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**CONTENTS OF FOLKLORE MANIFESTATIONS AND PRESENT POLITICAL
AND CULTURAL MILIEUS IN MONTENEGRO –
THE EXAMPLES OF *DAYS OF MRKOJEVIĆI* AND THE *SUMMER CARNIVAL*
IN KOTOR**

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Contents of folklore manifestations and present political and cultural milieus in Montenegro – the examples of *Days of Mrkojevići* and the *Summer Carnival* in Kotor

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Abstract

The main concern of this paper is the symbolic implications of several contemporary folklore events in Montenegro. Fundamentally, these events are institutionalized audio-visual forms through which folklore creativity, infused with “national values,” is presented and distributed. In addition to the institutionalized individual emotions, interests and group beliefs, folklore manifestations are expressions of larger political processes. This means that their contents are in correlation with the governing political-cultural matrix of the country, which also corresponds with laws of media culture and economy.

The legitimacy and range that a folklore manifestation has, depends on the priorities defined by its organizers, the participants, the main characteristics, and the location of the manifestation. . Another extremely important factor is proper media presentation of the event. This factor plays a crucial role in the process of the distribution and consumption of the event, as well as its symbolism. The examples that I use in this analysis are two recent folklore manifestations, Days of Mrkojevići (Dani Mrkojevića) in Bar and The Summer Carnival (Ljetnji karneval) in Kotor, which, with planned and strategic support from the state establishment, have established themselves as powerful folklore displays for modern Montenegro.

Key words: folklore manifestations, "old" and "new" folklore, "usage" of folklore.

INTRODUCTION

Folklore heritage has a significant and direct influence on the construction of national identity, as well as on changing the processes of national identification. By reinterpreting folklore contents or forming new folklore meanings (so-called new folklore), folklore has a not only profound functional but also symbolic effect on nation-building tendencies. For that reason, this paper will consider both the functional and symbolic values of folklore. I will also pay special attention to the mass "usage" of folklore in the context of

public (cultural) events, its representation in media, as well as its consumption by the wider public.

The main subject of this paper is primarily focused on questioning the correlation of the contemporary contents of folklore manifestations and the current ideological and cultural milieus in contemporary Montenegro. Also, the analysis investigates the media representation and circulation of specific folklore manifestations. I analyze the following parameters: a selection of folklore themes and contents which are presented in a specific media, the volume of representation, and the national and ideological "colors". For the first phase of this research, I examine two folklore manifestations, *Days of Mrkojevići (Dani Mrkojevića)* in Pečurice (Bar) and *Summer Carnival (Ljetnji festival)* in Kotor. For the broader scope of this project, however, I will include a wider time scale ranging from 1945 until today, and also several other folklore events and manifestations.¹

Although there are many cultural and folklore manifestations² in Montenegro, especially along the coastal areas, there is a reason for selecting *Days of Mrkojevići* and *Summer Carnival* for this research. It seems that, with strategic support from the state establishment, these two manifestations have become a primary scene for national identification in the new Montenegro. The first of these two manifestations, *Days of Mrkojevići*, has an underlying concept of presenting Montenegro as a multiethnic state. The *Summer Carnival* in Kotor promotes Montenegro as a country rooted within a firm Mediterranean tradition.

The main aim of this research is to show that *Days of Mrkojevići* and *Summer Carnival*, together with other folklore manifestations in Montenegro, are, for the most part, connected to national heritage, although this is influenced by the aims and interests of the

¹ My project title is: *Distribution of folklore heritage in the media (with an emphasis on institutionalized folklore manifestations in Montenegro)*. This project will investigate different "kinds" of folklore manifestations which can be divided into: a) institutional (state government supported) manifestations which are basically related to an official cultural concept, and because of that, to current national/state interests. *Summer Carnival* can be understood as a part of this group, and to some extent, *Days of Mrkojevići* as well. b) Traditional (non-institutionalized) manifestations, including for example, seasonal or occasional gatherings of smaller numbers of people gathered around a common cult, descent (for example, during the 1990s, gatherings of different clans were very popular; some media, especially the daily paper *Pobjeda*, has been publishing much information on these gatherings).

