

1 / Festival: Definition and Morphology

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I

Festival is an event, a social phenomenon, encountered in virtually all human cultures. The colorful variety and dramatic intensity of its dynamic choreographic and aesthetic aspects, the signs of deep meaning underlying them, its historical roots and the involvement of the "natives" have always attracted the attention of casual visitors, have consumed travelers and men of letters alike. Since the last century, scholars from disciplines such as comparative religion, anthropology, sociology, and folklore have concerned themselves with the description, the analysis, and, more recently, the interpretation of festivities. Yet little explicit theoretical effort has been devoted to the nomenclature of festive events or to the definition of the term *festival*. As a result, the meaning of *festival* in the social sciences is simply taken from common language, where the term covers a constellation of very different events, sacred and profane, private and public, sanctioning tradition and introducing innovation, proposing nostalgic revivals, providing the expressive means for the survival of the most archaic folk customs, and celebrating the highly speculative and experimental avant-gardes of the elite fine arts.

Etymologically the term *festival* derives ultimately from the Latin *festum*. But

originally Latin had two terms for festive events: *festum*, for "public joy, merriment, revelry," and *feria*, meaning "abstinence from work in honor of the gods." Both terms were used in the plural, *festa* and *feriae* , which indicates that at that time festivals already lasted many days and included many events. In classical Latin, the two terms tended to become synonyms, as the two types of events tended to merge.¹

From *festa* derived the Italian *festa* (pl. *feste*), the French *fête* (pl. *fêtes*) and *festival* (adj.), the Spanish *fiesta* (pl. *fiestas*), the Portuguese *festa* , the Middle English *feste* , *feste dai* , *festial* then *festival* , at first an adjective connoting events and then a noun denoting them.

Feria (pl. *feriae*) had a semantic implication of lack, intermission, and absence that remained in the original meaning of the Italian *feria* (abstinence from work in honor of a saint), *ferie* (time away from work), and *giorni feriali* (days of absence of religious ceremonies) as well as in the medieval *feriae* (truce), *feriae matricularum* (festive vacation for University students), and the Spanish *ferias* (day of rest in honor of a saint). The meaning of "empty" (which could be taken to indicate that festival is the resounding cage of culture) was later joined and overshadowed by the festive events that progressively filled such days of "rest from." Thus *feria* became the term for market and exposition of commercial produce, such as in the Portuguese *feira* , the Spanish *feria* , the Italian *fiera* , the Old French *feire* , then *foire* , and the Old English *faire* , then *fair* .

Other secondary meanings of these two basic terms indicate in different languages forms of festive behavior or segments of festivals, such as *feast* and *festine* for an abundant formal meal, the Spanish *fiesta* for public combat of knights to show their ability and valor, the Latin *festa* for sacred offerings, the Rumanian *festa* for "prank," or the Italian *festa* and the French *fête* for "birthday celebration" or simply "warm welcome."²

In contemporary English, festival means (a) a sacred or profane time of celebration, marked by special observances; (b) the annual celebration of a notable person or event, or the harvest of an important product; (c) a cultural event consisting of a series of performances of works in the fine arts, often devoted to a single artist or genre; (d) a fair; (e) generic gaiety, conviviality, cheerfulness.³ Similar common-language uses are to be found in all Romance languages.

As for the social sciences, the definition that can be inferred from the works of scholars who have dealt with festival while studying social and ritual events from the viewpoint of various disciplines such as comparative religion, anthropology, social psychology, folklore, and sociology indicates that festival commonly means *a periodically recurrent, social occasion in which, through a multiplicity of forms and a series of coordinated events, participate directly or indirectly and to various degrees, all members of a whole community, united by ethnic, linguistic, religious, historical bonds, and sharing a worldview.* Both the social function and the symbolic meaning of the festival are closely related to a series of overt values that the community recognizes as essential to its ideology and worldview, to its social identity, its historical continuity, and to its physical survival, which is ultimately what festival celebrates.⁴

