المنظمة الدولية للفن الشعبي
THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF FOLK ART (IOV)

IOV Sharjah International
ScientificConference:

Folk Culture

The Present and Future Pathways

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THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF FOLK ART (IOV)

Sharjah International Scientific Conference:
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المنظمة الدولية للفن الشعبي
THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF FOLK ART (IOV)

IOV Sharjah International Scientific Conference

The scientific committee of The International Organization of Folk Art (IOV) is hosting a conference this year, with the support of the Sharjah Institute for Heritage in Sharjah, under the heading:

"Folk Culture: The Present and Future Pathways"
Sharjah, United Arab Emirates ,2018 November 24-20

The conference will discuss the dimensions of the relationship between folk culture and the effects of modern life. How can this form of culture stay relevant in the minds of people, regardless of the new methods of communication, the technological revolution and many other challenges?
What will be left of folk culture and what will change? Furthermore, how will this look like in everyday life? And what effect will these changes have on creative pursuits (literature, theatre, cinema, video games, etc…). These are the exciting themes we would like explored this year.

In order to guide you further, we invite researchers to submit papers utilizing the following topics:

- Folk culture and the arts (cinema, theatre, music, etc…).
- Folk culture and the effects of modern technology.
- Folk culture and social media networks.

It is important to note that:

- Priority will be given to members of the International Organization of Folk Art (IOV).
- Abstracts must be submitted no later than July 30th 2018 and the final papers before September 30th 2018.
- The regional office in Sharjah will cover each participant's ticket, accommodation and local transportation fees in the UAE.
- Papers must be submitted in Arabic, English or French.

For further information, contact:

- Conference Director: Dr. Mohamed Abdullah Nouiri.
- Conference Secretary: Mr. Sayed Ahmed Redha.
- IOV Liaison Office: Ms. Shereen Ahmed Rafea
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The International Organization of Folk Art (IOV)

The International Organization of Folk Art (IOV) is a non-governmental, non-profit organisation under the umbrella of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Established in Austria in 1979, IOV has 163 branches across the world. It is concerned with preserving folk heritage of all kinds and treating it as a component of cultural heritage. It specialises in the study of several humanities, primarily folklore science and the other human sciences.

The organisation aims to continue to create the highest levels of understanding and responsiveness in the peoples of the world through art gatherings, scientific conferences, training, programs, exhibitions showcasing handicrafts and traditional industries, and celebrations of all types of folk culture in the interests of security, understanding and world peace.

Sharjah International Scientific Conference: 'Folk Culture: Present and Future Pathways'

In line with its interest in the challenges facing folk culture in contemporary life, the Scientific Committee of the International Organization of Folk Art (IOV) organised a scientific conference to address dimensions of the relationship between folk culture and modern life in cooperation with the Sharjah Institute for Heritage.

- How can folk culture endure in people's minds and imaginations despite the great challenges posed by modern communication methods and the great technological revolution?

- What does remain of this culture and what has changed? What are the features of folk culture that persisted in various aspects of our daily lives? And how do they affect different forms of creativity such as novels, theatre, cinema and video games? The focuses are as follows:

- Types of folk culture in contemporary life
- Folk culture and the law of change
- Folk culture and the arts (cinema, theatre, music and video games)
- Folk culture and the impact of modern technology
- Folk culture and social media networks
- Folk culture and scientific curricula

These are the focuses that we have created, but the IOV has left it open for distinguished scholars to tackle any issue that they think appropriate.

Professor Mohammed Al Nuwairi
Chair of the Scientific Committee
International Organization of Folk Art (IOV)

The lecturers

- Professor Letizia Bindi
- Professor of Cultural Anthropology at University of Molise, Campobasso (Italy)

- Dr. Katarzyna Marcol
- Lecturer at the University of Silesia in Katowice
- Jury member of the Folklore Review “Spotkania pod Brzymem”, Pszczyna

- Iveta Pirgova
- Director of the Department of Folklife and Cultural Studies at WheatonArts.
- Chair of the Research Commission of the IOV-USA Section.

- Dr. Javier Alfonso Gomez Chavarro
- Founding partner of Colombia Folklore Foundation, Culture sector.

- Professor Saifur Rashid, Ph.D.
- Professor of Anthropology at the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

- Professor Anna Brzozowska-Krajka
- Full professor of folklore and theory of culture and literature in the Department of Polish Studies at Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin, Poland.
- Chair of Polish Section of IOV
- Chair of IOV International Commission of Science and Research-Europe.

- Dr. Lopamudra Maitra Bajpai
- Visual Anthropologist (historian & journalist)

- Professor Ina shved
- Full Professor in the Department of the Russian Literature and Journalism, Faculty of Philology at the Brest State University Named After A.S. Pushkin
- Head of the Folklore and Local Culture lab in Brest State University
- Proffesor Thiago Silva de Amorim
- Professor of the Postgraduate Program in Visual Arts - PPGAV of the Arts Center of the Federal University of Pelotas
- Dr Elene Gogiashvili
- - Associate Professor, Department of Folkloristics, Faculty of Humanities, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University
- Dr. Niyati Jigyasu
- - Doctoral Scholar, Srishti School of Art, Design and Technology, Bangalore

- Minara Guliyeva
- Fashion designer
- Vice-chair of iov youth
- Dr. Iman Mahran
- Assistant professor of tangible culture at the higher institute of folk arts, cairo academy of arts
- Chairman of the folk arts committee, the arab union for the protection of intellectual property rights
- Founder of the intellectual property rights protection unit, cairo academy of arts
- Professor Ghassan Murad
- Professor of Computer Linguistics and Digital Media at the Lebanese University
- Filip Petkovski
- Teaching Assistant of World Dance History, Myth and Ritual, and Food Politics at UCLA

- Professor Layla Al Bassam

- Professor of History of Clothing and Embroidery, Fashion and Textile Design. Princess Nourah Bint Abdul Rahman University

- Fathi Zgunda

- Professor in the Institut National De Musique, in Tunisia and the Institut Supérieur de Musique de Tunis for over 30 years.

- Nahla Emam

- Professor of Traditions, Beleifs and Folk Culture, at the Higher Isnitute for Folk Art/ Arts Academy, in Egypt.

- Dr. Hassan Badouh

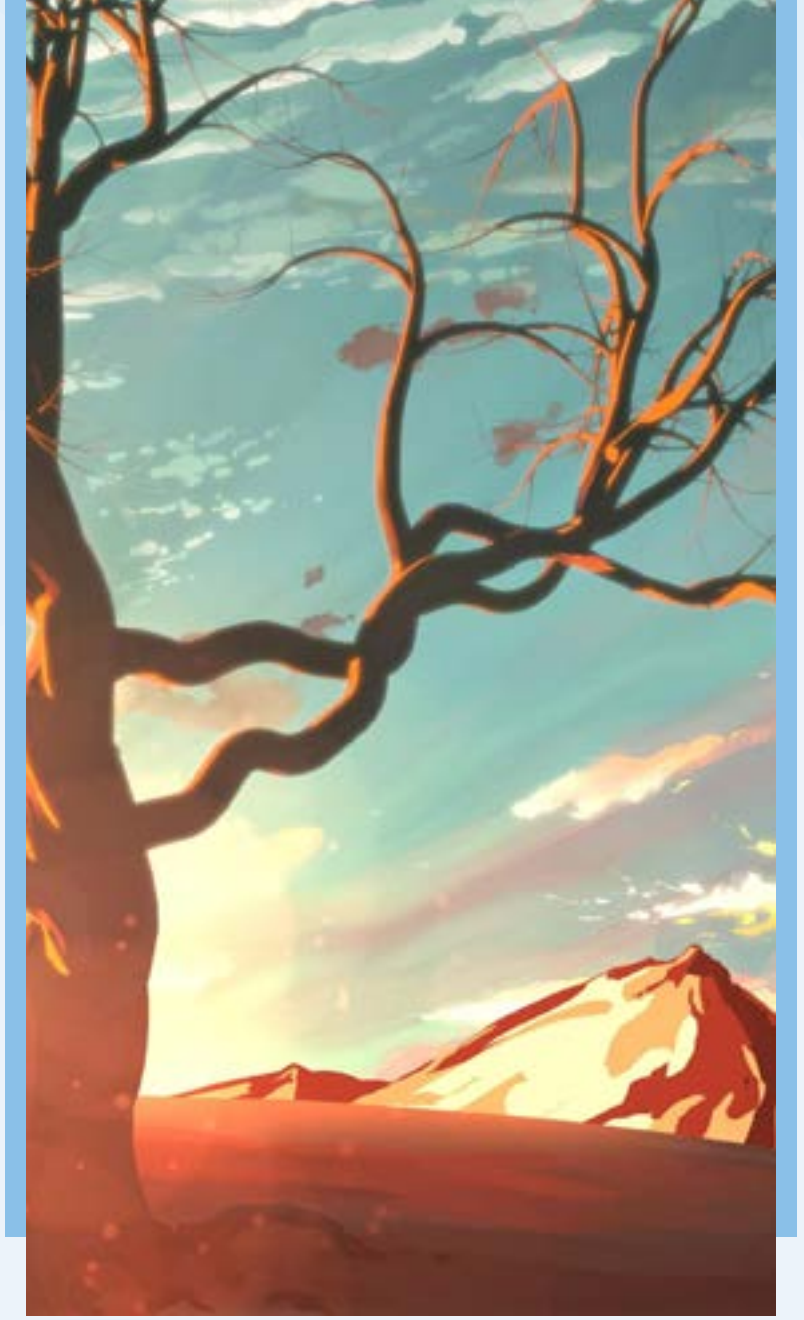
- Professor and Researcher at the Universite Sultan Moulay Slimane, Morocco.

Digital Landscapes and Representations of Cultures

Cultural Heritage and Participatory Processes

المعالم الرقمية وتمثيل الثقافات

التراث الثقافي والعمليات التشاركية



Letizia Bindi
Professor of cultural anthropology at Molise University (Italy)

البروفيسورة ليتيزا بيندي
أستاذة الأنثروبولوجيا الثقافية في جامعة موليزي كامبوباسو (إيطاليا)

Digital Landscapes and Representations of Cultures - Cultural Heritage and Participatory Processes

The debate on intangible cultural heritage and landscapes and their links to digital technologies and platforms is becoming increasingly important and particularly fit for shaping heritage contents according to UNESCO ICH Conventions, EU Convention on Landscape and the Chart for the Safeguard of Digital Heritage.

Digital archives and virtual galleries are, in fact, the intangible places where some crucial passages of the process of heritagization take place. Moreover, they are the most efficient tools for participatory processes of safeguard and valorization of cultural heritage according to the 2005 Convention on

the Value of Cultural Heritage for Communities (Faro Convention) and the different strategies of reassessing property rights of the local (Hennessy 2012b; Bendix et alii 2012; Bindi 2013) as a form of empowerment and redefinition of the agency on the heritage scenario. These archives collect common cultural heritage and shared knowledge. So doing, they define particular groups or minorities using co-produced narratives, discourses, storytelling, and representations.

Some author defined these archives "participatory media projects" (Hennessy 2012 ,2009a) alluding to mixed productions (video, photographs, art images, audio files) that contribute to articulating individuals and collective storytelling on practices, knowledge, shared experiences, common places and landscapes (Underberg-Zorn 2013; Gubrium-Harper 2016; Valtolina 2016). This has caused a radical change in the definition of the ethnographic object, which today has to be considered as 'born

digital' because all the data collected during the fieldwork become part of the virtual media circuit cutting and putting together, fragmenting and mixing materials with others often independently from the ethnographer's authority and more in network with other witnesses, traditions bearers and heritage keepers using these contents in very different ways.

Thus, heritage scenarios have to deal with many different agencies: local and national institutions, conservation and heritage safeguard officers, ethnographers deeply engaged in the fieldwork, museums professionals, cultural and tourist animators manipulating and transforming locality as a 'good to digitize' object fit to enter the public sphere and to become a tool for "the collective negotiation of intra-community conflict" (Noyes 2006), as a scenario upon which projecting and representing new and old powers engaged in the mise en forme of cultural heritage objects.

New global hierarchies and frameworks of heritagization insist on accessibility of intangible cultural goods as well as digital heritage, linking conservation and safeguard to digital platforms and repositories as places where local communities' commitment and co-produced memory selecting what deserves to be valorized and publicized, who's to be considered as owner and keepers of places, practices and knowledge.

Many authors assess also a parallel between digital and ethnographic heritage as intertwined processes in the definition of local and community identity (as it happens in many digital context as blogs, digital archives, community-based repositories, shifting from a sort of nostalgic and celebrative exaltation of the past to the professional expertise upon cultural practices and knowledge. The huge and increasing number of new media allows a wider access to visibility and mediatization of the public sphere and even a democratization of the cultural

heritage circulation by the local actors.

This process necessarily implies questions about the rules of production and circulation of audiovisual documents concerning cultural heritage, authority and cultural ownership, different power scales and "heritage regimes" (Bendix et alii, 2012), but also a wider role of communities in the definition and safeguard of what there are keeping.

Intangible cultural heritage as well as digital heritage are increasingly inclusive and are somehow becoming coextensive of what is circulating in the Web as everything, potentially, can be significant for the analysis of local groups and collectivities. Moreover, the potential infinity of digital archives make irrelevant, in fact, the selection of records even if this does not mean the absence of an hierarchy among materials and levels of accessibility and public visibility for particular representations, pathways and narratives.

There is a new critical literature on cultural heritage digitization and still not so much ethnographies have been produced about the style of digital representation of the local community of practice, promotion of the cultural assets through the net, marketization of cultural properties and its abuses.

The focus of the debate is essentially on local, national and supranational scale of heritagization and their links with digital media and platforms, about what deserves to be conserved and valorized, who are the heritage keepers, who's protagonist in the heritage scenario: in short, to put it briefly, the political value of intangible cultural heritage.

According to this, policy-makers are increasingly using digital platforms and contents for entering the local heritage communities. They insist, sometimes demagogically, on the importance of participation of communities to the project and on opportunities given by digital platforms to

participation, on "community-based" archives and "bottom-up" processes of collecting data and realizing dissemination.

As recently Hennessy noticed (2009), practices of documentation, negotiation, conflicts, ownership and ethical socialization pose the accent on representations of power in the local, relationships between dominant and subaltern cultures, mainstream and marginal discourses, different hierarchies of value.

Cultures in the net

Virtual communities are built through an intensive use of new digital platforms, repositories and products (forums, blogs, chats, virtual galleries, 3D reality, rendering, and so on) (Bindi ;2005 2008). This digital habitat strongly contributes to a

reshaping of the ethnographic object and interacts with cultural critique, fieldwork relationships, as the anthropological debate of the last three decades has pointed out. To the inquiries on this topic were essentially the ethnographies of 'indigenous media' (Ginsburg – Abu-Lughod – Larkin 2002) focusing on minorities and native groups as laboratories for a new definition of localities through media representations (Wilson-Stewart 2008; Alia 2012; Reis 2016).

What is selected as editable or not by a community, according to specific "hierarchies of value" (Herzfeld 2004), the definition of what makes sense for them is actually one of the fundamental exercises in the building of a collective identity. Consequently, the reification and commodification of cultural objects through the Web is increasingly becoming one the most important element of the cultural and tourist market (Bindi 2013).

Virtual galleries and gates introduce a huge amount of places, landscapes and shared territories, knowledge and practices (festivals, rituals, food, handcrafts, music, oral poetry, dances, body techniques, and so on): what we have to consider as 'cultural tradition' or locality and aesthetical/ideological representations of it? What the communities are expecting from digital dissemination of their images?

Another crucial question is about how digital contents and heritage are managed and politically influenced: who is the owner, the manager, or the keeper of digital platforms and what they are aiming at through this virtual manipulation of contents and representations of the local?

At the first level of analysis archives are ways for broadcasting situated memories: short cuts, consumer-oriented design of local representations, antiquities, uniqueness, exceptionality, genuinity,

authenticity. In short, the so-called Appadurai's "patina effect" (1996 ,1986).

At a second level analysis focuses on material supports for transcription (writings, maps, photographs, videos, 3D renderings) and archives, inventories, museums and eco-museums, virtual galleries as a digital fix based on punctual hierarchies of value and decentered political power in definition of cultural assets (Bouchenaki 2004) and in management of their media visibility (Lash 2002).

Digital resources are considered a precious element of safeguard for witnessing of the past and the present of marginal and vulnerable communities: they fix memories and practices, freezing oral plasticity in a heritagized form, reified and commoditized (Hand 2008)

"Visualization forms as part of the software

machines, are a liquid cultural object thus subject to infinite variability, as for example opposed to Benjamin's assumption, though it might seem to radically threaten the nature of the intangible cultural practice, is paradoxically in accordance with its 'fluent' nature, to be grasped only in its actual occurrence" (Tupja-Cao-Tillich-Zellner 5 :2016/2015).

According to some scholars, the 'liquid' nature of intangible cultural heritage is coherent to the fluidity of digital representation and particularly fit for it. In reciprocal interaction between man and machine, a new cultural object is born representing the intangible practice in a descriptive framework that gives back a transferable image (Deleuze 1986). At the same time, this action is charged with political values and significations filtering and imposing through their 'technicality' their same framework (Foucault 2001) conditioning the relationship between digital communication and consumers/producers.

The risk is to overrun in a voyeuristic tendency towards cultural traditions and in visual narratives specially packaged for digital media.

Digital networks and virtual media are today the most elicited habitat of expression and codification of knowledge and practices for implementing their participative and reticular nature and low-cost accessibility.

Thus, digital images of intangible cultural heritage are somehow subversive with respect to hierarchies, as they enhance circulation and promotion of concerning materials basing on almost spontaneous communities and going beyond the selection and evaluation criteria of UNESCO.

Youtube, for example, represents today for many heritage communities an archive and a platform for valorization of locality even more efficient than an UNESCO nomination. Some scholars have noticed,

for example, how much video-sharing of traditional Caribbean dances and music end up representing:

"as an unofficial archive that preserves Caribbean dance (as well as countless global intangible expressions) through processes of identification, documentation, and transmission within the nonformal education medium of a video-sharing site" (Pietrobruno 240 :2009).

This implies that tradition bearers could personally implement and enhance the virtual archive of a particular cultural phenomenon without necessarily the intervention of political or academic hierarchies. Moreover, this suggests reconsidering the almost 'classic' partage between internal and external image of traditions, between local culture and tourist curiosity or media marketability of a cultural asset.

The users of these specific Youtube channels

or any other archive of traditional representations do not consider necessarily the even commercial valorization or the media overexposure as a diminution, but on the contrary as a structural form of its transmission and one of the most efficient ways to take care and promote it.

These local or community users consider digital media and networks as open platforms allowing everyone to upload his subjective vision of the feast or of the practice or knowledge deserving, in their opinion, to be conserved and valorized. They use them

to give their own evaluation and representation integrating it with various textual forms through a conscious use of editing and film, television and more generally well-known media and advertising references.

Virtual ‘Folklore’

In San Martino in Pensilis, a small town (less than 5,000 inhabitants) of Southern Molise (an Italian Southern-Central Region), a secular ceremonial takes place every year – as in three other small towns of the neighborhood - in which oxen-charts pulled by horses are competing in the honor of the Patron Saints. The ceremonial, which in the past was based on a kinship system linked to most influent families in the locality, became between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, a competitive ritual among local ‘parties’ (very close to the ‘contrade’ as in many Palii and Jousts, even if without a territorial correspondence in the urban space): ‘Giovani’, ‘Giovanotti’, ‘Giovanissimi’ (The Young’s, The Younger’s, The Youngest’s). This ritual is considered by the community as a very specific and characterizing element of the locality and defended by the citizens in a very assertive way, especially, more recently, against the increasingly stronger

attacks moved by the animal rights activists and the security/safety concerns.

Photographs and audiovisual documentation of the ceremonial are growing inexorably in the last decades. There are passionate collectors and lovers of vintage photographs that scan the archives collecting a huge amount of documents of the feast as well as of ancient documentaries of the Thirties uploading these data on public channels and forums, on virtual galleries, individual blogs and profiles.

Photos have been pivotal even in the quarrel about animal rights, because it is through strong images of supposed abuses or injures on animals that activists have mounted the debate and violent attacks against these traditions.

At the same time, the Net is full of jokes and amazing videos of the winner party celebrating the

victory in the ritual competition. Even conviviality is deeply signed by the media through photos, videos and posts dedicated. The tones of these conversations range from nostalgic to ironic, from celebration to teasing through strongly emotional storytelling.

A good example is a video consisting of a montage of photographs of one of the parties, the Youngs, which has long been defeated in the ritual competition in the town of San Martino in Pensilis. In this video the photographs, carefully chosen for their particular emotional impact, are expertly assembled in time with the final monologue of the coach of "Every damn Sunday" that is a great harangue addressed to the members of the team, long defeated, so that they will find reasons and courage to recover the victory. This video, very well known at a local scale, shows how much media and particularly new media are continuously mixed and hybridized with traditional contents, re-signified

through different shapes of local communication, consciously re-codified according to languages and styles of the cinematographic mainstream[1]. The local and traditional community re-uses and contaminates images and new expressive moods; through them people give sense and value to what represents their own heritage, defining and, somehow, packaging it. Media and digital networks become the place for a transformation of local experience, the space for collective storytelling, for advancing in the processes of identification, for rooting shared memories.

[1] Notice how the trailers of the different 'editions' of the feast are increasingly inspiring to cinema models: for example in 2015, the trailer of the 'Carrese' of San Martino in Pensilis, was inspired to the recent cult-movie "Hunger games".

Transhumant narratives and representations

Narratives of transhumance are redundant and extremely differentiated: poems, novels, oral literature, audio-visual storytelling and documentaries. They represent one of the forms of reshaping of this traditional practice as an intangible cultural heritage even through dissemination and communication.

Anthropologists have always devoted much attention to studies on pastoralism and much has been written, in the various ethnographic contexts, about the specific forms of social and cultural organization connected to transhumance. Many kinds of narratives have been produced and collected about traditional pastoralism: poems, oral literature, novels, images, photographs and media narratives and documentaries. On the methodological level, this imposes a multidisciplinary approach and a multi-situated ethnography of these differentiated forms of expression and narration in their complex relationships to the systems of knowledge-practices they are describing, narrating, imagining. More recent video-documentation, sharing and co-production of documentary archives, storytelling and witnessing are opening to a strong revitalization of transhumant narratives. Walking shepherds, vagrant pasturages became in last decades ways of rethinking to breeding activities and ways of moving in the pastoral landscape. This literary and narrative side of pastoralism allowed rearticulating not only relationships between local identity and territories, traditions and modernization, but between inland and coastal regions and between humans and animals. Thus, past and present narratives are increasingly facing to the process of 'heritagization' of pastoralism and transhumance. The often compromised and ruined pastoral landscape is evoked, in fact, through narratives, used and textually re-imagined as a resource for

archaeological, historical and anthropological solicitation and, at the same time, as a powerful tool for the tourist exploitation and the marketing of the territories.

It is the case of the 'horizontal transhumance' that characterized since the Roman Empire Era the Southern regions of Italy were sheep and cattle were moved seasonally from the mountain of the inland areas of Abruzzo, Molise, Campania and Basilicata to the planes of the Puglia. This secular knowledge-practice system is today reduced and contracted in dimensions, but recently has been re-conceptualized as a landscape to be conserved and defended and as cultural heritage to be safeguarded and valorized. The narration about 'routes' – sacred, cultural, naturalistic, wellness routes - becomes pivotal, oriented to the enhancement of cultural landscapes, but, above all, to an ambivalent and challenging notion: a radically mobile root and source of identity. The use of media and the

communication about transhumance has radically changed after the submission to the UNESCO ICH List. Many books are edited as well as blogs, websites, Facebook profiles, video-documentaries have been dedicated to illustrate and showing the beauty and the cultural values of transhumant routes and landscapes.

In these media documents and narratives, transhumance is represented as a special experience of the landscape, of human-animal relationships, of habitat and traditional culture. The accent on walking and its significance, on recollecting a contact with earth and nature is strong. Media stress particularly the element of 'slow move', of the pastoral care, of the calm encounter with local communities as well as the valorization of the traditional and ancient tastes, of the artisanal ways of preparing cheese and conserving it. In many cases, attention has been also given to elements of modernization and transformation of traditional pastoralism: the

increasing number of women as shepherds (Anna Kauber's, In questo mondo, 2018 for example), for example, or the 'returning herders' – young people coming back to pastoralism and transhumance as a choice (Luca Battaglini's, Tutti i giorni è lunedì, 2016). In other cases transhumance becomes a way of crossing and experiencing different places and communities across Europe and beyond (Dragos Lumpan's The Last Transhumance, 2017) or to explore religious beliefs and the magic of wandering through the territory in the company of animals (Bartabas' Ex Anima, 2018 or Théâtre du Centaure's TransHumance, 2013).

Transhumance is transforming in a very fascinating and significant theme to be narrated in a powerful and kaleidoscopic topic for media, in a suasive argument for digital platforms and virtual galleries because of its evocative power of the symbolic reference to mobility and the experience of knowing. This is due to the slow crossing of the spaces of

the direct encounter with the animal and the nature that is the furthest from the daily experience of the urban and sedentary user of digital platforms or mass media (Bindi 2017; in press).

Parish maps, eco-museums, heritage communities and online participation

Thirdly, an important example of the interaction between heritage safeguard and media/digital technologies is surely represented in the very articulated context of the maps of locality and participation processes.

The community-based process collects and implements cultural maps of the locality through a constant interaction between heritage keepers/ local users and experts, scholars, policy-makers, web designers engaged in the realisation of an

efficient and fully significant and participated tool. People can regularly participate to the definition of the map of interest points in the locality as well as to the implementation of the archives of memories and documentation for eco-museums. These tools are supposed to be able to give back to community their knowledge and practices being in the same time suasive and interesting towards the visitors and tourists. Apps, virtual galleries and 3D implementation of digital tourist platforms for visiting places or anticipating the experience of the travel are growing and multiplying, giving the possibility of an hyper-realistic simulation of the reality (Debord 1967; Baudrillard 1983), which raises questions about commodification and transformation of the cultural assets in marketable and mediatized objects as well as in tourist destinations.

At the same time the Net and digital platforms allow the co-production and management of

community archives, the realisation of participated inventories (Ballacchino 2016; Broccolini 2016) of the heritage communities widening the democratic engagement, activism in conservation and valorisation of landscapes and tangible and intangible cultural goods.

Eco-museums and maps of community are projecting outwards, they open to communities and to their greater engagement in the management of cultural heritage despite experts and policy-makers' intervention; they open to recollection and storytelling ensuring a pluralist approach to places and practices, to past and present, helping the construction of fully participated archives. This process is not exempt from ambivalence and criticality; it is obvious; nor completely free from constrictions and forms of cultural hegemony. The Net makes a selection of contents. It gives a standardized framework and a dissemination mood to the contents. The system of tags and banners, the

activity of profiling evidently are strongly affecting the mise en forme of cultural heritage.

In any case, maps, archives and videos of festive and ceremonial practices posted on the web allow us to cross the living community at work. In addition, engage us in effort to tell and take shape, negotiating with the technicalities and the proactive powers of new media its image and history in the digital public sphere, halfway between the agora and the market. In this sense, I think to digitize platforms and repositories as a fieldwork for a brand new type of ethnography, an ethnography of digital fieldworks in heritagizing processes.

Global Frameworks, Heritage Regimes, and the Diasporas

The digitalization has becoming pivotal even as

an institutional image of the cultural heritage. Local, regional, national and supra-national institutions are regularly enhancing and implementing a huge amount of archives and repositories about their own cultural heritage, defining, cutting and shaping a punctual idea of tangible and intangible cultural heritage, which they share and aim at communicating. Regina Bendix and the group of research that in Colonia is working on cultural heritage ownership and recognition are speaking about this 'heritage regimes' (2012), thinking to legal, political and cultural frameworks in which it is possible to figure out the dissemination and mise en forme of a local, regional, national identity which is evidently ambivalent and anthropologically challenging. Moreover, it is interesting in terms of contamination with the constraints and the aesthetic codes of ICT reshaping.

Meanwhile, this 'digital turn' in heritagization processes has to deal with educative platforms

and ambitions, with expectations about the educative value of cultural heritage in enhancing the awareness about local, regional and national identity processes.

This happens, for example, in the Italian network DiCultHer, an educational cluster based in Italy on ICT for enhancing cultural heritage ownership and safeguard among students and teachers. I'm a referent of this network in Italy and I think this can represent a good practice in disseminating a more friendly, inclusive and participatory approach for young people to tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

Digital cultural heritage can also help in negotiating and facilitating dialogue among cultures and ethnic groups in the framework of the common interest in safeguarding and valorising cultural heritage and their relationship to digital networks.

Particularly, we can make some considerations upon migrant ceremonials and celebrations, which are deeply mediatized, and heritagized in order to shape a sort of digital homeland through which people give substance and form cultural and territorial belonging.

Some rituals from particular heritage bearers are considered by the community as a very specific and characterizing element of the locality and defended by the citizens in a very assertive way.

Photographs and audio-visual documentation of ceremonials are growing inexorably in last decades. There are passionate collectors and lovers of vintage photographs that scan archives collecting a huge amount of documents of the feast as well as of ancient documentaries of the 30s uploading these data on public channels and forums, on virtual galleries, individual blogs and profiles. Analogously, photos have been pivotal in maintaining memories

and sense of belonging to a particular place, nation and embedded identity.

Videos and photo archives are very well known at a local scale, shows how much media and particularly new media are continuously mixed and hybridized with traditional contents, re-signified through different shapes of local communication, consciously re-codified according to languages and styles of the cinematographic mainstream. The local and traditional communities re-use and contaminate images and new expressive moods; through them people give sense and value to what represents their own heritage, defining and, somehow, packaging it. Media and digital networks become the place for a transformation of local experience, the space for collective storytelling, for advancing in the processes of identification, for rooting shared memories.

Many local communities use the Web for making

available – for example through the streaming online - their festivals, ritual practices and important events to their migrant communities. It is an increasing phenomenon showing how much digitization of heritage data and representations is becoming one of the most important elements of the "long distance nationalism (or regionalism/ localism)" (Urry 1995 ,1990), of the imaginary of landscape, of the building of a tourist destination as a form of places consumption in a diasporic world. Just think of the intensive use of media and digital social platforms for the circulation of images and meanings between the different Campania or Molise communities, with particular reference to the shaping and publicizing of their festive systems: Gigli di Nola in Williamsburg, New York (Ballacchino 2015), for example, or Misteri del Corpus Domini in Mar Del Plata, Argentina (Bindi 2009).

The question, finally, is how to profit of this huge amount of images, videos, and storytelling,

documents that are conserved and shown in website, blogs, and social networks profiles. This is going to become a real new fieldwork to study and interpreting: the digital cultural heritage and its significances, expectations, functions in the contemporaneous transformations of local and traditional cultures.

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Folklore in Interactive Entertainment: How Video Games Adapt Traditional Conten

الفن الشعبي في الترفيه التفاعلي: كيف تتكيف ألعاب الكمبيوتر مع المحتوى التقليدي

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Folklore in Interactive Entertainment: How Video Games Adapt Traditional Content

The purpose of this paper is to present the ways of modern interactive entertainment – mainly video games – adapts traditional folklore texts, what forms they take and what functions they play in the new cultural context. Are they only "monuments of folklore" which were transferred from books and folklore archives to popular culture? Alternatively, perhaps, are they a mere "reflection" of folklore, a mirror image (possibly a bit distorted) in which traditional heritage is contorted and commercialized? While discussing the above questions, I will focus mainly on RPGs (role-playing games) – games where players control characters living in fictitious worlds. The storyline in such games is usually well-planned and non-linear and often divided into several smaller parts (sometimes called chapters). Players can often create their own character and determine its abilities (stats) and looks. By progressing in the game, these abilities can be developed. Players also control the movement of their character and they can complete various quests. All these features, that is the extensive, non-linear storyline and interactive design – have significant impact on how the elements of folklore are adapted to the needs of digital entertainment.

I consider RPGs to be contemporary works of culture which have their own poetics and which are subject to certain social rules and conditions. My aim is to examine how game developers (including graphic designers and writers) take folklore content and adapt it in their creations which, in turn, become an element of today's culture and, as such, provide an important commentary on the present day. For this purpose, I will use the example of two games. "The Witcher" is a series of three games released by

CD Projekt Red in years 2011 ,2007 and 2015, while "Never Alone" is a game by an American developer, Upper One Games, released by E-Line Media in 2014. These games are completely different, but they both exploit folklore by adapting it in their own, unique ways. In their storylines, these games rely on a theme, which is present in fairy tales from all over the world, that is the conflict between good and evil.

"The Witcher" is a role-playing game for adult players (over the age of 18) as it contains violence, sex and profanities. The game takes place in a world created by Polish fantasy writer, Andrzej Sapkowski, who was directly inspired by folklore in his work. For this reason, the Witcher games are full of folk themes and symbols and there are characters known from folk beliefs. The main protagonist – controlled by the player – is Geralt of Rivia, a witcher. Witchers are monster slayers for hire with superhuman abilities. Geralt faces

demonic creatures known from the Slavic folktales (noon wraiths [południce], drowners [utopce] and vampires) – he sometimes fights them with a sword, sometimes with a word. Not all players realize that these creatures originate from folktales. However, there are also players whose knowledge about the creatures appearing in the game is impressive. On the game fan, sites there are numerous discussions in which fans exchange their knowledge about the origin of certain creatures, characters and themes. On such fan sites, one can also find a "bestiary" where all the creatures: their physical appearance, behaviour and origin are described[2].

When developing the creatures, the game creators followed descriptions found both in Andrzej Sapkowski's books and in folktales. Information found in folktales – about the appearance, characteristics and behaviour of the creatures toward humans

[2] See: http://witcher.wikia.com/wiki/Category:The_Witcher_bestiary

– is rather general and often inconsistent, which allowed the game creators to use their imagination when deciding on certain details. For example, a drowner (utopiec[3]) is a water demon, well-known in the Slavic folklore, who is a threat to humans because it tries to drown them in rivers, lakes and other bodies of water. Most often, drowners take the form of short but strong men with greenish (water-like) skin, hunchbacks, long hair and webbed hands and feet. They live under water and near water (bridges, dikes, swamps). They are active during the night, especially around midnight, and sometimes at midday (the so-called boundary time). According to folk beliefs, drowners are demons of people who committed suicide, dead children born outside wedlock and people who were drowned in the depths of the water[4]. Legends about drowners

[3] See: http://witcher.wikia.com/wiki/Drowner [3.09.2018].

[4] See:http://bajka.umk.pl/slownik/lista-hasel/haslo/?id=179 [3.09.2018]; Utopiec w śląskiej tradycji [Drowner in the Silesian tradition], ed. Julia Broda, Skoczów 2006.

come in many versions[5] (Krzyżanowski, 1947) but they all describe sneaky ways used by these creatures to lure humans near the water. They can, for example, transform themselves into a beautiful fish, come close to a victim and, by pretending to be an easy catch, drag the victim deeper and deeper into the water. No legend, however, mentions anything about these creatures being a race which fights humans – rather than warriors they are merely devious monsters that rely on trickery and not on weapons. In the game it is different – the main hero fights groups of drowners with his sword near swamps, rivers and underwater. This element of the game finds no parallel in folk tales and is alien to the folk tradition. It was introduced solely for the

[5] These Polish legends were collected and classified among Polish folktales by Julian Krzyżanowski (PBL) under entry no. T 4060 titled "Topielec". See: J. Krzyżanowski, „Polska bajka ludowa w układzie systematycznym" [A Systematic Classification of Polish Folk Tale], Julian Krzyżanowski, Warszawa 1947 (recenzja), „Literary Studies in Poland" 8/1981, 133-153: http://bazhum.muzhp.pl/media//files/Literary_Studies_in_Poland/Literary_Studies_in_Poland-r1981-t8/Literary_Studies_in_Poland-r1981-t8-s133-153/Literary_Studies_in_Poland-r1981-t8-s133-153.pdf [3.09.2018].

gameplay purposes.

How folklore content is adjusted to serve the modern media in the form of a video game (through Andrzej Sapkowski's stories), can be seen in the construction of a fairytale theme, which is known in the folklores of many cultures. This theme is classified under different titles in various catalogues classifying fairytales: in the encyclopedia of fairytale themes by Bolte and Polivka, it can be found under entry no. BP219 as "The princess in a coffin and the guard"[6]. In the Aarne-Thompson international classification system of fairytale themes, it is found in the category of magic tales under entry AT307 as "The princess in the shroud"[7]. In the Polish classification system of folktales by Julian Krzyżanowski, it is under entry PBL307 as "Księżniczka strzyga" (princess striga)[8]. This theme can be summarized as follows: childless parents (usually a king and a queen) want a child, even if it were to be a monster. Finally, a daughter is born. However, she is a monster – a striga, and not long after being born, she dies. Soldiers, whom she murders during the night, guard her grave. However, there is a young soldier, who manages to escape slaughter by following the advice of an old man – he hides in the striga's coffin after she leaves it at midnight to devour other guards. Striga cannot go back into the coffin before dawn, because it is occupied by the young soldier who will not leave it. The first rays of the sun lift the spell from the princess and she transforms back into a woman.

This theme is introduced in the first Witcher game, in chapter V. The quest is named "Her

[6] Bolte-Polivka Tale Type Index. Bolte and Polívka's 5 volume notes to Grimm's Household tales — comprehensive for folktales of European, Near Eastern, and Indic tradition; BP 219 Die Prinzessin im Sarge und die Schildwache.