² Internet site of National Tourist Organization of Montenegro (Ministry of Tourism of Montenegro, RCG) www.visit-montenegro.org/fest/kalendar.htm presents, among others, these manifestations in the calendar: *Mimosas' Day* (Praznik mimoze) in Herceg Novi, Baošići, Djenovići, Kotor and Tivat, *Carnival fiestas* in Kotor, *Tripundays Celebration* (Tripundanske Svečanosti) in Kotor, *Bokeljska Night* (Bokeljska noc) in Tivat, Days of Camellias (Dani kamelije) in Kotor/Stoliv, Zusenica Fest in Tivat, *Cross of Vladimir* (Vladimirov krst) in Bar, *International Carnival* (Internacionalni karneval) in Budva, *Days of Mrkojevići* (Dani Mrkojevića) in Bar, *Fasinada* in Perast, *Summer Carnival* (Ljetnji karneval) in Kotor, *Day of Boka Navy* (Dan Bokeske mornarice) in Kotor, *Tivat Summer Fiestas* (Tivatske ljetnje feste), *Barski Ljetopis*, *International Band Festival* (Medjunarodni festival klapa) in Perast, *Gatherings Under the Old Olive Tree* (Susreti pod starom maslinom) and *Maslinijada* in Bar etc.

organizers or so-called patrons³. In this paper I argue that the organizational frame of these festivals, the character of their location, the profile/character of the participants, and the media representation of these events, show explicit cultural, political, and especially recently, strong economic engagement directed towards encouraging tourist attraction.

Montenegro is a state whose economy is primarily focused on tourism. State institutions therefore also have the function of organizing and presenting folklore heritage, and they are and increasingly targeting networking with other similar folklore events internationally. In that sense, we can observe that some of the current manifestations and parades have a pronounced folkloric content, despite the fact that they are contemporary events, evolving from modern culture, such as the carnivals and their "renewed" interpretation in Montenegro coast. These festivals are different from the traditional forms of medieval carnivals, and this is why I believe that for analytical purposes we need to make distinctions between "classical" folklore based on older cultural content and funds, and the so-called "new folklore" (or invention of tradition) which has not only grown directly from recent past, but has also been modified in accordance with laws of popular culture disseminated through the contemporary market economy.

Montenegro is particularly interesting for this kind of research. Bearing in mind that Montenegro, from 1945 until today, has been through various social, cultural, linguistic, and, political transformations, I argue that folklore is a vivid sign of social changes. In fact, by analyzing the form, the organizational structure⁴, the availability of information and, the interpretation of folklore contents in public life through mass media, we can trace different models of "traditions" and cultural-political programs in different political systems of Montenegro.

Also, the contemporary interpretation of folklore contents, is based mostly on media distribution, and reflects how Montenegro views (and realizes) itself as a multicultural (influenced by Mediterranean, medieval and oriental civilizations), multi-confessional (Orthodox, Islamic and Catholic traditions), and as a multinational setting.

³ *Pokrovitelj* is a term most widely used when referring to larger manifestations which are, as a rule, organized or monitored by state institutions according to the cultural-ideological projections of governing structure.

⁴ The organizational structure has been changing throughout the "history" of folklore manifestations in Montenegro. If we consider the initiators of these manifestations, changes are evident. So, for example, during the 1950s or 1960s, many organizers were enthusiasts and even political commissars, and patrons were cultural centers and local communities. Later the main role was given to amateur or professional ensembles that were part of Secretary of Culture, Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Tourism. Today the main initiators and organizers fall under the domain of the NGO sector (as is the case with the *Days of Mrkojević* and *Summer Carnival*).

