patterns have changed, as did the level of involvement of the rural population in market relations, and educational conditions. However, even when on the borders of the 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries rites turned into customs or even stereotypes of everyday behavior, and life in villages was not much different from life in villages of the first half of the twentieth century because the conditions for survival here depended on the same farming skills.

Despite the fact that the inhabitants of the city mostly supplemented themselves at the expense of rural life, for many centuries the city developed peculiar forms of culture. One such culture included wearing disguises and walking in rural areas as an integral part of the rituals of farmers to ensure the economic well-being of the community and the personal happiness of the rural population. The urban carnival, even after retaining certain moments of inversion based on the mythological concept of time, or stereotypes of roles, must be perceived as an amusement for the entire urban community. The main mass of carnival participants was the plebs. The public carnival has been not avoided by nobles or even rulers, in some cases, of course. Still, the aristocracy was more inclined to close its palace and have fun among its own.

Consumption today covers all areas of human life, from everyday life to culture. Speaking of how the consumer lifestyle has affected the holidays of our day, we should remember that the relationship of Western Civilization to culture fluctuates like the pendulum of Foucault. Here we rejoice in technological advances and scientific advances, here “realizing” that all technical innovations, even when combined, do not enrich the spirit of the individual, but, on the contrary, impoverish it, throwing as to Ecology movements, Eastern extreme practices, ethnographic

traditions, and other symbolic forms of culture. Here we face a paradox. Consumer culture responds to the attempts of the modern individual to find spiritual balance much faster and more successfully than the individual himself. In other words, we can say, that in our day, symbolic culture, both foreign and national, has become an extremely well-sold commodity. It's why in this report, we will try to look at how the consumption of culture changes festive behavior.

Marketing in the modern world has many faces, from the inclusion of the festive tradition in the local or even international tourism market to the inclusion of the national intangible heritage on the UNESCO World Heritage Lists, with all the consequences that this entails.

On the other hand, the trend of cultural consumption in the modern world provides a certain impetus for the preservation of authentic forms of national culture. Because authenticity is always more valued in the market, it just needs to be properly presented.

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## Ivan Kupala Day (John the Baptist Day) in Novosibirsk: Between Deviation and Commercial Potential

We will speak about the cultural and anthropological analysis of a specific Siberian custom—the celebration of Ivan Kupala’s Day in the urban space of the largest Siberian city, Novosibirsk. Finding himself in good hot weather on July 7 in Novosibirsk (with a population of 1.5 million people), an uninitiated person may decide that he has become the victim of hooliganism, since he can be doused with water without any warning—on the street, in public transport, or even in his own car.

For Novosibirsk residents, this situation seems quite natural, since all residents are aware that “you need to pour water on everybody on Kupala”. During the period of forced Soviet urbanization and industrialization, along with the “new townspeople” (former residents of Siberian villages) arrived to the “Siberian Chicago” and brought the village traditions of everyday and festive culture. The author tries to understand why, out of the multitude of popular festive traditions dearly loved by the Russian people, it was precisely the one that had developed by the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries that took root and further transformations the all-Siberian version of the Kupala tradition—namely, the general dousing with water in the urban space and “Noch Tvorila” (in the old village version “rasstashshiha”) as the night hooliganism of youth was called on the eve of the holiday.

Throughout the twentieth century, the Kupala tradition calmed down and became exclusively “childish” and was celebrated among peers on the territory of city courtyards, but then it gained strength and went beyond the courtyard spaces to city streets and squares, and not only children and adolescents became participants in dousing and other ritual atrocities, but also young people up to people of a very mature age.

Small businesses quickly joined in serving the needs of participants in collective dousing by buying a wide range of sprinklers, water pistols, guns, water pumps, homemade water bombs, etc. a few days before July 7. In the 2000s, large retail chains began to respond to this specific Siberian tradition.

The author reflects on two opposite positions regarding this national holiday in a large Siberian city: the authorities, who generally condemn the deviant moments of Ivan Kupala (attempts to limit the holiday), and the humanitarian intelligentsia, who see the potential of the city carnival in the holiday, which can attract tourists to the city (by analogy in the Spanish La Tomatina). It is important to note that despite the fact that the "standard" way of celebrating Ivan Kupala is widespread throughout Western Siberia, there is an unspoken opinion that it is the largest holiday in Novosibirsk, and this is where teenagers and young people come to celebrate for real.