[7] Aarne-Thompson Folktale Types and Motif Index; Tales of Magic 300-745; AT 307 The Princess in the Shroud.

[8] Julian Krzyżanowski, Polska bajka ludowa w układzie systematycznym [A Systematic Classification of Polish Folk Tale], Warszawa 1947; PBL 307 Królewna Strzyga.

Highness the Striga" and it is about lifting the curse from the king's daughter which had been turned into a monster. Geralt has to survive the whole night – from dusk until dawn – with the striga and lift the curse by exposing the cursed princess to the sunshine[9]. In the game, players can decide about the princess' fate. They can fight the striga and kill her in a fierce battle or they can try to lift the curse by playing hide and seek with her until dawn when she will finally regain the human form. In the folktale, the fight between the cursed princess and the young soldier never takes place. They do not even encounter each other prior to transformation. In the folktale, the soldier, by following advice of an old man outsmarts the striga, hides in her coffin and stays inside until dawn.

Why, then, did the game developers decide that motifs of Witcher fighting with the demons (drowners, striga and other monsters), described

[9] See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZcsNE6wCHI

in Andrzej Sapkowski's stories, should be such an important element of the game? Why – contrary to traditional folklore notions – do game developers put up drowners and princess striga against the main character, having them fight a death duel? The analysis of an intertextual project, which "The Witcher" video game undoubtedly is, requires a direct reference to the poetics of the game itself, which after all is conditioned by the digital form of communication, the specificity of communication of interactive media and the diversity of its functions. The main feature of video games, differentiating them from other contemporary culture texts, is the way in which they are received, or rather – used, since they are interactive. While traditional folktales allowed people to add new elements to the narrative or more details regarding e.g. the location of the story according to the cultural langue, in video games it is necessary for the player to take concrete, physical actions. What is meant here is that the action and the course of the game is decided by

significant manipulations on the part of the player by means of controllers. This means that when playing a game, players must interact with its environment by performing certain actions and choosing one of the available options – thus, players have causative power to shape the game content" (Kubiński, :2016 31). That is why folklore characters or even whole folktales are adapted to the specific poetics of the interactive text. The ability to control the fate of the avatar is an extremely important element of RPGs and much desired by players. The commercial success of the game is, after all, determined by its playerbase, which directly affects the revenues of the producers. The "language" (form) of the game depends on the cognitive, aesthetic and ludic habits prevailing among the players, as well as the needs and preferences that define its "conceptualizing grammar" (Kajfosz, 2013). Preventive censorship manifests itself in reviews and comments posted on game forums or comments to videos showing the gameplay (sometimes called "Let's play..."). Thanks

to this, players can influence the text (game) and the subsequent productions make up the pattern of RPGs, which over time become the canon.

As Jan Kajfosz observed: "A text which under certain conditions can withstand the test of preventive censorship formed by earlier texts, can replicate itself in various forms, thus achieving the rank of a system, a textual langue" (Kajfosz, :2011 53). Adaptation of folktales must therefore consider the langue of RPGs, so that they can be commercially viable and meet the expectations of players. Since the basic feature of this form of entertainment is interactivity, the plot must be constructed in such a way that it complies with this form of communication. Players should directly confront the opponents and have an impact on the fate of the avatar.

Another determinant of the textual langue of the game are the player's attempts to successfully complete the quests. Games, which save players'

progress, offer them unlimited number of tries (Kubiński, 147-140 :2016). Let us assume that a player failed to overcome a certain challenge in the game and his character dies or becomes heavily wounded. It does not mean that the game is over. The gameplay can be restarted from a previously saved (either manually – by the player, or automatically – by the game) point (checkpoint) and the player can now come better prepared for the battle by e.g. consuming some magical potions or upgrading the equipment prior to the battle. According to Piotr Kubiński, in video games "an attempt is not an act of interpretation, but rather an integral narrative formation mechanism". What is particularly important here, the player is free to choose the outcome he likes best, and continue the game as if the other outcomes never happened" (Kubiński, 143 :2016). From the point of view of the plot, taking numerous attempts does not make sense. How can you justify a hero's preparing for a fight which he does not know about. However, it is the player who

decides that the previous failed attempt(s) will have no effect and the fight will be repeated. Moreover, it is the player, who remembers the previous fight(s) and knows exactly how to prepare better for a rematch. Piotr Kubiński dubs this kind of relation between the variants that interact with each other a palimpsest attempt (Kubiński, 145 :2016). Researchers in folklore are familiar with the concept of putting the protagonist to trial. Having three tries is permanently inscribed in the morphology of magical fairy tales. Vladimir Propp presented this function as one of the constituent elements of the genre (Propp, 1976). The hero subjected to a trial is aware of its consequences and, having more experience from previous attempts, tries his luck again. It is expected that the third attempt will be successful because such is the langue of the folktale. "Immersion" in a story governed by certain rules – be it a fairytale or a video game – constitutes a textual langue and determines certain expectations. A particular execution – a tale or a

game – is just one of possible variants (parole).

Another video game, which I want to use as an illustration of how folklore content is adapted for interactive entertainment is "Never Alone" (2014). The game developers created this game in partnership with members of the Alaskan indigenous community (with the help of a non-profit organization – Cook Inlet Tribal Council – which supports the indigenous people in the urbanized areas of Alaska). This is a game for all generations of players. Apart from entertainment, there is also an educational part to it, as it depicts the cultural heritage of the Innuit[10].

Players control a character of a young girl who goes on a dangerous mission to save her own people by preventing an eternal snow blizzard from coming. While wandering through snow-covered lands, the girl is accompanied by a white fox (players

[10] See: http://neveralonegame.com/game/

can switch between these two characters: the girl and the fox). During the gameplay, the characters meet many creatures known from Inuit beliefs, some of which are good and some of which are evil. The narrative is in Inupiaq language (only the subtitles are in English) and one of the elder members of the Inuit community is the narrator. This is supposed to give the impression of a traditional story being told directly to the listener. The game starts with the words: "I will tell you a very old story. I heard it from Nasruk when I was very young. It is about a girl who lived with her family in a place far away from here..." This formula introduces the game as a folktale would introduce a story. Initially, the graphics of the game visualizing the words of the storyteller are modelled on the traditional decorative technique called scrimshaw (engravings done on animal bones and fangs). Among the Inuit, scrimshaw was one of the ways of passing on the tradition: the artists portrayed narrative stories such as caribou huntings or battles fought by members of the tribe. According to Inuit

tribespeople, "reading scrimshaw is like reading a book." Introducing traditional narrative techniques to interactive media is one of the ways of adapting folklore content by video games. Researchers of media poetics, including Lev Manovich (2006), Ewa Szczęsna (2007) and Piotr Kubiński (2016), point to the fact that the new media (including video games) have no problems with adapting "analogue content" to digital purposes. As Lev Manovich observes: "a new computer culture has emerged – it is a mixture of human and computer meanings; a mixture of traditional ways of modelling the world through the humanistic culture and representing this world by means that are proper to computers" (Manovich, 116 :2006).

Researchers Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin talk about "remediation" as one of the mechanisms typical of the new computer culture. Remediation is the representation of one medium by means of another; it involves replacing one medium, which

at one time was the dominant one, by another, newer medium (Bolter, Grusin, 16 :2000). The remediation process in a video game follows the logic of the so-called transparency (immediacy), and, therefore, the adaptation of a text is to be invisible to players, revealing the represented reality to them as faithfully as possible within its means. This is because one of the basic features of a good video game is its power to lure the players into the virtual world, capture their thoughts and emotions and focus them on this virtual world – the player is "moved" to another place (the so-called immersion) (Kubiński, 54-53 :2016). The pursuit of deep immersion in an imaginary reality while simultaneously forgetting about the real world is one of the most important communicative and aesthetic determinants not only for video games, but also for folklore. In the case of traditional forms of communication it happens thanks to imagination – it is an intellectual process. In video games, on the other hand, it involves interactivity – it happens

through players' actions (making decisions and using the controller accordingly).

After reaching a certain stage of the game, "Never Alone" gives players' access to Cultural Insights. These are short video films in which the representatives of the Inuit people talk about their culture, values, beliefs and their relationship with nature. There are 24 films in the game that show the close ties between the Inuit people and the nature, their everyday work, clothing, hunting methods, music, imagination and other things. It would seem that this addition to the interactive game could cause the effect of "emersion", or disillusion, leading to the "emergence" from the virtual world. Nothing could be further from the truth. As it turns out, the videos authenticate the narrative, they constitute a bridge between fiction and reality and de facto "draw the players into the depth" of illusion. They also constitute an obligatory element of the game construction, which aims to give players a break

every now and then because, after all, playing can also be exhausting.

The dialogue between art and tradition has always been present in culture and has a particularly high status in contemporary art. Researchers in the new media see that "video games are not on the periphery, but in the centre of modern culture" (Kubiński, 21 :2016). This is due to their huge popularity and the wide scale of the medium's impact. It draws on existing cultural forms and genres, including folklore, but at the same time generates new discourses. As Piotr Kowalski said, "The same fragments (mostly of fictional nature) arranged in different configurations, differently contextualised, result in new stories, new worlds that can be discovered and perceived in different ways, depending on the competence, choice and effort of the audience." The text may be open to multiple interpretations on principle; it is a matter of its poetics, but also of the intellectual capabilities

(reading competence) of its audience (Kowalski, 44 :2007). In modern culture, the presence of elements of different cultural traditions can be treated as palimpsesticity –persistent attachment to the values and meanings. Thus – historical and cultural contexts in which a given text, motif, image, etc. was intricately weaved with, and the search for such values and meanings that will appear in new usages and contexts of these narratives" (Kowalski, 45 :2007). This is extremely valuable in the context of how the mass media operate and the dominance of popular culture. It is worth to remember, however, that "turning towards tradition, reaching to the roots as a way of building a narrative, and thus generating senses, can evoke various emotions among experts (...)" (Kowalski, 53 :2007), from admiration and acceptance to disapproval.

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Strategies for Cultural Preservation
"Offline" and "Online"

الإنترنت والانتشار الثقافي

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Strategies for Cultural Preservation "Offline" and "Online"

Regardless of whether the Internet is perceived as a threat to traditional cultures or a form of intercultural dialogue, it is a means of communication with an enormous impact on the cultural processes in the modern societies[11]. Regional and international programs for cultural preservation today co-exist with those focusing on dynamics of cultural habitats and both rely on the Internet for communicating ideas, strategies and/or best practices.

This article will offer a comparison between traditional forms of reproducing folk cultures and the ones facilitated by the Internet as relevant to both "old" and "new" communities in New Jersey, USA. More specifically, the article will reflect on the use of the Internet for preserving folk cultures as well as modifying cultural elements when (re) defining "cultural roots" and "cultural uniqueness". My special focus will be on the Internet 'search for' or 'presentation of' "cultural uniqueness" when traditional forms of cultural transmission have been disrupted or when ethnic cultures have become associated with minority groups in the multi-cultural context of the American society. The last part of the paper will present a discussion on the various forms of cultural diffusion and online presentation/sharing of "our" culture.

The examples used in this article are based on a field research conducted primarily in the southern part of New Jersey, but also in neighboring states for comparison.

[11] Brügger, N. & Bodker, H. (eds.), 2002.The Internet and Society, Papers from the Centre for Internet Research, Aarhus, Denmark; Cardoso, G. Cheong, A. and Cole, J. 2009. Introduction – In: Gustavo Cardoso, Angus Cheong and Jeffrey Cole (eds.). World Wide Internet: Changing Societies, Economies and Cultures, University of Macau Press.

Ethnic Groups in New Jersey and the Surrounding Areas: Overview

Nowadays there are more than two hundred and twenty ethnic groups in New Jersey and the surrounding areas. The area was among the first ones to be populated by European immigrants beginning in the 17th century, whose relationships with the local Native American tribes changed over time from friendly trade treaties to genocidal acts, such as the one from 1830,[12] forcing them all to move to what was then called Indian Territory[13]. The first European immigrants were mostly English and Welsh Quakers, Swedish Lutherans, German Mennonites, Amish (also known as Pennsylvania German or Pennsylvania Dutch)[14] Anabaptists and other German and Scots-Irish Protestants.

[12] Indian Removal Act, 1830

[13] Indian Territory is in the present state of Oklahoma

[14] Gibbons, P. 2001. Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays. Stackpole Books; Yoder, D. 2001. Discovering American Folklife: Essays on Folk Culture and the Pennsylvania Dutch. Stackpole Books

The number of immigrants increased relatively steady in the following decades but the really mass migration began around 1850 and continued until 1924, when the National Origins Act was passed limiting significantly the number of immigrants per nation of origin. In this period, most of the immigrants arrived from Italy, Ireland, Eastern and Central Europe. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 allowed for a new mass migration of people - this time from the refugee camps in Europe. At that time many Germans, Italians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Russians, Jews, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Polish and others settled in the region.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 ended the National Origins Formula and not only allowed for unrestricted entry of family and relatives of U.S. citizens, but also opened new possibilities for immigration from Asia, South America and Africa. New groups of immigrants arrived from Vietnam, Puerto Rico, El Salvador, The Philippines, Jamaica,

and other south-American and Asian countries. Another reform in the immigration law[15] marked the beginning of the mass migration from Mexico. Since the beginning of the 1990s till nowadays there is an increased immigration from the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, China, India, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, and other Asian and African countries.

I have chosen to discuss here the practices of several ethnic groups in New Jersey and the surrounding areas that would represent the indigenous tribal people (Nanticoke and Lenni Lenape Native Americans), the early settlers (Swedish, Finnish and German), and the old immigrants (Italian, Greek and Ukrainian) and the new immigrants (Bulgarian, Asian Indian and Puerto Rican).

[15] The Immigration Reform and Control Act, 1986

The "Virtual" as an Extension to the "Real"

Most researchers, who study the impact of the Internet on human cultures, tend to distinguish between "real" and "online (virtual) communities emphasizing the global aspects of the online communication. It is true that the Internet has offered new communicative practices and has influenced some of the personal social interactions. It is also true that the Internet is used as a platform for introducing new forms of verbal folklore, while reproducing traditional narratives, such as tales, songs, jokes, legends, etc.[16]. Many organizations also use Internet as a means of preserving knowledge

[16] Blank, Trevor J., (ed.) 2009. Folklore and the Internet: Vernacular Expression in a Digital World. Logan: Utah State University Press; Blank, Trevor J., (ed.) 2012. Folk Culture in the Digital Age: The Emergent Dynamics of Human Interaction. Logan, UT: Utah State University Press; Blank, Trevor J. 2018. Folklore and the Internet: The Challenge of an Ephemeral Landscape. – In: Humanities 2018, 7, 50, pp1 -8; Kinsella, M. 2011. Legend -Tripping Online: Supernatural Folklore and the Search for Ong's Hat. Jackson: University Press of Mississi; Keegan-Phipps, S. and Miller, Jo. 2017. DIGITAL FOLK: A report on digital technologies and practices among folk arts practitioners in England, , University of Sheffield; Krawczyk-Wasilewska, V. 2016. Folklore in the Digital Age: Collected Essays, Łódź University Press & Jagiellonian University Press.

of traditional cultures. A great number of archives containing records of traditional music, photos and stories have been digitized and stored online, thus making them more accessible to a wider range of readers.

What is more interesting to me, however, is how the "real" communities establish their presence on the Internet and how they use it as a tool for preserving and transmitting traits of their own cultures. On the Internet, such communities become "virtual" ones, but only as a mirror or an extension of the "real" ones[17]. The online communication in this case augments the face-to-face interaction without replacing it and becomes yet another strategy for cultural preservation. It is especially

[17] See Parés Burguès, Roc, 2010 – Discussion on platforms for the dissemination of culture that allow users to access information and content. All of these platforms are based on audio-visual technologies that effectively audio-visualize art, science, knowledge, society and the distinction between virtual reality, augmented reality and mixed reality. - In: Seminars on Cultural Diffusion, Participation and the New Technologies, Nov 5, 2010, Barcelona.

true for the cultural communities in the US where they co-exist with many others and are more aware of their cultural differences. Their desire to maintain what is perceived as "our cultural uniqueness" shapes the way, in which they present themselves online and initiate communications both within the community and with "others". I would like to examine how communities themselves use internet communication and "virtual" space as part of their cultural preservation strategies in "real" time and "real" space.

Cultural Transmission "offline" and "online"

The major phases of the cultural process[18] include enculturation, sharing, and transmission. Enculturation is the process of learning one's culture while growing up in it, which is later on shared with other members of the same cultural

[18] Lenkeit, R. E., 2012. Introducing Cultural Anthropology, 5th edition. McGraw Hill Publisher,, pp 30-35

community and transmitted to the next generations of the same cultural community.[19] The cultural components[20], including knowledge, ideas, belief, values, behaviors and materials creation, are not frozen entities but they change and adapt to various environments in different times. Components of culture could be borrowed and shared with other cultures and, in any given time, we can observe residual cultural traits referring to the past. The most effective ones dominate the present while the emerging ones indicate future change. The cultural process ensures the reproduction of cultures even when certain cultural components change over time.[21]

[19] See also: Swartz, M. Cultural Sharing and Cultural Theory: Some Findings of a Five-Society Study. - In: American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 84, No. 2 (Jun., 1982), pp. 314-338; Tindall, B. Theory in the Study of Cultural Transmission - In: Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 5 (1976), pp. 195-208

[20] Lenkeit, R. E., 2012, pp 28-29

[21] See also, Durham, W. Advances in Evolutionary Culture Theory - In: Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 19 (1990), pp. 187-210; Durham, W. Applications of Evolutionary Culture Theory - In: Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 21 (1992), pp. 331-355; Appadurai, A., 1996. Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization, Univ. of Minnesota Press

Folk culture as a type of human culture bears the same general characteristics of its cultural process but, for its transmission, utilizes mainly the mechanism of tradition. Folk culture and tradition have also been defined in various ways[22]. It is significant here to note that tradition is also interpreted

[22] Folklore is the traditional art, literature, knowledge, and practice that is disseminated largely through oral communication and behavioral example. Every group with a sense of its own identity shares, as a central part of that identity, folk traditions–the things that people traditionally believe (planting practices, family traditions, and other elements of worldview), do (dance, make music, sew clothing), know (how to build an irrigation dam, how to nurse an ailment, how to prepare barbecue), make (architecture, art, craft), and say (personal experience stories, riddles, song lyrics). As these examples indicate, in most instances there is no hard-and-fast separation of these categories, whether in everyday life or in folklorists' work. The word "folklore" names an enormous and deeply significant dimension of culture. Considering how large and complex this subject is, it is no wonder that folklorists define and describe folklore in so many different ways. Try asking dance historians for a definition of "dance," for instance, or anthropologists for a definition of "culture." No one definition will suffice–nor should it. (American Folklore Society) http://www.afsnet.org/?page=WhatIsFolklore, Accessed on August 10, 2017; See also, Bauman, Richard. 2001. The Anthropology of Tradition - In: International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, ed. Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Bates. 26 vols. pp. 15819-15824. Amsterdam: Elsevier.; Ben-Amos, Dan. 1984. The Seven Strands of Tradition: Varieties and Its Meaning in American Folklore Studies. In: Journal of Folklore Research 21(2/3):97-131.; Bronner, Simon J. 1992. Introduction. In Tradition and Creativity in Folklore: New Directions, ed. Simon J. Bronner. Pp. 1-38. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press. Oring, E. 2011. Thinking through Tradition - Paper presented at the American Folklore Society Annual Meeting, 2011

as both product and process.[23] "The word 'tradition' comes from the Latin roots trans + dare; literally 'to give across', that is, to hand over, deliver, or transfer. Thus, tradition involves the notion of transferring or transmitting and has been applied to the act of handing over or handing down as well as to those objects that are handed over or handed down. Consequently, tradition refers to both processes and products."[24] The transmission of folk culture is often perceived by its bearers as equal to preserving "our unique cultural heritage".

Folk culture, being transmitted through the means of tradition, relies on the use of observation, imitation and verbal communication and this is what I call here "cultural transmission offline". Now the question is whether we can identify new forms of cultural transmission that are facilitated by the Internet – websites, blogs, discussion forums, social

[23] Oring, E. 2011...

[24] Ibid.

media platforms and others[25] and compare "the online" methods for cultural transmission with the "offline" ones in the context of the communities' strategies for culture preservation.

Preserving of Folk Cultures "Offline" and "Online"

All ethnicities in the US are in a position of minority groups and their folk cultures are constantly defined and re-defined in their complex relationships with the dominant culture of the American society[26]. Dominant-minority relations are shaped by significant historical, social, cultural, political and economical forces and change as the broad characteristics of society change over time. Their

[25] In many cases, it is the vernacular culture that spreads through Internet and many studies have discussed this phenomenon but the focus of this article is on the use of the Internet for preserving folk and traditional cultures.

[26] The dominant culture within the U.S. is usually defined as English-speaking, of Western European ancestry, and Protestant Christian faith - Healey, J. 1995. Race, Ethnicity, Gender and Class: The Sociology of Group Conflict and Change. Pine Forge Press

forms today are the legacy of the contact situation that created the minority groups, determined their status and formed their perceptions by the dominant culture.

It is also important to note that the ethnic groups are not monolithic entities and their internal diversity contributes to the formation of the groups' relationships with the dominant one. The diversity within the ethnic groups could be based on the time of immigration, age, education, professional expertise, gender, region of origin, region of residence, social networks, political ideology, etc. The indigenous people of the continent (Native American tribes) are also considered minority ethnic groups and their cultural preservation is left to their members' capability to identify ways of transmitting cultural components to the next generations.

The ethnic groups in the country have developed various strategies for cultural preservation in the

dynamic context of the US multi-cultural landscape that resulted in combining both traditional and non-traditional forms of cultural transmission.

a. Cultural preservation strategies "offline"

Both the Native American and the immigrant-based ethnic groups share a desire for retaining their cultural heritage and passing it on to their children and grandchildren. In broader terms, the "offline" strategies for cultural preservation, including adaptation, could be described in two main categories: a. informal (traditional) and b. formal (non-traditional) ones.

The informal strategies include knowledge and practices within the family, interactions with friends from the same community, including gatherings around traditional holidays with music and dance, ceremonial activates that require creating of ritual craft objects, and cultural trips back to the home country. Individual and family experiences play a

pivotal role as to how people understand cultural heritage and what part of it they want to maintain and pass on to their children.

The formal strategies for cultural preservation include the involvement of churches, schools, cultural organizations, clubs, museums and galleries. The formal strategies also imply partnerships with various culture-based agencies based in the home country or in the U.S. as well as other cultural institutions, which have an expressed interest in specific ethnic traditions. For the Native American tribes it involves intensive communication with sister-tribes located in various places or other Native tribes, who share similar cultural traits.

b. Cultural preservation strategies "online"

The "online" preservation strategies more often offer an extension of the formal / non-traditional ones, although in some cases they also reflect the informal strategies, especially when individual and family experiences are shared "online" with family and friends circles in private social media networks, e-mail exchange, chat rooms and person-to-person online video calls.

It is interesting to mention here the existence of online publications claiming that in some cases, the Internet helps saving traditions and cultures around the world[27] and even offering guidance to the communities as to how to preserve their own cultures[28].

The online activities of the tribal and ethnic groups that I have researched in the area often revolve around those of the culture-based organizations they created to serve the community members and to use for realizing the formal preservation strategies.

[27] How the Internet is Preserving Korea's Cultural Heritage, How%20The%20Internet%20Is%20Preserving%20Korea's%20Cultural%20Heritage.html; Modern Technology Helps Preserve Disappearing Art, Culture in China, ,Modern%20Technology%20Helps%20Preserve%20Disappearing%20Art,%20Culture%20in%20China.html

[28] How to Preserve Your Culture in 12 steps – Wiki How, How%20to%20Preserve%20Your%20Culture_%2012%20Steps.html, accessed on Sept 10, 2018

b.1. Websites, Online Museums and Galleries

These cultural organizations all have websites to present their mission or reason for existence and to explain their efforts for preservation of their cultural heritage in its various aspects – language, oral histories, folk music, dance, crafts or various rituals associated with family and community traditions. Here are examples of mission statements posted on websites:

Finnish-American Society of the Delaware Valley.

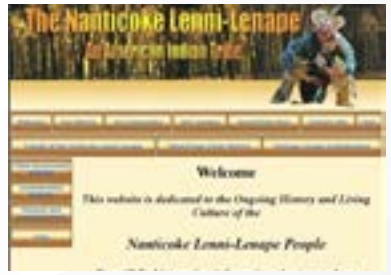
We are a link among Finns and friends of Finland from Philadelphia and its suburbs, southern New Jersey and Delaware. Our mission is to promote Finnish culture, customs, and traditions as well as the knowledge of Finland, its history and language. Our society brings together Finns of the Delaware Valley, Americans of Finnish ancestry and friends of Finland. To spread the "Suomi spirit", we organize functions and events for our membership - http://fasdv.org/

Bulgarian Cultural Center of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware

Our mission is to preserve, present and perpetuate the cultural heritage of the Bulgarian people and to educate audiences of all ages and ethnic backgrounds about Bulgarian culture, such as the Bulgarian language, history, customs, traditions, music, crafts and dance, through exhibitions, performances and other educational activities http://www.bulgarianculturalcenter.org/

The websites are also structured in a way that brings to focus the community history, cultural events, including images and videos, information about different traditions or community tasks.

They often publish their mission, vision, history, events calendar, special programs, etc. In the case



of the Lenape, there is a section about the history of the tribe and not only of the tribal organization because it was their history that has been denied to them through the public school system in the country and through academic publications in the past. The other ethnic groups emphasize more the spectrum of activities aimed at cultural preservation.

The online museums and galleries are sometimes a reflection of real ones but others exist only in the virtual space.

Their missions are also oriented towards preservation of cultural heritage. Here are some examples:

Nanticoke and Lenape Confederation Learning Center and Museum

"This Museum is dedicated to sharing the continuing tribal history and culture of the Delaware Bay" - - http://nanticoke-lenapemuseum.org/museum/

***"The Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center** at Kutztown University is an open-air folklife museum and research center dedicated to the preservation and promotion of Pennsylvania German heritage" - https://www.kutztown.edu/about-ku/administrative-offices/pennsylvania-german-cultural-heritage-center/about.htm.*

"The Ukrainian Museum is the largest museum in the U.S. committed to acquiring, preserving, exhibiting, and interpreting articles of artistic or historic significance to the rich cultural heritage of Ukrainians." - http://www.ukrainianmuseum.org/about.html

It is interesting to observe how dissemination of content on the websites is controlled by the choice of language. Sometimes it is meant to be shared with

other communities and sometimes, it is for internal (within the ethnic group) use only. In the second case, the content is in the native language of the ethnic group and it is not meant to be understood outside its membership. "The Immigrant's Suitcase: Virtual Museum of the Bulgarians in North America" provides such an example - https://immigrant.bg/.

All the stories and interpretative texts of images are in Bulgarian. The virtual museum was created as a forum of the Bulgarian community for sharing stories, images and videos depicting immigration experience and living traditions.

The online museums and galleries bridge members of the ethnic community, who are scattered

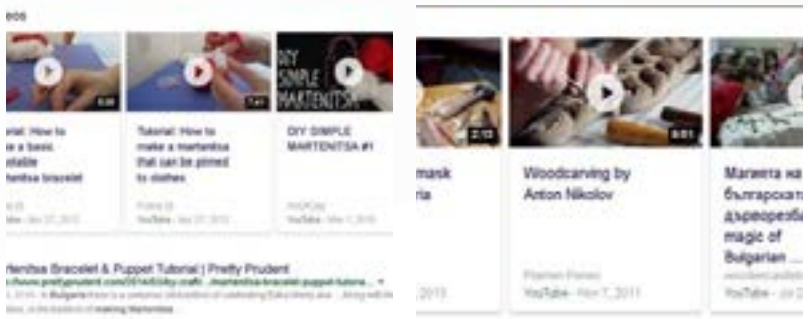
across vast spaces in the US and create a sense of belonging, shared culture and social practices. They help uniting people who reside in different states, while serving the collective memory of their ethnic culture and traditions.

b. 2. Online classes

Online activities often include online classes in language, traditional crafts, music (vocal and instrumental) and dance.

Language classes are organized for those who have lost their mother language but are aware of its role for preserving and transmitting cultural heritage. They are also provided as a part of the ethnic schools' curriculum and offered for children, who were born outside the home country or others, who have not enough language practice, especially with the written forms of the language.

Classes in crafts and dance are sometimes done as webinars, but more often, it is just through sharing videos on websites or youtube in a form of tutorials. Usually instructions are given verbally and demonstration is provided for viewers to follow. Sometimes the instructions are also given as a slide show or files containing pictures of the process. Here are some examples of tutorials:



Bulgarian Martenitsa Bulgarian Woodcarving German Bobbin Lace

Indian Mehendi Indian Rangoli Italian Palm Braiding

Native American Pine Needle Basket Native Americal Dream Catcher Puerto Rican Carnival Mask

Swedish Christmas Gnomes Ukrainian Easter Eggs Ukrainian Headdresses

These classes are provided in cases when there is a fear that a certain tradition will be lost if the people with knowledge and skills to maintain it have no enough followers. One of the practitioners shared with me his reasons: “I am working on a

series of videos, so that people can easily follow the process step by step. It is important to me that more people learn. Right now we have just a few people who know it (the craft – IP) and I want to make sure that it does not die out in time..."[29]

This type of classes in craft, music and dance are not meant to revive lost traditions but to maintain the living ones as part of the group's cultural heritage. The online tutorials are forms of sharing within the group and the acquired skills to be applied in reality afterwards. Very often, they are conducted in the native language of the ethnic group.

b. 3. Social Media

The social media plays a vital role in online cultural preservation strategies, especially Facebook, which gives more variety of options for publicizing events,

[29] Interview with L.S., man, 46 years old, high-school education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2016.

images, videos and for receiving instant feedback from the members of the community[30]. Most organizations have both websites and Facebook pages but in recent years, many of them rely more and more on Facebook.

[30] Guo-Ming Chen, 2012. The Impact of New Media on Intercultural Communication in Global Context – In: University of Rhode Island DigitalCommons@URI , pp1-9 - https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/com_facpubs/13/, accessed on Sept, 11, 2018
Havlicek, L. 2015. Influence of Social Networks on Communication and Culture – BA Thesis, Brno University of Technology; You, Q. Garcıa-Garcıa, D., Paluri, M. and Luo, J. 2017. Cultural Diffusion and Trends in Facebook Photographs - In: Proceedings of the Eleventh International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media (ICWSM) 2017); Park, M., Park, J., Young Min, B, and Macy, M. 2017. Cultural values and cross-cultural video consumption on YouTube. - https://journals.plos.org, accessed on Sept. 12, 2018; Java, A., Song, X., Finin, T. and Tseng, B. Why We Twitter: Understanding Micro-blogging Usage and Communities - https://ebiquity.umbc.edu/_file_directory_/papers/369.pdf, accessed on Sept 12, 2018;

The organizations that are created in the last few years sometimes choose to have Facebook only since it does not require the special expertise of web designers and web programmers and it could be easily maintained. The opportunity for quick response is also a key. All community members are potential "friends" on Facebook and can post information and images relevant to the effort of preserving traditions through information exchange and events. Facebook also facilitates sharing of

research, stories and experiences. Twitter and Instagram are also used but less and mostly to secure other forms of comments and opinions exchange.

When comparing the different online communications, it becomes clear that websites are more similar to the television, being agents of the one-to-many type of communication, while social media better represents the equality of the community members offering many-to-many communicative modes[31].

c. Combination of "off-line" and "on-line" preservation strategies

It is interesting to observe how cultural communities in the US combine "offline" and "online" communicative forms, thus diversifying

[31] See description of these modes of communication in Nimrod, G., Adoni, H., And Nossek, H. 2015. The Internet as a Cultural Forum: A European Perspective – In: International Journal of Communication 9 (2015), pp 321–341

their cultural preservation strategies in the modern societies. This combination can be observed at all stages of the cultural process – learning, sharing, and transmitting – learning from elderly people and online, sharing in face to face communication and on line, passing on knowledge and skills by personal example, verbally and online. This leads us to the conclusion that the Internet is used as an additional tool in the cultural reproductive process rather than as a replacement of the cultural transmission through the means of tradition. These combined strategies are often utilized based on a conscious choice with the goal of ensuring the continuous existence of "our" culture.

Reviving Folk Cultures "Offline" and "Online"

The online activities discussed in this section mirror communities' efforts to revive elements of their traditions in cases of disrupted cultural transmission. Usually some of the community members have knowledge of their existence in the past or in the home country and endeavor to re-adopt them again from community elders or other people of knowledge and skills. They can even organize the learning process in a class setting, where the instructor uses formal ways of education. Sometimes, however, such efforts reflect invention of traditions, which are soon after proclaimed to be a part of the groups' cultural heritage. In any case, revival of folk cultures implies learning of what was believed to be lost.

The online learning involves reading articles, books, Wikipedia publications but also participating in online discussion forums with other members of the ethnic group, posting newly discovered information on social media and on a variety of blogs.

Facebook is particularly suited for such discussions, since people can form online clubs

and friends' circles, where there is an instant dissemination of information, images and videos. Discussions in such virtual groups include culture history, traits and suggestions for re-introduction of cultural elements into the present-day ceremonial or everyday practices.

Youtube learning is also very popular. Very often members of a certain ethnic community learn about a cultural trait from events posted on Youtube in the home country. If they deem it compatible with their existing knowledge about their culture, they can learn it and offer it for exchange with other members of the same ethnic community. For instance, the Lenape folk artists look for augmenting their elders' knowledge online when they feel it is incomplete. – "Our elders know about the ribbon dress but they do not know all its varieties. I can find them online and make the dresses for our women"[32]. Other

[32] Interview with I.Y., woman, 51 years old, high-school education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2017.

examples would include the Ukrainians learning old weaving and embroidery techniques online or the Italians – Milanese bobbin lace making online. "It is all there (on the Internet – I.P.), you just google it and there is always someone to teach you"[33].

Similarly, with the online activities discussed in the previous section, knowledge and skills are acquired from the Internet, but applied in the real practice of the communities. After just a few years, people perceive the revived cultural traits as a part of a long lasting tradition and include them in the "offline" practices for cultural transmission. Again, they combine "offline" and "online" strategies for reviving and passing on traditions that are believed to be lost and recovered by all possible means, including the Internet.

[33] Interview with F.R., man, 57 years old, college education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2015.

Cultural Diffusion "Offline" and "Online"

The transformation of folk culture is an imminent result of the more general process of culture change and a way of adapting to different historical, political, social and environmental changes over time and across space. The cultural diffusion is the primary external source for culture change, the internal ones being associated with fluctuations, innovations and inventions[34].

Cultural diffusion is most commonly defined as the process of spatial exchange of ideas, products and cultural traits. In the past this exchange was a result of direct contact between two cultures – contact at territorial borders, trade (for example, the Silk Road), pilgrimage, migration, during wars, conquests and colonialism (the winner often attempted assimilation of the conquered culture), travel, religious missions (helped with

[34] Lenkeit, R. E., 2012

spread of religious ideas and philosophies), and others. With the development of the technology, mass media communication, transportation and tourism, diffusion of cultures became more global phenomenon and in the age of the Internet, there is no longer a need for direct contact between the cultures to cause diffusion. People can communicate online and participate in cultural exchange without even leaving their homes.

In the case of the US there are two popular metaphors describing the diffusion process, which leads to a full or segmented acculturation and assimilation – "the melting pot" or "the salad bowl", the second being used in cases where ethnic cultures were accepted and respected for their differences by the dominant culture.[35] The assimilation is more extreme form of cultural diffusion. It is either forceful (Native Americans, African Americans) or

[35] Assimilation is a process, in which formerly distinct and separate groups come to share a common culture and merge together socially.

voluntary (all immigrant groups). The assimilated groups are expected to adapt to the dominant Anglo American culture.

In the more recent years, with the trends for recognizing the pluralistic character of the American society, minority groups tend to preserve or revive their cultural identities and position themselves as unique in comparison with the "others". They are searching for diversity within the unity and for inclusiveness in the multi-cultural societal mosaic picture. So, they are trying to provide bilingual education for their children, to maintain their own belief systems, social practices, values, memories of history, including history of immigration, connections with homeland (if any), traditional art forms, rituals, etc. The groups often occupy different locations but have their own temples, clubs, or schools. In some cases, they establish their own neighborhoods, rely on a set of interconnected business within the group and form ethnic enclaves.