Definition of the terms “folklore” and “folklore manifestations”

Folklore, more specifically, *folklore creativity* according to the predominant ethnographic approach in former Yugoslavia following the German model of Volkskunde, is a combination of ideas, categories, norms, and activities based on a cultural (traditional) heritage of an ethnos, nation or a cultural space. More precisely it is defined as: 1. Traditional culture (art education, craftwork, costumes and architecture); 2. Folklore of dance and music; 3. Folklore of "ideas" - customs, beliefs, medicine, religion; 4. The art of words - stories, oral reports, epic and lyric poetry, ballads, proverbs, riddles (see: Pešić, R, Milošević-Dordjević N. 1984: 83). This approach also presumes that authenticity (originality) of folklore has continuity and is maintained throughout the generations. This approach is also concerned with preservation of authenticity (or reformulation into new authenticity), as well as protection of folklore heritage. In other words, that is what makes folklore a special value of national importance.

Folklore manifestations: These are institutionalized audio-visual forms through which folklore creativity is presented, preserved and distributed. According to this approach, a folklore manifestation is an original concept of national, regional or local importance, which can become a "public good with elements of fetishization". (Krstanović-Lukić, M. 2004: 55). For that reason, folklore manifestations can be analyzed by focusing on their different social aspects, but also by underlining their functionalistic roles.

a) In the first place, folklore manifestations are transmitters of cultural (traditional) heritage through time (if we assume that the originality and authenticity is preserved) in one cultural/social setting; b) Furthermore, as public displays or parades, they reflect a wider socio-cultural (aesthetically valuable) aspect; c) They are a reflection of economic, and above all, political situations. For this reason I insist on thorough examination of the actors who are involved in their organization. Crucial questions that will enable the analysis to go beyond the discussion on authenticity and originality will include, for example: Who is organizing the events? Where? Why? Who is financing and sponsoring the events? And who is the target group?

Methodology and research sources

I approach the analysis of folklore contents, which are institutionalized in the form of manifestations, by paying close attention to cultural-historical and symbolic-functional

orientations. The first (cultural-historical) category, will allow me to make an index of the different "types" of folklore manifestations, the transformation of their contents, the differences in organization and promotion of folklore/cultural symbols in public, especially through mass-media etc. With a comparison we may identify the consequential connections between the dominant folklore contents and the official cultural-ideological scene in Montenegro (such as the attitudes of the political elite towards national questions, the condition of political or socio-economical (in)stability, dominant stereotypes and relations with other nations and ethnicities in Montenegro and in its surroundings etc.). At the same time I will attempt to explain their symbolism and "usability" with the symbolic-functionalistic analysis.

Part of the material for this analysis is gathered through fieldwork (by immediate observation and by interviewing participants and observers of the manifestations). The second kind of sources rely – at this stage of my research – on internet presentations from the organizers, local electronic media, government internet sites (NGO registers, NGO budget, calendars of tourist events in Montenegro, national and local tourist organizations), as well as texts from some of the daily newspapers. For the rest of the research, I will further include archival resources from the printed media (like from the daily newspapers: *Pobjeda, Vijesti, Dan, Republika*).

Example I: Days of Mrkojevići (Dani Mrkojevića) in Pečurice/Bar

Description of the manifestation

This is a three day folklore manifestation which is also registered as a cultural event. It has been held annually during the last week of July⁵ in Mrkojevići⁶ (Pecurice, Bar municipality), since 2004. This manifestation has a multimedia character and represents:

- Regional folklore specificities. Some of the performances, for example, the Mrkovska celebration song (Mrkovska svečana pesma).have been presented here for the first time. Within the scope of this manifestation, for the first time an

⁵ This year, *Days of Mrkojevići* was held in front of the Mrkojevići Elementary School in Pecurice on 23 , 24- and 25 July, by decision of Executive Board of NGO Mrkojevići on 15 May 2007.