II

Scholars have defined various types of festival, relying mainly on the sacred/secular dichotomy first discussed by Durkheim. This is more a theoretical than a practical distinction, since each type usually includes elements of the other, even if

secondary and subordinate. Religious festivals have evident secular implications, and secular ones almost invariably resort to metaphysics to gain solemnity and sanction for their events or for their sponsors. Another basic typological distinction that is often made draws upon the setting of the festival, opposing rural to urban festivals. Rural festivals are supposedly older, agrarian, centered on fertility rites and cosmogony myths, while the more recent, urban festivals celebrate prosperity in less archaic forms and may be tied to foundation legends and historical events and feats. Another typology can be based on power, class structure, and social roles, distinguishing among festivals given by the people for the people, those given by the establishment for itself, and those held by the people for the establishment, by the establishment for the people, and by the people against the establishment.⁵

Festive behavior has also been studied as a whole complex with one basic symbolic characteristic. While some scholars have indicated as most important the symbolic inversion, the topsy-turvy aspect apparent in festivals such as the Roman Saturnalia or the Feast of Fools, others have insisted on the similarities between daily and festive behavior, stressing that the latter parallels the former but with a more stylized form and with greatly increased semantic meaning.

The two approaches are not mutually exclusive. If we consider that the primary and most general function of the festival is to renounce and then to announce culture, to renew periodically the lifestream of a community by creating new energy, and to give sanction to its institutions, the symbolic means to achieve it is to represent the primordial chaos before creation, or a historical disorder before the establishment of the culture, society, or regime where the festival happens to take place.

Such representation cannot be properly accomplished by reversal behavior or by rites of intensification alone, but only by the simultaneous presence in the same festival of all the basic behavioral modalities of daily social life, all modified—by distortion, inversion, stylization, or disguise—in such a way that they take on an especially meaningful symbolic character. Consequently, both symbolic inversion and intensification must be present in the festival, and in addition there will be the element of symbolic abstinence—for instance from work, from play, from study, from religious observances. In sum, festival presents a complete range of behavioral modalities, each one related to the modalities of normal daily life. At festival times, people do something they normally do not; they abstain from something they normally do; they carry to the extreme behaviors that are usually regulated by measure; they invert patterns of daily social life. Reversal, intensification, trespassing, and abstinence are the four cardinal points of festive behavior.⁶

III

A morphology of festivals must indicate their minimal units and their possible sequences. Such a theoretical operation, analogous to what Vladimir Propp did for the constituent parts of the folktale, may aim at an archetype accounting for all festivals, or more accurately at "oicotypes" accounting for a class of festivals of the same kind or from the same cultural area.⁷ Studies have indicated that several constituent parts seem to be quantitatively ever-recurrent and qualitatively important in festive events. These units, building blocks of festivals, can all be considered ritual acts, "rites,"

since they happen within an exceptional frame of time and space, and their meaning is considered to go beyond their literal and explicit aspects.

The framing ritual that opens the festival is one of *valorization* (which for religious events has been called *sacralization*) that modifies the usual and daily function and meaning of time and space. To serve as the theater of the festive events an area is reclaimed, cleared, delimited, blessed, adorned, forbidden to normal activities.⁸

Similarly, daily time is modified by a gradual or sudden interruption that introduces "time out of time," a special temporal dimension devoted to special activities. Festival time imposes itself as an autonomous duration, not so much to be perceived and measured in days or hours, but to be divided internally by what happens within it from its beginning to its end, as in the "movements" of mythical narratives or musical scores.⁹ The opening rite is followed by a number of events that belong to a limited group of general ritual types. There are *rites of purification* and cleansing by means of fire, water, or air, or centered around the solemn expulsion of some sort of scapegoat carrying the "evil" and "negative" out of the community. If the rationale of these rites is to expel the evil that is already within, as in exorcisms, other complementary rites aim at keeping away the evil perceived as a threat coming from outside. These rites of safeguard include various forms of benediction and procession of sacred objects around and through significant points of the festival space setting, in order to renew the magical defenses of the community against natural and supernatural enemies.¹⁰