Studies suggest that values change more slowly, which is why even when using the Internet, individuals and communities accept cultural traits of "others" only if they conform to their value systems[36]. This leads to careful choices and a very selective adoption of elements that are being perceived as "ours" or "possibly ours" but lost in time. It is especially true about the Lenape culture, which was almost completely lost and only a limited knowledge about certain cultural components remained. The revival of the Lenape traditions lead people to sister-tribes and their elders but also to websites of tribal communities where the missing elements could be found re-adopted or adopted. One of the Lenape folk artists shared with me: "The dream catcher came to us from the Northern tribes. We also accepted it as ours because it is a Native

[36] Linkeit, R.E., 2012 "Studies suggest that values may not diffuse with the same rapidity as the spread of materials, technology, and ideas around the globe. For example: Eric Michaels study of the impact of Hollywood videos on the Warlpiri Aborigines of Australia"- Michaels, E. 1994. Bad Aboriginal Art: Tradition, Media, and Technological Horizons, University of Minnesota Press

tradition. Our elders know about it but there are many more patterns on the Internet I can find and useinmywork…"[37]

Within the groups, we can observe several forms of cultural diffusion, which have a variety of online expressions.

a. One of them present a mix of cultural traits associated with different regional versions of the folk culture in the home country, which are perceived as representative of the ethnic culture abroad. The selected regional elements of culture become an ethnic invariant and are associated with national cultural heritage. For example, in New Jersey there are Asian Indians who emigrated mostly from the states of Gujarat, Kerala, Karnataka, and Bengal. When they celebrate Indian Cultural Festivals, however, the states of origin are less important or

[37] Interview with M.B., man, 32 years old, high-school education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2014.

not important at all, as it is all Indian. That is why their websites and Facebook posts contain only descriptions of Indian and do not provide further explanations of regional specifics. Similarly, the majority of Italians came from Sicily and less from Central and North Italy but the Italian Cultural Foundation website focuses on the fact that all events celebrate Italian cultural heritage. There is also the mix of urban and rural cultural elements in the living ethnic traditions in the US, which are not distinguished online.

b. Another one of the diffusion forms addresses the mix of elements originating in folk and popular cultures, which are all perceived as part of "our" ethnic cultural heritage. The creation of this mix is facilitated by different sources of cultural diffusion. It also depends on the communicative pattern. The mass media (television, films, radio, newspapers) and the Internet (digital books, online newspapers, audio and video layers, websites of interest,

downloads) help spreading the popular culture in the communicative pattern one-to-many. While web forums, chat rooms and social media networks engage in a many-to-many type of communication and can facilitate more focused spread of both popular and folk culture traits[38]. The one-to-one communication via e-mails is often use to spread new forms of folklore and became a source for study of contemporary forms of folklore.[39] In time, some elements of pop culture are perceived as century old folk traditions.

c. The third one of the diffusion forms is associated with the relationships of the ethnic cultures with the dominant culture of the US, which also include the

[38] Sawyer, R. 2011. The Impact of New Social Media on Intercultural Adaptation – In: University of Rhode Island DigitalCommons@URI , pp1-30; https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/cgi, accessed on Sept. 11, 2018

[39] "Besides television and cinema, mobile phones and digital texts like the e-mail have emerged as efficient facilitators of the folk process. Most of the narratives thus transmitted are in the form of small tales, anecdotes, jokes, humorous one-liners, and riddles" – James, J. The Folk Process through New Media – In: Indian Folklore research Journal, N 10, 2010, pp 65-82

variety of ethnic food ways adopted in the country. For instance, the Ukrainian community in the area organizes their summer picnics on the 4th of July, which is an American national holiday; the Italians celebrate another American holiday –Thanksgiving – with roasted turkey (traditionally served on this day at American homes) and Italian pasta dishes. One of my Bulgarian respondents explained: "We always celebrate Thanksgiving together. Someone prepares the turkey but the rest of us bring something Bulgarian – banitsa or stuffed peppers, shopska salata, you know…something that we all likeforparties."[40]

Presenting/Sharing Folk Cultures "Online"

Online presentations of folk cultures depend upon their perceptions by the culture bearers and their

[40] Interview with S.M., woman, 45 years old, college education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2012. The listed meals are a part of the Blgarian cuisine.

communicative priorities. What is shared among the community members does not need to be always fully articulated as far as certain information is taken for granted and internally understood. What is shared with "others", however, is more carefully selected and more fully explained since there are no assumptions for prior knowledge of the culture by "the others". It also depends at times on what cultural elements are defined as distinctive enough to be shared with "others" and to be presented as "the best" example of unique cultural heritage.

Very often online presentations of the ethnic groups also include specific symbols of "our" culture, including online images and videos of regional or stage costumes presented as national ones, cuisine, folk music, dance and national flags[41].

[41] There is a distinction between national identity, which is associated with the home country and an ethnic one, distinguishing certain ethnic group from all other ethnic groups that surround them in the U.S.

The national symbols associate the ethnic group with the country of origin. Pictures from the home country are also included in online postings. They sometimes reflect feelings of nostalgia or a desire of re-connection with "our roots". The need to share the beauty of the ancestral land and images fueling the pride of its past and present achievements are yet another way of establishing the "uniqueness" of the group for the education of "the others".

Concluding Remarks

The Internet and virtual reality is often discussed in the context of the modern day globalization

process[42] but its role in augmenting community strategies for preservation of cultural heritage has not been fully examined so far. It is true that the Internet facilitates cultural diffusion but it is also important to see how it is used by the ethnic groups for maintaining and/or reviving elements of their folk and traditional cultures. There is enough empirical material online that would allow for more in-depth observations of the new forms of cultural transmission, analyses of the online activities as balanced by the traditional ones, and further studies that would interpret the new forms of the cultural process as they become part of both offline and online communicative patterns in the present-day modern societies.

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Folk culture of Belarusian children and the effects of modern life

الثقافة الشعبية للأطفال البيلاروسيين وآثار الحياة الحديثة

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الأستاذة إينا شفيد
أستاذة بقسم الأدب الروسي والصحافة بكلية فقه اللغة في جامعة بريست الحكومية المنسوب تسميتها الى ألكسندر سيرغيجيفتش بوشكين.
رئيسة مختبر الفن الشعبي والثقافة المحلية في الجامعة ذاتها.

Folk culture of Belarusian children and the effects of modern life

Traditional genres and types of the folk culture of Belarusian children (childlore) are significantly transformed nowadays. First, the traditional folklore of children (created by the children themselves, and not parents for their children) is forgotten. From the very beginning, it was connected with traditional, in particular calendar-ritual, oral poetry, and traditional games, rituals. Traditional folklore culture of Belarusian children is gradually replaced by new forms of children's folklore and playing creativity (which is characterized by strong dynamics and diffusion). The dominant today are the genres of magical folklore (magic-game invocation of spirits, fortune-telling), mythological folklore (scary stories), "sadistic rhymes" (sick humor), reworked well-known texts, game folklore (including folklore of verbal games – "keep one's mouth shut", "subterfuges", tricks, jokes, riddles with non-standard guesses), parody, tall tale, anecdotes, ridicule, sobriquets, jargon. Some genres of children's folklore that previously used in oral form are gaining new life with the development and increasing accessibility of the Internet. (We point out a large number of relevant thematic sites and topics in blogs). In the childlore of modern information society, little from the common fund of Belarusian traditional culture is accepted, stored in memory and transmitted. Children's folklore (its language) quickly reacts to changes in society, to the emergence of new realities, ideas. The openness, the strong sensitivity of modern children's folklore, the "external" change, the child's interiorization of precedent phenomena of a different culture (with different meanings and values), "alienation" from the tradition turns it into a phenomenon of collage and montage of stereotypes, formulas, images, taken from the oral, written and visual sources of information.

These precedent phenomena are one of the most important mechanisms for constituting the communicative space of children's folklore. In view of above, the scientific problems of using certain precedent resources and the functions of verbal and non-verbal precedent phenomena in childlore acquire special relevance. It is also important to find the answer to the question: what forms of traditional children's culture remain relevant in modern childlore, and what new formations arise under the influence of the new methods of communication, is a scientific and technological revolution. The importance of studying modern children's folklore is due to its functioning as an instrument of socialization of children and the construction (not only image) of the real world, the world in which the children are bearers of this folklore and they will live here.

The report analyzes the aspects of interconnection between Belarusian childlore and influence of

modern life. The study was conducted based on folklore material recorded by myself and by students of the philological faculty of the Brest State University named after A.S. Pushkin in 2018–2005 in the Brest region. These folklore materials are stored in the archives of the folklore and local lore laboratory of the previously mentioned university (the head of the Laboratory is Prof. I. Shved).

In modern folk culture of children from 6 to 13 years old, children's mythology (scary stories) and magic ("invocation") take an important place. In scary stories (which arise from the children's fear of death), the story of the collision of real and unreal worlds, a child and some harmful power. The attitude toward the unreal, wonderful world varies depending on the age and psychological differences of children-storytellers and listeners. The older children become, the less they believe in the reality of events that are described in scary stories. Usually evil things in scary stories of children from 6 to 8 years

old are household objects and appliances that had come to the attention of Belarusian children only in the twentieth century (for example, radio, records, mincers) or items that were scarce (curtains, gloves). In these stories evil, mortal dangers is associated with external, dangerous world and breaks the mythologized boundaries of the house (windows, doors, walls, and ceiling).

Scary stories are dominant in the prosaic repertoire of older children. They are very similar to traditional peasant and urban stories about a person meeting with sacred characters, pests. There are stories about witches, werewolves, dead people who rise from the coffin, etc.

Motives and images of traditional mythological texts (demons, personification of death), urban legends, literature and horror films (like Fantomas), materials of the popular press and also symbols of Soviet childhood (Hammer and Sickle, Red Star,

Pioneer tie) were the precedent in the scary stories. The so-called "innovative" scary stories go back to literary and / or cinematic pretexts. At the heart of the scary stories are usually mythological ideas about the penetration of demonic forces into the human world, about possible results of the conflict between the human and non-human worlds. The semantic core of scary stories is the mythological image. Often the aggressor, who is the cause of the death of the inhabitants of the house, is represented by a demon belonging to the interior space of the house (or apartment) – Black Curtains, Piano, Red, White or Yellow Spot, Photo, Painting, Doll, etc. At the same time, the color (usually an element of the universal color triad "white-red-black") and a magical voice are mark of the demonic nature of the subject. For example, "One girl wanted to hang in her room Black Curtains. After she hung them, at night she heard a voice, which told her: «Girl-girl, get out of bed». The girl got out of bed, and again that voice said, «Girl-girl, go to the window».

The girl went to the window. The voice continued, «Girl-girl, stand on the windowsill». The girl listened and stood on the windowsill. And then the Black Curtains pounced on her and strangled her". Demonological characters-aggressors often act as hands and eyes. By the way, the transformation of images of hands, eyes and others characteristic of children's mythology, is observed in sadistic verses like "Handles and legs disappeared all at one moment – // Do not let the children to the toilet" and short rhymed explanations ("If you see hands in the walls, // Do not be afraid – these are glitches").

In a number of scary stories, the precedent images are the characters of folk demonology such as witches, Baba Yaga. Both in folk tradition and in children's folklore, these characters appear in works on the kidnapping of children with the goal of "devouring" them. However, the elements of fairy-tale – enchanted forest and poky little huts are replaced by the realities of the modern city.

Household appliances become the attributes of hostile "alien" anthropomorphic characters: these are huge mincers, conveyors, with the help of which cutlets and pies are cooked from the children enticed to the factory. As in folk demonology, the demonic nature of the characters of childlore (women, old women, men) give out hooves on their feet, red hands, teeth, face. For example, the scary story tells about the wicked teacher of the Russian language. She always wore long pants. "And then one girl dropped the pen on the floor and when she bent over to pick it up, she saw that the teacher had hooves sticking out of her trousers".

Then scary stories were replaced by "parodies" and magical-gaming summoning of spirits that are usually made by group of children. Becoming more mature, children of 13–10 years, move "from word to deed". Children's summoning of various spirits and other objects have become popular since the 1960s, and this process is something like a ritual

(for example, rituals of yuletide maiden divination). Children in a dark frightening place try to meet the other world in order to receive some blessings or gifts, to know the secrets of the universe on their own, find the answer to their question or just have fun through having mystical experience or to be scared really from meeting with the outside world. Unlike scary stories, summoning spirits is supposed to be controlled, not spontaneous contact with the other world. In the process of summoning spirits, the child does not depend on the supernatural power, it the child's magic. Almost in all the stories, the instruction is the following: turn on the light, light the candle, turn over or break the mirror to make the object form another world disappear.

The rules for creating a mystical situation in "summoning" and coming out of it are based on an ancient tradition, mythological ideas about sacral communication between that and this world. The child knows that it is possible to establish

communications with the other world, and this requires subject to certain conditions, rules, prohibitions (for example, talk, laugh and turn on the light).The faith of children in the magical power of a word, object and action that goes back into centuries, plays an important role in the rites of "summoning". Let's turn to the example of "Summoning the Dwarf of Swear Words": "It is necessary at 12 o'clock midnight in a dark corner without light to pull multi-colored threads and write swear words on a blank sheet of paper then tear this sheet into small pieces. After that, say three times "Dwarf of Swear Words, come out". After that, the Dwarf of Swear Words should come out and stumbling over the thread, he will say all these swear words that were written on paper. If you do not turn on the light for a long time, the Dwarf of Swear Words will paint the whole wall with swear words". As we can see, it is necessary to follow the conditions about the time (12 am), space (dark corner) and also repetition of the imperative

spell (three times) in order to achieve the goal of summoning the Dwarf of Swear Words. All these conditions were also complied in traditional rituals of establishing contact with representatives of another world.

As for the precedent sources of the characters' system of "evocation", they are among the most diverse spheres of culture. A special group consists of the mythological characters of the Belarusian (more widely Slavic) folk demonology – Boggart (Brownie), Devil, Mermaid, The Drowned, etc. Rethinking by children's consciousness, transforming in accordance with the genre laws of "evocation", they can merge with the characters of the child's own folklore. The most often in Brest region is the "summoning" of Mermaid by drawing on a mirror (a symbolic channel of communication with another world): "Everything must be done at midnight. It should be dark all around. Preferably to draw the blue sea with waves on a large mirror. Next, you

should place a basin with water near the mirror. Then you should hang beads on the edge of the basin, preferably made of round pearl. Then move away from the basin to a distance. And soon there should be a mermaid. She must take off her beads and try on the beads from the basin. Now you must turn on the light. The mermaid must leave her beads". Demonic characters can also be summoned in "real" places of constant demon presence. So, the drowned woman is summoned on the riverbank: children go to the river and on the way, the person who wants to summon it tells about the young woman who was drowning there, because her child is dead. Since that, she takes all children with her under the water. Then they twine a wreath from the willow growing over the water, throw it on the water and throw a stone at the center. Then they should say three times "Drowned woman, come out". It is believed that the drowned woman came when the wreath began to move. After that, Drowned woman is asked different questions, and at the same time

throwing stones at the center of the wreath. Even number of circles on the water indicates a positive answer, odd – negative. If the wreath begins to sink, it means that the Drowned woman rises from the depths to drag some child to the bottom. Children run away in fear.

Characters from children's literature, cartoons, media culture (Goldfish, Snow White, Cinderella, Fairy, White Coach, Queen of Spades), as well as images born of children's fantasy (Dwarf of Swear Words, King of Swear Words, Sweet Dwarf, Scullion, Bubble Gum King, Bubble Gum cow, White cloud, etc.) are widely presented in the "evocation". At the same time, such "summoned" creatures as Cinderella, Snow White, Fairy, Dwarf, White Cloud are often positively evaluated, characterized as good. They can be like twins of the children themselves: like all the children, these characters love sweets, and their behavior resembles a childish one. For example, at night, The Sweet Dwarf

secretly eats sweets left to him, and the amount of sugar in the sugar bowl goes down. We can suppose that relics of ancient practice of "ritual" feeding of newcomers from the other world are in the basis of ideas about the way of summoning otherworldly creatures (Dwarf). (For example, Frost and demonized wolves were invited at Christmas dinner for not being doing harm to the farm in the summer). The elements of the gastronomic code in "evocation" themselves – modern (it is not traditional porridge, eggs or pancakes, but widely advertised chips, chewing gums and other sweets).

Reduction of the amount of food (as in traditional beliefs) becomes the proof of the existence of mythical creatures and the reality of their arrival. A boy from Brest tells: "When we summoned The Sweet Dwarf, we had left crisps. We did not see the dwarf, but the crisps really were bitten and there left fewer". At the same time, mythological characters such as Sweet Dwarf, Gum Dwarf, Gum Cow, White

Cloud, Lips can perform the function of fabulous "givers" – presenters of favorite children's sweets. For example, ("One girl in the hospital summoned Lips and the chewing gum «Orbit» appeared in her mouth"; "At night, we laid out white paper on the floor, walked on it and said: «A white cloud, come, a white cloud, come, a white cloud, come». When it comes, you need to ask what you want; for example crisps"). Here's a story how a citizen of the village of Povitie, Kobrinsky district, describes the summoning of the Gum Cow: "You cover yourself with a blanket, take a fork and knife and say: «Gum cow, appear! Gum cow, bring me chewing gum! » Then, when something lights up, you need to cut it quickly, and you need to cut it many times, because if you cut it many times – you will find lots of chewing gum tomorrow under your pillow".

More and more popular in the magical folklore of children are images from non-Slavic cultures. Such characters, as usual, are endowed with expressive

demonic features; they are negatively evaluated and described as aggressive, dangerous dead man. We can see this in the story (which synthesizes features of "scary story" and magical "evocation") about the "American" Bloody Mary: "You need to come to the bathroom at night, stand in front of the mirror and say three times: «Bloody Mary, come». After that, there will be a figure of a girl in a white shirt with a slashed throat. Bloody Mary always kills those who summon her. You must immediately break the mirror from which she appeared in order to be saved. But you need to break the mirror while bloody Mary is still there". No less dangerous are such summonable characters of card games as Joker, The Queen of Diamonds, The Diamond King, etc. One of the most popular images in the "evocation" is the Queen of Spades – both a demonic woman and a card at the same time. At the heart of this image is a character of card games and fortune-telling, as well as a folklore and literary name (The Queen of Spades is a character of the eponymous novel

by Pushkin (1833)). The resident of Stolin region remembers how she and her friends summoned the Queen of Spades. At night without light, they put on lipstick and then drew a red staircase on the mirror of the wardrobe (not less than five steps), which goes from top to down. A door with a handle was drawn over the stairs (so that the Queen of Spades could enter it). Then they closed their eyes and repeated the spell three times: "The Queen of Spades, come". After that, children understood that after these words nothing happened and disappointedly stated, "We did not succeed". Suddenly the door of the wardrobe opened. The occasional auditory impression that was taken for the sign of the presence of supernatural power caused the children to share fear together. In such "evocations", the picture on the mirror becomes animated: the Queen of Spades, Cinderella or the Dwarf go down the stairs that connects this and that world.

All the characters of the "evocation" that were previously discussed have more or less common characteristic: they are perceived as dangerous, hostile and close to demonic characters of scary stories as typical beings of the "alien" world. However, unlike those characters of scary stories who personalizes death they can perform the functions of "givers" (the same functions are often performed by characters of fairy tales). The spirits of dead people (usually well known), (for example Alexander Pushkin,) can be summoned to ask them some questions. For the same purpose devil can be summoned.

Thus, in children's mythology and magic, the most ancient archetypes and universals of social consciousness are actualized; relicts of traditional folklore (calendar-ritual, maternal, for example lullabies, nursery rhymes, and fairy tales), ancient rituals, and mythological conceptions act as precedent phenomena. In early adolescence,

children's mythological stories are complicated by plot elements from movie stars, fantastic literature and romantic stories.

The recognition of precedent phenomena by children from didactic literature, television programs and movies makes them attractive to creators and bearers of a genre popular in the modern day, such as sadistic verses. Sadistic verses are regarded as a satire of adolescents on the prohibitions addressed to small children, leading them to the point of absurdity. Folk pedagogy, tradition addressed to small children becomes the object of irony in verses. Traditional values and ideas are reduced, profaned. Both "small" and "old" heroes of sadistic verses do not have moral restrictions, emotional attachments, and saw only death, for example: "A little boy broke into the kindergarten, // The watchman Ignatius took out shotgun, // The shot rang out and... the watchman fell, – // The boy's Mauser went off earlier". Adolescents paint in four

stanzas phantasmagorical pictures of social disorder, the results of disobedience to adults. And the main character of the verses- "little boy" (or "little girl") becomes a victim of all-embracing evil, gets under the wheels of the car, hangs on a tree, falls from a roof, becomes a victim of villains, etc. For example: "Little boy repaired his computer // And swallowed a microchip // Mom is happy and so is his Dad – // Now they raise a Robocop". Here, the image of Robocop from the fantastic action movie directed by Paul Verhoeven (1987) is played out. Very often the images of Winnie the Pooh and Piglet from the fairy tale of A. Milne "Winnie the Pooh and all-all-all" get in children's folklore. The well-known song of the character of the cartoon Winnie the Pooh becomes the part of the sadistic rhymes ("where are we going with a Piglet – // It's a great big secret! // And we won't tell a single soul // Oh no, Oh no, Oh no!") "Where are we going with a Piglet – // To the meat-packing plant // – Did you take a knife? // – Oh yeah, oh yeah! // – So come now here! // –

squeal, squeal!").

The good-natured puppet characters of the well-known Soviet and Russian evening telecast for preschool and primary school age children such as crazy enough and a little bit lazy piglet Piggy, energetic and observant dog Phil, clever, sensible, but timid bunny Stepashka and "female image" – crow Karkusha also became characters of sadistic poems. For example "Phil came wearily in the studio, // Stepashka and Karkusha // ate lard // Phil asked: // – But where is Piggy? // – He died! // Karkusha cried".

Children often rewrite in a satirical direction the statements from mass or classical works, in particular Russian poetry. For example, the well-known lyric poem by Fedor Tyutchev "The Spring Thunder" ("I love a thunder-storm in May // When spring's first thunder crackles by, // As if while frolicking at play, //Then booms across the azure

sky"): "I love a thunder-storm in May // the lightning strikes and there's no barn // Guts are hanging on wires // Skeletons run in their underpants". The original text, as we see, strongly deforms, but its comic sounding, which is often based on the method of a deceived expectation, does not violate the previous structure. As an example of previously mentioned satirical poems can also be alterations of famous songs, in particular a lullaby "Sleep, my darling, go to sleep" (the words of S. Sviridenko, music of W.A. Mozart) "Sleep, little one, go to sleep, // So peaceful birds and the sheep, // Quiet are meadow and trees, // Even the buzz of the bees. // The silvery moon beams so bright, // down through the window give light": "Sleep, little one, go to sleep // The morgue lights go out // Corpses lie on the shelves // Skeleton rustles in cabinet // Sleep, little one, go to sleep // Tomorrow you will be there". There are also different variants of the parodied "Fir-tree" (R. Kudashova's words, L. Beckman's music; "There was a Fir-Tree born in

woods, // And there she was grown, // In winter and in summer both // The grace and green she was"). For example: "There was a Fir-Tree born in woods, // And who did give birth to her?// – A drunk croc and four stupid hedgehogs". Modern bandstand supplies rich material for alterations-parodies with their living, rude humor and all sorts of absurdities and even moments of intimidation. Such ironic texts of children's folklore overcome the principle of automatism (speech, thought, behavioral).

The so-called school folklore parodies the images of teachers and students, for example: "First-graders are tadpoles. The class teacher is an animal trainer. The headman is a dog job. The music lesson is the chorus of starving cats from the ensemble «Give something to eat». A physical education teacher is a kangaroo. School mark two is a black swan. Bad pupil is a lover of swans. Diary is a swan lake. The head teacher is a saber-toothed tiger."

Often in sadistic verses and alterations, the statements, names, texts of traditional folklore are deformed, in particular the folk tale "Sister Alyonushka and Brother Ivanushka", in which the younger brother did not listen to his sister and drank water from the trail left by the animal, and become a goatling. According to the rhymed remake, "Alyonushka loved her brother too much // And that her brother does not turn into a goat // Sister poured a poison into a puddle – // The only brother kicked off". The image of "Little Red Riding Hood" from the eponymous fairy tale by Charles Perrault or the Brothers Grimm in an alteration is associated with the Soviet symbols – the red pioneer cap, and the words of the wolf become the words of the pioneer: "– I will eat you, Little Red Riding Hood – said the pioneer and ate his pioneer cap". In the first case, the verbal and situational contexts are changed radically, and in the second, only the situational context is changed. We should also note that the phraseology of the first example ("kicked

off" – derogatory saying about the deceased) is fixed in the minds of the overwhelming majority of the Belarusian lingua-cultural society.

Cartoons, literature, background knowledge from the history, etc. serve as precedent sources of imagery of children's toss-ups and counts (including those of literary origin) like: "Phara-ara-oh! // He lived in ancient Egypt. // And in the valley of the river Nile // Erected Pyramid. // Slave, papyrus, chariot. // Here comes the High Priest – // Run up at last". The image of the Tatars arises in the silent game: "Tatars were riding and lost a cat. The cat died, the tail is peeled off. Who will speaks – will eat it. Who will laugh – will drink its blood" (after that was said, you need to keep silent and not say a word. And who was the first to speak or laugh, he lost).

New characters and plots are introduced in

traditional counters. For example, the traditional text of the counter is widely known: "On the golden porch sat: // Tsar, prince, king, king's son, // bookmaker, tailor – // Who are you?" On the basis of this traditional text, a whole plot is created that unites the syncretic images of new characters, in particular Disney cartoons, thrillers ("On the golden porch sat: // Gummy Bears, Tom and Jerry, // Scrooge Mac Duck and three ducks, // And Ponca is leading now"). Choruses of popular songs, in particular Soviet ones, can (repeating themselves) create the structure of the plot of the children's folklore. In this case, the first "textbook" line often remains unchanged (as, for example, the line of Vladimir Miguly's very famous song "One-Two, Soldiers went with a song to parade, // Maybe one, maybe two hundred years ago…"): ("One-Two, Soldiers went // One-Two, to the market // – One-Two, what did they buy? // – One-Two, samovar // – One-Two, how much is it? // – One-Two, three rubles").

In “abstruse” (absurd, nonsensical) counters like: “Eenie meenie minie mo”, “Ash, tar, lash // Riki, piki, timmy, O-o, ritata // Ash, tar, da”, “Tum, Tum, fog // Abe, fabe, humane // Riki, tiki, grammatici // In Fin – hide one”, “Eenie meenie, riki-taki, bulb-bulb, karaka-shmaki, eus-deus-cosmodeus, Bang!” formulas of foreign languages can be used as precedent phenomena, in particular Latin (compare “deus-cosmodeus”, deus is God). Many children’s counts go back to traditional games, winter and spring-summer rituals, and to adults’ traditional folklore for children (the first lines of lullabies, nursery rhymes become structural parts of counters). The motives of harnessed animals (goat, pig, chickens, and mosquitoes) can be often seen in such works. For example, the highest degree of absurdity is taken from the traditional nursery picture “The doctor is riding the pig”: “The doctor is riding the pig, // Balalaika is on his back, // A flashlight is on the nose, // The doctor loves sausage. // The sausage bites him – // The doctor smiles” (today

this text exists as a count).

Traditional riddles get new insights. For example, “In winter and in summer, it is in one color” the answer was always just a fir-tree. Now the answers of this riddle are the crocodile, dollar or nose of a drunkard. Traditional riddle of “One hundred clothes and all without buckles” was an onion. In modern children’s folklore, it is a homeless.

Appeals to precedent situations and names take place in fables-overtures, nonsense, for example: “Little Misha walked through the woods, // plucked apples from branches with his trunk // Left-footed hoof got into the puddle – // Chernobyl Forest swayed quiet”. As we can see, the tragedy of the explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant (1986) is being introduced in an absurd picture of the world. Children also rewrite traditional and instructive proverbs. For example, the proverb “One head is good, but two is better” today sounds like:

"One head is good, but two is not beautiful". The traditional proverb advised: "Do not have a hundred rubles (or dollars), but have a hundred friends", and the modern one – "Do not have a hundred rubles (or dollars), but have a brazen face".

Preceded sources of anecdotes, common in children's groups, are represented as numerous genres of traditional folklore and literature, background knowledge from various fields, in particular politics and music. For example, a phenomenon such as "Concerto for Flute and Orchestra" by Wolfgang Mozart is the basis for an anecdote that makes fun of child's ignorance: "Girl Katya says to boy Vovochka: «Let's go to the Mozart's concert». And he answers her: «Are you kidding? Mozart clearly wrote that this concert is not for us, but for flute and orchestra»". In the fairy tale Vasilisa the Beauty hits the ground and turns into a white swan. In an anecdote, she hits the ground, but the transformation does not happen, she "passed out",

the ambulance "states multiple injuries". In such anecdotes, not only the "children's" characters of fairy tales and children's literature, cartoons (the Wolf and the Hare, Ivan Tsarevich and Vasilisa the Beauty, Cheburashka and Gena the crocodile, Kashchey Immortal and Baba Yaga) are played, but also the images of the homeless people typical for "adult" jokes, new Russian rich people, popular images of cinematography, television, stage, etc. are used. Characters from different times and genres can be combined in one story. For example, in an anecdote, the good old Cheburashka (a well-known character, invented by writer Eduard Uspensky in 1966 as one of the main characters in the book "Gena the Crocodile and His Friends" and Roman Kachanov's cartoon "Crocodile Gena", shot from this book in 1969) acts as a new hero of the Terminator (from the D. Cameron's film).

We note that modern children's folklore is open, dynamic and very receptive system to different

social changes. The basis of this system is mythology, traditional folklore, including phraseological units, ceremonial, verbal-laughter forms of folk laughter culture. The sources of "modernization" children's folklore culture are precedent phenomena that belong to fiction, feature films and cartoons, background knowledge of science, culture, history (historical events, paintings, music, etc.) and they are in the interests of children. These phenomena enrich the narrative and other possibilities of modern children's folklore: it's personal and story system, and also connect children's folklore with traditional and modern culture (the interaction of modern children's folklore with the traditional often happens through literature and cinema).

In conclusion, I would like to note that the precedent phenomena related to the Belarusian cognitive basis (the core of which is formed by the school curriculum in Belarusian literature, precedent situations (cf. Chernobyl, Nemiga)),

with rare exceptions are not relevant for modern children's folklore. If the Belarusian children magically "summon" writers, they usually want to see classics of Russian literature (Pushkin, Gogol). May be the situation is following because of the fact that Belarusian children, including children of primary and middle school, have little knowledge of national-precedent phenomena. This is also due to the fact that modern children's folklore is Russian-speaking and the Belarusian language is not used in most cases. Fragmentation and minimization of children's perception of the precedent names of the Belarusian national culture are largely motivated by the domination of media, pop culture, mass art in the socialization of children. This indicates a reduction in the national cultural competence of children, their national and cultural disorientation. The features of the functioning of modern children's folklore (both as a kind of socio-cultural communication, and as a fact of consciousness, perception and feeling) are bright indicators of the transformation not only of the

traditional folklore, but of the entire spiritual culture of the Belarusian society. And if the transmission of traditional adult folklore for children is still possible (and continues), the transfer of traditional children's folklore is problematic. Only references to the images of traditional children's folklore are possible in both modern children's folklore and the symbolic language of "adult" art.

Folk culture of Belarusian children and the effects of modern life

The report analyzes the aspects of interconnection between Belarusian childlore and influence of modern life. The research was based on folklore material recorded in 2018–2005 in the Brest region. The report examines two main questions: what did modern children's folklore take from traditions and what new was produced under the influence

of technological revolution and globalization. Such genres of magical folklore as magic-game summoning of spirits and fortune-telling, mythological folklore (scary stories), "sadistic rhymes" (sick humor), reworked well-known texts, folklore games (including folklore of verbal games – "keep one's mouth shut", "subterfuges", tricks, jokes, riddles with non-standard guesses), parody, tall tale, anecdotes, ridicule, sobriquets, jargon are dominant today.

It is concluded that there is too little accepted in children's folklore of modern information society from the common fund of Belarusian traditional culture. Mainly in children's mythology and magic are the ancient archetypes and universals of social consciousness. However, the children's faith in the supernatural forces actually increases with the modernization because of the emphasis placed upon life. Direct succession between traditional folklore and modern children's folklore is practically

absent. The interaction of modern children's folklore with the genres of traditional folklore often occurs through literature and cinema. The openness, the strong sensitivity of modern children's folklore, the "external" change, "alienation" from the tradition turns it into a phenomenon of collage and montage of stereotypes, formulas, images, taken from the oral and the written and visual sources of information. The main sources in modern children's folklore are: 1) transformed mythology, traditional folklore, including idioms, ritual, ceremonial, verbal-laughter forms of folk culture and literature, 2) feature films, cartoons and video games, and 3) basic knowledge from the fields of science, culture and history (historical events, works of music, the symbols of Soviet childhood, etc.).

Brazilian Carnival:expression Of Popular Culture Adapting To The Effects Of Contemporary Technologies

الكرنفال البرازيلي: تعبير عن الثقافة الشعبية بتكيفه مع تأثيرات التكنولوجيا الحديثة

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عضو ممثل للبرازيل بالمنظمة الدولية للفن الشعبي.

Brazilian Carnival:expression Of Popular Culture Adapting To The Effects Of Contemporary Technologies

Abstract

The present text presents some questions and examples that bring to light a reflection on strategies that the Brazilian Carnival has used as a way of survival and adaptation of popular culture to the effects of contemporary technologies, or in the use of these in the specific environment of the samba schools' parade in the Rio de Janeiro's Carnival, or in the configuration of new ways of carnivalesque existence, like the mockup' samba schools.

Keywords: Brazilian Carnival - Samba Schools - Technology - Contemporaneity

Initial Considerations

The carnival that Brazil is doing today - and which I believe should not be understood as "Brazilian carnival", in the singular, but as "Brazilian carnivals", because of the immense stylistic, aesthetic and organizational diversity with which it presents itself in our country - does not present a unanimous version in the very history of its emergence and nor on its denomination.

From an anthropological perspective, Da Matta (1997) explains that carnival is close to those social institutions that allow us to feel our own continuity as a group. According to him:

> *In carnival, a whole set of social and historical factors is combined and recombined to realize what we perceive as the old or modern carnival, the interior cities and the capital, the North or the South, the rich and the poor. But it cannot be forgotten that this is so because all these situations are powerfully dominated by the idea that here we have a special moment: out of time and space, marked by inverted actions; characters, gestures and costumes. (DA MATTA, 1997, p.29)*

Góes (2010) considers that the carnival is linked in a very forceful way to Brazil and to its people and that it would be possible to affirm that the celebration constitutes one of our most striking identity traits. The author also testifies that the Brazilian carnival reveals multiple forms of expression and decisively strengthens our cultural diversity.

It is extremely difficult to accurately determine the influences and trends that have been contributing to the aesthetic composition and configuration of the contemporary carnival. Since today the fast process of communication, the internet and the many possibilities of interaction between peoples of the planet are guiding a hybrid culture through innumerable crossings and this has repercussion in the carnival as in other modes of cultural expression of Brazilian society.

One of the most affected elements in this relation between person and technology - human being and

technique in the context of contemporary popular culture

- is the body, which is the main means of expression of popular arts. Body language is a core element of folk dance, folk music, folk crafts, folk rituals, folk theater and much more.

According to Sibilia (2015, p.14),

In today's 'information society', this fusion between man and technique has deepened and is therefore becoming more crucial and problematic. Certain areas of knowledge are key components of this complexification, such as teleinformatics and the new life sciences. These disciplines, which in principle seem so different from each other, have a common ground and ambition: they are united in the horizon of universal digitization that illuminates our age and marks its compasses. Precisely in this context, an unusual suspicion arises: the human body, in its old biological configuration, would be becoming 'obsolete'.

It is noteworthy that, regarding to the aesthetic configuration that composes the different moments of the carnival, there are a number of extremely

peculiar elements that guide the characteristics pertinent to the way of being and making carnival in each part of Brazil. Thus, although there may be recurrent characteristics associated with carnival throughout the country, the festivity assumes its own airs according to the place in which it takes place. It adopts aspects pertinent to the local culture, which are incorporated into the national carnival demarcating specificities fundamentally associated to the subjects that live in that environment and contribute to the process of denomination and identification of the carnival in this or that place of the country.

We can reflect on the peculiar position of the Brazilian carnival, which has become the most popular secular festivity in the world, but also a rich and interweaved mosaic of artistic prowess, a multitude of events, organizations, sources of work and places of work, social relations, fertile ground for technological experiments and media essays,

cradle of multiple cultures. In this sense, it is very important to think about the influence of different aspects of cyberculture in popular culture, especially in the Brazilian carnival, for example in the case of social media such as youtube, vimeo, instagram, twitter and other digital platforms, as well as creating new possibilities of carnival, thought and produced especially to these vehicles.

The Contemporaneity in/of the Carnival Parade

The technological resources have always been a present brand in the scope of street carnival parades, especially in Rio de Janeiro, which is the leading stage of the Brazilian carnival. However, particularly in the last decade, different technological innovations have been presented quite forcefully in this scenario, bringing cutting-edge technologies to the avenue and, with this, directly interfering in

the aesthetic configuration of the carnival street parade.

This task in this course imposes the need to articulate three concepts that are very important for the contemporary scenario: Art, Science and Technology. About this subject, Domingues brings:

> *The diffuse frontiers of artistic and scientific researches with technologies make appear in the contemporary context a territory interspersed with complex genealogical layers: the sensitivity of art, the objectivity of science, the complexity of technologies. The creativity of artists and scientists today constitutes a great community that, together with scientific societies, contemporary institutions and research centers, is engaged in the search of exploring the characteristics of our technologized daily life. Thus, thinking about the relation between art and life from the perspective of science, technological development and creation, with surprising and engaging aspects sensitive to the creativity of artists and scientists of the 21st century, is one of the most important challenges of the beginning of the millennium. (2003, p.11)*

In this sense, it is understood that the massive presence of cutting-edge contemporary

technologies in the carnival ends up directly interfering in the creative process of the carnival artists and carnival commissions with a view to the framing and achievement of the parade of samba schools. Technology ceases to be just a support for the realization but, in a forceful way, starts to incorporate itself in the designing and, sometimes, to be the trigger device of the process itself, which contributes to the consolidation of the spectacular condition that the carioca carnival has assumed in the last decades.