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## Adaptation in Contemporary Performances of Scottish Gaelic Psalmody

Scotland is home to a unique style of congregational psalm singing which can mostly only be heard in Gaelic-speaking churches in a very small region of the country—primarily on some islands in the Outer Hebrides (Lewis, Harris, and North Uist) and on the Island of Skye in the Inner Hebrides. On these islands, Gaelic, while considered under threat as an endangered language, continues to be spoken as a first language by many people. In the presbyterian Church of Scotland and Free Church of Scotland, the unaccompanied singing of Gaelic psalms is a mainstay of musical worship and is a practice which has been taking place in churches since the time of the Scottish Reformation in 1650. Following the Reformation, congregations were required to sing the Psalms of David in unison, a capella, and led by a precentor, and this was enabled in Gaelic-speaking congregations by the publication of the First Fifty Psalm in Gaelic in 1659. While other congregations across Scotland moved away from psalmody and introduced hymnody from the early nineteenth century, and more recently Christian praise music in the late twentieth century, the Free Church of Scotland continues to advocate unaccompanied psalmody as the main form of musical praise in their congregations. In recent years, this musical tradition has also entered into secular settings, not only as a form of worship but of artistic expression.

Interest in this unique practice of precentor-led congregational singing increased significantly among the academic and artistic community since the claim by Professor Willie Ruff in the early 2000s that the practice had links to African-American gospel music. At this time, the practice was elevated to the world stage, and huge interest was generated in the tradition among the general public in both Scotland and the United States. While this claim was largely disproved by scholars including Terry Miller (*Ethnomusicology Forum* 18/2, 2009), the impact on the tradition itself and performance practice outside the church has been notable, especially in terms of re-creating performances of congregational singing in vernacular settings and creating new spaces for this style of multi-part singing.

In this paper, I will be discussing the tradition as it is today and the moves to incorporate the singing into vernacular contexts of composition and performance, often as artistic responses to declining use as a form of worship. How has the performance of Gaelic Psalmody changed as it has been taken outside the church, and how has it affected the aesthetics of the performance? The presentation will be illustrated by audio-visual material from ongoing research into the tradition.

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## **A Village for a Day: Annual Meetings of Relocated/Flooded Villages in Bulgaria**

The text is an attempt to rationalize the need for an annual meeting of the community from a village that has been relocated due to the construction of a reservoir. Following the example of two flooded villages, Zhrebchevo (since 1953 it is under the water of a dam with the same name) and Popovo (displaced in 1963 due to construction of the Studena dam), the author analyses this element of the festive calendar as cultural heritage. The relocated population from the village of Zhrebchevo and its descendants meet annually on May 1 (because it is a day off) on the meadow next to the Zhrebchevo dam, and this tradition has continued since 1976. This ritual meeting is a consequence of displacement, and it had not appeared in the village calendar before the relocation. On the other hand, the meeting of the residents of the former village of Popovo and their descendants, the so called “sabor” takes place annually on the first day off after the day of the Assumption (old style, 28<sup>th</sup> of August according to Julian Calendar) in the area of the former village. Although the village of Popovo was not placed into the reservoir’s basin but right next to it, and because the water of the Studena dam is used for drinking purposes and nearby is the residence of the former communist party leaders, access to the remains of the village was banned until 1989. After the democratic changes, the relocated population has access to the ruins of the village of Popovo, and in 1993 the annual meeting was restored. This day is an important element in the festive calendar of the village of Popovo and became an occasion for annual meetings after the destruction of the village. Annual meetings in both villages started after a certain time which activated nostalgia and the need for festivity and contacts within the former village community. Through an analysis of interviews, archives, and literature, the study is looking for motives of leaders from both local communities for organizing these meetings and tries to answer some questions: how do these meetings revive the village just for a day, what rituals do they include, how is the intergenerational dialogue being realized, what is the memory for submerged villages, and what are the perspectives for such meetings?

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## **Cultural Intertextuality: Songs as Emotional Resources for Commerce**

This paper deals with the role of songs in creating commercial products. Songs, in their various forms, ways and intentions, are constantly present in all spheres of life. People today do not only write songs, but also listen to them and sing them alone or in groups. Songs are also used as resources in the ongoing creation of polyphonic, polysemic cultural texts, in the creation, reconstruction, play and manipulation of cultural meanings. The aim of the presentation is to show how songs are transformed into cultural "raw material" for the creation of advertising, media texts, business enterprises, projects, audiovisual productions, and brand names. A song title, a quotation or a creative reworking of a lyric becomes a recognisable associative reference and immediately draws attention and stimulates emotional reactions. All of this is undoubtedly a powerful commercial tool and, at the same time, a means of sustaining and continuing local culture. Does this fusion of songs into local culture mean that song and singing are part of identity and therefore continuously involved in the creation of culture, or is the exploitation of songs as a marketing tool merely a devaluation of their significance? Songs from a wide variety of periods and styles become commercial products—traditional folk songs, Soviet stage and contemporary pop hits, songs from films, and so on, but they all must be very well-known and have a dense field of associations around them. The report is inspired primarily by my own observational practice in Lithuania. Therefore, it can be assumed that Lithuanian songs, like Argentine tango or Andalusian flamenco, reveal the uniqueness of the local culture, its intertextuality in relation to songs and globalisation.

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<http://lulfmi.lv/en/news>

Archives of Latvian Folklore

<http://en.lfk.lv/news>

SIEF The Ritual Year Working Group

<https://www.siefhome.org/wg/ry/index.shtml>