⁶ Mrkojevići are a local community in the Bar municipality covering an area of over 90 km² of fertile land and 13 km of Montenegrin coast, including Veliki pjesak and Utjeha beaches. 3 500 people live in Mrkojevići. Population of this fertile land mostly lives from agriculture, especially of traditional growing of olives, or working in nearby towns (Bar and Ulcinj). It is characteristic for Mrkojevići that large part of its population has emigrated mostly for economic reasons (see: www.bar.cg.yu).

ethnographic exhibition was organized, so-called "Old Mrkovska House" ("Stara Mrkovska kuća") (see: Pobjeda, 22 July 2005.);

- Organizing exhibitions, concerts, book promotions, round tables on topics that are in connection with Mrkojevici region (past and present) and future local economic development;
- Organizing sports events (traditional and new sports);
- Presentation of folklore (amateur) ensembles from Bar;
- Organizing a presentation of the local/national cuisine.

The preparations for the manifestation involve more than one hundred of volunteers. For organizing the sport and entertainment events more than five hundred people participate, while the number of visitors is measured to be in the thousands (see: www.mrkojevici.org). These numbers reveal the importance that both participants and observers attach to the manifestation.

The wider public is also informed about the manifestation. Throughout the manifestation, the majority of Montenegro printed media reports widely on its programmes⁷.

Aims of the manifestation

In the words of the organizers, there are two main goals for this manifestation. The first is to promote the traditional values and cultural identity of the Bar region in the presence of a multitude of visitors and tourists. The activities of the organizers and the participants of the manifestation are also very much based on developing connections with the Diaspora, and the strengthening of multiculturalism. The following quote from one of the visitors to the NGO Mrkojevici Internet forum⁸ in 2006 reveals this:

⁷ Programme of the manifestation *Days of Mrkojevici*, 2007.

Monday, 23 July 2007.

21:00 * Official opening of the manifestation

21:30 * Cultural-entertaining program

23:00 * Opening of the exhibition of paintings from "Most" gallery from Podgorica

Tuesday, 24 July 2007.

19:00 * Final game of volleyball for women

20:00 * Final game of volleyball for men

21:30 * Promotion of the project "Multimedia presentation of Mrkojevici"

Wednesday, 25 July 2007.

11:00 * Third gathering of emigrants - "Role of diaspora in future development"

19:30 * Final game in rope-pulling competition

20:00 * Parade football game

21:00 * Proclamation of winners in sport tournaments

22:00 * Entertainment night

⁸ (<http://pub29.bravenet.com/forum/2430621998/show/616285>)

"Congratulations for the last two manifestations for *Days of Mrkojevići* to the organizers and the citizens for setting an example how to socialize and exchange experiences in a positive way. I didn't see any Arbanasi national costume, however, so I would like to suggest for it to be introduced this year, as we all know that we have a close, neighborly relationship with the Arbanasi community. So, next to Montenegrin, also introduce Arbanasi national costume at *Days of Mrkojevići* in 2006." [This suggestion has in fact been taken into consideration (comment L.V.)].

For that matter, national costumes represented at the manifestation are: Muslim⁹, Montenegrin and Albanian, so in that way all three nationalities which participate in the manifestation or living within in the wider area of Mrkojevići are presented.

The other, more pragmatic, goals of the manifestation are in connection with an intention for this relatively undeveloped area (known by its population emigrating on a regular basis), to be revitalized through cultural, tourist, and economic promotion. This would include local population, Diaspora and especially tourists throughout the summer season in Montenegrin coast. To reach out to tourists and attract their attention, instead of using the term manifestation (manifestacija) mass-media has turned to using "fiesta" (fešta), which can be interpreted as a trend of the "fiestazation"¹⁰ of the Montenegrin coast (until recently only carnival contents were called fiestas, in the media, and also in everyday life, in accordance with the primary meaning of the term).

Organizers and financiers of the manifestation

The main initiator and organizer of the manifestation is the local NGO, Mrkojevići. Support is given by the local population of Mrkojevići and the Bar municipality, but also by the state and its local public institutions, by domestic (local), and by foreign non-governmental organizations¹¹. The government of Montenegro provides operative assistance (for example, the Montenegro police department (MUP) lent its helicopter for filming Mrkojevići from air for a multimedia presentation of the area), and also "logistical" support. For instance, with its positive attitude towards manifestation, the government

⁹ In Mrkojevići the Islamic faith is predominant.