This intertwining between art and science, art and technology, ended up re- signifying the carnival aesthetics of Rio de Janeiro's Carnival and, consequently, other carnivals throughout Brazil, generated different opinions and impressions about the transformations that were taking place. Luz (2013, p 129) explains:

> *The carnival of the samba schools is usually called the Street Opera in the carnival's universe. This expression is*

shared by several professionals of the associations and by several scholars of the subject. The mixture of vocabulary and erudite-academic knowledge with the spontaneity and intuition of the samba artists from carioca1[43] shantytowns began with the entrance of professionals from the School of Fine Arts of Rio de Janeiro in the carnival in the 1960s. Since then the carnival has turned in a "walking opera-balé" as Valença and Valença (1981) conceptualize, and it has turned from a mere street-play to an artistic language. This movement towards the constitution of an artistic language has found throughout the history of the carnival, and still finds, a lot of resistance from the tourists linked to the tradition and what they call "essence of the carnival". The plastic development that the parades gained with the entrance of artists trained in the School of Fine Arts was a watershed in the artistic trajectory of the carnival' samba schools, which, however, were not allowed to stop in there.

Paulo Barros, one of the most outstanding carnivalists of the new generation of the Special Group of Samba Schools of Rio de Janeiro, can be brought as one of the best examples of this process of adaptation and use of contemporary technologies in the carnival street parade. Currently

[43] Carioca = from Rio de Janeiro (city)

as carnivalist at the Unidos do Viradouro Samba School (a group that returns to the elite of carioca carnival in 2019), Barros has presented in the parades a series of technological innovations that corroborate the conceptual and aesthetic signature that is its trademark.

It can be said that one of the inaugural and most symbolic moments provided by Barros in the Sambódromo da Sapucaí2[44] was in the vice-championship of the Unidos da Tijuca Samba School in 2004, with the plot-theme "Samba Enredo 2004 - The Dream of Creation and Creation of the Dream: the Art of Science in the Time of the Impossible". It is in this parade that Paulo Barros presents a new way of presentation and visual for the floats, from the perspective of "human allegory".

[44] Sambódromo da Sapucaí = samba stage

Subtitles 1 and 2: Paulo Barros (E) conceived the DNA Float (D) for Unidos da Tijuca in 2004[45]

Luz (2013) also mentions the artist in the ambit of what the author calls "new revolution" through which the carnival passes today:

In the twenty-first century there was a new revolution [in the Carnival of Rio de Janeiro], with more and more theatrical and conceptually elaborated parades, mainly based on the work of the carnival artist Paulo Barros, who has exerted a strong influence in many schools. With this, this language was once again brought to new expressive and aesthetics ways. (LUZ, 2013, page 129)

[45] The Picture Sourses in this article are found at the end of the text.

Since then, Barros has also starred in other important moments in the Carnival of the Special Group of Rio de Janeiro in which the new technologies played a decisive role in the aesthetic signature of the parades. Following are two examples of these technological innovations he brought to the carnival parade:

Subtitles 3 and 4: In the image on left, a Ski Slope is mounted on a Parade Float in the parade of Unidos do Viradouro in 2007. On the right, Poseidon floated with a flyboard and jets of water on the Fron Committee of Portela, in 2016.

Subtitle 5: Skirt of the Porta-Bandeira shows an artificial fire effect with 20 thousand LED lamps in the parade of Unidos de Vila Isabel, signed by Paulo Barros in 2018.

In addition to Paulo Barros, other carnival artists and samba schools have also adhered to different contemporary technologies and used such resources in their processes of framing and achievement of carnival parades. Each year, it is possible to perceive a progressive and forceful presence of the technology as an already constituent element and inherent in the poetry of the parades that is projected by each Samba School, as we illustrate next:

Subtitles 6 and 7: With the carnival artist Alexandre Louzada, the Mocidade Independente de Padre Miguel Samba School brings Alladin flying down the avenue by means of an Aeromodel, in 2017 (L). In Unidos da Tijuca, in 2015, the Carnival Committee composed by Mauro Quintaes, Annik Salmon, Marcus Paulo, Carlos Carvalho and Hélcio Paim lavished technology with Enlightened Fantasy Wings (R).

It must be also considered that an important factor in this process of high tech technologization of the Samba Schools is the budget. As a rule, investment in state-of-the-art and advanced technologies, or even the development of new technologies specific to or adapted to the context of carnival, is a high cost for carnival schools, and not all of them have enough money to investments of this nature.

It is important to note that these examples refer to the elite of Brazilian carnival, which is the Carnival of the Samba Schools of the Special Group of Rio de Janeiro and does not represent the reality of all carnival settings in the country, nor of Rio de Janeiro's carnival. However, even considering what this carnival represents and its influence on the different carnival's contexts of street parades in Brazil, it is possible to perceive that the presence of new technologies that inhabit the daily life of the society as a whole also affect the most different carnival settings, even as in different proportions and, logically, through investments and budgets suited to each reality.

But, it is not only the use through equipment and materials that makes the technology to be present in the carnival parades of the Samba Schools of Rio de Janeiro. The theme of "technology" is also a constant in the entanglements of carnival groups, increasingly being problematized and stimulating

reflection on the presence of technological advances in our lives and their impact on nature and the environment.

In 2018, Unidos de Vila Isabel presented the plot-theme "Run that the future comes there", a subject of extreme relevance that pointed to the different aspects of the relationship between technology and environment, in which the future mentioned there is nothing more than a way of understanding the present time, as highlighted by Ambiente Brasil (2018):

The Vila Isabel alert will be made by presenting the trajectories of technological discoveries and inventions by man and their impacts on the environment: the future of the human species depends on environmental conservation. The history of technology developed by the human being is sung in discoveries such as the mills, the great navigations, the media and the sciences, in general. As we know, the technological advances that we have achieved so far have won many victories, the eradication of various diseases, remote communication among so many other wonders. However, such wonders have a huge cost that Nature is paying. Therefore, we

must take the reins of this scientific advance, to preserve our lives. (AMBIENTE BRASIL website, 2018)

As the lyrics of the samba's plot-theme of this School brought: "Today to think of science is to be aware of what is to come... So what to give up? Run that the future comes there." Thus, it can be said that, little by little, the technological language is being incorporated into the folk language and amalgamating the contemporary culture with the popular culture, in a movement almost totally harmonic.

Network technologies: the Carnival of/in the media

Thinking about this process of adapting popular culture to the multiple and diverse effects of contemporary technologies means paying attention to the growing and broader presence of the media, social networks and mobile devices in our daily lives. And this is not different in the case of carnival culture.

In the past, the only way to watch the broadcast of the Samba Schools parade of Carioca's Carnival was to watch on television, live and no rerun, exclusively on the day and time established by the transmitter responsible in the country to transmit it in the television.

At present, there are several online channels (on youtube, vimeo and other platforms) where the live shows are broadcast, with the right to before, during and after commentators, specialists or not about carnival, these broadcasts have different investments, resources and technical qualities. In addition, the live video, stream, facebook live, twitter or instagram live features are also other live broadcast and broadcast strategies, as well as web radios, where anyone can generate content and display the parades and any other moment of the carnival, live, for free.

Both the aforementioned possibilities, as well as numerous others that this work would not give account of citing or enumerate, point to new paradigms of diffusion and communication of the images and contents produced by the Carnival, where the issuer no longer has the illusion of control the information that is produced, because it does not make any sense. Everything is open, naked, public, unrestricted, democratized and potent of infinite crossings and (re)productions of meaning affected by the condition of virtualization, simultaneity and interactivity.

According to Couchot, Tramus & Bret (2003), we live in a moment when:

Interactivity has reached a stage of complexity and autonomy. In this sense, it follows the evolution of cybernetics. While the "first cybernetics" wondered more about the notions of control and communication (in the animal and the machine) and information, the second cybernetics questions preferentially about the notions of self-organization, emerging structures, networks, adaptation and evolution. In

an analogous way, while the first interactivity was interested in the interactions between the computer and the man, in a stimulus- response or action-reaction model, the latter is more interested in action as guided by perception, corporeality and sensory-motor processes , by autonomy (or by "autopoïse"). [...] The dialogue between man and machine becomes more in tune. (32 ,2003)

These scenarios also mean that the Samba Schools and other agents linked to the carnival management and diffusion environment are interested and attentive to the virtual environment in a dedicated way, creating channels on various platforms and social networks to interact with their audiences, produce new content, among other multiple possibilities of collaboration and co-participation.

It is practically unthinkable to conceive, nowadays, a Samba School, especially those of greater representativeness, that does not have a good planning and forceful performance in the social networks and multimedia platforms. Such a

condition becomes a prerequisite, also, to have a good financial return and an acceptable spectrum of investments of companies, that look for in this visibility the counterpart of return to the money invested in the carnival.

The carnival entities themselves began to transmit the important events and moments of their routines throughout the year, such as the coronation of queens, theme parties, plot-theme presentations and samba's plot-theme contests, among others. This strategy "opens", in a way, the interior of the samba school to the communities (real and virtual) and allows a knowledge and familiarity with the daily life of the carnival, as well as bringing people who live far and/or has no conditions to be present in these moments of the day-to-day of the association.

The popularity in the networks and also a broad performance in terms of communication and dissemination during the year are also contributing

factors to the increase in the number of school supporters and even the fans who attend in person at the parade days at the sambódromo in the carnival period, which are an important part of the energy and performance of these entities.

The web is also configured in a space of multiple possibilities of the carnival's existence, in addition to traditional practices. Multimedia platforms become catwalks, samba courts, sambódromos... in short, spaces for the creation of new carnival poetics, which, even inspired by the traditional forms of folkloric carnival making, propose new paradigms of aesthetic existence for the contemporary carnival, adapting itself to the new times.

An example of this new concept of carnival created in and from the contemporary technological context, crossed through it, and absolutely influenced by itself, are the Mockup's Samba Schools.

The Mockup's Carnival is a relatively recent carnival movement that has gained a lot of strength and projection in the last decade, and has been conquering new fans every year, through the creation of parades of samba schools framed and achieved specifically for the virtual environment. One of the important groups of organization and management of this format is the UESM - Union of Mockup' Samba Schools, founded in 2013.

The UESM is an organized entity, which has its own web site and regulation, and which coordinates and manages the criteria, evaluation and formative process of its carnival, and especially the parades of the Mockup' Samba Schools, both of the Special Group and the Access Groups.

In accordance with the Regulations of the entity:

The UESM exists to allow space for the creation and dissemination of the work of artists (professionals or amateurs) of the carnival, these being active in the carnival real or not,

such as carnival artists, directors, interpreters, composers, presidents, choreographers and other carnival characters, with the intention that through their parades they can at the same time to play of carnival making and show their production to the public. For this reason, this production must be original, unique and authorial. Everyone is encouraged to create their own parades or to re-read or re-write scenarios and parades, however, giving them an unprecedented format. [...] "Re-reading" or "re-editing" of a plot-theme is understood as the creation of a new narrative based on a plot-theme already executed, without, however, replicating the spectacle in its forms and technical organization parade (floor plan, script, synopses, etc.). [...] Although it is a carnival parade in a mockup, the miniaturization of real parades is not accepted, as such by copying the production of costumes, props or allegories, or any other parade elements that characterize reproduction on a smaller scale of elements already used in other parades. [...] The repetition of forms, even on a smaller scale, of elements presented from original (real) parades or other virtual leagues or mockups in which the school was inspired to re-read the carnival is vetoed.

By watching a video of the Mockup' Samba parade, it is possible to perceive the richness of details and respect for the creative concepts of the carnival that is presented/realized in the "real" avenue, in the Sambódromo. Even using new media,

a new broadcasting feature and some aspects of adaptation to the traditional format, there is no denying that they are Samba Schools that were conceived, idealized and designed for a real-virtual parade.

The norms established as parameters by the Union of Mockup' Samba Schools make clear the purpose, where the participating associations must compose a "presentation built from the use of models and miniature dolls that simulates, adapts and recreates the model of the Samba Schools' parade of the real carnival". (UESM WEB SITE, 2018)

Subtitles 8 and 9: Virtual flags of the Mockup' Samba Schools that were champions in 2018 - On the left, G.R.E.S. Arco Íris, which won the Access Group; and, to the right, G.R.E.S.M. Unidos do Tijucano, champion of the Special Group, both by UESM

Subtitle 10: In 2017, the Mockup' Samba School Império de Ouro Branco was champion of the Special Group with the plot-theme "From the sands of the desert an ancient culture: Egypt"

As a curiosity of the carnival work of the Mockup' Samba Schools, it is possible to emphasize that a parade of models may cost from R$ 50 to R$ 1,000, without sponsored plot-theme, and the evaluation items are: Front Commission, Harmony, Customs, Allegories and Props, Plot-theme, Mestre-Sala (literally, "he is the Master of the Room") and Porta-Bandeira ("she who carries the flag) and Evolution, with grades ranging from 8.0 to 10.

Regarding the techniques used to perform the virtual parade, the specialized

Carnival site "SECTOR 1" explains:

In the case of commission and couple, the schools make choreographies with the dolls, animated with the stop-motion technique. For mestre-sala and porta- bandeira, it is repeated presentations of famous couples of real schools. (...) In front of the drumming wind (bateria), there is also a queen of drums, as in the actual parades. And they are doll versions of real components (...). In Evolution, the similarities with the judgment of the real schools are similar: it turns out that the wings are not very spaced, for example. But jurors must see if there is imbalance in the time used to display wings and cars. If a school shows the wings for a long time and passes quickly by the baianas wings, the judge can "canetar" (take points off). The editor's work, in this case, resembles that of a director of harmony. (SECTOR 1 WEB SITE, 2017)

It is believed that, increasingly, the Brazilian carnival is adapting itself to the fast and diversified context of contemporary, using technological resources to act directly in its creative context of production of the parades, as well as producing

new ways of carnival-folkloric making, as in the case of the Mockup's Samba Schools. It is also important to highlight the growing insertion in the carnival themes of the debate about the presence of technology in our lives, problematizing and drawing attention to what we are living and what is to come, from the shortest to the furthest future.

As a reference, this type of popular art in electronic format, which is the Mockup's Carnival, it can be said that it is already a reality configured as a possibility of updating and adaptation of the folk culture to the contemporary context of cyberculture. In the words of Mariátegui (2003):

Electronic art represents an opportunity for artists and scientists to develop new modes of interactivity, finding new languages in interactive forms. Interactivity will reach its full potential when the computer can cultivate relationships with each viewer independently, and the "inter" part of interactivity recognizes the viewer's participation. (MARIÁTEGUI, 2003, p.162)

The presence of technologies in our society is a path without a return. Although different technological artifacts have been used by man since the earliest times (such as the wheel, for example), it is in the contemporary of the scientific and technological revolutions that the most sudden and frightening changes have unfolded and interfered decisively in everything has to do with our daily lives.

that we will be able to find (as we are already finding) alternatives for mutual co-survival, in which the new is inspired by the traditional and the traditional uses the new to produce a new hybrid generation, capable of overcoming challenges that are yet to come.

Final considerations

Carnival is an expression of popular culture in Brazil that was created and transformed over many decades, always being linked to the context and the respective technologies, thus expressing its strong relation with the chronology, the time and the calendar. It is possible to think that this characteristic is a type of strategy to survive and to adapt constantly.

Through carnivals, the Brazilian people invert, reverse and subvert the temporal and controlled daily order throughout the year, reserving the right to create a new way of life in the carnival period, which today is only possible to be thought/understood as absolutely influenced by the technological context of contemporaneity.

Technology is present as a way of updating the carnival folk manifestation, as real-virtual immersion in the contemporary scenario of cyberculture and in the updating, aesthetic, and conceptual (re) configuration of the manifestation, with a view to maintaining the attractive character of spectacle

that samba schools took over. This duality between the maintenance of tradition and the assumption of new ways of existing manifestations nowadays, however, generates an endless reflection, and without any winner.

Luz (2013), regarding the clash between traditional and contemporary, recalls:

> *Since the creation of the samba schools in Rio de Janeiro in the late 1930s from ranches and cords, there were those, who went a step further, reinventing a convention, as well as some who cried out, insulted against this step, defending the convention. The following year, however, many would take the same step, making the invention of the previous year a new convention. And so the carnival was dialogically self-constructed, allowing itself to be an open work that is allowed to reinvent itself, returning to its past to seek new references for the future. (LUZ, 2013, p.130)*

The transformations of folkloric manifestations are inevitable, over time. The places are no longer the same, the climates and temperatures are no longer the same, the same. Culture is dynamic and,

because of this, it is no longer the same, making the folklore being not the same.

Keeping an essentialist and untouchably romantic view of these issues is almost an attitude of incongruity with what we witness on a daily basis. Rather, we must respect folk traditions and all that they represent as legacy, but we can not close our eyes to the new ways of being, doing and existing that we are living in, in which the real and the virtual have increasingly tenuous and indefinable frontiers. Mariátegui (2003), in this sense, warns:

> *The success of science today is not only based on these technological results but also on a careful and balanced combination of inventiveness and control. It is fundamental that the relation between the new media and the old media develop itself as a coevolution, but under a new perspective in which nature and machine unite forming one thing. Somehow, this will mean that no important difference between real and virtual experiences will be found. (MARIÁTEGUI, 2003, p.163)*

We must be prepared or, more than that open to the new possibilities of the carnival existence (and all sorts of manifestations of popular and folk cultures) in contemporary times. New times call for new attitudes. However, one certainty we defend here: regardless of form and mode, carnival will not cease to exist for a long time, either through a "real" samba school, or through a mockup' samba school, or even some other mode of making carnival that present itself and finding strategies of survival in this technological scene.

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The folklore festival experience in the safeguard of the intangible cultural heritage and its effects on the modern life.

تجربة مهرجان الفولكلور في حماية التراث الثقافي غير المادي وتأثيراته على الحياة الحديثة.

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The folklore festival experience in the safeguard of the intangible cultural heritage and its effects on the modern life

Abstract

The folklore festival is a cultural meeting in a specific period. It is a space where artists, festivals managers, local people and general audiences meet to generate cultural value. This research shows how folklore´s artists and cultural managers have become the base to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage. The paper analyzes how the management and artists' creation have developed to the maximum level promoting the cultural dialogue among society.

This work is based on a conceptual mix of three study axes (intangible cultural heritage, folklore festivals, and, artists and festival managers) with the aim to answer the question: Could folklore festivals add value and support the appropriation of intangible cultural heritage?

An analysis is made from the cultural exchange environment lived inside festivals and it is taken directly from people involve within the festival. By analyzing this environment and interaction, a dynamic and objective vision about the importance of the folklore festivals is obtained as well as it is shown how this interaction really contributes to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage through music – dance. Finally, the results of the analysis and methodological approach are exposed. The results of the new technologies and social networks reveal the special role they play in the diffusion of the intangible cultural heritage and how much they contribute to the achievement of the UNESCO´s objectives.

Keywords: Cultural heritage, folklore festivals, cultural management, cultural dialogue, UNESCO.

1. Introduction

The content of this research was focused in the analysis of the folklore festivals actors which are the artists who participated in the event and the managers of each festival, these actors was analyzed by the methodological mixture of quantitative and qualitative tools, all of this study under the intangible cultural heritage process to appropriation and safeguard point of view. This research paper was developed during 2016 to 2018 in different festivals in Europe, Latin America and China.

Since 2003 when the term chooses as "intangible cultural heritage" was defined by UNESCO [1] after the difficulties encountered by workers and students of culture, in an international comparative context. Including the employment and misinterpretation

of expressions such as "folklore", "oral heritage", "traditional culture", "expressive culture", "way of life ", "popular life", "ethnographic culture", "community-based culture", "traditions", "living cultural heritage" and "popular culture" [2].

The consolidation and adoption of an international legal instrument to achieve this convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage was not easy. First, it was necessary to create an international system for the protection of heritage and, in addition, the safeguarding of heritage had to be consolidated material, whether cultural (movable and immovable) or natural. Only then was it possible to advance in the protection of intangible heritage [3]. Thus, the beginnings of the international protection of heritage started with the Athens Letter of 4] 1931]. Later these efforts led to the creation of UNESCO in 1945, in whose office for more than 3 decades the conventions on the protection of cultural property were adopted

and the concept of heritage being focused on the protection of movable material goods (collections and objects), immovable (sites) and intangible components that are part of it, had not been considered [10] [9] [8] [7] [6] [5]. The most direct antecedents before the 2003 convention were the recommendation on the safeguarding of traditional and popular culture in 1989 [11], the universal declaration about cultural diversity in 2001 [12] and the declaration of Istanbul in 2002 [13].

The second area corresponds to festivals. Since the beginning of the 1980's there have been numerous investigations carried out in different Western countries about the phenomenon of cultural or artistic festivals. During these years, a wide repertoire of research works has been developed according to the different research tools: methods, scope, focus, field and size. The first investigations were conducted for economic reasons [14], as a regional and social phenomenon [16] [15], showing

rural, urban and regional development process as well as promotion of audience [19] [18] [17], as an event study [27] [26] [25] [24] [23] [22] [21] [20].

In terms of an anthropological and political research, it is based on observations and interviews and generally consist of a descriptive report, in most cases with some basic numbers collected from the organizers and visitors [28].

Falassi in [29] define festival as a periodic celebration made of a multiplicity of ritual forms and events that directly or indirectly affect all the members of a community. In addition, explicitly or implicitly, it shows the basic values, the ideology or the vision of the world that is shared by members of the community and that is the basis of their social identity.

Until now, the investigations in festivals have focused on the management, strategy, social effect

and artistic development of the festivals. Most of these studies are not conducted from a global perspective, but from individual disciplines that do not agglutinate a comprehensive vision of the experience of safeguarding the intangible heritage from inside the festivals, from the main actors in the appropriation that is the artist and the manager of folklore festivals.

The third central axis of study is the role of the artist and manager in the practice of appropriation and diffusion of intangible cultural heritage. There are some studies focused on the knowledge and competencies of the event manager such as concepts, marketing, management, styles [30], knowledge and attributes of event managers [[31 35] [34] [33] [32]].

In this work, folklore festivals and their actors are considered from an integrated perspective in which the objectives of safeguarding the intangible

heritage are strengthened, which in turn are linked to the objectives of UNESCO and constitute the main contribution to the scientific community of this work.

2. Methodology

The methodological framework is structured in three different parts. In the first part, a theoretical study was made to review existing literature on festivals, event management, intangible cultural heritage and actions to safeguard it. In phase two, a database of festivals of the associations, councils, NGOS and groups for the organization of most important folklore festivals - IOV, FIDAFF, CIOFF, EAFF, WAPA - including the information of the festivals that fulfilled the characteristics was made (suggested by Elschek [36], Szabó [28] and Bonet [37]). Criteria for festivals to classify as music-dance folklore festivals are: 1. representation of a minimum of six different live acts-concerts, 2.

minimum duration of two days,

3. minimum age of three editions, 4. have periodic character, 5. prepared for a public hearing, with a clear start and end dates, denomination as an international folkloric festival, music-dance festivals and hospitality in accommodation and meals as part of a cultural exchange.

In this phase, 473 different festivals from 96 countries that fulfilled these characteristics were identified and they began to form the database from which the data for the fieldwork would be extracted.

Fig.1: a. Geographic map of the identified festivals. b. Distribution of festivals per demographic zone
Source: Made by the author in Geoda software.

In the third phase, an empirical study consisting of a quantitative - qualitative methodological triangulation was made. A field work for 3 years at different times, spaces and actors in which the necessary information for subsequent analysis, the different methodologies used was collected. They are described below for each of the actors of the folklore festival.

2.1 Study sites

Due to the mixture of the methodology and the global emphasis of the research, the sites where the empirical work took place was in Europe (Moldova, Romania, Turkey, North Cyprus and Greece), Latin-America (Colombia) and China. This work was developed in these countries inside of different artists groups and with different space of time during 2016 and 2018. In Moldova, Romania and Colombia the work was doing once in 2017 while in North Cyprus, Turkey, Greece and China twice (2016 and 2018). More than 1000 artists and 120 festivals managers took the opportunity to know about the project and show their interest to contribute in the future to work in the field of the intangible cultural heritage in folklore festivals during this research.

2.2 Festival managers

In the case of the director's profile of folklore festivals, a qualitative-quantitative methodological triangulation was carried out through the design of a questionnaire and the use of in-depth interviews.

2.2.1 Questionnaire

In this first stage, a survey or questionnaire was designed including the 14 different hypotheses of study on the profile of the directors of folklore festivals. Nighty-four variables were generated, regarding the managing process, manager environment, implications of the new technologies and social networks in modern communications of folklore festivals, financial model, and personal data.

The types of questions that were chosen in the questionnaire were: 1. Closed categorized and

numerical valuation, 2. closing categorized and assessment Liker scale and 3 of action

In the case of self-completed questionnaires, the percentage of responses from which a success is considered is 38] %25]. This survey was sent at different times, to different directors of the database taking into account this value to guarantee the percentage of success and the representativeness of the universe of directors of the sample. A process was developed of sending and collecting the survey via

email in PDF format – the completed survey being returned by the same method. This was the best alternative to the initial hypothesis that festival directors will have a greater problem when using other technological ways online. Therefore, in Table 1 we observe the number of surveys sent, responses obtained and demographically classified.

Zone	Countries	Total festivals	Surveys returned	Invalid surveys	Total to work
Europe	39	356	105	18	87
America	17	66	23	6	17
Africa	13	15	7	1	6
Asia	13	22	9	2	7
Oceania	9	14	6	3	3
Total	91	473	150	30	120

Universe	Folklore festivals made in
Information	2016 that fulfilled the criteria
collection method	Survey sent by email
Geographical scope	World
Surveys sent	473
Final size of the sample	120
Final percentage of the sample	25,37%
Representativeness	Global zones and that make part of institutions
Sampling technique	Non-probabilistic by quotas
Field work date	June 2017 to January 2018

Tab. 1: Total of surveys sent, returned and invalid per demographic zones

Tab. 2: Technical summary of the survey

2 In-depth interviews

After obtaining a quantitative vision that the directors of folklore festivals have about intangible

cultural heritage and its safeguard, it seeks to know more closely and in greater depth the opinions of some of the most relevant directors worldwide.

Among the different types of interviews that exist, the model followed in this research is the semi- structured interview, in which there is a set of questions and topics to explore, but there is no exact wording and no order of exposure. Thus, an interview "script" was created in which the topics on which to approach the interview were collected looking for open answers, but on closed questions. The potential uses of the interviews can be divided into two large groups. Preparatory exploratory uses and uses of contrast, illustration or deepening [40] ,[39]. In this case, the technique of in-depth interviewing is used with the aim of deepening into the meanings and integrating them with the quantitative study carried out previously, which is why it is used more in depth than exploratory.

Like the survey design process, the script of the in-depth interviews has been divided into five blocks: introduction, management, the figure of the folklore festival manager, technology and internet and viability, resources and impacts. At the end of the interviews, conclusive questions are included with open comments that could be added freely and then thank them for their participation in the interview. Once the interview script has been designed, the sample of interviewees is selected. In this sense, two criteria have been established. The first and most important is - as in the quantitative tool - to guarantee the diversity of the population of directors of festivals so as not to bias the information to an exclusive majority or predominant group that in this case would be European. The second criterion has been to look for concrete and significant profiles. Once these criteria have been met, the variable of number of interviews or representativeness will be given by the saturation of discourse, that is, when a new interview does not provide more relevant

information for the investigation [42] ,[41].

Given that this work has been developed during different periods of time and in parallel with the study of the artists, the selection of the directors was made based on the development of the fieldwork during 2016 to 2018 with directors of key festivals, responsible for creating circuits for artistic groups in Colombia, Romania and Moldova in 2017 and Northern Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and China in 2018. Most of these interviews were developed at the time the folklore festival was held in person at the city where the interviewee was, thus fulfilling what authors such as [43] recommend about the importance of the conditioning being as favorable as possible to the interests of the study. It is very important the observation from the interviews, it is not only the voice record of a protagonist, but also go to their neighborhoods or houses and make an added assessment of what is contributing.

Likewise, by guaranteeing the criterion of diversity, some interviews were conducted via telephone with festival directors in Africa, due to the impossibility of attending one of their festivals at the point of origin during these years.

The interviews were recorded using a digital recorder for later transcription and analysis, as highlighted by [44] by preserving and retrieving the information provided by the interview, it is essential to discover the sensitizing concepts that will be used in the organization of the data.

Date	Director	Country	Festival	Place of the interview
24/6/2017	Viorica Oprea	Moldova	Festivalul neamului "Stefan Cel Mare Si Sfant"	Str. Alba iulia 81/2, of. 38. Chisinau-Moldova
4/7/2017	Angelica Herac	Romania	47 th edition of the international folklore festival HERCULES	Golden spirit hotel. Baile Herculane-Romania
4/12/2017	Elvis Sanchez	Colombia	IX Encuentro nacional e internacional de danza folclórica EL YOPO	Carrera 16, 16-25. Yopal-Colombia
16/12/2017	Harouna Kabre	Burkina Faso	International festival of tolerance folkloric	Telephone interview
15/2/2018	Yajing Xue	China	Chinese New Year celebration	DongFang hotel. Beijing-China
25/6/2018	Faruk Alkaya	Turkey	The international folklore festival 2018	DSI Iznik egitim ve dinlenme tesisleri. Iznik-Turkey
3/7/2018	Özlem Kadiraga	North Cyoruus	23th International Iskele municipality folk dance festival	Karina hotel. Bursa-Turkey
2/8/2018	Vassileos Asder-akis	Greece	International traditional dance festival of Nea Anchialos	Protessilaos hotel. Nea Anchialos-Greece

Tab. 3: Interviewed folklore festival manager

2.3 Artists

In the case of the profile of the artist participating in the folklore festival, a qualitative methodology was performed through the application of participant observation in three different moments of three consecutive years (2018-2016) and the design of in-depth interviews. It was decided that using these tools is the best way to approach the phenomenon when there is little information about it. During the bibliographic search, no further studies were found of the artists participating in events beyond those offered by the educational frameworks of universities and art schools. With these two qualitative methodologies we managed to get into the social reality of these subjects:

2.3.1 Participant observation

The focus of the study is on the phenomenon of the festival and on the appropriation of the intangible cultural heritage by the artists who create and develop it. The notion of conducting the study of the artists during the festival was a determining factor that meant a movement and a link to different groups during 2018-2016. To build a vision "from inside" of the social reality of the festival is based on the premise that "a) full social knowledge can only be achieved through the understanding of the point of view of social actors, through a process of identification with their lives, and b) this identification can only be done with full and complete participation in their daily lives, in a continuous and direct integration with the subjects studied "[45]

Date	Artistic group	Place of the observation	Festivals
1/7/2016 - 9/8/2016	Compañía artística manglares - Colombia	North Cyprus – Turkey – Greece	21th International Iskele municipality folk dance festival,30th International golden karagoz folk dance competition, Poseidonia 2016
14/9/2016 - 4/10/2016	Ballet folclórico de Casanare - Colombia	China	Luoyang Heluo international cultural tourism festival, Shanxi Yuncheng international tourism festival, Beijing international tourism festival
22/6/2017 - 30/6/2017	Grupo de baile sur de Andalucía - Spain	Moldova	Festivalul neamului "Stefan Cel Mare Si Sfant"

14/2/2018 - 27/2/2018	Ballet Raíces nuevas - Argentina	China	Chinese New Year celebration

Tab. 4: Dates, groups and places where the participant observation was done

For this particular study, it was defined to follow the role of a full participant of the social action studied, since the fact of entering a group involved carrying out a specific task, so that the observation activity should be hidden and the involvement in the dynamics observed. Likewise, the degree of structuring and systematicity of the observations varied over time, initially in 2016 an approach was made that was more open and exploratory to take some premises and categories for the following years in which it was already observed the phenomenon with the highest degree of systematicity. Experience shows how systematic observations tend to be more profitable when preceded by systematic and nonspecific observations that, in some way, conduct the observation of the social phenomenon as a whole [46]. The first part of the observation was an exploratory type, observing habitual aspects such as the physical and social context, formal and informal interactions and the interpretations of social actors towards research [45]. Later in the second stage, with a clear theoretical framework, different hypotheses and initial questions were defined that gave rise to a systematic and structured observation with established categories that governed the observation. These were: 1. the artistic creation, 2. knowledge, competences and values of an artist, 3. management environment, 4. the use of digital applications, 5. internet and social networks and 6. ownership and financial participation models exclusive to participation in a folklore festival.

The observation was made in the places shown in table 4, with four different artistic groups that were part of the study, both in the exploratory phase and in the final phase of the study.

Finally, the recording of the information was done through the taking of notes and digitizing them in periods of no more than 72 hours, in order to avoid material loss. Facts, personal interpretations, theoretical reflections about the observed situation and interpretations of the subjects studied according to the types of notes established by [40].

2.3.2 In-depth interviews

In the study of artists through the methodology of participant observation, it is inevitable that in some situations the research will become a form of formal interview due to the interpretations that social actors make about research. Therefore, after the first exploratory phase of the artists and the definition of a research structure through participant observation, in parallel, an interview script was developed to use deepening rather than exploratory.

Like the process of designing interviews with directors, the script of the in-depth interviews for the artists was divided into five sections: introduction, artistic creation, the figure of the artist and his environment, technology (internet) and financial model when participating in a festival of folklore.

The practical application of the interviews was carried out with artists participating in folklore festivals of different groups and nationalities attended by the groups in which participant observation was made in 2017 and 2018. The sample was determined according to the variability of participating groups during this time and in the attended festivals. Likewise, the number of interviews was given by speech saturation [42],[41] and all interviews were recorded digitally in the same way that was made with festival directors.

Date	Artist	Country	Festival	Place of the interview
5/7/2017	Abbes Benkounda Vahide Jusufi	Algeria Kosovo	47th edition of the international folklore festival HERCULES	Golden spirit hotel. Baile Herculane-Romania
20/7/2017	Anna Witkowska	Poland	10 student's international folklore festival of Nis	Students cultural centre – Sumatovacka str. 18000.Nis - Serbia
3/8/2017	Jana Debusk	USA	Poseidonia 2017	Nikoleika beach of Aigio - Greece
12/12/2017	Keinner Macias	Venezuela	Beijing international tourism festival 2016	Universidad politécnica de Valencia. Valencia - Spain
16/2/2018	Karol Sonda Diego Rodriguez	Brazil Mexico	Chinese New Year celebration	DongFang hotel. Beijing-China
17/2/2018	Iazgul Muratova Sapana	Russia	32th international golden	
4/7/2018	Maharjan Il Jeon	Nepal Korea	karagoz folk dance competition	Karina hotel. Bursa - Turkey
2/8/2018	Natalie	Greece	Poseidonia 2018	Nikoleika beach of Aigio-Stavropoulous Greece

Tab. 5: Folklore festivals artists interviewed

3. Results and discussion

In this part, two key tools have been used. One of them is the SPSS 25 software, for statistical analysis, where all the data of the quantitative survey has been introduced to the directors and the software Atlas.Ti for the qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews and the notes of the participant observation. Thus the results of the study on the use of new technologies and social networks are presented from the point of view of the director of folklore festivals as a diffuser of the intangible cultural heritage and of the participant artist of the folklore festivals as the entity in charge of the appropriation and valuing of the intangible cultural heritage. The starting point of this study is based in some hypothesis, which were:

1. The festivals will be present in at least one social network and will have a web page and 2. The directors will passively use the networks and applications during the phases of the festival: before, during and after. To confirm these hypotheses, 10 specific variables were established, of which 4 were for the pre-festival stage, 4 for the stage during the festival and 2 for the post-festival stage; Likewise, 3 variables that act during the three stages were included. The results are shown in figures 2 and 3.

In figure 2(a), we observe the results of the activities given in the pre-festival stage, in which we can highlight the majority use of technological tools and internet for activities to inform news such as schedules or line up, with %93.3 and those of promoting and making known to the public cultural values of the peoples represented in the festival with %96.67. Therefore, it is conclusive to say that the directors give an important role to elements of intangible cultural heritage. Likewise, %66.67 of the directors surveyed use the technological tools and the internet to facilitate the collaboration of the public in the design of the festival. Finally, and in a lesser measure, half of the directors (%53.33) use these tools to offer promotions and discounts. With this data, we could conclude that the directors actively use technology to inform users of elements of the festival as well as cultural meanings of the people represented in it, during the pre-festival stage. In the stage during the festival, the directors make use of these tools mainly to notify activities during the

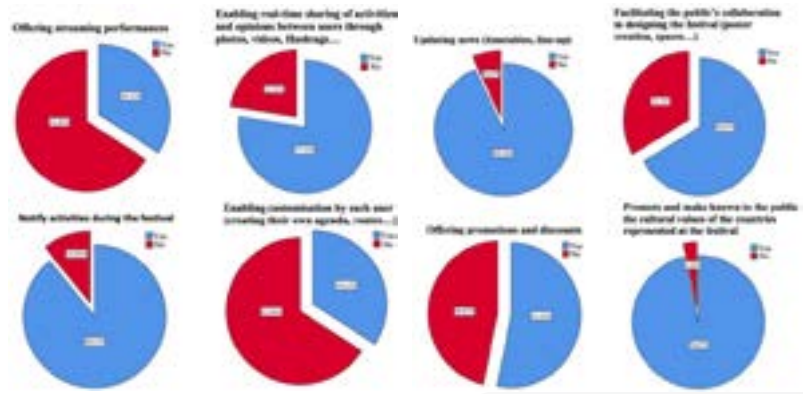
celebration of the festival with %89.17. They also give possibility for the public to share activities and opinions in real time among users through photos, videos, hashtags, etc. with %77.5 as shown in Figure 2(b). This gives a new point of significance to the technological tools and the internet mostly for informative use. To a lesser measure, %34.17 of the directors offer a retransmission by streaming and give the possibility of personalization to users such as creating agendas, routes, etc. Finally, in the post-festival stage, %89.17 of the directors use the technological tools and the internet to publish the multimedia material of what was this year's festival and / or previous editions, while %72.5 conduct satisfaction surveys through these tools.