Rites of passage, in the form described by van Gennep, mark the transition from one life stage to the next. They may be given special relevance by being part of a festive event. These may include forms of initiation into age groups, such as childhood, youth, adulthood, and even public execution of criminals, or initiation into occupational, military, or religious groups.¹¹

Rites of reversal through symbolic inversion drastically represent the mutability of people, culture, and life itself. Significant terms which are in binary opposition in the "normal" life of a culture are inverted. Sex roles are inverted in masquerade with males dressing as females and females dressing as males, social roles with masters serving their serfs. Sacred and profane spaces are also used in reverse.¹²

Rites of conspicuous display permit the most important symbolic elements of the community to be seen, touched, adored, or worshipped; their communicative function is "phatic," of contact. Sacred shrines, relics, magic objects are solemnly displayed and become the destination of visitations from within the immediate boundaries of the festival, or of pilgrimages from faraway places. In sacred processions and secular parades, the icons and symbolic elements are instead moved through space specifically adorned with ephemeral festive decorations such as festoons, flower arrangements, hangings, lights, and flags. In such perambulatory events, along with the community icons, the ruling groups typically display themselves as their guardians and keepers, and as depositories of religious or secular power, authority, and military might.¹³

Rites of conspicuous consumption usually involve food and drink. These are prepared in abundance and even excess, made generously available, and solemnly consumed in various forms of feasts, banquets, or symposia (lit. "drinking together at the end of a banquet"). Traditional meals or blessed foods are one of the most frequent and typical features of festival, since they are a very eloquent way to represent and enjoy abundance, fertility, and prosperity. Ritual food is also a means to communicate with gods and ancestors, as in the Christian belief in the presence of Christ in the

sacred meal of Communion, the Greek tradition that Zeus is invisibly present at the ritual banquets of the Olympic Games, or the practice of the Tsembanga Maring people of New Guinea, who raise, slaughter, and eat pigs for and with the ancestors. In far less frequent cases, as in the potlatch, objects with special material and symbolic value are ritually consumed, wasted, or destroyed.¹⁴

Ritual dramas are usually staged at festival sites, as rites have a strong tie to myths. Their subject matter is often a creation myth, a foundation or migratory legend, or a military success particularly relevant in the mythical or historical memory of the community staging the festival. By means of the drama, the community members are reminded of their Golden Age, the trials and tribulations of their founding fathers in reaching the present location of the community, the miracles of a saint, or the periodic visit of a deity to whom the festival is dedicated. When the sacred story is not directly staged, it is very often hinted at or referred to in some segments or events of the festival.¹⁵

Rites of exchange express the abstract equality of the community members, their theoretical status as equally relevant members of a "*communitas*," a community of equals under certain shared laws of reciprocity. At the *fair*, money and goods are exchanged at an economic level. At more abstract and symbolic levels, information, ritual gifts, or visits may be exchanged; public acts of pacification, symbolic *remissio debitum*, or thanksgiving for a grace received may take place in various forms of redistribution, sponsored by the community or a privileged individual, who thus repays the community or the gods for what he has received in excess.¹⁶

Festival typically includes *rites of competition*, which often constitute its cathartic moment in the form of games. Even if games are commonly defined as competitions regulated by special rules and with uncertain outcome (as opposed to ritual, the outcome of which is known in advance), the logic of festival is concerned with the competition and the awards for the winner; the rules of the game are canonic, and its paradigm is ritual. The parts or roles are assigned at the beginning to the personae as equals and undifferentiated "contestants," "hopefuls," "candidates." Then the development and the result of the game create among them a "final" hierarchical order—either binary (winners and losers) or by rank (from first to last). Games show how equality may be turned into hierarchy.¹⁷ Besides games in the strict sense, festival competitions include various forms of contest and prize giving, from the election of the beauty queen to the selection of the best musician, player, singer, or dancer, individual or group, to awards to a new improvised narrative or work of art of any kind or to the best festive decorations. By singling out its outstanding members and giving them prizes, the group implicitly reaffirms some of its most important values.