¹⁰ For example: "Traditional fiesta is ending tonight with emigrants and a round table 'Role of diaspora in future development'" - *Vijesti*, 25.07.2007. (Regional column).

¹¹ Organization for international help and development (IRD) as a part of the implementation of the "Revitalization of the Community through Democratic Action" program (CRDA program) in southern Montenegro, which is financed by people from America through a USA Agency for international development (USAID) - Informant Emin Duraković, vice president of NGO Mrkojevići for 2006.

encourages other actors to financially participate in realization of the programme. A similar role has been provided by the Bar Tourist organization which provides some technical support, like stage equipment.

But the most important financiers of the manifestation are representatives of diaspora, especially the emigrant societies *Rumija* from Chicago, and *Primorje* from New York (this information was provided by the Executive Board members of the NGO, Mrkojevići). Emigrants have also formed a scholarship fund for the best high school students from this region. The importance of their role can be clearly seen from the fact that the date of the manifestation coincides with the period when the emigrants from Mrkojevici across the world plan their holidays and return to their native home. As I heard from informal conversation with several emigrants from the Bar region, "that is why every year part of the programme is dedicated to the Diaspora and why emigrant gatherings has become a tradition already."

After the first manifestation the board formed the Agriculturist society with the aim of promoting national cuisine as a part of *Days of Mrkojevići*. The promotion was organized primarily amongst the financiers of the manifestation, such as local businessmen, who other then their emotional attachment, also have interest to invest and earn profit.

Media promotion

This manifestation has, until now, been represented in the media mostly through local media (Radio Bar, internet site www.bar.cg.yu, internet forum of NGO Mrkojevići), on the state television (TV show *Zapis* on TVCG2), and also through daily newspapers. But this was not done with same intensity and to the same extent (which can show us current political-ideological separations in Montenegro). The research that I intend to conduct in the archive of printed media should confirm this hypothesis in a later study, and could also show oscillations in the amount of information published about *Days of Mrkojevići*.

It is evident that this year's manifestation, which I had the opportunity to follow, was reviewed on an everyday basis by the daily paper *Vijesti*, in contrast to *Pobjeda*, which hasn't published anything about the manifestation. Similarly, the daily newspaper *Dan* mentioned Mrkojevići in only one sentence, at the end of an article which reports on upcoming and passed cultural-entertaining events (*Dan*, column *Kultura*, 26 July 2007).

Such a disposition of information is not surprising, taking into consideration the editorial politics of the mentioned daily papers. *Vijesti*, for instance, is viewed in public as "pro-Montenegrin", *Dan* as "pro-Serbian" and *Pobjeda* as a state paper (which means that it is

governed by "orders" of the contemporary political establishment).¹² The so-called iconography of the manifestation justifies my conclusions that print-media representation depends on editorial politics. In more than a few places, the Montenegrin flag is brought out, and also the souvenirs for sale are based mostly on Montenegrin state symbols (which, in their words, irritates representatives of the so-called pro-Serbian fraction, who openly boycott the current state flag, heraldry, and anthem). Also, the registered guests of last year's manifestation were representatives from the Bar municipality, political parties, representatives of confessional organizations (Bar municipality is in a national and confessional sense one of the most heterogeneous municipalities in Montenegro)¹³, and they can show characteristics of this (multicultural) manifestation, the treatment from part of political parties, ideological orientations and finally, perception of manifestation in wider public (in this case, more popular in the so-called Montenegrin bloc).

Example II: International Summer Carnival (Internacionalni ljetnji karneval) Kotor

History and description of the manifestation.

This manifestation has been held annually from the end of July till the beginning of August, since 2002 and it has changed from presenting local traditions to becoming more of a national tourist entertainment manifestation. It is linked to two additional manifestations which are held during the summer season in Perast and Kotor, which from a tourist perspective become 'one' in terms of the time and the area that they are held. These two manifestations are Fasinada in Perast, which precedes the carnival and begins on 22 July, and Bokeljska night (Bokeljska noć), which is also held in Kotor after the carnival.