Therefore, although %100 of directors of folklore festivals make intensive use of technological tools and the internet, it is clear that the greatest use is to inform and collect information in the different stages of the festival. However, it is very important to focus

the great value of the festival in communicating the cultural values of the peoples participating in the festival, a fact that promotes the valuing experience pertaining to the intangible cultural heritage and that creates a support in which the folklore festival is important for the appropriation and safeguarding of this heritage.

Figure 3 show the results of the tools and social networks used by festival directors, from which we observe that the biggest tools used in computer packages are Microsoft Office with %71.7 of the total of respondents and Google Drive with %45. To a lesser extent, we found the other category (in which the use of the Dropbox program was highlighted) with %9.2 and the Adobe suite with %7.5. In the same way, festival directors make massive use of social networks, with Facebook being the most used social network with %88.3, followed by YouTube with %32.5, WhatsApp with %15.8 and Instagram with %11.7. Finally, as internet tools,

festival directors find the website as the starting point of their festivals and %84.2 of them have a web page, followed by web forms with %9.2 and blogs with %6.7.



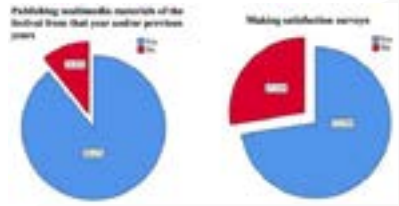


Fig. 2: Results of the questions a. pre-festival stage. b. During festival stage. c. Post-festival stage

Therefore, we can conclude that festivals are present in social networks, Facebook being the social network par excellence for the diffusion of festival activities, and have a web page, thus

concluding hypothesis 1. However, after the analysis of the results we check the mismatch of hypothesis 2, because the directors of festivals make a massive and active use of social networks and the internet f or the dissemination of their folklore festivals and elements related to the intangible cultural heritage.

Fig. 3: Results of the questions about a. software used. b. social networks used, and c. Internet tools used during the activities of the festival To the question, has the way of managing the festival changed in relation to new technologies (social

networks, internet, applications, etc.)? What do you notice mainly? What do you think the future of the folklore festival will be like in this topic?

All directors are aware of the change that folklore festivals have had in recent years due to technological innovation. In particular, there is significantly greater use of the internet, festival website and social networks. These tools have influenced the great changes that have been adapted to improve the way of managing the festival, especially for dissemination and approaches with other cultures, which has allowed opening up to the cultural dialogue between peoples in an easier way. In this sense, some directors mention certain comparative advantages with other times and that have favored new technologies such as the use of translation applications in mobile phones.

Most of the directors mention the effort to have artistic groups of high scenic quality and with great

trajectory for their festivals. The use of multimedia material is indispensable to select a group, with material obtained through the use of social networks like Facebook and YouTube.

There are two main exclusive uses that directors make with respect to the use given to technological tools. One of them is mainly to inform festival activities to the audience. Most of the directors agree on this fact and recount that it is the most economical and efficient way to do it, because right now, they invest less in print advertising and they do it more in social networks such as Facebook. The other major use is to contact the groups and, in their discourse, the history of these contacts is extracted. Most remember that this activity improves every day with time and it is very easy to do it. In their words, they assure "before, we invited groups that some friend knew from another festival. It was simply to trust other people, we could not see beforehand if it was good or not and

everything was done by postal mail or in the best of cases an international call. At the same time, it was almost impossible to understand due to language communication problems since we did not speak the same language. Then, we used email, and this was completely new since at least some images and some history could be shared. With the turn of the century, everything was much easier. We could already see videos of performances, much faster communications and more interaction with more groups. Right now, we have to discard many of them, because we cannot cover with all the offers of groups that we have". In this way, with the interviews conducted, a great point of importance is given to the effect of technological innovation. Affirming the presence in social networks and the internet of the festivals and the active use of social networks for the dissemination of the activities of the festival and the promotion of cultural dialogue, facts that confirm that the phenomenon of the folklore festival is a key piece for the appropriation

and valuing of intangible cultural heritage.

In the case of the artists, the main phenomenon observed through qualitative methodologies is the fact of the passionate character over their traditions that the subject studied creates a high degree of assumption of their dances-music and the history behind each of them was observed. They are present in the subject, who in turn shares it through social networks, mostly through YouTube or Facebook. Likewise, it is important to emphasize that in the four different groups there is an action to give value to the history of the place they visit and their traditions. This generates an environment of knowledge exchange, which is a tool for diffusion of cultural heritage immaterial intrinsic in the artists that, at the same time, is generated by the festival. The conclusion is that the festival is not only the moment of performance but also a bridge of communication in periods different from the interaction with the audience. The most relevant

aspect in relation to the new technologies and internet from the observed subjects is the great use they give to mobile applications to communicate with other artists. It was very common to observe different nationalities (who did not speak a common language) communicating fluently through a cell phone by translator and sharing audios and videos through WhatsApp, WeChat, Facebook, YouTube or Viber. Given this fact and focusing on the most experienced artists, it is determined that it is something very unique and very positive that brings with it the new technological applications for the new generations, opportunities that did not exist before the 21st century. The observation during the festival period was crucial for the knowledge of the actions of the subjects in relation to the intangible cultural heritage. However, the fact of appropriation of this heritage is much more extensive that cannot be observed purely during the festival. Since it is a pre-festival study process that the artists carry out, for these cases and almost in parallel, in-depth

interviews were used. To the question, has the way of managing an artistic group changed in relation to new technologies (social networks, internet, applications, etc.)? Have you been influential in artistic creation? What do you notice mainly? What do you think will be the future of folklore festivals in this topic?

All the artists interviewed agree on the importance of social networks because through this they achieve contact with festivals where they want to participate. Some of them venture to say that their group depends only and exclusively on these interactions, since there is no other way free to do it.

Similarly, most of them emphasize the importance of using video sharing on the Youtube platform, which they say is of vital importance for both artistic creation and dissemination, affirming again the active use of technological tools in elements of

intangible cultural heritage.

Some of the most experienced artists define technological change as an opportunity for the future of the artistic sector as they perceive it as a two-way communication. "In the past we only created what we knew in the first person, now we are enriched by what others have done and we supported on that, we see everything on the internet, and we are constantly collecting information about the feelings that our show offers". In the stages of artistic creation and diffusion, the main tools are the technological ones. On the one hand, they encourage research in the dance-musical field and on the other, they facilitate the obtaining of contacts and of selling a show towards a folklore festival.

Finally, the artists agree that festivals are being transformed thanks to new technologies and social networks, with a lot of emphasis on little by little. With the generational renewal, these will constitute

the main resource for mass cultural dialogue.

Reflecting on this importance of the festival for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, new technologies have been a key element both for the dissemination of management and heritage, bringing people closer and gradually removing political and linguistic barriers. This research has shown how folklore festivals are a perfect combination between event management and the passion for the cultural heritage of the people. In the case of the creators of the festivals, the profile of the director includes professional training and another empirical in the field of folklore, which in many cases constitutes the main reason for the survival of the folklore festival.

This work is a first approach to the folklore festival from the academic field and focusing on the subjects that make it possible. There are many events and actions that happen within which are of interest for

future work. In this way, the aim is to put into value both the festival and the framework of the cultural event and the dance-musical heritage of the peoples participating in the festival. This work is still under analysis, so the results shown here are still partial. As well as the block of new technologies and internet presented here, there are those corresponding to management, environment, knowledge, skills and values, resources, feasibility and impacts, which will be shown in the following writings.

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Contextualizing Traditional Crafts Today

حرف السياقات التقليدية اليوم

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Contextualizing Traditional Crafts Today

Traditional crafts are a significant tangible manifestation to the intangible folk culture reflected in the oral traditions, social practices, rituals and festivals. Today, even with accelerated pace of transformations due to modernization, many traditions do still have their relevance and even though they also undergo changes over the years, the imbedded meaning and essence remain intact. Consequently, traditional crafts have also evolved over time with changes as in the material, design, production methods etc.

My paper will discuss the underlying reasons for sustainability of traditional urban crafts in India by analyzing those that have managed to adapt to the contemporary context and surviving and others that are under threat. The investigation is undertaken for the case example of the historic city of Amritsar.

Historic Amritsar is an urban ensemble anchored around Sri Harmandir Sahib; the holiest shrine of Sikhs. The historic areas are home to not only the built fabric of traditional neighborhoods but also the festivals and rituals, and various traditional crafts. Most of these crafts having continued over the years are strongly linked to the culture and milieu of the region. Though they do survive today in the lanes of Amritsar while undergoing changes over the years, some of them are under threat owing to the present generation not interested in continuing forth.

My research will discuss two of these traditional crafts; churra (wedding bangles) and brass metal works by situating these in today's context, the issues and reasons behind their survival or lack of it. The paradigm of living heritage propagated by UNESCO talks about conserving the heritage, especially intangible aspects not just as preserved artifacts but as the living traditions of people in

present context. Based on the research findings, the above paper will discuss the strategies for ensuring continuity of the traditional crafts in the future.

Key words:

Traditional crafts, living heritage, sustainability, modernization

Introduction

Historic urban areas contribute towards socio-cultural identity of the community; narrate the history of that place through its buildings, practices and rituals carried out by the community inhabiting it. The historical urban landscape approach propagate that investing in the intangible heritage reflected in the above contribute towards social and economic wellbeing and improvement in the overall quality of life of the communities residing in these areas (UNESCO, 2011). In a way, the approach places the

heritage conservation in a new perspective that links tradition and modernization, present and past, and present and future. Even in today's fast paced world of continuing transformations and modernization, culture is a very important part of human existence and many social practices within a particular cultural environment do still have their relevance and are practiced regularly by the communities. Keeping the spirit intact, the traditions do undergo various transformations over the years. Similarly, traditional crafts intrinsic to the communities have also evolved over time with changes in the materials, designs, production methods etc.

Today the historic urban areas that are part of the urban cities are being threatened by physical degradation at times even destroyed with the impact of the urban development that follow. Traditional crafts, one of the significant parts of the intangible heritage are a very intrinsic part of these historic urban areas. The present day conservation

processes still being monument centric; the intangible that is part of the community is not given much consideration.

Heritage management of such areas thus is centered on the tangible built components and the intangible is left to fend its own path. So why does the intangible component need consideration? I would put it down to the following points as also discussed by many experts in the field of heritage management.

- Traditional crafts are an intrinsic part of the communities' identity and living systems and form a part of the socio cultural ecosystem of these areas.
- Today, it is understood that the tangible and intangible heritage are very closely interrelated and hence although the interrelationships can be complex, they cannot be viewed separately. The tangible can only be interpreted through the intangible, as we confer abstract values onto it
- Over the years, heritage has gained considerable importance in terms of its economic value and hence needs to be given due merit.

Taking the case of two traditional crafts of the historic city of Amritsar, the paper is aimed at discussing the underlying factors that impact the sustainability of traditional crafts in urban context. The New Urban Agenda (NUA) (UNESCO, 2016) recognizes cultural heritage (both tangible and intangible) as an important factor for urban sustainable development. The paper propagates the conservation of traditional crafts as critical for overall vision of sustainability of the urban historic areas especially in Indian context. To further substantiate the point, a case of similar craft in the same region has also been discussed. The study has been undertaken through questionnaire survey

and on site observations and is part of ongoing doctoral research under the subject of 'The role of the traditional craft based economy in historic urban areas in India'.

Defining traditional craft

With the paradigm shift led by UNESCO, the understanding of 'cultural heritage' has shifted from being monument centric to include traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to successive generations through oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts (UNESCO, 2003). The convention of 2003 formalized the definition of "traditional culture and folklore" to intangible cultural heritage with its participatory heritage

safeguarding model and strong human rights-based orientation (Kirshenblatt, 2004). Traditional craft, being an important component of the intangible cultural heritage also came in the forefront in this changing paradigm.

Traditional craft are not craft in themselves; they are part of the living systems. The significance of the intangible does not lie in its physical manifestations but in the knowledge and skills that create it and are hereditarily transmitted over the years. It is not static, but continually transforms and innovates. Intangible heritage is thus, largely community based since it is the heritage recognized as such by the communities, groups or individuals that create maintain and transmit it.

Historically, crafts had lot of dependency on the patronage of the kings, the noble men, chieftains and even the temples. Traditional marketplaces in pre-industrial agrarian societies provided avenue

for trade and barter. Although once an integral element in the political, spiritual and economic life of the community, crafts were marginalized by the processes of industrialization. The industrial revolution brought about the possibility of making things at a faster pace and in larger numbers. This led to the conclusion of traditional crafts being crude and hence marginalized to a few who still wanted to practice it. Last centuries have also forced artisans to abandon their traditional livelihoods and take up other menial work (Ratnam, 2011). Despite this marginalization, traditional crafts do struggle to survive as part of the informal sector of economy especially in the south Asian region.

Need for contextualizing traditional crafts in contemporary context

Cultural heritage has proliferated in the past quarter of a century from a small elite preoccupation into a major popular crusade. UNESCO describes

intangible heritage as being traditional, contemporary and living at the same time.

Contextualizing crafts in present time will need a consideration of the following parameters:

- Varying Stakeholders - From being the possession of the privileged, traditional crafts shifted to being popular among the common folk. Traditional crafts being the result of cultural, social, political and economic will of the community and of their actions results in the product having many stakeholders making its conservation and management a complex system. Also, the balance or tension between the craftsmen coming from the low income community and the patron coming from a wealthy background cannot be ignored (Thapar, 2018) and this unbalance carried forward from ancient times has only augmented overtime.

- Constant Transformations - The fundamental principal of this knowledge transmission is that it is constantly changing and thus necessarily forms a culture of praxis (Greek for practice) in which humans engage in (physical) action with other humans (Thorolf, 2013). Thus it can't be seen with the same standpoint as for the tangible monuments.
- The Convention - Convention 2003 states that ICH is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environments and are therefore implicitly living. But there is no explicit understanding of the importance of the need to retain, conserve or (critically) create new conditions under which new ICH can develop. As we lose the diversity of landscapes and the holistic understanding of how lives connect with landscapes, we are also in the danger of losing diversity of ICH; in so doing, we lose not only existing ICH but the potential for new ICH to develop (Roe, 2017).

The new paradigm of ICH includes popular folk culture and not only the masterpieces and seeks to sustain a living, if endangered, tradition by supporting the conditions necessary for cultural reproduction. This means according value to the carriers and transmitters of traditions, as well as to their habitus and the habitat (Kirshernblatt, 2004).

- Authenticity – The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) underlines cultural diversity as an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness. But, as debated later intangible heritage is constantly recreated and hence cannot be seen only in the context of historical authenticity, which was understood as 'static'. The livingness component is an inherent attribute of intangible cultural heritage.
- Dependency factors – Sustainability of traditional crafts depends on varying factors including the current socio-cultural trends,

political institutions to economy of the region. Along with inclusion of many stakeholders, sustainability of the same will need a multifarious approach.

- Economic value – As mentioned previously, heritage is both a cultural and economic good and is commoditized as such. The economic value of the heritage is being given importance in recent international discussions. The multiple use and consumption is critical for survival of the heritage and is also the potent source of conflict between various interest groups involved.

Thus, an integrated approach that does not merely consider museumification of the artefacts but creates prospects for their continuity into the future is the paradigm required for today.

Introduction to Amritsar

The historic area of Amritsar, situated in the state of Punjab, north India is an urban ensemble anchored around Sri Harmandir Sahib; the holiest shrine of Sikhs. The heritage of Amritsar boasts of the Harmandir sahib, historical gardens, palaces and various gurudwaras and temples along with components from the British era. Considering the city's association with pre independence India, it also has sites associated with the independence era. The by lanes also include the traditional buildings in form of sshops, trading houses and residences all juxtaposed in harmony of the historic city. Economy of the city especially the historic core depends a lot on the traditional skills supported by major tourism concentrated around the sacred sites in the inner city. The core city boasts of many katras [46] and bazaars that specialize in various

[46] A market with residential quarters and storage facilities enclosed by walls and entered through a gate.

products sold there. Along with festivals and rituals, the intangible heritage includes various traditional crafts such as Phulkari[47], Jutti[48], metalwork by Thatheras, Sikligar[49], Judau[50], Pottery, Durrie[51], Galeecha[52], Woollen Handloom that are rooted in the distinctive culture and milieu of the region. In addition, there is also a long list of performing arts and festivals local to Amritsar.

Case studies

From the many crafts practiced by the artisans within the historic city area, I have discussed two of them here. The reasons for choosing the specific crafts are twofold.

- Though varying in scale, both the crafts have their presence in the historic areas.
- The craftsmen have been mostly using traditional processes for the execution of the craft.

Within them, one can see the changes happening due to advent of technology, popular culture, economic benefits etc. The interventions can be in terms of material, processes or additions to the original product. For crafts to be sustainable, they need to be socio-culturally as well as economically sustainable. The study includes one craft that is economically flourishing and though not manufactured within the historic areas today is sold there and the other which is under severe threat of extinction.

[47] Traditional embroidery work of the Punjab region. This is used in scarfs, dress material and shawls and now for many contemporary products also.

[48] Traditional footwear of this region

[49] Weaponry such as swords, now only used as showpieces

[50] Type of jewellery with embedded stonework

[51] Traditional rugs and carpets

[52] Blankets

Churra (Bangles)

Within the many by lanes radiating from the central Harmandir saheb, one is the Katra Mohan Singh, home to shops that sell bridal accessories especially the 'Churra'. The churra are special type of bangles worn by the bride. This is a custom followed by many communities in the northern India. The set of bangles are worn by the bride from the day of the marriage until six months to 1 year depending on the community tradition and choice. Amritsar also being the city of golden temple, people believe that churra bought from here has religious blessings. In its purest form, it is a set of bangles in white and red colour with minor pattern on it. This basic set has undergone many transformations over the years, and due to its popularity among the people of Punjab, whether in India or abroad, rich or poor, the custom continues and proliferates into a big successful business. In the past, elephant's tusk was the material for used for making them but with the ban on ivory trade, plastic has taken over. With the advancement in technology, though the tools have remained the same, support of motor has been taken at some level.

Like any product, this one has also been influenced with the changing cultural trends. Considering its traditional significance, the sanctity of the main bangles has remained and variations and accompaniments have been added to the set. Some of the bangles now have stone work on it. Also along with the traditional red, colours have been added to match the bride's wedding dress. Bangles with inlay of stones, pearls and other embellishments are imported from Rajasthan, a neighbouring state and added to this churra set. This has led to craft from two regions brought together to become a popular accessory. Locals claim that artisans used to sit around the street corners till 10 years back to make these bangles. Now with the traffic, changing urban situation and increase in demand, work has

shifted to factories. There are few artisans who work individually and make their own products (fig 1), but more have developed manufacturing units on the outskirts of the city.

Metal works(Thatheras)

These are craft items made from brass, copper and bronze. The artisans are called thatheras and this type of work is also seen in different parts of Punjab and Rajasthan, though each area has their regional variations in terms of their final products. At one time, Amritsar exported these utensils to other parts of India and today's Pakistan (Gauba, 1988). Copper, brass and bronze also called tamra, pittala and kansa in ancient scriptures have always been considered fine metals for utensils for their various health enhancing properties. This is the reason why they are also considered auspicious and used in various religious ceremonies. This craft goes through a 4 step process that includes sheeting i.e.

making of sheet, cutting and moulding of sheets, welding and buffing.

The thatheras of the historic areas of Amritsar are involved in making idols of gods, temple parts, religious items used during festivals etc. Two of the very interesting artefacts, Narsingha and Saptapani are special instruments used by the Akhadas and the Gurudwaras. The type of sound made by the Narsingha depends on the craftsmanship. Saptani is a snake like instrument used by the snake charmers. However Amritsar historic area has only 15-10 artisans still practicing this craft (fig 2). One can find them in the sub lanes of the main streets with one outlet where a craftsman from fifth generation is learning and practicing the crafts. But like others, his reason for being in the trade is not his passion for it but his compulsion since this is the only skill he possesses. Unlike the churra, this craft has maintained its authenticity in terms of the manufacturing process, materials and the final

product. But with the low demand, the craft is under severe threat of extinction.

Fig 1.Master craftsman with his craft

Fig 2. Thathera making the Gada- a mythological weapon

The success story of Jandiala Guru

A small town called Jandiala guru, a settlement 15 kilometres from Amritsar is a home to about 30-25 families of thatheras practicing this craft and making utensils since many generations. The settlement of Jandiala Guru is unique to these thatheras with two lanes lined up with their workshops, dark interiors

with the metal glistening through. The craft has led to the place getting its mention in the UNESCO intangible heritage list in 2014. But UNESCO nomination doesn't come with the assurance of economic augmentation. With advent of steel, the utensils made from these metals were not so popular and hence like Amritsar, there was scarcity of work leading to the threat of the craft dying its death over the years. In fact, ironically, utensils made of cupper even though having come back to popular consumption; the ones sold in the shops are manufactured in factories by machines and not artisans.

In 2016, students from a business school in New Delhi, as part of their class project, started work with the thatheras to create a business model. This led to studies on understanding their skills, capacity and economic reality. A product designer was roped in to work with the artisans by trying to utilize the skills such that the craft can be more

interesting for the market today. Though initially it was only 2 craftsmen who took up the challenge, now about 3/2rd have joined in to make products which are saleable in contemporary context. Care is taken that they still practice the craft with the same traditional processes. Only exception is the press for making the sheets but this had come here in the last century just after industrialization had set in India.

Today, the commercial venture named P-Tal has products at 3 outlets in big cities including at the palace grounds in Amritsar. Just this month, they were also part of a major exhibition in Chandigarh, which also had leading designers from the region showcasing and selling their stuff to a niche crowd.

Conclusion

The importance of entry of P-tal into mainstream exhibition making its acceptance in the popular culture is very critical for its long time sustainability. The biggest X factor probably became the entry of someone who was out of this system and who could see the product for making it an economically viable proposition.

So what is the way forward? Pride, respect, recognition all in different ways need to be addressed if we expect the artisans to continue their craft. Awareness of their skills and work at the level of NGO[53], government organizations, conservations experts is very important. Jandiala Guru showed how the attention of a business school made the artisans more conscious of the possibility with their skills. Skill enhancement in terms of flexibility to use their skills for more work that would be saleable in

[53] Non governmental organizations

contemporary context, training for new entrants so that the traditional processes can be continued in the future is to be considered.

It is important that the artisans are trained not only in the craft itself but also educated to work in the market. How can the artisans be entrepreneurs rather than entrepreneurs coming in and dictating the process? Ultimately, the future sustenance does come down to economic augmentation. Marc Jacobs in his major work on cultural brokerage says that "And despite what scholars, as purists, might like, local folks need money." Grassroots development agencies are learning: "that economic power can be used to promulgate and preserve their culture and that their culture may be valuable for fuelling their economy." Thus, economics and culture will need to be accepted at the same platform. Craft like the metal works that have been shifting towards factories need to go back to the craftsmen.

The living heritage paradigm talks about heritage being linked to or having relevance to the contemporary life of the community who attempt to draw different benefits. These are essential elements that should be given due consideration when assessing values and identifying attributes that manifest them. (Wijesuriya, et el. 2013). Also it is critical to strengthen the link between tangible and intangible heritage which involves going beyond protecting monuments to recognizing and protecting the living heritage.

Traditional crafts are not just livelihood option but part of the socio cultural systems of the artisan community. Hence their conservation should be targeted to taking it forward and not preserve it for posterity viewing. For this, the prime underlying condition would be its adaptability in today's world. Craft is always as seen in that moment. Considering the socio-cultural changes, it will need to change over the years with influences from all quarters. Also

as mentioned earlier, the crafts are impacted due to varying factors including technology, changing social customs and cultural trends, economy of the region and more. The factories for churra have witnessed influx of various people in recent times which weaken the dominion of the master craftsmen. Though this also adds to more people learning the craft the authenticity and quality can be threatened. This requires that the master craftsmen be given due recognition and are integrated in the larger development process.

Ned Kaufman says Safeguarding intangible heritage is ultimately not about showing off only the best ones but its main aim should be to sustain the attachments that connect lives, places, and gives meanings to both. Hence, Holistic approach is not deliberated towards tourism alone but sustaining the life and livelihoods of community who practice it is REQUIRED. Progress and development is inevitable and things do change over the time. Like

any other commodity, it will also need to undergo change according to the needs of the user, the market and new potentials.

Nobel Prize winner economist, Dr. Amartya Sen (1999) has rightly said ***'Economic unfreedom can breed social unfreedom, just as social or political unfreedom can also foster economic unfreedom'.*** Thus, economic sustainability of crafts is significant for keeping their continuity in the future.

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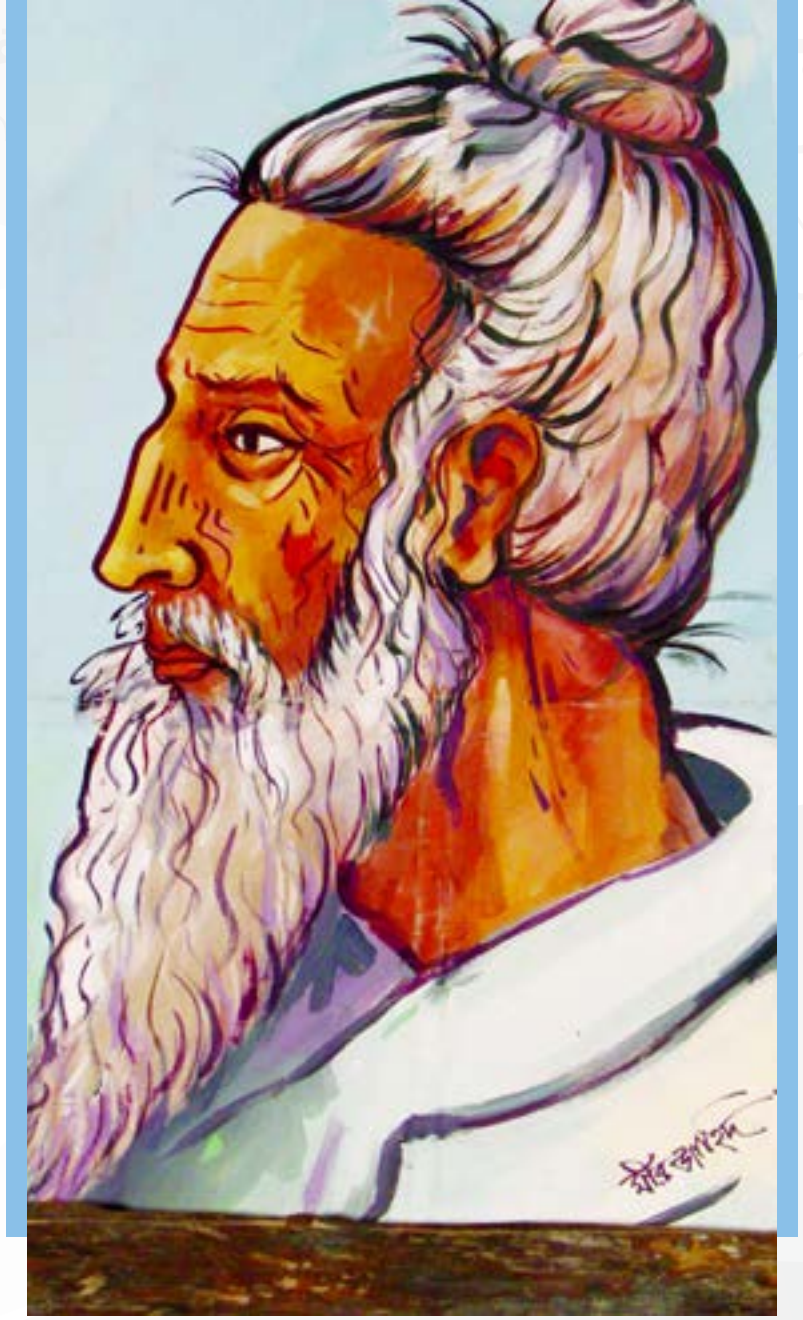
Lalon's Philosophy, Baulism and Folk Musical Tradition in the Midst of Continuity and Change

فلسفة لألون والبولسية والتقاليد الموسيقية الشعبية في خضم الاستمرارية والتغيير



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استاذ الأنثروبولوجيا بجامعة دكا في بنغلاديش.

Abstract

Religious tolerance and love for humanity is the central theme of Lalon's philosophy. For almost two centuries, the baul tradition of Lalon Shah has been acting as a congealing element in building of aesthetics in Bangladesh. Baul songs, with full of codes and enigmas, reflect the baul philosophy of Dehattaya (Truth in the Body), probably the central theme of 'baulism' and give a meaning that 'whatever is in the universe is in the receptacle (the body)'. The musical tradition of Lalon is also known as Lalon Geetee, composed by Fakir Lalon Shah (ca. 1774–1890), a nineteenth century mystic minstrel revered by ordinary Bengali men and women as well as great poets and philosophers like Tagore, Kazi Nazrul Islam, Allen Ginsberg, and Rabindranath Tagore. Lalon's philosophy of humanity rejects all distinctions of caste, class, and creed and takes stand against religious conflicts and racism. It denies all worldly affairs in search of the soul and embodied the socially transformative role of sub-continental Bhakti and Sufism. The Tantric traditions of different religions are the basis of Lalon's philosophy. Thus, the followers belong to an unorthodox devotional tradition, influenced by Hinduism, Buddhism, Vasinavism and Sufi Islam, yet distinctly different from them. They are neither identified as any organized religion nor with any caste system, special deities, temples or sacred places. The mystical songs of 'baul' with beats of dhol, and ektara expressed the emotions, feelings, dreams, thoughts, and philosophy of bauls. Bauls are also famous for their nomadic lifestyle and melodic tunes. It is an excellent form of representation of tolerance and social equality among the members of different rural communities in the form of wisdom and tradition.

The present paper[54] intends to explore how this

[54] This paper is partly based on my small study conducted in 2017

baul musical tradition has fallen in the midst of the process of reshaping, altering or fusion by the influence of globalization of media and modern technologies. It shows how to observe new and the old generational bauls have morphed themselves to cope with the rapidly changing society of Bangladesh; and to see how this form of folk culture can stay relevant in the minds of both rural and urban folk regardless of the new methods of communication, technological revolution and increasing commercialization of folk music.

Keywords:

Baulism, Philosophy, Folk Music, Commercialization, New Technology and Bangladesh.

with supports from ICHCAP-South Korea for making a short documentary on 'Youth Meets Lalon' covering the issues young people's knowledge and perception about baul songs and its protection.

Introduction

Bangladesh, which is located in the south- eastern part of Asia, is one of the world's richest banks of cultural heritage, courtesy of its language, literature, philosophy, classical music, architecture, painting, food, arts, and religion. The continent's cultural heritage primarily developed through a range of different political and religious reigns over the last 5000 years. As a post-colonial nation, the cultural heritage of Bangladesh is similar to that of India's since both nations were under the rule of British administration. The events during the separation of India in 1947, the language movement of East Pakistan in 1952, and the movement of liberation in 1971 gave the country a glimpse of political, social and cultural setting and helped to shape as a nation. Various cultural activities such as plays, poetries, songs, paintings, and festivals depicting the glorious facts of togetherness with differences in its religious beliefs and practices, language and eth-

nic diversities, ecological and regional differences and others, supported the nation-building process. Among hundreds of elements of intangible cultural heritage, baul song is considered as one of the most significant. The strong presence of baul musical tradition in Bangladesh clearly shows how the devotional tradition (Tantric, Vaisnava and Sufi) of bauls are continuing to resonate with local people (see, Schendel 2009: 37). As recognition of its importance, the traditional song of Baul was inscribed by the UNESCO on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2008.

Bauls, the followers of Lalon Fakir belong to a community and they follow some liberal instructions of their murshids/ gurus. Lalon songs, also known as baul songs are not like other typical songs. They are part of practice and implementation of a faith or religion developed by Faki Lalon Shah (see, Mojhar 2016:155).

Baulism and the School of Lalon's Philosophy: Some Conceptual and Theoretical Issues

The history of 'baulsim', the 'meanings of 'Lalon songs' and the 'practices of 'baul philosophy' in different times and contexts can be linked with one of the important sub-discipline of social sciences called 'ethnomusicology' (See Chart:1 and 2). The science that deals with the music can be divided into two parts considering the musical timeline of twentieth century; one is ethnomusicology (the expression of music related with the people of a variety of culture) and musicology (much more anthropological and deals with older traditions). Ethno-musicology requires field study and data gathering, which are prone to cultural anthropology; while musicology fulfils the specialty of sound analysis. Gilbert (1957) says, "Ethno-musicology is a field of knowledge, having as its object the investigation of the art of music as a physical, psychological, aesthetic, and cultural phenomenon."

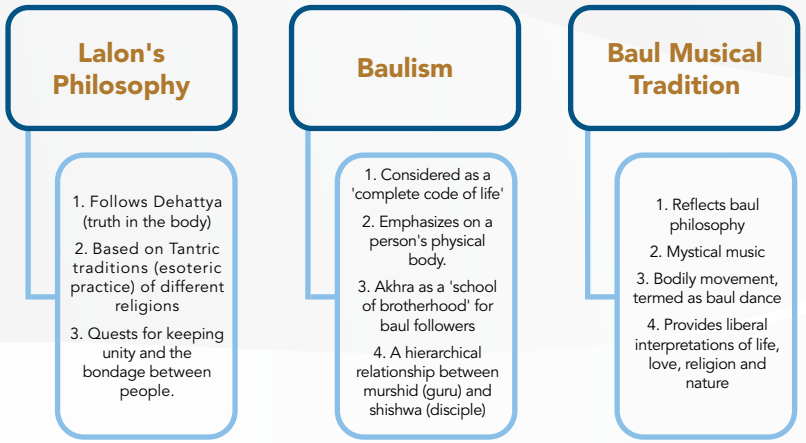


Chart 1: Relations among Lalon's Philosophy, Baul ismand Baul Musical Tradition

The physics of ethnomusicology observes the material culture of music; such as instruments, arithmetic variations of sounds etc. (Feld, 2000). The formerly beginning of music was much more connected with esthetic and venerable ritual components. So, the ethno-music studies, therefore, cannot be fortified without discussing about the music of ritual practices.

"It has taken only one hundred years for sound recording technologies to amplify sonic exchange to a point that overwhelms prior and contiguous histories of travel, migration,

contact, colonization, diaspora and dispersal. It is therefore the recorded form, as it circulates commercially, that defines the authenticity of music globalization" (Feld, 2000: 145-146).

Moreover, according to Jaap Kunst (1959), 'ethno-musicology, formerly called as comparative musicology, combines the 'traditional music and musical instruments of all cultural strata of mankind' of all roots of people, from primitive to modern era' (1959). The theme of ethno-musicology also provides a theoretical framework to study music as a part of human behavior. The fusion of Lalon songs can be compared to the concept of 'aura', a symptomatic process of technological reproducibility. According to Walter Benjamin (2008):

"It might be stated as a general formula that the technology of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the sphere of tradition. By replicating the work many times over, it substitutes a mass existence for a unique existence".

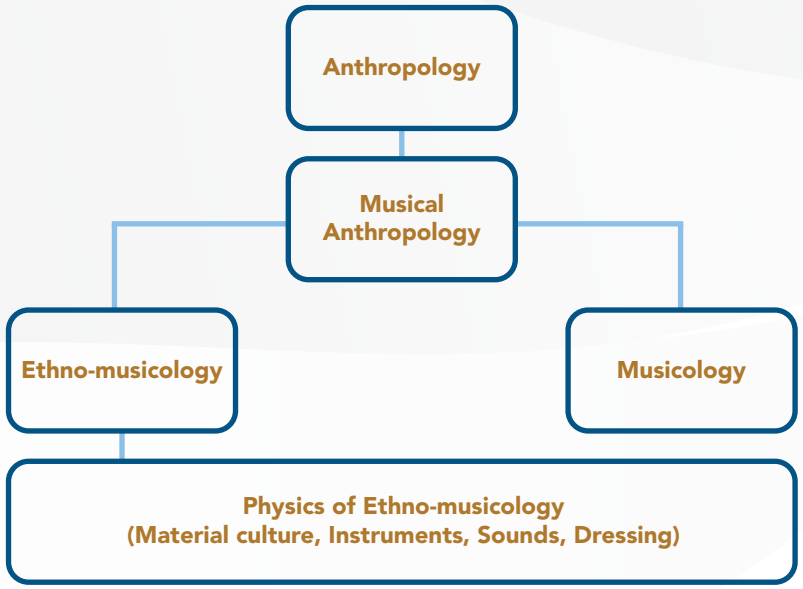


Chart 2: Hierarchical relationship of Anthropology and Ethno-musicology

Walter Benjamin (2008) also talks about transformation in rituals and practices due to technological innovations and changes. According to him, 'the deviation of several artistic local practices from specific ritual process increases the opportunity of their exhibition to outer societies. The broader society accepts the symphony of such local practices more frequently by being influenced by the inner philosophy, psychology, eternity and fraternity of

the symphonies'. The songs of Lalon can also be considered as such kind of ritual item, which has a strong presence in the minds of both young and old, and rural and urban people of Bangladesh with the presence of both modern and traditional features.

Folk Musical Tradition of Bangladesh: Bauls and the Others

The mainstream Bengali identity is based on folk music and folk culture. According to the arguments of musicologists, the roots of folk music dates back in the eighth century, when there was no such polar opposition between the classic and folk music. The Bengali folk music is always considered as 'distant' from the civil life and 'rooted' in the ethnic life of local people with characteristic of 'exclusively' traditional genre.[55] Some scholars urge that a large

[55] Derived from "Philosophy vs Music in the wake of Folksong: Perspectives of the youth in Bangladesh on Lalon Song" by Ratan

number of modern musical genres are highly influenced by the folk compositional style (Bhattacharya, 1969). With the emergence of urbanization, the idea of modern gets highly attached with the urban musical practices, while as a consequence of that folk musical practices of rural communities are becoming very opposition to the modern ones. However, with this critical trajectory of the folk musical heritage of Bangladesh, some survival genres include Baul , Bhatiali, Bhawaiya, Palagaan, Jhumur, Gambhira and others (See, Khan, 1987) and they represent an emotional expression of its simple and rural masses. Songs like Bhatiali, Gazirgaan, Bhaoiya, Shari, Jari, Baul, Murshidi, Punthi, Palagaan and others are still popular in the rural areas of Bangladesh. Ballads, which are called Gatha or Geetika in Bangla, are the earliest varieties of folk songs. Mymensingh Geetika, is one of the collections of folk ballads from the region of Mymensingh. Behula Lakhinder and Yusuf Zulaikha are also very famous

Kumar Roy

ballads of Bangladesh. The Manasamangal Kavya is one of the oldest Mangal Kavya, where Manasa is believed as one the most powerful goddesses worshipped by Hindus living throughout Bengal for her control over snakes.

Kabi gaans are another type of songs written and composed by Kabials (folk poets). Kabials create popular verses in front of their audience. The mystical baul gaan with beats of dhol, and ektara expresses the emotions, feelings, dreams and philosophy of baul. Besides the belief and practices of the baul, another old Bangla folk music genre known as Gazir Gaan, are also practiced in different parts of Bangladesh in different names. It is an excellent form of representation of tolerance and social equality among the members of different rural communities in the form of wisdom and tradition. Bhatialis, another type of folk song, are sung by the boatmen of Bangladesh while rowing boats on big rivers. Like Bhatiali, Sari (or Shaeri) songs are sung

during the boat races in monsoon months. There are also Bichhedigaan (the song of separation), generally speaks of the sorrows and stresses of separating from one's lover, while there are numerous songs composed for various rituals and occasions of marriage, called "Biyergaan". Different districts have different types of 'Biyergaan' and they are very popular in the countryside.

Murshidi (influenced by the Sufi philosophy of Islamic tradition), Jarigaan (the Kabial tradition: both Hindu and Muslim), Harikeertan (involving incessant chanting of names of Lord Krishna and Lord Rama's round the clock), and Keertan (song offerings to Sri Krishna and Sri Chaitanya) are the other forms of music related to different religious beliefs and practices. In the northern region of Bangladesh, there are two entertaining folk forms of theatre with music called 'Gambhira' and 'Alkap'. Besides these, Jatra, another form of indigenous folk theatre with some music, has been here for centuries in

the form of storytelling. Parallel to all these musical traditions, Baul has been always a leading musical tradition among the largest rural folks. It has been received by the people not only as music but also as faith and religion. Bauls are also considered as a religious group most typically characterized as men who carry a one-stringed instrument (ektara), wear ocher-colored clothes, and wander the countryside singing and performing their passionate music. The whole tradition of baul has emerged as one of type of philosophy known as 'baulism' from the midst of 18th century based on the syncretic philosophy[56].

[56] To grasp the influence of Sufism in Bengal, it is therefore imperative to place Sufism on the backdrop, and in the context of the syncretic advancement of Islamization here. Sufism, for proliferation, had to infiltrate in different indigenous non-Islamic cult practices. Similarly, to obtain and maintain popularity during those early days, the Sufi Aulias also had to incorporate quite a few meditational practices of pre-modern Bengal into their own rituals, even in their belief-system. 17-18th centuries witnessed the prime period for this kind of religious syncretism. And the Baul Fakirs of Bengal, Lalon Fakir perhaps being the most outstanding one among them, were the most conspicuous examples of that syncretic assimilation (Mokammel, 2019).There were many types of baul before Lalon and after Lalon with different names but with same type of ideology (Sofa, 2008 in Mozhar & Hussain, 2008).

The Meaning and Mysteries of Baul Songs

According to Lisa I. Knight, bauls are characterized as the mystics of music: some orange-clad nomads who wander the countryside and entertain with singing passionately and evocatively. (Knight 2011). A baul can be identified by his uncut, often coiled hair, saffron robe (alkhalla), a necklace that is made of basil (tulsi) stems and beads, and an ektara.[57] Samir Dasgupta argues that baul is a mystic-religious cult, which flourished on the soil of Bengal during the early process of Hindu-Buddhist-Islamic synergy. He says, the occult roots of baulism may be traced back to the time of pre-Vedic Tantric cults, in the later period the expressions are formed by faith in primitive sexual rites and intricate yogic practices (see, Dasgupta 2000:15).

Bauls refer themselves as followers of the path of

[57] Derived from https://www.thoughtco.com/the-baul s-of-bengal-1769990; Assessed in 18 September, 2018

unorthodoxy (Openshaw, 2002). They form a small community and they follow some liberal instructions of their murshid. Their music is remarkably popular in Bangladesh and West Bengal of India (presently Bengal). According to Dasgupta, 'the etymology of the word 'baul' may have been derived from the Sanskrit word 'vatula', which means "lashed by the wind to the point of losing one's sanity, god's madcap, detached from the world, seeker of truth", or it could have been derived from 'vyakula' which means restless and anxious to achieve something' (Dasgupta, 1976).

Previously, bauls used to move from village to village, soul-searching through meditation and song; but presently they are hardly seen roaming in the villages, and singing songs but now they tend to live in a more settled community for their survival (see, Siddiqui 2006: 69). In baul tradition, there is a seriousness of hierarchical relationship between murshid (guru) and shishwa (disciple). It highlights

the importance of the murshid-shishwa relationship and the power a murshid has over the lives of disciples. Murshids or Gurus provide their disciples not only guidance on the realm of spiritual matters but also instruction on basic day-to-day activities, and social as well as personal decisions.

Baul tradition is referred as one of the significant organs of Bengali folk musical heritage. Most of the researchers consider this as the richest stream of Bengali folk music. This is a musical tradition to express the spiritual and philosophical tradition, which is popularly perceived as a "folk religion" (Goswami, 2000). As a practicing lifestyle and cult, the baul refer to the syncretic religion that brings together various sects along with Vaishnava-Hindu and Sufi-Muslim tradition[58]. As a musical cult, it entails

[58] It is important to note that Sufism, though emerged in the Middle-East yet thrived more on the fringes of the Muslim world, i.e., in West Africa, in Central Asia, or in India. Before reaching Bengal, already in North India, the Sufis came into interactions with the Yogis and other Tantric practitioners (Mokammel, 2019).

rich lyrics, simple instrument and bodily movement, which can be called as baul dance.

Lalon Shah or Lalon Fokir is one of the most famous baul composers who were born in 1774. Among the major baul singers are Duddu Shah (1796-1907), Pagla Kanai, (1810-1890), Kangal Harinath (1833-1896), Panju Shah (1851-1914), Mohammad Jalaluddin Khan (1894-1972) and Bijoy Sarkar (1903-1985). There are many other bauls in contemporary times like Modon Baul , Purna Das Baul , Jatin Das Baul , Paban Das Baul , Goutam Das Baul [59], Raju Das Baul etc. Instead of being a marginal group in Bangladeshi society, the greater sense of their poetry shows how the devotional traditions (Tantric, Vaisnava and Sufi) continue to reverberate with local people nowadays (see, Schendel 2009:37). The Akhra of Lalon (the holy shrine of Lalon Shah) is cponsidered as a 'school of brotherhood' that tran-

[59] Referred from www.goutamdasbaul.in; assessed in April 28, 2019

scends politics and religion. Hundreds of debotees travel from all across the sub-continent to pay tributes to their spiritual leader by performing dance and singing baul songs. Lalon composed more than 2,000 songs[60] based on his philosophy of syncretism, and his songs are sung not only by his 1.5 million followers in Bangladesh, who are known as bauls, but also others in the subcontinent.

The philosophical and inner-body (dehototto) as well as inner-mind thoughts of Fakir Lalon Shahi (Saijee) have given a unique dimension to the baul musical tradition of Bangladesh[61]. Drawing on different aspects of Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism-the three great religious traditions, he has offered a syncretic cultural tradition, a unique way of life for the bauls. Following that particular lifestyle, his devotees have been carrying forward the musical tradition of Lalon song across the regions in Bengal.

Baul songs are the intangible torchbearers with a simple humanist philosophy, which provides liberal interpretations of life, love, religion and nature. Baul singers are pacifists by nature and believe in every sort of communal harmony (Barua, 2016:79). Rabindranath Tagore was influenced by Lalon's philosophy and he brought out Lalon to the limelight of modern society.[62] An American scholar, Dimock describes Tagore as "the greatest of the bauls of Bengal"; because he bore the importance of the baul spirit, and observed that Tagore "acknowledged his debt to what the bauls stand for and to their music"

[60] The traditional song of baul has been inscribed on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity of the UNESCO in 2008.

[61] Dehototto or physiological religions of Indian subcontinent are as ancient as the history of the region itself. A range of indigenous religious doctrines have been built here by analyzing the human body. Dehototto is particularly a way to adapt human body with nature. In other way, it is one kind of dharma that guides a way of living and talks about human's creation, evolution, death, illness, rules about mobility, sex, food habits and others. So, the followers of dehototto search for the mystery of creation in human. They want to be a simple man by worshiping human only (See, Chakrabarti, 1992 & 2001, Ja, 1999).

[62] Derived from http://www.bangladesh.com/blog/baul -music-of-bangladesh Assessed on 16 August, 2018

(Dimock, 1959). In his fancy visit to Shilaidah (presently in Bangladesh) in 1890's, Tagore was greatly impressed with bauls like Gagan Harkara and Lalan Fakir[63].

Coping with the Modernity and Positioning Baul

If we look inside the distinct lifestyle and musical tradition of bauls, we can find that they are the 'Minstrels of Bengal'. The streams of equity, secularism and humanity are the inbuilt characteristics of baul lifestyle. In the past, bauls were mostly illiterate and their life was devotional. Educated people of the country had less interest in baul tradition and culture for several decades. For many centuries, baul had been an oral tradition and there were no written record of the history of the chronological development of baul philosophy and songs. It is said that Lalan Fakir (1774 -1890), the greatest of all bauls, continued to compose and sing songs for decades without writing on paper. It was only after his death that people thought of collecting and compiling his rich repertoire. In the past, bauls used to represent them through a form of performing art that embraces both philosophy and spirituality together with the emphasis on living life in the closest proximity with nature's climactic cycles, cosmology, food habits, social rites and rituals, spirit of tolerance and secularism. Common people, while passing, could recognize them through their look and attire with their traditional instruments like ektara, dotara, dhol, mandira, khamak etc. (Barua 2016: 179).

Now a day, due to various reasons, baul tradition is in the process of change in-terms of dress pattern, body language, haircut and use of modern

[63] Chapter 'Baulism: Modified Madness of the Modern Minstrels' in Cultures of the Indigenous: India and Beyond, Edited by Prem Kumari Srivastava and Gitanjali Chawla. Authorpress, India. 2014.

instruments[64]. Many of the individual baul singers in Bangladesh have taken initiative to enterprise Lalon song by re-mixing and re-producing. With some scholarly understanding, someone would find re-mixing as nothing wrong rather as a part of change in culture. They argue that culture has always been all about combining, manipulating and creating something 'newer' (Knobel and Lankshear 2008). To them, inclusion of various instruments into baul's music justifies the need and demand of the time. Some believe that due to adoption of new style and the inclusion of newer instruments, the baul music genres are getting enlarged by engaging and captivating larger audience and bringing it out from the boundary of Akhra (See, Chart 3).

[64] Derived from an unpublished thesis of Meghla Mahmud, a postgraduate student, Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka.

Chart 3: Baul Musical Tradition: Continuity and Change

Most musicians and music industries are picking baul songs, branding them with popular words to attract the new generation and forcing the mass to consume them. According to conservative ideologists, contemporary music trend is distorting baul tunes in the name of fusion. The new generation bauls are also adopting modern attires and outlook. Thus, many people have question, whether today's bauls are moving away from the actual baul philosophy, or forming a neo-philosophy without staying

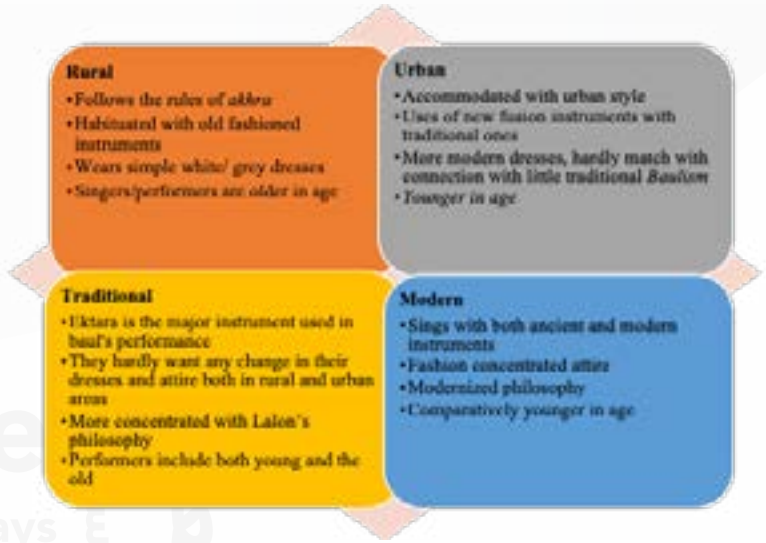
strict to the baul root[65]. Regarding the use of new instruments, Farhad Mojhar (2008) stated that Lalon songs are not instrument-based song. The instruments that are used in Lalon's music should be directly connected to the deeper sense of the songs. In baul's musical performance, they should at least use an ektara and that should not be to show baulepana, rather to match with rhythm and melody of baul songs (see, Mojhar & Hussain, 2008: 156).

It is fact that now a day, there is an increasing popularity of baul songs among the music lovers of urban youth of both upper and middle classes. Many of the Bengali bands are now experimenting with baul songs with the use of modern musical instruments and making baul songs more popular among the younger generation. Decoration of

[65] Derived from http://www.unb.com.bd/entertainment-news/Speakers-laud-universal-humanist-message-of-Baul /73048; Assessed on August 17, 2018.

stages for performing baul songs are also a major shift from the traditional form of baul performance in akhras. From lyric of songs to lifestyle and way of presentation all have been undergone a great change. Movies using baul songs are also lapped by a large number of audiences. Some baul followers see this as a positive trend as it is helping to keep baul musical tradition alive among the larger audience, though many traditional Baul singers disapprove such trends. They feel that the use of baul songs by various band groups through fusion music and in modern-day movies is destroying the true beauty of baul music but also the baul culture and philosophy. According to them, the newly emerged band groups are separating baul songs from baul culture. They believe, one cannot be a baul singer without being inculcated by baul philosophy. In baulism, singing baul song is very small part of the whole performance. Therefore, it is important for the new baul singers to learn about the other codes of baul philosophy. They have to remember that

baul music revolve around the life and circumstances of people within their society and use simple language to convey the message of the song; the message of peace of the heart and mind of an individual. Baul songs are spontaneous in nature and less refined than other forms of classical music.



Graph: A Four-dimensional Spectrum of Baul ism

Lalon's Philosophy and Its Practices in the Contemporary Bangladesh

Syncretism is one of the major ingredients of Fakir Lalon's philosophy. Throughout his life, Lalon tried to promote a secular, humanist approach about life philosophy refers to the metaphoric use of body and soul (Dehototto) to reach to the supreme one, and it quests for keeping unity and the bondage between people with distinct set of religious practices. The youth considers that the words used in Lalon songs are very powerful and they always refer to Quran and religious texts. During last hundred years, Lalon's verses of peace and humanism have been transmitted from one generation to another. However, with the initiation of modern instruments and global cultural flow, there has been a popular trend in featuring folk music in various new forms. There are some cases, where we notice that there is a hardly any bridge between the philosophical and spiritual life, and between the practices and

believes that is followed by some of the new baul practitioners.

Shapla Salique (Farzana Salique) is a London-based British singer and music composer and a descendent of Bangladesh. She represented Lalon to a larger audience globally by mixing up with funk and jazz music. She is one of the promoters of Bengali arts and culture who inspires the next generation of British Bangladeshi people who are moving away from the traditional elements of their own cultural tradition. According to her words[66],

"Baul music is one of the ways that I keep my culture close to me. I am truly blessed to have recorded and produced my new album the way I wanted. This journey so far has been truly amazing and I am now so excited to see where this takes me….I know I have so much more to give."

[66] Retrieved from http://shaplasalique.com/bio/, Assessed in 20 August, 2018

Among various artists from Bangladesh, the band group named 'Lalon' is one which expresses their talent and aspiration to feature Lalon songs to the larger world. The band group was formed in 2001, where Sumi is the lead vocalist. Her performance brings a new melodious expression of folk music which has to some extend become controversial but popular among the urban crowd. This youth-centric musical troop is now performing baul songs across the globe and trying to popularise Lalon' featuring its musical rendition. Some of the names of the practitioners of baul songs representing baulism home and abroad are given below:

Band/Singer's Name	Background
Lalon	Set new standards of fusing baul music with rock. Lead singer is Nigar Sumi.
Khyapa (Kolkata)	Set to unveil baul fusion in the US, Japan etc. Performers are Purna Das Baul , Krishnendu, Subhendu, Dibyendu.
Baul Bishwa (Kolkata)	Made a collaboration with Paban Das Baul and Sam Mills to produce baul fusion. Bapi Das Baul is one of the main performers.
Baul a	A sufi-baul loving band from Bangladesh. Performers are Biplob Mrinal, ProkashBanik, Joy, Shayonto, Nayan, Biplob,

Shafi Mondol	A leading voice in the baul tradition representing in South Asia and abroad[67].
Anusheh Anadil	A Bangladeshi musician and artist holding the philophy of bauls and fakirs.
Kangalini Sufiya	From the age of 14, she ventured out to be a baul singer throughout the world.
Shehnaz Beli[68]	From Abdalpur, Kushtia and became more popular to the Middle East, Europe and America.

Presently many traditional and non-traditional instruments are used for singing baul songs. Some of them are given below:

Conventional instruments used in Baul Musical Performance[69]		
Name	**Form and Protocol**	**Elements**
1) Chordophones Instruments		
Ektara	String stretched between a sound-box, attached to the body	Gourd, Bamboo, Goat skin, String etc.
Dotara	String stretched parallel to a sound-box	Jackfruit, Nim wood, Goat skin, Nylon string etc.
Khamak	String stretched between a sound-box, attached to the body	Gourd, Skin, Nylon thread, String, Horn pick etc.
2) Membranophones Instruments		
Dugi	Covers fixed skin of resonating body	Clay body, Goat skin with gab
3) Idiophones Instruments		
Khanjani or Mandira	A tambourine without jangles	Metals

Modern instruments used in Baul Musical Performance[70]		
Name	**Form and Protocol**	**Elements**
Flute	A popular musical instrument of the Old Bengal of woodwind family	Wood or Bamboo
Dhol	A double-sided barrel drum	Different woods and materials (fiberglass, steel, plastic)
Tabla	A set of two drums known as Daina and Baya	Metal, wood, ceramic, graphite, iron etc.
Mridanga/ Khol	A terracotta two-sided drum, mainly used for devotional music	Cow or goatskin, rice paste, glue, iron etc.
Harmonium	A free-standing keyboard instrument	Wood and wooden materials
Sarinda	A stringed Indian folk musical instrument played with a bow	Animal skin, Teak wood
Ghoongoor	A garland of small brass bells tied around the ankle and played with rhythmic movements	Cotton cord, Velvet pad, Leather strap, Iron balls
Ramchaki	A pair of wooden clappers with jangles	Wood and wooden materials

[67] https://globalnews.ca/event/3303277/bangladesh-folk-festival-2017-montreal/Assessed in 16 August, 2018

[68] Haque, M. (2014). From Akhara to fusion – the transformation of Baul music in Bangladesh Assessed from https://www.academia.edu/7732961/From_Akhara_to_Fusion_-_the_transformation_of_Baul _music_in_Bangladesh

[69] Derived from "A Historical Perception of Traditional Musical Instruments for Younger Generation" by Sayeem Rana

[70] Derived from "Lalon: Bangla Baul Series 1" by Haroonuzzaman

*Fusion instruments in baul Musical Performance by Youth		
Name	**Form and Protocol**	**Elements**
Acoustic Guitar	A guitar that produces sound transmitting vibration to the air	Mahogany, Ash, Basswood, Agathis, Alder, Poplar, Walnut, Spruce etc.
Bass Guitar	A stringed instrument similar to electric guitar	Wood, Graphite, Metal etc.
Keyboard	An electric instrument with a set of keys	Plastic, Rubber, Steel/ Aluminum etc.
Octapad	A set of MIDI electronic drums	Electric materials and Metals
Drumming Kit	A collection of drums played by drumsticks	Wood, Steel, Aluminum, Brass and Bronze

From the table above, we can see that along with the leather instruments like dhol, khol and goba; chime tools like ghungur, nupur; small cymbals called Kartal and mandira and the bamboo flute[71], for fusion, modern composers use the western instruments like acoustic guitar, bass guitar, drums, keyboard etc.

Some youths and elite people mention that the globalization should enter into Lalon's philosophy

[71] Retrieved from https://www.thoughtco.com/the-baul s-of-bengal-1769990,Assessed on August 29, 2018.

too. According to them, we eat rice from the very beginning of Bengali's existence but the method of cooking rice has been changed from rural to urban area, as we wash clothes in a pond or tube-well but in urban areas, we wash it by washing machines, the songs of Lalon can be adopted with some changes of musical instruments. In this case, we can follow the modernization of Baulism, but not 'ultra-modernization' that will make it ruined. In a documentary of Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka, named 'Youth Meets Lalon', one said:

"The Lalon songs are not prominently instrumental songs. We have been shifting away from the original performance style, lyrics tunes and music of Lalon."

Some others said,

"Today's youth has invented new and modern ways of practicing both Lalon songs and his philosophy. The modern instruments are not the problem, but too much fusion is problematic. General audiences are not accepting the distortion in Lalon's original lyrics."

The battle between a preference on philosophy and popularizing aspects of Lalon music reminds us about the influential split between "serious music" and "popular music" in the history of musical transformation located in 20th century Europe (Vulliamy, 2008). Therefore, it is a matter of concern that Lalon is being taken to the youth in a very commercial form. Commercialization is always underpinned by vested interests and the representation is the outcome of those hidden interests.

Impacts of Urbanization, Modernization and Globalization: Fusions in baul music

The Bengali folk music, which is considered 'rooted' in the rural and ethnic life of Bengali people. But with the emergence of urbanization, the idea of modern gets highly attached with the urban musical practices, where various folk musical traditions including baul songs are popularly perceived as opposition to modern. As a result, many of the urban youth band groups are now taking initiatives to enterprise Lalon songs by doing some fusions but they believe, they are not undermining the philosophy of Fakir Lalon Shah rather they are promoting baul philosophy among the new generations in some modern forms. They still believe, the streams of equity, secularism and humanity are the inbuilt characteristics of traditional baul lifestyle and they are trying to uphold those philosophies, while as opposed to these modern urban bauls, the conventional bauls, even now, are avoiding western instruments and using the traditional ones like ektara, dotara, dhol, mandira, khamak etc.

It is important to mention that in the recent times, due to various changes in the society, baul tradition has become the subject of commercialization. The process of commercialization and modernization is resulting a new turn in the practice of baul music from its local subculture to global consumption. It is also resulting changes in dress pattern, body lan-

guage, haircut, usage of modern instruments and others.

Leaving traditional dresses, new generation of bauls are adopting modern attire and outlook. The question that persists was whether today's bauls are moving away from the actual baul philosophy, or forming a neo-philosophy without staying true to the baul roots? Now a day, baul music has an increasing popularity among the music lovers of urban youth of both upper and middle classes. Many Bengali bands have also experimented with baul songs in their fusion music along with their modern musical instruments. Some youths and elite people mention that the enigma of globalization should also be entered into Lalon's philosophy, especially for the survival of Lalon among the youths, and to spread the Lalon's philosophy across the world. In this case, some desire modernization of baulism, but not 'ultra-modernization' which can make it ruined.

Now, there is a significant presence of differences among the 'urban and rural' and 'young and older' people of the country regarding baul musical practices. Many of the urban Band Groups are making baul songs more popular to the younger generation. Some baul followers see this as a positive trend as it is helping to keep baul musical tradition alive among the larger audience, though many traditional popular baul singers disapprove such trends. While many believe, one can't be a baul singer without being inculcated by baul philosophy. In baulism, singing baul song is very small part of the whole performance. Decoration of stages for performing baul songs are also moving out from akhras. Some of the critiques say that the process of soul-searching and introspection, which is fundamental in baul tradition, is also to some extend is now undermined among the new baul fusion exponents.

Conclusion: More Issues and Questions for Future Research

While UNESCO proclaimed baul genre of Bangladeshi songs as 'Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity[72], one should keep in mind that baulism is a code of conduct- a full set of personal, religious, spiritual, political and cultural philosophy. Hereby Lalon Geeti is just a part of it. *But, in order to pace with the modernity and to make it more popular, tunes of Lalon geeti are being changed with the use of various modern instruments. In this process, 'base tune' is somehow getting lost and in some cases, the lyrics of old baul songs are being changed and thereafter, the real meanings of the songs are being disappeared.*

Now a day, a number of questions have been raised by different groups including the traditional baul practitioners, young urban bauls, researchers and critiques. Such questions include; whether baul music are becoming commercialized or need to be commercialized, whether baul music needs to be made popular with some changes, or be made popular to the young generation matching with their needs and aspiration at least to keep going with baul philosophy of syncretic religion and musical tradition.

Along with these broad questions, the paper emphasizes a number of other issues to be more discussed in the future for the sake of the protection and promotion of baul musical tradition. They are:

1. The issue of continuity and change in baul musical practices
2. The issue of creating a bridge between the older and new generation baul for transferring baul philosophy and baul musical tradition from one generation to another,

[72] Derived from https://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2006/01/21/unesco-proclaims-baul -songs-as-masterpiece-of-the-oral-heritage-of-humanity; Assessed from 15 September, 2018

3. The issues of maintaining/ protecting or modifying the traditional forms of baul music for the sake of the sustenance of baul musical tradition as well the sustenance of the original culture bearers or communities itself,

4. The issues of the community willingness to keep going with the tradition or to bring some changes to suit into their changed economic, political and social situation, and

5. The issues of commoditization, commercialization or marketing of baul musical tradition either with no change or with minimum change, or sometime with much distortion by the vested interest group.

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Folklore v. fake-lore:
Is folklorism a style of mass culture?
(The case of ethnographic theatre)

التراث الشعبي مقابل التزييف في الثقافة: هل
يعتبر الفن الشعبي أسلوب الثقافة الجماهيرية؟
(حالة المسرح الإثنوغرافي)

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الاستاذة آنا برزوزوسكا - كرايكا
استاذة التراث الشعبي ونظرية الثقافة والأدب بقسم الدراسات البولندية بجامعة ماري سكوودوفسكا كوري في لوبلين، بولندا.
رئيسة القسم البولندي بالمنظمة الدولية للفن الشعبي.
رئيسة الهيئة الدولية للعلوم والأبحاث بالمنظمة الدولية للفن الشعبي – أوروبا.

1. Theoretical assumptions

The opposition formulated in the title is at the centre of contemporary scientific discourse of folklorists, ethnographers, anthropologists of culture, cultural scholars in many European countries and in America; it constantly provokes discussions. In Polish cultural reality it pertains to the range and forms of functioning of small tradition – folk culture (as distinct from great tradition: high, artistic) in the entire Polish ethnic culture. Folklore understood in terms both philological (as various genres of oral literature) and anthropological (as beliefs, rites, worldview, etc.) is a part of this small tradition. According to leading American folklorist, Dan Ben-Amos, the existence of folklore depends primarily upon its social context whose determinants – geographical, linguistic, ethnic and professional – shape all content and form filtered through the machine of time (Ben-Amos 1972: 5). Thus, folklore may be either "old wine in new bottles" or "new wine in old bottles" (Botkin 1944: xxii). These metaphors indicate strict correspondence, or game of the old and the new, of tradition and modernity. In the contemporary epoch of industrial societies, of creation and erasure of local, regional and even national boundaries (European integration), of universality of media and expansion of electronic communication and of the information society it is crucial to answer the question about the future of our tradition, our values, among all these mental, social and structural transformations. This question pertains to saved values and degraded values, to double valuation of folklore as a reservoir of values for local communities and universal values, to creativity and tradition viewed in the perspective of cultural identity of a future homogeneous society (Polish-European, citizens of Europe). And in terms of the assumptions of the present study this question, first and foremost, pertains to strategic use of tradition in production of culture and folklore (Brzozowska-Krajka 2004: 59-60). And here we enter the key concepts of

fakelore and folklore. They originate in two distinct traditions of folklore studies though their meanings are related. Both denote folklore, which is unauthentic, applied, produced for a wide audience, as well as the use of folklore by the tourism industry, TV commercials, etc. The term fakelore was coined in 1950 by American folklorist Richard Dorson (Dorson 1977: 4), whereas folklorism was introduced into European thought in the 1960s by German cultural scholars (Hans Moser 1962: 177-209; Hermann Bausinger 1966: 61-75, and others), and into Polish folklore studies – by Józef Burszta (Burszta 1966; 1970; 1974). Folklorism is a part of artistic culture; it consists in application of select (either from records or from life) content and forms of folklore, learned, arranged and applied to particular situations in life (Newall 1987: 131-151). Thus, this folklore is imitative, artificial to some extent, detached from its original milieu and from the actual life of a definite social class (Burszta 1970: 12). Folklorism pertains to folk costumes, oral literature, folk

dances, rituals, song and instrumental performances and handicraft. The essence of folklorism consists in taking out from the folk tradition (historical or modernized) the elements which are interesting for their attractive form or emotional content, and presenting them to the audience in a more or less authentic shape - mostly transformed, condensed, expanded or combined with alien content. They are shown in situations specially created, different from their original authentic context. This process leads to detaching folkloric content from its natural performers, detaching the actors (senders) from the audience (receivers of folklore) [Burszta 1987; 131].

The difference between folklore and folklorism was metaphorically definied by Polish folklorist Michał Waliński as one between authentic love and sex for money in a common-law marriage of folklore and mass culture (Waliński 1977: 24). A critical perspective upon folklorism was also forwarded by Czech folklorist Oldřich Sirovátka who understood

it as a link between original folk culture and both official, "high" culture and technological and mass culture. He distinguished seven "sins of folklorism": 1/ uniformity instead of variants; 2/ passivity instead of activity; 3/ performance instead of life; 4/ trading art; 5/ folklorism instead of folklore; 6/ ideological abuse; 7/ folklorism vs. culture (Lubelska rozmowa o folkloryzmie 1987: 80-81). These "sins" are convergent with the stance taken by Wojciech Burszta, who treats folklorism in opposition to authentic (spontaneous) folklore in four aspects: 1/ Interpretation of folk tradition which consists in taking out only those of its elements which, are interesting for their either attractive form or ability to "attract" potential audience (as well as performers); 2/ Presentation of this content as transformed to a greater or smaller extent, frequently interpreted, to trigger off an effect of seeming "authenticity"; 3/ Presentation of these elements in created situations, different from the original context of their authentic appearance – they form the model used in various festivals

and competitions of song and dance groups, ritual reconstruction groups, when folklore is in demand. These features bring about separation of performers of folklore from the audience (Burszta 1989: 158).

The strategy of folklorism, characteristic of its present variation and connected with institutionalization of culture, appears to be the only possible way of functioning of folklore in the future, though only few receivers of folklore are aware that folklorism neither replaces nor continues traditional folk culture, that it is based upon some folkloric stereotypes, that it creates a certain image of folklore rather than true knowledge of it (Waliński 1977: 24).

2. The wedding ritual on stage – degrees of folklorism

The conception of ethnographic theatre, which presents folk rituals on stage, has not been born in contemporary Poland. It was known already in the time of partition, at the end of the XIX century (around 1880) when Poles' national identity was endangered. This amateur peasant movement was an important medium of memory of tradition, which contributed to creation of national consciousness and patriotic education of this social class. It developed especially in the part of Poland occupied by Austria, which enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. It is even more intense development took place between the year 1918 (when Poland regained her statehood) and the outbreak of World War II in 1939 and continues until nowadays - in various ethnographic regions of Poland as well as Polish diaspora. However, the principal perspective of our study of this phenomenon is not historical but folkloristic-anthropological as it focuses on contemporary actualizations of this ritual on stage. Its performance frequently entails double translocation: from the authentic (peasant) environment to the stage and from country to town; in the case of diasporic communities there additionally takes place translocation to the alien space of the country of immigration. Thus, these performances follow the type "we to ours", but open also to aliens (people from other regions of Poland), and in the contemporary information society (owing to, for example, transmission through youtube on the Internet) they are communicated without any boundaries. This process of transmission takes place as follows: "we" present to "you" our rituals, songs, dances, and they serve "us" and "you" as entertainment, though in our culture they previously performed other functions – existential, religious, etc. In this way, "we" and "you" enter an institutional contract for entertainment. Such institutionalization (derived from the structure of XX century culture) is indispensable for folklorism

to exist in this act (Sulima 1992: 187). Such institutions comprise mostly amateur folk dance and song groups, theatrical groups affiliated with centers of culture, open-air museums, and small regional museums. Their activities bring about commodification of tradition, which contributes to the trademark of the region (the sign of identity of this regional, small homeland). Such staged ritual, in its variation characteristic of a given ethnographic region, is a kind of social engineering of culture and emphasizes anti-global, regional identity.

These tendencies are very well illustrated by staged actualization of wedding – the ritual which, apart from harvest festival, is most often staged or otherwise performed for an audience. The ritual of wedding is very important for folkloristic-ethnological investigations also because it has been amply documented and commented upon (Tomicki 1981: 366; Jasiewicz 2013: 59). The present study focuses on its most recent stage actualizations (since the

beginning of the XXI century). It represents definite trends in animation (from Latin animo) of culture in contemporary Poland.1 Through adaptation determined by the artificially constructed situation of performance, stage productions of wedding rituals very appropriately demonstrate the methods and techniques of the folkloric type of animation of culture.[73] They have the status of cultural quotation in the realm of mass culture since, according to Roch Sulima, folklorism consists in "quoting folk culture" (Sulima 1992: 183; Bukraba 1990). Extensive exemplification of this phenomenon (available also on the Internet) leads to the conclusion that such quotations may be of different length and of different degree of closeness to or detachment from the original (canonical) text of folklore. I distinguish them as follows:

[73] Teaching programs at Polish universities include the profile of studies called "Animation of culture" which educates future specialists in this field. For example in Warsaw University, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Pedagogical University in Kraków.

Type A: the variant maximally extended
Type B: the variant reduced to the select, principal stages/stage of the ritual scenario
Type C: the strictly ludic variant.

These types constitute the degrees of folklorism in the sphere of stage actualizations of wedding rituals. The directors of these performances, especially of types A and B, aim at preservation of "ethnographic truth" in the realms of music, dance, dialect, folk costumes, stage movement, ritual characters, situations and props, etc. – i.e. of their ethnographic essence. These productions are diversified regionally: there are versions from the regions of Łowicz, Kurpie, Biskupin, Sieradz, Podlasie, the Tatra highlands, Silesia, Kielce and Warsaw.[74] The

[74] See the following internet sources: file:///C:/Users/Tatras/Desktop/Wesele%20z%20tradycj%C4%85%20w%20Szreniawie.html; the wedding from Kraków region - http://wiano.eu/article/2757; the wedding from Mazury region - http://wiano.eu/article/2573; the wedding from Łowicz region - http://wiano.eu/article/1869; the wedding from Biskupin - http://wiano.eu/article/1831; the wedding from the Tatra Highlands - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zKpXoqbPSpE; https://www.youtube.com/watch?-

directors of these spectacles are conscious to be limited by space (an apron stage, i.e. the festive interior of a peasant chamber, or the open air stage) and time (the traditional wedding usually takes two days: the main ceremony and poprawiny, i.e. the party held on the day after the wedding, most often reduced in performances of types A and B to two hours). Obviously, mainly these limitations determine the necessity of selection of ethnographic material and application of temporal cuts.