It is important to mention that Kotor hosts summer and winter carnivals. But only the second one concurs with the more traditional carnival processions taking place during the winter season all over the Mediterranean (and larger) area.¹⁴ Tradition was in fact preserved for centuries, but it was interrupted during and after the Second World War, to later be restored in the 1960s. Kotor is well known along the Mediterranean coast for

¹² Not providing information about the current manifestation can be interpreted as a technical oversight and simple neglect of a journalist, but also maybe viewed as an intentional lack of interest on behalf of the editorial team. Knowing that the referendum was successful, it nonetheless opened many other questions related to the introduction of a new constitution, the regulation of national minorities' position etc.

¹³ "With emigrants from USA and Europe, observers were presidents of Municipality and local parliament Žarko Pavičević and Branka Nikezić, minister of internal affairs Jusuf Kalamperović and the Bar church representatives." - *Vijesti (Regions)*, 25 July 007.

¹⁴ This can be seen from the fact that the Kotor carnival has been a member of an FECC since 2000." (see: www.kotorkarneval.com), whereas the summer carnival hasn't even been institutionalized – comment L.V.)

manifestations of this type. That is why in this sense only the winter carnival, which is held in February, could be considered for "real" and "old" folklore. However, this discontinuity is in function of "social time" (Kovačević, I. 1985:152) was superseded by the transferal of content (from the old/winter carnival) and by adding new meaning (from the new/summer carnival), especially with the "modernization" of manifestation in the name of tourism and propaganda.

We can, therefore, conclude that in the case of the Kotor summer carnival which I focused on, there is an explicit redefinition of tradition and folklore. This however is not a major point of dispute. On the contrary, popular views reveal "the desire to make these famous carnival fiestas available for everyone, with an atmosphere of dancing, with singing clowns, sailors, aristocrats and fairytale characters; 'Fešta' society is also organizing it in the summer season, as a sort of tourist and cultural manifestation." (see: www.kotorkarneval.com).

From personal conversations, it is evident that many of the visitors prefer the summer carnival. This is confirmed by the statement of a spectator, A.B., from Podgorica (one of the interviewed spectators), who visits the summer and winter carnivals on a regular basis. The winter carnival is, in her opinion, more "closed" [the organization is mostly taken care of by the local population, which creates more of an outsider role for those who are not from there, comment L.V.]. The summer carnival, in her words, is of a more cheerful and relaxed nature, even if it is organized with less "authenticity" [which makes visitors feel less like foreigners because there are new contents which are not only locally owned knowledge, comment L.V.].

Manifestation goals

Following the notions of a modern life-style, or the concept of "having fun," additional programmes appear during the summer carnival. Thus we have theater plays, concerts, local cuisine, carnival processions, masks, and various activities on city squares and streets.¹⁵ This is why carnival fiestas are becoming the biggest public entertainment mani-

¹⁵ *VI International Summer Carnival - 2007.*

Programme

30.07.07. Ceremonial opening and procession of jugglers - Square of weapons 20:30

Fisherman fest, Muljanska riva, 21:30

31.07.2007. Children masquerade, Square of Weapons, 20:30; Mushulja Fesht, Prcanjaska Riva, 21:30

01.08.2007. "Bokeska kuzina" - culinary fesht, Pijaca od parila, 21:30 ProMonte Live

Jelena Rozga's concert - Square of weapons 22:30

festations in Montenegro, visited by tens of thousands of participants and guests (officially, local statistics indicate "around 35,000 participants" - stated by president of society "Fešta" V.B. in *Vijesti*, 26 June 2007. (Regions)). At the same time, this is what makes them one of the main promoters of Montenegrin culture, folklore and tourism. On the official site of the Ministry of Tourism, the *Summer Carnival* in Kotor has been represented as one of the main manifestations in Montenegro (see: www.mtc.cg.yu).

The organizer of the carnival is the society *Fešta* in Kotor, and patrons are the Ministry of Tourism of Montenegro, the Kotor municipality, the Montenegro Tourist Organization, and the Kotor Tourist Organization. The *Summer Carnival* of Kotor, along with the one in Perast, is supported by the local population and the local government, as well as by several financiers from state and private companies, whose interest is to promote themselves along with sponsorship. They also practice political favoritism and follow the governing cultural-political course by participating in manifestations that are favored by state and local governments. For example, in addition to the local population, the last year's carnival was also supported by "Jugopetrol" from Kotor, ProMonte, Luka Kotor, JP "Morsko Dobro" etc. For this year's manifestation, sponsors were ProMonte, Nikšičko Brewery (general sponsors), as well as golden, silver, and bronze sponsors amongst which are "Jugopetrol", "Lovćen osiguranje", "Ju Briv", "Autoboka", "Plantaže", Hipotekarna Banka, "Knjaz Miloš", and the agency "Karampana".

The transformation of the carnival from local "fiesta" to a manifestation of state importance (but also of private and corporate profit) can be traced through the selection of sponsors. From year to year they are more powerful, and also, the propaganda material for the manifestations becomes more pronounced. In a symbolical, but also a marketing sense, the main goal is to promote Montenegro in every possible way, as a country of Mediterranean heritage.

Conclusion

Every folklore manifestation involves organization and realization based on specific examples. The process of organization consists of well-defined goals with a clear direction,

02.08.2007. "Maskirana Boka" - Boka under masks - Abrum Brodom, Kotor - Prčanj - Perast - Kotor, 20:00

03.08.2007. "Najmasakaraniji grade", music happening & presentation of carnival groups, Square of Weapons 21:00

04.80.2007. International summer carnival Povorka, Main city street, 21:00
Carnival Night - Old City Squares (www.radikotor.com)

content, and budget. The realization of an event also consists of the co-ordination of different actors, and the role division and distribution of contents. Folklore manifestations also function by the well-known rules of public scene and media. As Lukić-Krstanović has put it: "in designing folklore creativity there are many actors and mediators involved. In that kind of stylization, folk creativity becomes a virtual act - arranged, adapted and recreated into a new authenticity" (Lukić-Krstanović, M. 2004: 55). That is why we can speak of traditional and contemporary, or, symbolic and pragmatic aspects of folklore manifestations.

The *Days of Mrkojevići* manifestation incorporates the idea of a multi-ethnic society. Moreover, this event emphasizes this idea on the basis of promoting tolerant relationships by encouraging people to live together despite the existing differences. The main idea of this manifestation is to promote Montenegro as a multicultural and multi-ethnic state by the means of a local event, which is taken as an ideal model. This is an entirely different approach from the manifestation promoted during socialism (which existed in Montenegro until recently) where the ideas of multi-ethnicity did not exist or was based on the Yugoslav concept of brotherhood and unity. According to this idea, all forms of folklore have been reduced to the "art of working people" (Bošković-Stulli, M. 1983: 14). The carnival in Kotor also, in a way, incorporates ideas of multiculturalism, but it gives that a secondary meaning, moving from the local over to the state and to a wider national and international (Mediterranean) cultural space. This event, however, continues to uphold its main function of transforming local folklore heritage into a tourist attraction (which it already is) and to contribute to creating a new contemporary image of Montenegro as a Mediterranean state. This is apparent from the fact that over the course of the last few years there was a transfer from coastal carnivals, organised strategically by the state establishment, to areas throughout the entire region of Montenegro. Thus, in addition to the coastal cities of Kotor, Herceg Novi, and Budva, "traditional" carnivals are now being organized in some non-coastal places like Tuzi, which is next to Podgorica.

I also mentioned other current folklore manifestations in Montenegro, which I intend to analyze in the future. They will also reveal multiple and symbolic features. Their contents are national and "mythical", but also economic and profit oriented (advertisement). They influence national identification, but they also become a product or advertisement for a product ready to be sold local commodities such as agricultural products from a region, or the act of the mass "consumption" of local scenery, local cuisine, local legends, etc. -

this all becomes the driving force behind these events, for the tourist promotion of the country.

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