In Polish XIX-XX century, folklore the cycle of traditional wedding customs was comprised of a/ zmówiny - the initial arrangements, reconnaissance mission, matchmaking and betrothal, and b/ zdawiny - the set of folkways which, constituted the

v=Fk62hWJKiJM; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h67wUDaVaaY; http://festiwale.zakopane.pl/2018/festiwal-folkloru/aktualnosci/tradycyjne-wesele-goralskie; the wedding from Kurpie region - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YA82yYfQaKg; the wedding from Lublin region – www.stowarzyszenieodn.pl/wydarzenia/wesele/wesele% 20nadwislanskie.doc. All the internet sources used in this article were accessed between 1 and 20 Sept. 2018.

quintessence of the ceremony: the announcements in church, selection of the master of the ceremony, invitation of guests, designation of the persons playing ritual roles, the pre-wedding evening, unbraiding, the wedding ceremony in church, the wedding party, oczepiny (capping ceremony), poprawiny, przenosiny (removal to the groom's home) (Kwaśniewicz 1981: 92-103). Only in performances of type A it is necessary to make the audience aware that they reflect the whole wedding ritual cycle as it was "in old times". This may be exemplified by the stage production of Tatra highlander wedding ceremony by the folklore group "Wiyrchowianie" from Bukowina Tatrzańska in the local Center of Culture in this tourist settlement (see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=whMNhjGzJFg.) in which this perspective was imposed by the narrator situated outside the ritual situation. At the beginning of the scenario, his role was to welcome the audience and introduce the stage of initial arrangements, and at the end, he was to thank the audience for participation and introduce the ritualistic behaviors closing the cycle. Thus, the core of the spectacle was comprised of the following phases:

1/ Before the wedding ceremony in church: oration of invitation to the wedding made by pytace, preparations for going to church, parental blessing of the newly-weds.

2/ After return from the church: symbolic welcoming the newly-weds with bread and salt; the wedding party in which the master of the ceremony and his female partner, the best man and the bridesmaid play their standard roles; the climax of the ceremony: oczepiny (capping ceremony), accompanied by numerous songs which reflect the consecutive phases in this rite of passage, sanction the change of status of the bride (the main dramatis persona of this rite of passage) and design her future; and the final phase of this spectacle: song implications of removal to the groom's home. Plans

for the future life of the newly-weds are expressed in numerous ritual songs performed, whereas the married couple are silent throughout the whole ceremony (the behavior typical for the liminal phase of this rite of passage). The oczepiny (capping ceremony) songs performed mention both traditional and contemporary gifts to the newly-weds (for example chocolate, pineapples). This scenario (phases 1 and 2) sometimes functions (in both Polish and diasporic folklore) as a model for arranging a real wedding ceremony (Brzozowska-Krajka 2012: 203-227).

Type B is most common in stage performances of the wedding ceremony in various regions of Poland. Their structure is comprised of select elements of phase 1 with the parental blessing of the newly-weds prior to going to church as the obligatory component, and phase 2: welcoming the newly married couple with bread and salt, the wedding party including songs and dances characteristic for a given region, and its climax – oczepiny (capping

ceremony). Such performance is concluded with common songs and dances, characteristic of the region in question, of all its actors-participants. There are also performances concentrated on or limited to oczepiny (capping ceremony) as the crucial element of the wedding ceremony (for example from Podlasie), or those limited to select wedding songs with the emphasis put on the atmosphere of entertainment and including some elements of oczepiny - capping ceremony (for example the wedding from Łowicz during folklore fair) or on the final dance of the newly-weds before oczepiny - capping ceremony (for example the wedding from Biskupin). An original spectacle was presented during the international folklore festival on the open stage by the folklore group Kurpie from Kadzidło, which consisted in combining a real marriage ceremony with a wedding staged "in the old style". It began with return of the wedding procession from church and ritual welcoming of the newly-weds with bread and salt by their parents (as a ritual projection of

their future life), and was followed by dances and songs appropriate for traditional wedding party of the region in question (for example the weddings from the regions of Kurpie, Wielkopolska). Though in such performances directors and actors are convinced about rightness of this form of cultivation of cultural tradition, they are not aware that their performances do not belong to folklore but belong to folklorism (fakelore) as they are artificial in two ways. They are devoid of their original symbolic-ideological contexts, and their ludic nature lends them to application of additional artistic or quasi-artistic adaptation (Burszta 1989: 161).

Type C – ludic-commercial – represents the fullest actualization of ritual folklore as a style of contemporary mass culture, which absorbs alien elements, including those of folk origin. Its nature is well-illustrated by two projects of 2017 which are poles apart in terms of their closeness to/detachment from the folkloric tradition. The first is the

festival-picnic devised by Leszek Kumański, titled "Moje wielkie polskie wesele. Festiwal polskich obrzędów ślubnych i weselnych" (My great Polish wedding. Festival of Polish marriage and wedding rituals). It is a huge two-day open-air event (as long as a traditional wedding), which takes place in a reconstructed medieval settlement in Huta Szklana (Swiętokrzyskie Voivodeship). Thus, in this Festival the natural scenery of homesteads from "old times" includes stalls with folk handicraft products, various kinds of contemporary costumes, gadgets and elements of marriage and wedding dress, culinary products, materials, which promote regional agro-tourism, as well as the central stage with multimedia scenography and visualization, which fit the style of such artistic spectacles. Select episodes from the wedding ritual, as well as songs and dances, performed on this stage by invited folkloric groups from chosen regions of Poland become, in fact, a pretext for a great common dance of this audience of many thousands. In this way, the par-

ticipants become aware of evolution of wedding rituals, including the wedding ceremony itself, wedding fashion, and changes in music, costumes, gifts (wedding industry of a sort). From the second edition of this Festival its formula was broadened to include traditional marriage and wedding rituals of other countries in Europe and the world, for example in Mexico, India – to make the audience aware of similarities and differences between Polish "roots culture" and other ethnic cultures. The whole event is concluded with a common disco dance with some of the greatest Polish and foreign dance hits played.[75]

The second project is "Festiwal weselnych przebojów" (Festival of wedding hits) organized in the amphitheatre in Mrągowo (northern Poland) and transmitted by TV Polsat.[76] In this project the wedding is synonymous with stage entertainment

[75] https://echodnia.eu/swietokrzyskie/moje-wielkie-polskie-weselew-hucie-szklanej-zobacz-zdjecia-i-wideo/ar/1

[76] https://www.polsat.pl/news/2018-08-18/festiwal-weselnych-przebojow-mragowo-2018

with the participation of fictitious newly-weds, the best man and the bridesmaid, and the master of ceremony. It consists in presentation of the most popular contemporary wedding and banquet hits (and not of traditional wedding songs and music), as well as some popular musical styles, for example folk music, disco polo, country music. This musical event takes place for two days: the first day of grand wedding and the party held on the day after the wedding. It is initiated by comic pretended vow of the festival newly-weds which paraphrases the ritual question asked by the master of the ceremony during a true wedding: "do you promise to live in concord, love and involve all the guests into this dance?" This type of spectacle is devoid of any specific signs of regional identity (see types A and B), it rather contributes to the nationwide community on the level of popular/mass culture, of cultural consumerism.

3. Conclusion

The analysis presented here illustrates certain general tendencies, which indicate the place of folk culture in the landscape of Polish culture in the XXI century. The wedding variant of ritual folklorism is strongly connected with cultural policy, especially on the local and regional level, less so on the national level. And it is here that the ideological function of folklorism (indicated by Sirovátka) is fulfilled. It pertains also to the relation of culture and religion, the role of Catholicism in contemporary Polish family rituals. And despite clear desacralization processes appearing in contemporary wedding ceremonies, or perhaps because of them, it is the marriage ceremony in church and the ritual behavior right before and after it, and not traditional oczepiny, which are the most significant element in stage performances of this ritual. Religious signs and symbols are also among contemporary additions to the stage design: for example the religious wishing formula "let God make the newly-weds happy"

placed above the seats taken by the newly married couple and strengthened by the images of protective Mother of God or Mother of God and Jesus Christ.

This study provokes questions for the future: shall the conventionalized traditional wedding stage performances with a regional "face" (types A and B), strongly didactic (as they recommend definite patterns of socially accepted behaviors) and entering contemporary mass culture, yield to unification processes leading towards national post-folklorism (limited only to some elements functioning as signs of national folklore)? Or shall they rather remain as an alternative lifestyle orientated towards "return to the roots"? The second option will be probably still alive for a long time given the strong position of ethnographic regions in Poland and the institutions which accomplish educational programs concerning regional heritage (both in school and outside it), and the programs for Euroregions financed by the European Community.

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Folk Culture
The Present and Future Pathways
THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF FOLK ART (IOV)
الثقافة الشعبية
الحاضر ومسارات المستقبل
المنظمة الدولية للفن الشعبي

Finding new spaces and expressions- The patachitra paintings from Bengal (India)

العثور على مساحات وتعابير جديدة -لوحات باتاتشيترا من البنغال (الهند)

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The patachitra paintings from West Bengal (India) form an important part of local folk art. These date back to the 10th11-th centuries. The word patachitra comes from the Sanskrit words- patta meaning a thin piece of cloth and chitra meaning a picture. Thus, these were traditionally drawn on thin pieces of cloth- about a foot in width and several feet in length. The cloth used to be filled by drawings of famous regional folktales and mythological stories and in the process- natural colours were used which were procured from various vegetables, dyes and minerals of nature. The painters were called as the patua and they would unroll the scroll from one end and describe the story in a rhythmic lyrical manner, as the scroll would be rolled back at the other end. These scrolls were traditionally exhibited in various households of landlords of Bengal and the patuas were paid in cash and kind for their performance. In the present times however, this art has witnessed several changes and attempts at revival. The patachitra form of painting from Bengal has found its resonance amidst many animation media as well as illustrations of popular publications. Because of both- these pictures have also managed to reach a global audience- in comparison to the small and limited audience within a single village in earlier times. As a Visual Anthropologist- I have been working with these patachitra and patuas for nearly one and a half decades as well as the oral traditions of Bengal and other parts of India. Through this present paper, I'm attempting to highlight this story of the singing painters- the patua and their patachitra paintings from the interior villages of Bengal- who have managed to gain global recognition in present times through the platform of popular culture- through media and various benevolent activities of revival of the art.

KEY WORDS

Intangible Cultural Heritage of Bengal (India), patua, patachitra paintings, oral traditions, revival, presents media, popular culture

Finding new spaces and expressions- The patachitra paintings from Bengal (India)

Both in traditional and contemporary art- the most important phenomenon in the assessment of the art lie in its originality. This is the specific perspective, which renders a work of art an aura of reverence and piety and transforms its display into a sacrosanct experience. The mystique that is thereby created includes the master-creator and his or her truthful and sincere touch. Folk art in its own sublime and inconspicuous way has been a part of this phenomenal experience through centuries. From time immemorial, folk art has been an important instrument that fathoms a bridge between man and environment and creates a unification of the sources of life. The story of folk art can be traced back to thousands of years- through the portrayal of images and visuals across mud and thatched walls and roofs and boundary fences down the course of history and across thousands of rural areas all over the

world. With time, as gradually, man understood the portrayal of the same essence with cloth and paper- folk painting took centre-stage and finally took the form of an important part of cultural communication of the masses. Nevertheless, the folk art on the mud walls, floors and fences continue till date- and the addition of folk paintings on paper has added an innovative degree.

The patachitra form of folk art is an example of one such novel transformation through the medium of paper and New Media (in recent times). This paper looks into the patachitra form of folk art from eastern part of West Bengal (India) - especially from the region of Mednipur district of West Bengal. Handed down from generation to generation- this art is taught within the family of artists who resides within specific villages. Their life story sketches an interesting history- especially across the last thousand years and is as myriad as their colourful renditions. At present, this form of patachitra art

from Mednipur region of West Bengal (Fig.1-) has witnessed several changes. This paper aims to highlight some of them and the significant implications that it has for the sustenance and survival of an important aspect of the intangible cultural heritage of India.

Even around the time of the independence of India in -1947 the folk art –patachitra- from Mednipur region of West Bengal was a least known and explored artform amidst art aficionados. With a steadily declining market and demand, the art was also considered as fast losing its touches and on the verge of extinction even a couple of decades ago. However, the story of the sustenance of the patachitra art from Mednipur started to gradually change over the last few decades. This is a story of their survival and their present continuation amidst a global market.

The patachitra form of folk art from the Mednipur region of West Bengal can be best described as a performative art. It involves a painter displaying the painting (created by her/him) and narrating the story displayed therein through lyrical, musical verses. Over the years-, these paintings have helped to preserve and pass down important threads of history. This specific form of folk art with the name patachitra is also however quite common to the rest of the region of eastern India and can be found in the Indian states of Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha- apart from West Bengal. Each region however has its own representation and reflects its local folk culture in a unique way. Each patachitra is thus different- just like the unique patachitra from Mednipur district of West Bengal.

The patachitra from West Bengal- A brief history:

The patachitra folk art from the region of Mednipur in West Bengal has grown to typically represent a traditional medium of mass communication- especially from eastern India. Over the years-, the art form has expanded and evolved into mainstream popular culture. At present-, it stands as an important part of modern visual culture and narrates a magnificent story of adaptation, amalgamation and creating new spaces of expression through art.

The patachitra artform are created by specific groups of painters. Traditionally- they belonged to a specific caste and resided within specific geographical areas- e.g Naya village of West Mednipur district of West Bengal. The painters are also referred to variously as- patua, pattidar, poto, potodar- amidst others. The name patua is the most commonly used name from amongst these.

Historically speaking, the patuas were traditionally wandering artists travelling from place to place to display their scrolls of painting which were created and drawn by them and their pictures came to be referred to as patachitra.

The word patachitra is derived from the Sanskrit words- patta- meaning a thin piece of cloth and chitra- meaning drawing. Initially- the drawings of the patuas were done on thin pieces of cloth. Later on paper was introduced and a thin layer of cloth was plastered on the back of the paper. This made the paper a little sturdy. The paper canvas followed the pattern of the long and thin pieces of cloth. They were traditionally long rectangular pieces of paper-, which were rolled up to be carried from place to place. This is how the patachitra is still drawn even in present times amongst the patuas of Mednipur district.

Though the exact date of the origin of the patuas- as a professional and a performing artist is difficult to trace with accuracy, yet from "various local lores and oral traditions- they can be estimated to have begun as a profession from around 10th11-th century AD in Bengal."

(Bajpai, 2014, pp.2). As professional artists, "the patuas would frequent the homes of especially rich people (mostly zamindars and landlords, feudal lords, administrative and police heads, etc.). The patuas would display the scrolls at these households and narrate the different stories of deities from Hindu mythology and in return would then be rewarded with cash or kind or both in the form of grains, food and clothes." (Ibid). The performance of the patuas at the various houses would include narration of stories from the famous local lore and local Purana (especially reflected through the three Mangal Kavyas- the Manasa Mangal Kavya, Chandi Mangal Kavya and Dharma Mangal Kavya) and also

stories from the popular Indian epics- The Ramayana and The Mahabharata.

The patachitra and the patuas-

The displaying of the patachitra by the patuas was and is still referred to as pat khelano (displaying the pat) and the songs are referred to as pater gaan (the song of the pat). The entire activity of the patuas- from the creation of a patachitra to the final performance can be described as-

1. Choosing the subject matter for creating the patachitra
2. Creation of the patachitra through natural glue and colours.
3. The song to accompany the displaying (pat khelano) of the patachitra
4. The performance- putting the song and the pat khelano together

1) Choosing the subject matter for creating the patachitra-

Traditionally, the subject matters of the patachitra, as mentioned above- included stories from the local mythology, lore or the Indian epics- The Ramayana or The Mahabharata. Based on these primary subject matters of the patachitra, they can be divided into the following categories-

1. Stories from various Indian religious texts (e.g. The Ramayana [Fig.2-], Bhagvat Gita and The Mahabharata Fig7-).

2. Stories from local mythologies (e.g. Indian Puranas- Manasa Mangal Kavya, Chandi Mangal Kavya).

3. Stories from local folktales, including Oral Traditions of communities (e.g. local lore of various regional communities, e.g. Santhal (tribe) of India.

One particular pat of the Santhals is the story that describes rituals after death within their tribal customs. This patachitra is called as Yama pat. (Yama is the Hindu Lord of Death.)

4. Stories of various Hindu and Muslim saints who were locally famous (e.g. Chaitanya, Gaji, Masnad-i-ala, Satya Pir, etc.)

5. Different historical incidents of local significance (e.g. death sentence of various revolutionaries under British colonial rule in India, a famous case from Calcutta High Court of a scandal involving the murder of a head priest of the Tarakeshwar temple and pilgrim centre, etc)

6. Other subject matters from recent times. This has particularly become famous over the last few decades and includes themes of society, culture, politics and religion, e.g. messages of afforestation, child-education, girl child education,

polio vaccination, literacy campaigns, etc. These have been due to the many efforts of the state and central government initiatives as well as the activities of NGOs who has been working closely with the patuas to effectively use their artwork as an important means of communication to reach the rural crown. The tremendous positive response of these several campaigns is ascertained from the fact that the number of NGOs and government activities, which often includes patachitra in their many social campaigns in both rural and urban settings – have increased considerably. Thus, across the last one decade, the patachitra has variously reflected social work activities- at regional, national as well as international levels, e.g. the bicentenary celebrations of the French Revolution by the Alliance Francaise in Kolkata (India), demonstrations about the horrors of the nuclear war, global war against terrorism, the mishap of September 11/9 in the USA with the destruction of the Twin Towers (Fig.3-), awareness about HIV-AIDS (Fig.4-), amidst others.

This change in subject matter of the patachitra has also resulted in creating new songs to accompany the visuals. However, at many times across the recent decade, the simple visuals of the patachitra are used to recreate narratives for animation, advertising, books and other publications. In each of these examples however, the song of the performance is omitted and the performative art becomes just a representational form of the main art.

2) Creation of the patachitra through natural colours-

Traditionally- the colours of the patachitra were all natural colours- procured variously from the surrounding environment and the tenements of the patuas. The painting brush was also made at home as well as the cloth, which was used to plaster behind the paper. In recent times however- the patuas are seen to use acrylic and poster colours and synthetic paint-brushes- all procured from the nearby markets

or from the markets in the city of Kolkata. It is also interesting to note that in recent years a resource centre has been set up by the Kolkata-based NGO-banglanatok. com in the village Naya in the region of Pingla in West Mednipur district of Bengal. This resource centre doubles up also as a base for workshop for several people from all over the world who want to learn about the art of patachitra as well as gain knowledge about their pattern and style. The patuas give hands-on training to the many visitors at the resource centre and these trainings include a demonstration about natural colours and how they are used for creating the desired effect for painting a patachitra. Traditionally, including the recent set of workshops, gives an overview of the natural colours, their mixing typology and their application and processes. The brushes are made from the whiskers of the tails of squirrels and mongoose, which are tied with thin strips of bamboo to give the shape of a paint-brush. As a palette for mixing colours and to reach a desired consistency- broken and cleaned

coconut shells are used. The colour is mixed with water and homemade glue. This glue is made from grinding the seeds of wood-apple trees and mixing with required quantities of water. Sometimes, the seeds of wood-apple are substituted with the seeds of tamarind or sap from the margossa tree or even egg-yolk.

The variety of the colours represents the surrounding nature. Yellow is made from turmeric or soil,nGreen is made from leaves of hyacinth bean plant or the leaves of wood apple, Purple is made from black plum or blackberry, Conch-shell powder or white mud gives the white colour, Brown colour is obtained from limestone mixed with black catechu, Red is made from terracotta soil, vermillion or alta (a reddish or scarlet ink or dye solution used for colouring feet of women for decoration during festivals specially), Grey is obtained from the soot from earthen ovens, Blue is obtained from blue seeds- locally known as nil bori,

Black is obtained from scrapping the soot off from the outside bottoms of clay pots or by burning the roots of the velvet apple trees, or even burning rice (and pounding it to a powder to which is added the home-made glue for required consistency).

After the patachitra drawing is complete- the paper is plastered at the back with a thin layer of cloth with homemade glue. This renders a degree of sturdiness to the paper as it is rolled and un-rolled several times. (Fig.9-).

Finally, the canvas and paints are ready for the finale. The three original formats of painting a patachitra from Mednipur are- Jadano pat or the long scroll (Fig.5-) - This demonstrates episodes in a sequence by several small panels painted on top of each other. Placed in the vertical manner- the borders are illuminated along the picture frame- also helping to divide the panels from each other. Normally each story painted in this manner has a

vertical row of commonly ten to fifteen frames in all.

- Arelatai pat (Fig.6-)- here the picture frames are horizontal in nature- bound in two ends by two wooden sticks to enable the patua to unroll the pat as he gradually displays it in front of an audience. This contains primarily six to eight frames.

- Choukosh pat or the square pat (Fig.7-) - this is a single sheet of rectangular paper Which, commonly used to eulogise a deity or an incident. The many examples of Kalighat form of patachitra from Kolkata are an example of this type. There are also some examples from Mednipur region as well (some examples are sited at the end).

3) The song to accompany the displaying of the patachitra-

While a patua is narrating a story and the frames- he or she also keeps pointing to each frame and thus, the story moves on. This is the pat khelano. The body language and narration as well as intonation during pat khelano are an important aspect. Traditionally- the songs were created in an impromptu manner and within a specific moment- while displaying each patachitra. Over the years however, each story of the patachitra have developed with their own specific songs-, which often differs from patua to patua. Each song is created to suit the visuals and each song has mainly three stages-

1) The kahini or the story
2) The mahatmya or the glory
3) The bhanita or the self-introduction.

"The patua finishes each performance of the pat khelano and his song with a personalised- touch by mentioning his name, the name of his village and sometimes the name of the police station under which the village is located. Thus, the songs are a signature tune to the entire creation of a pat. The songs follow a trend and a pattern referred to as "tripad" or three beats in Indian classical music." (Bajpai Maitra 2014). Primarily, this performance only included vocals, but later on simple instruments like percussion, e.g. the dugdugi or wind instruments like the flute or even the harmonium were added.

4) The performance- putting the song and the pat khelano together-

The patua represents the characters within the story- both good and bad- through hand and palm gestures, eye movements and intonations. Facial expressions are however very limited in nature, but helps to convey a message to the audience. Thus, if the patua is performing as Lord Krishna and while speaking of his ladylove Radha, he would try to emulate a feminine voice. Thus, the characters

are brought to life. “When representing dialogue, different modulations of the voice are distinctly observed. This specific feature has made them performers in the true sense.” (Islam: 46).

New Spaces and expressions-

The patachitra artform has been an important part of local communication through centuries in Bengal. They have also helped to preserve an important part of local historicity, which is often not found in mainstream history books. Over the years, the expression of the patachitra has become more vividly defined and at present, it forms an important part of popular culture. In the modern world of globalised economy, the realm of popular culture has also expanded considerably to reach out to a larger audience and away from the niche geographical locales. Over the last couple of decades, the activities of various NGOs and government agencies have effectively utilised the patachitra from of folk art to reach out to a larger audience around the globe. Different websites on the internet has also helped in bringing this folk art into the global platform. Mention may be made of many, including- the webpages of Kolkata- based NGOs Daricha1, or banglanatak.com2. As mentioned before, banglanatak.com has introduced a resource centre at the patua village of West Mednipur- Naya. This resource centre is also an activity centre for workshops and is the place where a three-day annual gathering by the name- Pot Maya is held. This festival encourages workshops and interactions with the patuas and also has a website of its own3 which explores a comprehensive list of all the patuas of West Mednipur- along with their cell phone numbers and also gives details of their songs, music, and essence of lyrics and also glimpses into some of their visual treats. This website also mentions the activities organised by Government

of India with the help of the State Government- *"The Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre (with support of Ministry of Rural Development of the government of India) supported capacity building and promotional activities during -2005 2009. An important project titled- Ethno- magic Going Global (EGG), an ongoing initiative by banglanatak.com supported by the European Union has facilitated interaction between patuas and contemporary painters and new media artists from Europe. Health insurance has been provided to the artists and their families."*

The folk art from Bengal has also found an echo within international websites as well, e.g. the website of Indigo Art Gallery, Philadelphia, USA-4 which introduces the art to a global audience with various interpretations as well as subject matters that is known globally- e.g. patachitra on The French Revolution, the nuclear bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, the attack on the World Trade Centre (visibly depicting Osama Bin Laden escaping the scene unharmed) (Fig.3-), Osama Bin

Laden at Tora Bora, Former US President George Bush involved with his senate over a meeting, the tragedy of the Titanic, the Indian Ocean Tsunami of 2004, December, amidst others. A similar website from Bengal, which is aimed at the global audience, is that of Muktodhara5. This portrays a short history of patachitra from Bengal and its influence on the art of Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore. Several people from all over the world gather at the annual festival- Paushmela on January 15 on the grounds of Vishwa Bharati University established by Rabindranath Tagore in Bengal. Thus, for the many folk art enthusiasts, this website acts as an important channel of information to decide upon specific patachitra to buy at Paushmela. Even the section of gettyimages.in6 records a small section pertaining to patachitra- that attempts to portray not only the visuals- but also bits and pieces of socio-cultural essence from the region of Bengal in India.

The last decade has also witnessed patachitra folk art being used to create illustrations for several books as well as animation. Amidst this- mention may be made of the popular graphic novel- 'Sita's Ramayana' with text by Samhita Arni and illustrations by Moyna Chitrakar from West Mednipur district of Bengal. This book was published by Groundwood Books in 2011 (October 8). Moyna Chitrakar also went onto design and illustrate several other books- including- "The Enduring Ark', 'I Like Cats', 'Eight Ways to Draw an Elephant' and 'Tsunami'. All of these books were published by Tara Books from Chennai (India). Moyna and her patua husband- Joydeb Chitrakar helped to create- 'Tsunami' in an innovative manner. This was a bilingual venture- published in Tamil and English. The entire book is printed on a long and vertical sheet of paper-, which is folded up in a manner of Japanese origami sensu fans. Upon opening the cover of the book-, the entire vertical sheet unfolds like a scroll. The printing for this book was done through silk-

screen technology and there is a small hole at the very top of the book to hang this masterpiece as a representative scroll from Bengal. The book narrates the 2004 December Tsunami and the patua song is written along the border of the illustrations (in either English or Tamil). To spread the word amidst the global customer, Tara Books issued an online video (available on Youtube7) which, demonstrated the patuas singing the song as well as the tedious process of silk-screen printing.

Bengal's patachitra has also been effectively used by the Children's Film Society of India8 (under Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of the Government of India) to make animations based on folktales from Bengal, e.g. the animation movie Krish Trish and Baltiboy (released in 2009). This animation movie explores folktales from Bengal with the visuals of patachitra. In the process-, this also helps to highlight a very significant lesson for the younger generation as it not only emphasises

upon the moral of the story, but also underlines the significant folk art from a region of India. With the help of television and internet- these animation movies reaches far beyond the small geographical regions of the origin of patachitra. I should add here- through my experience across fieldwork outside India- it is interesting to witness that these animation movies are part of the only channels of bonding for many Indian families settled abroad- who are trying to aquaint their children with the regional culture of their original hometowns.

Apart from the reflections on new media and publications, there are also various patachitra paintings done on various household items- including hand-held fans made from palm leaves, pen stands, lamp shades, t-shirts, sarees, dupattas, ladies' bags, amidst others. (Fig16-12-)

Conclusion

Though there is no recorded history about the beginning of Bengal's patachitra, however the continuation amidst several tribes of eastern India highlights important stories. These are stories of migration, adaptation, acculturation and assimilation. The patachitra, even at present can be seen to be a popular folk art amidst tribes like Santhals, Ho, Munda, Juang and Kheria from Bengal region. The famous Santhal patachitra can be also ascertained to be one of the predecessors of the present patachitra of Bengal. The main topics of the Santhal patachitra are the various depictions of the beginning of mankind on earth. This is depicted through their mythology that speaks of the first ancestors of the Santhals- Pilchu Haram (man) and Pilchu Burhi (woman) (Fig8-). According to Santhal mythology, they had seven sons and seven daughters and how mankind came to exist through their marriages. Var ious local artisans adopted this

method of representation of famous folktales and started to use patachitra as an important method of communication. Their activities were further encouraged by local property owners and royalties. Thus, the representation of stories from local Puranas or The Ramayana and The Mahabharata became popular, as these artists knew that these were well-respected and popular amidst the Hindu landlords of the region and they can also sing the praise of the Lord and narrate a story and be paid in return. Thus, began the performative art of the patuas.

It is also interesting to note that the art of Bengal patachitra has always been an ever- evolving platform from the very beginning. Historically, most of the patuas trace their ancestry to being Muslim by birth however; they had adopted Hindu names, rites, rituals and customs around 17th18-th centuries. This also enabled easy access to enter the households of property owners for their performance as well as

perform with stories from Hindu mythology. It is also important to note that- until present times- almost all patuas from Mednipur district of Bengal follows two religions and two names (Hindu and Islam) and celebrate all festivals from both religions9. Inspite of this rare occurrence- there has been no skirmish or religious problems ever amidst the community or the people around them. It is indeed an example of amicable and brotherhood living and highlights unity in diversity.

Another aspect that portrays the vibrant and ever-evolving character of the Bengal patachitra is the fact that in recent years- the participation of women has increased considerably. Traditionally, the patachitra used to be mostly demonstrated (pat khelano) by male artists- who were accompanied by younger male members of the family. The women of the house used to mostly participate by painting and drawing the canvas. However, over the last couple of decades, there has been an important growth of

women patuas. They not only participate in drawing alone- but in pat khelano as well. The women patuas have also reached international frontiers and an example is Moyna Chitrakar (mentioned earlier). Moyna helps in book illustrations and she even goes abroad to attend international exhibitions and seminars. In fact, during fieldwork for this specific research paper, the author also encountered several men, who knew little or none of the songs, which were traditionally used to describe the drawings. There were several instances- when the men of a family pointed out to the women to sing the song and do the pat khelano. Like Moyna, many women patuas also preside over workshops to teach and guide other about their art or their music. Some photographs are provided at the end of this paper to further highlight the participation of women patuas in recent times. Thus, not only do the women patuas nowadays help in drawing the patachitra, but, they also help with selling the items at the stalls, markets, villages as well as cities. Several of

the women artists are also listed in the websites of NGOs and help sell their products over the internet. Many are also important and distinguished in their careers, as they have been awarded variously by the local as well as the Government of India.

However, as the art transforms- from a performative art to a simpler and illustrative one- a critical issue grips the medium. This is the issue of ethics and specific questioning of the survival, sustainability and continuity of the folk tradition of patachitra-, which technically involved singing and pat khelano. With illustrations in books or animation movies or patachitra being sold over websites or at fairs and festivals- the performance from the art is deleted and is slowly getting lost in oblivion. A beacon in the direction might be the many workshops presided over by the patuas and one such glowing example is Pot Maya. Started in 2010, Pot Maya receives a footfall of approximately more than 5,000 persons each year, is open to all-

and is considered one of the most famous grounds for interactions with the artists. Perhaps such workshops are the only channel for the sustenance and continuity of an important aspect of this performative art (Fig.11-). Nevertheless, it should also be kept in mind that patachitra- which is a part of the local intangible cultural heritage- is an ever-changing and spontaneous art form. This heritage is affected by changes, alterations, acculturation and their representations. The artform not only is influenced by these aspects- but preserves and thereby also reflects them and in the process- it gets itself transformed into an important messenger of history. As described in this paper- Bengal's folk art- patachitra has witnessed several changes across the last thousand years and today stands as an important symbol of intangible cultural heritage of not only Bengal alone- but an important part of India as well. The artform is still evolving and transcribing its own role amidst a global world economy and platform. Art- akin to culture- is like a flowing river.

It travels through nooks and crannies, finds its own expressions, fills up crevices and pot -holes, and flows on to chart out new routes. Bengal's patachitra too is as a flowing river- it flows on through history- tells the story of the many people it has met down the road, greets each new encounter, and adopts them as part of its own. Patachitra thus, creates a canvas of endurance and friendship and leaves a message of universal acceptance.

Figures- (All pictures- From author's personal collection excepting fig.1-).

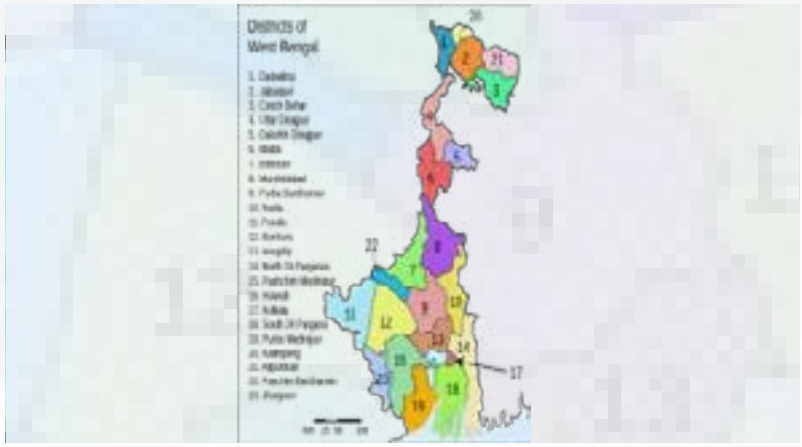

Fig.-1- Map of the state of West Bengal from India. Marked within the map are the region of Kolkata and the district of Pashchim Mednipur (West Mednipur)10

Fig.-2- A patua from Mednipur displaying a patachitra with the story of The Ramayana. The frames seen here shows the Princes- Rama, Lakshmana and Queen Sita entering the forest exile, Sita imploring Rama to bring her the golden deer and Lakshmana leaving in search of Rama when he takes too long to return and Ravana abducting Sita to take her to his palace in Lanka.

Fig.-3- A patua from Mednipur displaying a patachitra with a story that narrates an artistic rendition of the incident of September 11/9 in USA and the destruction of the Twin Towers.

Fig.-4- A woman patua from Mednipur displaying a patachitra that explains a modern story of the evils of the dreaded disease- HIV-AIDS and an awareness about how it is spread.

Fig- -5 A patua demonstrating a typical Jorano Pat or vertical scroll painting. The story depicted here is from the local Purana- Manasa Mangal Kavya

Fig-6- A female patua creating an Arelatai pat or horizontal pat. The story depicted here is the from the Santhal tribe mythology of the creation of mankind and the universe

Fig.-7- A Choukosh pat or a single rectangular sheet of patachitra- created by a female patua. The story depicted here is of the local folktale- Machher Biye (The marriage of the fishes)

Fig.-8- A patua demonstrating a typical Santhal Jorano Pat. This is a vertical pat and depicts the Santhal tribal mythology of the creation of the world and mankind.

Fig-9- Another depiction of Machher Biye (Marriage of the Fishes) on a choukosh pat (left)- displaying how the paper is plastered with cloth at the back to make it sturdy (right)

Fig-10- A choukosh pat depicting a theme of the famous folktale of Goddess Durga- Mahishashurmardini. She is depicted here according to how she is portrayed in sculpture in the region of Bengal- accompanied by her children Saraswati, Ganesha, Lakshmi and Kartikeya and slaying the demon king Mahishashur. At the top of the canvas, the image of god Shiva also traditionally appears to impart a sense of blessing to the family as the portrayal of the victory of good over evil, which is mentioned in mythology.

Fig -11 Patuas from Bengal at a popular culture exhibit and workshop held in Pune (Maharashtra, India) in November 2014

Fig-12- Desktop pen stands/ dining-table napkin holders
Fig-13- Bookmarks

Fig-14- Hand-held fans made from dried palm leaves

Fig-15- A patua from Mednipur at a workshop in Kolkata in -2007 displaying his art on a clay kamandalu (water pot with a spout and a handle)

Fig-16- A woman patua from Mednipur at a workshop in Kolkata in -2007 displaying her art on clay pots- used for decoration

Fig-16-12- Some items from popular culture which has been extensively used in recent times as canvas for patachitra

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7. The making of the book- 'Tsunami' video is available on Youtube at- http://www.tarabooks.com/2009/09/08/tsunami/
8. (After the official website of Children's Film Society of India- http://cfsindia.org/) CFSI started functioning in 1955 as an autonomous body under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting with Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru as

President. CFSI's maiden production Jaldeep won the first prize for best Children's Film at the 1957 Venice Film Festival. Since then CFSI has continued to produce, exhibit and distribute quality content for children: from feature films, shorts, animations to television episodes and documentaries. Over the years some of the brightest talents of Indian Cinema – Mrinal Sen, Satyen Bose, Tapan Sinha, K Abbas, Shyam Benegal, MS Sathyu, Sai Paranjpe, Budhdhadeb Dasgupta, Santosh Sivan, Ram Mohan, Rituparno Ghosh and Pankaj Advani to name a few – have directed films for us. They are joined by many other new and imaginative filmmakers who have created some of the most delightful children's content in the country. CFSI promotes films that provide healthy and wholesome entertainment for children to broaden their perspective and encourage them to reflect on the world around. With an enviable catalogue of 250 films in 10 different languages, CFSI remains the prime producer of children's films in South Asia. We also organise film screenings across the country, reaching out to approximately four million children annually. CFSI is committed to strengthening the children's film movement within India and promoting Indian produced children's films across the globe.

9. There are various local lore about the origin of the patuas. They are often seen to be both Muslim and Hindu at the same time. Though, they originally were amongst the nine-caste craftsmen of India or the Nabasakhas, namely- Chitrakars, Malakars, Kangsakars, Karmakars, Sankhakars, Tantubaya, Kumbhakars, Sutradhars and Swarnakars, in recent years, they feature OBC (Other Backward Classes) category of the West Bengal Government.

10. Map of West Bengal- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_districts_of_West_Bengal#/media/File:WestBengalDistricts_numb ered.svg

Keeping Alive And Improving Of Textile Heritage

الحفاظ على استمرارية وتحسين تراث النسيج

Minara Guliyeva

Fashion Designer

Vice-chair of IOV Youth

مينارا غوليفا

مصممة أزياء

نائب رئيس هيئة الشباب في المنظمة الدولية للفن الشعبي.

Abstract

Azerbaijan of great importance in textile history with an invaluable cultural heritage attracts attention thanks to a variety of local weavings, which have managed to survive so far. Some of them have been removed from production and many things have been done in order to maintain and develop some of them.

The traditional hand weaving, which is accepted to be a material cultural heritage, is widely made in Azerbaijan. However, the production of hand-weaved fabrics in many areas either has ceased to exist or has lost its characteristics, due to factors such as the rapid production process brought by the technology, increased use of non-natural fibers, current fashion trends, and social life changes brought about by globalization and industrialization. First, it is necessary to ensure that the tradition will not be forgotten and to involve future generation in textile heritage.

The primary aim of the research is to reconsider the traditional weaving techniques and patterns of the floor spreads in Azerbaijan, to recreate the fabric samples and to gain designs with characteristic features that trace the culture to the fabric sector of the country. These weaving are emergence of a given cultural technique and pattern archive being examined and adapt to contemporary designs by making use of patterns, motifs, materials, production techniques.

In the research, the ancient samples of Azerbaijan flat-weave carpets will be displayed and as well as new patterns will be presented. This information will be evaluated from the perspective of modern

textile designer and new designs will be present by using modern techniques. The above mentioned flat-weave carpets samples will be brought and its function will be discussed in today's textile.

Key words

Azerbaijan flat-weave carpets, textile heritage, globalization, traditional weaving, garment design.

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Introduction

Flat-weave carpets is one of our largest cultural textile heritage. The journey of using carpets started in tents as well as palaces, pavilions, floors, and walls of houses, and later as a tablecloth.

Azerbaijani flat weaved carpets were used to cover floors, as well as tent covers, curtains, clothes and tablecloth. The preparation of such products proves the wisdom and the origin of people's mentality. The large-sized flat weave carpets were used during weddings or funeral ceremonies. The size of these carpets were much wider than carpets weaved for tents. There were period that the weddings and funeral tents were covered with black or brown geometric shape felt.

The flat weaved carpets were produced by urban dwellers and sedentary farmers. Nevertheless, non-flat weaved carpets such as zili, rugs, and sumacs

were very popular among people. These types of carpets are no longer functional and they were mainly used as decorative items. These carpets were produced for daily necessities, dowry or for the purpose of gifts. The weaved carpets for the purposed of sale or order were differ with their high aesthetics.

Flat weaved and non-flat weaved carpets is divided into two groups in Azerbaijan. (Guliyeva; Acar, 2018:20). Azerbaijan non-flat weaved carpets; pile, ceten, buriya, rug, shedde, cecim, tapestry-weaved type of rug, garvud, mehfur, gedirge, verni, sumach are in this group.

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Photo 1: Azerbaijani flat weave carpets.

1. Hesir (Aliyeva, 2013:82); 2. Çeten (Aliyeva, 2013:91); 3. Buriya (Aliyeva, 2013: 88); 4. striped simple palaz wool, Shirvan school, Azerbaijan Carpet Museum, XX century (Aliyeva, 2013:98); 5. Shedde (wool), Garabagh school (Aliyeva, 2013:142); 6. Cecim, Garabagh, Azerbaijan, XX century, wool, handmade, size: 153 x 193 sm. (http://azcarpetmuseum.az/front/az/collections/8); 7. Kilim "Garaqoyunlu", Gazakh, Azerbaijan, XX century, wool, handmade, size: 223 x 295 sm. (http://azcarpetmuseum.az/front/az/collections/8); 8. Gedirge, Shirvan school, Azerbaijan Carpet Museum, XX century (Aliyeva, 2013: 226); 9. Zili, Baku, Azerbaıjan, XIX century, wool, handmade, sıze: 142 x 200 sm. (http://azcarpetmuseum.az/front/az/collections/8); 10. Verni, Garabagh, Azerbaijan, XVIII. century, wool, handmade, size: 202 x 282 sm. (http://azcarpetmuseum.az/front/az/collections/8); 11. Ladı, Garabagh, Azerbaijan, XX century, wool, handmade, size: 138 x 267 sm. (http://azcarpetmuseum.az/front/az/collections/8); 12. Sumakh, Shirvan, Azerbaijan, XIX century, wool, handmade, size: 200 x 278 sm. (Aliyeva, 2013:).

The development path of carpet art is divided into four main and sequential period in Latif Kerimov's fundamental research.

First period -is the primitive period of carpet art. This period is called "simple transition" technique such as certain way of weaving hair, rugs later cecim weaving method developed. In this period weaving carpets was simple, only one color and without any ornament.

Second period- is characterized by the technical and artistic development of carpet art. During this period complicated transition loop appeared and kilim weaving method was being developed. The appearance of this method allowed weaving simple embroidery on carpets.

Third period: verni, shedde, zili and sumach (different types of carpets) appeared in this period. Complex twisting method made it possible the development of different shape and size of embroidery and patterns.

Fourth period- tie a knot, which was twisting method before developed flat-weaved carpets in this period. This period is both technically and artistically a highly developed period of carpet art. Before our century, applying of knitting method was very different from other methods that allowed applying complex compositions. (Kerimov, 1961: 13, 14).

Azerbaijan non flat-weaved carpets, which is very important for family and the country's economy is one of textile heritage. In this research, you will be informed about the Azerbaijani non-flat weaved carpets, protection and survival of textile heritage and the importance of transferring to future generations.

Azerbaijan weaving derived from archaeological findings, patterns in museums and traditional weaving patterns will be valued as one of cultural heritage. Despite its historical importance and the development in public life such as existing in a few museums and private archives, traditional knitting topic was not researched enough. Therefore, traditional textile research in Azerbaijan has a great importance for keeping alive and development of textile heritage.

The main purpose of this research is to revise traditional textile techniques and embroideries (motives) and re-manufacturing fabric samples and provide the country's weaving sector with new designs that carries cultural traces.

1. Non-flat weaved carpets in historical period

Azerbaijan is one of the oldest carpet weaving art countries. Azerbaijan is rich in rivers, underground resources, sea and mountains, lush forests, slopes and plains, as well as favorable conditions for the development of civilization with its favorable climate and geography. Since the ancient times the historians have been researching about weaving and painting.

We got information from XVII century Dutch sailor Yan Streysin's notes about valuable gunny weaved in XII century Azerbaijan. Streys was writing about Shamakhi Khan's accepting his Isfahan envoys: Khan was sitting on very valuable Arabian horse. The horse was covered with gunny weaved of thin gold, beautiful pearls and was decorated with precious stones (Aliyeva, 2013: 22).

The flat weaved carpets knitted of colorful loop has reached a very high development stage in Tabriz carpet art in XVI-XVII centuries. These kind of carpets known as "Zerbaf" are kept in Topqapi Palace Museum (XVI), Victoria and Albert Museum (XVI) in London and Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (Aliyeva, 2013: 21).

We got information from the English traveler Antony Cenkinson's notes about non-flat weaved carpets weaved with non-ferrous metal belongs to XVI century. When Antoni Cenkinson was in Abdulla Khan's summer residence in Shamakhi, he described what he saw: "Khan was sitting in a very precious tent that was built of silk and gold. The inside of the tent was all covered with valuable carpets (Aliyeva, 2013: 22).

In the XVII-XVIII centuries, the production of non-flat weaved carpets were significantly expanded. Various silk compositional ornament and non-flat

weaved carpets were being weaved in Garabagh, Shirvan as well as Shamakhi, Jabrayil and Barda (Aliyeva, 2013: 22).

Photo 2: The eight pointed star and kataba paintings on Azerbaijan non-flat weaved carpet (silk, cotton, wool), which is the oldest symbol of Azerbaijan. Garabagh carpet school, XVII century. Personal Collection (Aliyeva, 24 :2013)

Since the middle of the XIX century Azerbaijan has attended various exhibitions held in Transcaucasia, Russia and Europe with various craft products as well as flat weaved and non-flat weaved carpets (Aliyeva, 2013: 28).

In the 70's and 80's of XIX century, hundreds of enterprises were producing carpets by amateurish method. However, amateurish method production collapsed in the late 19th century. The import of inexpensive industrial goods from Russia had a negative impact on local artisanship. V.I. Lenin was describing the local amateurish craftsmanship as suppressed and eliminated due to lack of overcoming competition with the industrial goods imported from Moscow." (Lenin, 1948: 579).

Azerbaijan flat weaved carpets were successfully presented in exhibitions held abroad in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. One of these particular important exhibitions is Austrian exhibition of 1872, the Italian exhibition of 1911, the Berlin exhibition of 1913 and the 1913 London exhibition. The main items were presented in these exhibitions were carpets from Azerbaijan. More than half of carpets were consisted of non-flat weaved carpets and household items. It is enough to say that lots of

carpets such sumax, rug, zili, cecim were presented at the 1913 London International Exhibition (Aliyeva, 2013: 31).

Although traditionally textile is replaced by an advanced technology-based industry, traditional textile patterns, which have strong roots of weaving can still, be found in provinces and villages of Azerbaijan.

2. Textile Heritage Traditional Weaving

Heritage is described as one of values such as pattern of art, landscape forms as well as the material cultural heritage, language, human memory, dance, music, theater and rituals including an intangible cultural heritage (Silverman and Ruggles, 2007: 3). As it is evident from this statement the definition of heritage actually inherited from a culture. Therefore, the heritage covers the whole life of individuals including their daily and artistic activities. The heritage indicates that people related to actions start from person's body. Because the heritage has been formed in terms of time and place in the society. Cultural heritage: Not only is it a common memory of a society, it is also an important concept that a culture can continue to exist and transmit its characteristics to future generations. Protection and identification of its original cultural elements became essential along with the globalization.

Cultural heritage is a wealth that expresses the roots of people's common history, demonstrating their historical experiences not only for future generations but also for all humanity. Cultural heritage can also be valued as a source of cultural, social and economic income of the region.

Cultural patterns were developed according to people's abilities, their lifestyle and geographical features. Traditional textile is one of top of national values that best reflects cultural characteristics in Azerbaijan. The loop containing color, embroidery and motif decoration is cultural pattern that was produced in a particular technique reflecting life style and residential features.

The material cultural heritage of Azerbaijan traditional textile has been existing with its own features in the earliest times of history. The use of materials, color, diversity of embroidery and harmony differs from region to region and reflects the cultural identity of the regions. The formation of flat weaved carpet is the result of patience and great skill starting of spinning the yarn and dyeing by using various techniques. In addition, this is the experience of transmitting material cultural heritage from generation to generation, from masters to apprentices.

Textile patterns that are an important part of our cultural heritage have important relationship with our history. During the historical process the lifestyle of people, cultural structure, customs and traditions and one of the important elements of values are the aesthetic feelings derived from context of artisanship. For example, in Azerbaijan the art of weaving reflect common cultural structure have been existed nowadays due to general aesthetic criteria. From this point of view, it is possible to read sociological, economic, geographical and cultural changes of the society in the examples of traditional weaving produced in ancient times.

Traditional production techniques was known before the industrial revolution. Therefore, artisanship is one of the most important branches of traditional production; it is generally accepted as a national cultural element that reveals the history, lifestyle, beliefs, economic and social structure, and aesthetic understanding of traditional culture.

On December 7, 2004, the Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan "On protection and development of the Azerbaijani carpet art" was approved in order to protect, live, develop and convey traditional textile products, which is one of the material cultural heritage of Azerbaijan, on February 7, 2005, a decree on the application of that law was issued. In order to protect and to develop traditional weaving art that is considered one of Azerbaijan cultural heritage, the Law of the Azerbaijan Republic "On protection and development of Azerbaijani carpet art" was approved on December 7, 2004 and the decree was issued about the application of this law on February 7, 2005. In order to represent and promote Azerbaijani carpets the opening of the Azerbaijan Carpet Museum would particularly be emphasized in Seaside National Park with the participation of president Ilham Aliyev on August 26, 2014. The Azerbaijani carpet was included into UNESCO's Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage on November 16, 2010.

"Non-flat weave carpets" collection is consist of 657 exhibits. The collection contains non-flat weaved carpets palaz, ciyi-palaz, qədirqə, cecim, şəddə, ladı, vərni and sumax. The collection covers XVIII-XX centuries.

Photo 3: Azerbaijan Carpet Museum (https://az.trend.az/azerbaijan/culture/2842255.html; https://report.az/medeniyyet-xeberleri/medeniyyet- siyaseti/turkiye-bas-nazirinin-xanimi-azerbaycan-xalca-muzeyi-ile-tanis-olub/).

For the purpose of development of carpet art in Azerbaijan Azer-Ilme weaving company was established in 1995 which provided weaving lessons and job opportunities for women. Azer-Ilme LLC was able to promote Azerbaijan carpet patterns, restoration of Azerbaijan carpets, introducing Azer-

baijani carpets in international exhibitions, protect traditional customs and transmitting of our national carpets and transferring them to future generation.

Photo 4: Azer İlme LLC Carpet Company

In 2000, the Department of Decorative Applied Art and weaving and carpet art was opened in Azerbaijan State Academy of Fine Arts.

Photo: 5: Azerbaijan State Academy of Fine Arts (https://www.azra.edu.az/dekorativ-senet?light-box=dataItem-ij8lkwj2).

3. Traditional Textile Design As A Source Of inspiration

It is important that our existing values for the necessity and durability of traditional texture are found in areas of nowadays, use of different visual applications and different designs without losing meaning. For the purpose of livelihood, cultural heritage traditional textile has reached the end of globalization, which has past values and experience. The development of knowledge, technology and transformation of innovations is very important in this field. Traditional textile products were manufactured or produced out of tradition by thousands of artisans, which are sold through mediators in Azerbaijan. In this system, where many mediators earn a lot of money, many products are considered as cultural heritage; for economic reasons, such as color, embroidery, compass, and raw material. The mediators earn more money compared to artisans in this system, where cultural heritage lost its own color, embroidery, composition features due to economic reasons.

Traditional textile designs made by artisans were very long lasting nowadays production and provided the speed of consumption. In this way, the designer is not only responsible for design, but also they must follow up the planned path. Artisan repeats everything that learned from his master, and tests the products in order to check the development and the changes. Nowadays, designs consist of combination of past school, the repetition of methods and their combination. When the new templates in any textile field are researched, we can easily see that there is a fear of misdiagnosis and misinterpretation of tradition (Genc, 2013: 194). The fact of globalization in developed countries and nations (Turkish Nation States) ; the desire to bring their artistic values to the foreground, the loss of cultural values and, consequently, the loss of national products in the world, the disintegration

of world-wide societies from the mosaic and their singularity (Say 2002: 197), leads to the rise of traditional imitation.

Artisans should carefully follow up appropriate design criteria. Classical marketing has been replaced by modern marketing due to information and technology innovation. Traditional designs should provide opportunities to compete in market conditions, on virtual stores that launched on the Internet. The requirements for the design problem should be evaluated from a broad perspective and later must be identified to move to the stage of design process.

Design does not mean that textile design is only in your mind. At the same time, you need to choose production method and materials. After identifying the selection, the preliminary design must be made, after the prototype stage, consistency of the production must be discussed and the limits of production must be identified in detail design stage. It is important to have a marketing stage after design production. For example, the textile designer can create a design storyboard, illustrate specific presentation ideas using visual arts, control the design or manufacture of handmade or computer-assisted designs, prepare presentations for sales techniques, create presentation environment, design promotion materials is also necessary to create a catalog. In the context of conformity to cultural values, we must take into account motifs, embroidery and compositional characteristics of past practices and this must transmitted to future generation. The designer must consider individuals' needs in illustrated product and must respond to its wishes physically and mentally.

Textile and fashion design develop production methods today's knitting technologies and managed to create new products by combining different and innovative materials. In this context unim-

aginable opportunities appeared which also led the development and change in scientific technological and innovations in all field of textile. (Erbıyıklı, 2012: 49). Textile designers have to understand the relationship between technology in order to create new and original solutions since there is a great affect in global multinational industry. (Rituraj, Shukla and Mishra, 2012: 24).

The preparation of design and production of a textile product helps to express historical roots from culture to culture, from master to master and from generation to generation (Rituraj and others, 2012: 23). This is an inspirational source that provides information about color, shape and functional features of people's daily life, their lifestyle based on their social, cultural, and technological and aesthetic designs. (Sezgin ve Önlü, 1992:

84). Though the use of textile products are changing timely, it's easily visible that textile products are

formed according to the conditions and the cultural structures of the societies.

Visual 1: Representation of Traditional Textile Design.

Turan (2011: 163) (representative) improves the design result, taking steps to create certain shape and in this point of view, the representations have an important role in design. From this point of view, it is possible to say that traditional textile contains traditional roots has social, economic and ecological dimensions. (Visual 1).

Many designers in modern world are inspired by traditional textile. There are some statements are presented about these reasons. For example, Larsen and Weeks (1975: 64) spinning of yarn related to psychological causes produced in the past. According to them the best fabrics made of hand thread yarns provides very specific color and reveal the most appropriate methods for monotonous appearance in today's images. There is a difference between urban and rural fabrics in terms of plants, sand etc. surrounding houses. They contain organic tissues reminiscent of a mixture of natural ingredients that sunbath fertility with more morale and aesthetic areas efficiently than any household items.

The most suitable parts for the monotonous appearance of today's interior are the best fabrics made of hand-spinning yarns that provide very specific color and texture types, without the impact of rural life reminiscent of the blend of cities, such as plants, wooden shells, with more effective, spiritual and aesthetic gaps than any household item.

Flat weaved carpets require less raw material and less time in terms of weaving compare to non-flat weaved carpets have a high aesthetic. Non-flat weaved carpets are much more good-looking carpets in modern world. Cecim can be used as a material to decorate soft sofa, couch, armchair and chairs.

Striped cecim is also used as a curtain for covering door and window. Colorful embroidery pattern cecim can be used to cover the car seat as well. Non-flat weaved carpets such as zili, vern are used as a tablecloth, to cover bed and sofa and can be used as a wall and floor rug.

Guests and foreign tourists visit many stores to buy national souvenirs. If a wide range of various purses, socks, belts are produced as a gift at the same time it can play an important role in promoting our art.

Designers try to apply their skills in their designs that they learned in the research process. The presence of the discussed object, mutual relationships, customs and traditions are very important in terms of conceptual approach. Designer's textual source of inspiration (source) color, embroidery, structural features provide for research the visual and structural characteristics of its production and commitment.

Designers conducted the necessary research about Azerbaijan non-flat weaved carpets such as the history of "palaz", "cecim" and "şedde" and tried to prepare visual and conceptual references on the subject. Furthermore, designer created a design atmosphere by preparing storyboard consisting of colors, clothing design and embroidery (Photo 6).

Photo 6: Storyboard, Minara Guliyeva 2017.

Azerbaijan non-flat weaved carpets have a long history based on various technical and material structural features in terms of textile design as a source of inspiration that can be easily traced. This textile heritage was analyzed in terms of geographical and structural features and at the same time, three garments were prepared as an example. (Photo 7).

Photo 1 :7. Cecim Garment Design,2. Palaz Garment Design, 3. Şedde Garment Design, Minara Guliyeva, 2017.

In order to create new designs, designer requires productive attention and interconnection that is explored a source of inspiration. In this way, designer obtains necessary technical, visual features and conceptual approach knowledge. The knowledge based on textile heritage gives opportunities by using natural materials to design high-quality and

valuable fashion trends. This kind of business style is preferred by organizations and well- known designers who have an influence and design fashion trends as well as high sales. This business process is different from today's "fast fashion" concept is very necessary to increase the value of designers' product.

Conclusion

"Living Heritage" brings attention of protecting this material cultural heritage as well as transmitting it from generation to generation. Societies that can transmit material cultural heritage to future generations can preserve their identity and values.

In order to protect textile heritage, we should understand the significance of the textile heritage, the importance and value of material cultural heritage;

what, why, how and with whom we should protect it. The protection of cultural heritage is also influenced by the level of development of societies. In addition, the concept of survival and development of textile heritage has obtained a new dimension; the continuity of the textile heritage field and development of a strategy and area management are very necessary.

Based on the research, products derived from old traditions has not lost its regional features is also very necessary. Therefore, textile designers paly a great role in designing traditional textile projects. To create a product that indicates national identity is very preferable from this point of view. It is a significant reality that there is an increasing tendency of using organic products by people nowadays.

Samples of Azerbaijani non-flat weaved carpets must be supported by local government and should take its place in world textile market.

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Intangible Cultural Heritage for the Modern Capital: Social Media Perspectives

التراث الثقافي غير المادي للعاصمة الحديثة: وجهات نظر وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي

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فيليب بيتكوفسكي

مساعد أستاذ مختص بتدريس تاريخ الرقص العالمي والأساطير والطقوس وسياسات الأغذية بجامعة كاليفورنيا ولوس انجلوس في لوس أنجلوس، الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.

Abstract:

The capital city of Macedonia- Skopje, even though is not considered as a Western type metropolis, has long been a crossroad of many cultures and influences that shaped its rich heritage practices that are still much present. Because of the village-city migration after the end of WWII, Skopje became the most populated city in Macedonia with a diverse population of Macedonians, Albanians, Roma, Turks and Serbians. However, fortunately enough, these villagers did not leave their heritage practices in their native surrounding, but brought them in the city. Skopje became the melting pot of different religions and ethnic groups that looked for ways to adapt their practices and fit in the modern surrounding in which they were. This meant that their rituals, music and dance needed to be adapted to meet a new cultural criterion. These examples created a sense of folk culture based on a city level, created through different communities from different parts of the country. Such examples include the Koledari processions on the day before Christmas Eve, which will be the main case study of this research. This form of folk culture now met the modern capital and was forced to go through modifications in order to adapt the village life into the city. Such modifications included the participation of women in what was considered a men procession, the involvement of different religious groups in what was a Christian celebration and interventions by the church and the city council. Because of a record number of air pollution in the capital, and due to social media network activism, the ritual was banned by the state. By using social media ethnography, this paper will look at the sense of nationalization of folk culture through the practice of rituals that became recontextualized in the city in order to satisfy different state and community requests.

Coming from the idea of "modern life," these rituals evolved because of the new surrounding and the various religious disagreements, for which the church and the government needed to intervene, not-knowingly creating a new practice of culture, the urban- context intangible cultural heritage. Since little to no attention has been devoted to technological developments and the role they play in the recontextualization of folk practices in Macedonia, I hope that this work will shed light on this emerging topic.

Discussion:

At the very first page of her work on tourism, museums and heritage, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett refers to Walter Benjamin who spoke of the "appreciation of heritage" as a "catastrophe" in his work "On The Concept of History" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett

1998,1). Even though it is not clear what the author had in mind when she referred to this quotation, the heritage studies, previously folklore studies that eventually developed in "heritage industry" that was later institutionalized through UNESCO, became an ambiguous term that can be interpreted in several ways. Whether or not the authors that I mention in this paper (including myself) are contributing towards theories of catastrophe due to their appreciation of heritage, evident in their works on this topic, I proceed with a discussion that involves the appreciation of heritage by the nation state. The field of heritage studies is now established as an academic discipline and taught at various departments around the world, yet, before its institutionalization, the study of heritage was the task of folklorists, anthropologists, archeologists, and lately, dance researchers who explore its conceptual frameworks. As a graduate from a program that focuses on dance as intangible cultural heritage, I position myself amongst the dance scholars that

write on the topic of intangible cultural heritage, where based on the development of the study of ethnochoreology and dance anthropology, I write about the concept of "dance heritage," further explored in my upcoming doctoral dissertation. In this paper, as well as in my dissertation, I problematize the concept of "folk" especially when tied to terms like "folk culture" or "folk dance" since it often implies ties with the past. I propose the term heritage as a more inclusive category, as evident later in this paper.

The very first mentions of the concept of heritage can be tied back to the European Romanticism and the formation of the nation state. Jesus Antonio Machuca ties the concept of cultural heritage to the historical- social production of a people-nation, and considers it as a political and ideological concept that plays an important role in modern societies, different from the field of anthropology in which it is studied (2013, 57). In the context of the

formation of the nation state, he perceives it as a modern European concept that is produced from a relationship in which the state is reflected in it, as an extension of its hegemony, further arguing that very often, the fetishisms found in the state are also reproduced in that heritage (Machuca 2013, 59).

Similarly, the American historian and geographer David Lowenthall supports the idea of the affiliation of heritage with the nation-state and writes that „too much is asked of heritage" since it is often commended with national patrimony and regional and ethnic legacies (1998, 227). Such affiliations with Europe and modernism often shape the concept of heritage as Western-centric ideology, based on the Romantic obsession with the safeguarding of the traditions at the end of the 19th century, driven by the fear of the dying cultural practices due to the rapid industrialization and modernization. Kristin Kuutma agrees with this idea since she argues that the dominant perception of heritage draws

heavily from Western European architectural and archeological conservation and preservation practices. However, she points to the conceptual shift of "intangible heritage," as a category that is meant to be more universally inclusive and avoiding references to "folklore," "traditional," and "popular culture" (2013, 4). A similar opinion is shared by the folklorist Valdimar Tr. Hafstein who associates heritage with monuments, landscapes and folklore that were later organized under the term "heritage," and stresses how heritage played a significant role in the creation of modern nation-states (2007, 91).

Even though much time has passed since European Romantics influenced the appreciation of heritage, especially when tied to the idea of "nationality" and "national heritage," it appears that the newly formed European nation states in this case Macedonia, found a way to use heritage, folklore and tradition in the process of identity building that would place Macedonia at the global scene.

Even though the term "intangible cultural heritage" is relatively a new concept in the country and was adopted and promoted with the ratification of the 2003 .

UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, conversations about the preservation of traditions were present in the public eye for quite some time. With the ratification of the 2003 Convention, UNESCO proposed the concept of "safeguarding heritage" that replaced the Macedonian "passing on the folk tradition" as it is often referred to in folklore scholarship. This example comes from a long tradition of folklore research and appreciation that was intensified at the turn of the 20th century, as a Western European influence when there was a growing interest in the "folk" and their "lore". Anttonen relates the conceptualization of tradition along with the process of folklorization, where "collecting" does not "find" or "discover" folklore, or in this case, heritage, rather, the pro-

cess itself incorporates particular cultural phenomena into the discourse (Anttonen, 2005:27). Such processes have also been contextualized as "heritagisation," as purposeful legitimatization to turn diverse notions of heritage into a habitual aspect of culture (Bendix, 2008:254). The idea that a cultural practice has been passed from one to another generation was very much rooted in the concept of tradition as contextualized in the field of folklore. In his definition of the term "invented tradition" that has extensively been used in the humanities, Eric Hobsbawm has theorized the concept as a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition (2002, 4). In the following discussion, I depart from Hobsbawm"s notion of tradition where he argues that instead of being old, traditions are often invented and used in the process of imagining the nation-state and its cultural heritage and.

In the context of UNESCO and the 2003 Con-

vention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, authors have noticed several implications with the definition of heritage in a form of tradition that is being passed on. Even though the word "traditions" that is part of the official definition of intangible cultural heritage, as seen earlier, in order to be given importance, Haffstein argues that certain authorities must assess their importance, which makes intangible cultural heritage an official seal of approval (2008:05). In her Commentary on the 2003 UNESCO Convention on the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, Janet Blake elaborates on these implications from a legal standpoint. In her interpretation of the 2003.

Convention, she focuses on the part that says "transmitted from generation to generation," arguing that cultural traditions are implicit in the notion of intangible cultural heritage as a culture built up on knowledge instead of a static one. She adds that

such language emphasize the aspect of a "living culture" or a "living tradition" that are constantly evolving and responding to circumstances (Blake, 2006:35). Based on the idea of tradition, heritage can be conceptualized as a "traditional knowledge," yet, as Blake points out, along with the concept of "indigenous heritage," it is important that their relationship to intangible cultural heritage be clearly identified, as well as their regulation to normative instruments. (2006:11).

Institutionalized through UNESCO and the 2003 ICH convention, heritage practices are situated, realized and discussed in the present but rooted in the past. Often perceived as the opposite of modern, contemporary and new, in Macedonia, heritage practices are often misunderstood and traced to the rural areas, practiced by peasants and perceived as backward and primitive. Several scholars have argued such relationships, amongst whom, Kristin Kuttma who writes its conceptualization

depends on modernity's sense that the present needs to re- forge links with a past that appears to be severed and lost in the changing world" (Kuttma, 2013:11). Once it was institutionalized, heritage has been protected, (1989 Recommendation), safeguarded, maintained and transmitted from one generation to another, yet used for nationalistic and political ideologies, as a tool to express ethnicity, nationality and identity, among many of its purposes. With the increasing popularity of the phenomenon, mostly due to UNESCO"s conventions from which heritage now seems inseparable, heritage has been also critiqued and discussed in academic circles worldwide. Such discussion are only beginning in Macedonia where no more than three researchers with ethnomusicological and ethnochoreological backgrounds worked on five applications and published several articles. As the ethnochoreologists Tvrtko Zebec also argues, the sudden obsession with safeguarding the heritage and fear of modernity and globalism may be interpreted as a

new Romantic period that spread from Europe into the whole world (Zebec, 2013:313). However, now with capitalist agenda, used for tourism purposes, seen as a mechanism for strengthening of the economy, especially by its adaptation for the urban and industrialized, highly consumerist society.

While tangible heritage is static and linked to territory, ICH is neither static nor authentic; it changes its form and adapts to new surroundings, abandons its community and spreads internationally and becomes diverse and urban. Ahmed Skhounti continues this discussion of the locality of heritage by writing that; however, intangible heritage differs from material heritage in that the former is rooted in the locality in real as well as in figurative terms, whereas the latter considers the locality as a dimension without it being subject to it in a definitive or durable way". (Skhounti, 2008:75). In Macedonia, as in rest of the world, heritage is now located in the city and its modern surrounding and performed

by its ethnically and religiously diverse population. However, I would like to emphasize that this diverse population is not the product of recent war imigrations such as the ones in Western Europe, but a result of heterogenous society that existed in the area since the 1800s. But is there such a thing as "urban heritage" and how is it practiced in the diverse societies that live on the Balkan Peninsula? I will try to answer this question by performing social media ethnography and focusing on case studies that focus on several events when heritage attracted the attention of the Macedonian population through television and social media.

In Macedonia, modernity came with the mass industrialization when the country was part of Yugoslavia, especially once the cities grew and became connected and accessible to the peasantry that lived in the villages (I use Cliford Geertz definition of peasant societies as societies with too many resemblances to our own for us to stigmatize them

as primitive and too few for us to celebrate them as modern" (1973, 329). These processes resulted in migrations and the cities became populated and mixed with peasants from different ethnic groups, nationalities and religions that created a diverse society that lived and worked together. The most diverse of them all, was and now still is the capital of the country, Skopje that now hosts almost half of the country's population. As the migrations started taking place in the country's capital, many heritage practices were brought into the city and were gradually modified to adapt in the new surroundings. The peasants, whose practice of music, dance and religious rituals was part of the everyday life, needed to adapt their beliefs and social practices through the ongoing process of modernization, industrialization and urbanization in order to be considered fit member of the modern city society that differed from their native surrounding. Naturally, heritage practices, such as ritual practices were brought along with these migrations and

migrators, facing socio- political threats. Out of the many practices and celebrations that were brought to the city, two ritual practices appear as the most practiced that are still being performed.

Once such ritual is the Koledari procession that is practiced throughout the country under different names. The ritual procession is performed on the night before Orthodox Christmas Eve, on the 6th of January, where men gather in the night and travel from house to house, singing and dancing in front of the households until early morning and are being rewarded in the form of food and money. The ritual is traced back to the Roman period when it was celebrated along with various dances, games and masquerades, while some researchers argue that it was a celebration of the Slavic god Koled. With the mass Christianization of the population and the institutionalization and recontextualization (see Opetcheska Tatarchevska, 2015; 2016) of social and ritual practices as religious, the ritual pro-

cession gained some Christian features while many

"Pagan" elements were kept. One of the most important aspect of the ritual is the lightning of a ritual fire that was usually done in the center of the village, where the young men would gather, have some hot brandy and get ready for the cold night ahead of them. Since there were several groups of men that would do the procession, there used to be a competition of who would have the biggest fire in the village, interpreted by folklorists as encouragement of the sun activity during the cold months. Similar ritual fires are lit on Prochka- the festival of forgiveness where men would gather for a day-long masquerade activities and dance and jump across the fires in order to burn their sins. Both of the rituals are present in almost all of the villages throughout the country and used to be performed by Macedonian Christian Orthodox men only. Once they were brought in the city with diverse population, the rituals started being practiced by girls,

as well as young Muslim Roma boys and girls, who often take part of the procession as an occasion to earn some money and gather food. Very often, the Roma boys and girls are discriminated and chased away from the households by being told that they are not Macedonian nor Orthodox and this is not their tradition.

Both of the ritual celebrations are institutionalized and nationalized as very important religious holidays that are always televised and broadcast on live television. Many of the folk dance ensembles, including the national folk dance ensemble of Macedonia "Tanec" have a choreographed version that depicts the celebration of the rituals that is often performed for international audience as well. Once the rituals became popularized and seen as a potential intangible cultural heritage in UNESCO terms they were manipulated by the church and the state. During the period of the right-wing nationalistic party VMRO-DPMNE that governed

the country in the past eleven years, the ritual was transformed into a Macedonian orthodox procession, while its popular ritual song Kolede Lede that every child in Macedonia knows was replaced with a Christian orthodox prayer entitled The eternal God. In 2016, the Macedonian Orthodox church, through their official website announced the idea is to reconstruct the tradition into an Orthodox celebration of Christmas Eve, accompanied by singing of Orthodox church song, as opposed to the pagan ritual of the Koledari processions and the singing of meaningless pagan songs[v]. Under the slogan "Kolede goes into history", the church organized mass processions in many of the cities in the country, leaving contact details of persons that can be reached to be instructed about the "proper" celebration of the ritual. The church repeatedly emphasized that this is a Macedonian Orthodox celebration, which can possibility be interpreted as an attempt to re-establish religious belief and identity, especially in time of mass anti- governmental

protests, also supported by ethnic Albanians and other minorities who fought the nationalistic politics. This announcement immediately caused instant reactions from the folklorists and the heritage researchers from all over the country. While, some supported the idea and were arguing in favor of the purposeful recontextualisation of the ritual in order to serve the nation state ideals of Macedonian Orthodox religious practice. Others were overtly critical and wrote about the "fake" production of culture. Once the discussion about Kolede ceased and the topic left the attention of the media, the ritual procession witnessed some changes. While most of the population continued to practice the, what they would call "traditional" and "old" form of the ritual, accompanied by singing of the song Kolede lede, many adopted the song suggested by the church and accepted the "Orthodox Macedonian" version of the ritual, hence adapting the heritage to satisfy government and religious officials.

But the problems for heritage practitioners in the modern capital did not end there. In the past few years, the air in Skopje has reached dangerous level of toxicity, causing fear and protests of the citizens for the government to act and stop the toxic pollution. After the public dissatisfaction, there were several ideas of how to reduce the emission of gas and to reduce the pollution but only few were implemented for a short period, and soon, the discussion about the problem, which was very popular on social media was replaced with current political matters. In December 2017, an article from the British "Guardian" from 2001 entitled "UK makes toxic gift to the Balkans" was discovered by few influential social activists and became very popular on social media. The article reads, "The UK government has provided Macedonia with an incinerator to burn hospital waste that would be illegal under British law because of its toxic emissions". The British-made incinerator was given as humanitarian aid, and is in use near the Macedonian capital of Skopje.

If the country joins the EU, as it hopes to do, the incinerator would have to close as it is a danger to local people and breaches EU emission standards." (The Guardian, 2001). The discussion about the pollution was yet again brought up on social media and resulted in mass organized protests, begging the government to act and stop the intoxication of the Skopje citizens. The government did not shut down the incinerator but, yet again, proposed plans that will reduce air pollution. As one of the proposed ideas and with the approaching Kolede processions, the government banned the celebration and forbid the lightning of the ritual fires, hoping to reduce the emission of gas and further pollution of the air. Heritage was not meant to be. Along with the warnings that also spread through social media, the government provided telephone numbers from call centers that can be reached by the citizens in order to report celebrations of the ritual and the lightning of fires. However, nothing stopped the heritage bearers and practitioners

from performing the ritual in a way that they have been performing it in the past. There were several posts on social media urging heritage practitioners to perform the ritual without the fires since toxic air pollution should be a bigger problem that should concern the citizens, as opposed to the proper performance of heritage. The online discussion on the topic of "the proper performance of tradition" and "heritage and traditions is what makes us Macedonian" angered many, resulting in mass denial and even hatred of heritage practices. Judging by social media observations of a variety of people that live in the capital, heritage, and especially ICH continues to be regarded as "backward" and appears unwelcomed by the citizens who aspire to live in a modern European society that refuses tradition and welcomes modernity.

Macedonia now has five elements that are safeguarded on UNESCO lists: three of them are local and practiced by their small communities, while two

of them are multinational applications that safeguard elements that are practiced countrywide, as well in the capital by multiethnic and multi-religious communities. Such is the spring celebration of H'drlez, practiced by Turks or Erdelezi, practiced by Roma live in Macedonia, especially in the capital where the celebrations are most popular. Inscribed on the Representative List in December 2017, this was the first time that Macedonia safeguarded heritage practices of its minority groups, which are non -Christian Orthodox Macedonians. However, there was not any celebration nor public acknowledgment of the new inscribed elements at the UNESCO representative list. The Macedonian people were not informed about the event through television or any other medium, resulting in complete public ignorance of UNESCO's recognition of heritage practices or about heritage in general. Yet again, heritage lost. Many, and let us entitle them urban members of Skopje society simply do not care about heritage. Case studies like these make us question who

controls and who gets to change heritage practices and for what purposes. As it is pointed out through these examples, once it is nationalized and institutionalized, and once it finds its home in the city, heritage is not controlled by its community, the super diverse one, but by the state, according to current political ideals.

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