Athletic or competitive sporting events include individual or collective games of luck, strength, or ability. These have been considered a "corruption" of older plays of ritual combats with fixed routine and obligatory ending, such as the fight between Light and Darkness representing cosmogony, then progressively historicized and territorialized into combats between, for example, the Christians and the Moors, or representative individuals, the champions (literally "the sample") carrying the colors of the whole group.¹⁸

In their functional aspects, such games may be seen as display and encouragement of skills such as strength, endurance, and precision, required in daily work and military occupations; such was for instance the rationale of medieval mock battles.¹⁹

In their symbolic aspect, festival competitions may be seen as a metaphor for the emergence and establishment of power, as when the "winner takes all," or when the winning faction symbolically takes over the arena, or the city in triumph.

At the end of the festival, a *rite of devalorization*, symmetrical to the opening one, marks the end of the festive activities and the return to the normal spatial and temporal dimensions of daily life.²⁰

IV

Admittedly, a complete or even an extensive morphology of festivals will correspond to very few—if any—actual events. Real-life festivals will not present all the ritual components listed, not even in "de-semanticized," that is, secondary and scarcely meaningful, forms. A complete festival morphology will correspond to the complete festive cycle, and several of its parts will form the configuration of each of the actual festive events.²¹ This fragmentation of the festive complex into events distributed all along the calendrical cycle follows the course of history and its trends of centralization and decentralization in social life, as well as the interplay of religious and secular powers and their division in the running of social and symbolic life and its "collective rituals." Furthermore, in today's western and westernized cultures, larger, often more abstract and distant entities try to substitute themselves for the older, smaller, tightly woven communities as reference groups and centers of the symbolic life of the people.²² Today we try to bring the audience close to the event by means of the mass media, or to bring the event close to the audience by delegating smaller entities such as the family, to administer it everywhere at the same time, or to fragment the older festivals into simpler festive events centered on one highly significant ritual. Such fragmentation is seen in the United States, where the ritual meal is the focus of Thanksgiving, the exchange of gifts the focus of Christmas, excess of New Year's, military might and victories and civic pride are the themes underlying the parade on the Fourth of July and the Rose Parade. Carnavalesque aspects underlie Mardi Gras and Halloween. And symbolic reversal is nowhere more evident than in the demolition derby. Even the tradition of dynastic anniversaries is present, modified though it may be, in Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays; competitions are perfectly typified by the Indianapolis 500, the Superbowl, and the Kentucky Derby. Even the archaic tendency to consider the ritual games of the festival as cosmic events may be surfacing in the term *world championship*, obstinately used for events that in the strict sense are encounters of local teams playing a culture-bound and territorially limited game, such as American football or baseball. Festive rites of passage take place on Valentine's Day, at debutantes' balls, drinking celebrations of the eighteenth birthday and fraternity and sorority rushes. Rites of deference and confirmation of status include presidential inaugurations, Father's Day, and Mother's Day. The archaic Kings and Queens of the May have their functional equivalents in the yearly beauty pageants of Miss, Mister, and Mrs. America. Plays have been grouped in various yearly festivals of the arts that range from Shakespeare festivals to the Oscars ceremonies in Los Angeles, through symphonies, jazz festivals, and fiddling contests. And the modern *ferias*, the county fairs, are numerous and ever-present.²³

If not festival proper, such events are part of a festive cycle, a series of events that in other times and cultures would fall within tighter boundaries of time, space,

and action. This festive complex is everchanging and evolving. But with all its modifications, festival has retained its primary importance in all cultures, for the human social animal still does not have a more significant way to feel in tune with his world than to partake in the special reality of the Festival, and celebrate life in its "time out of time."

NOTES

1. For the meaning of *festival* in Latin see *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. Glare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 686, 694–95; *Lexicon Totius Latinitatis*, ed. Egidio Forcellini (Padua: Typis Seminarii, 1940), 2:452–53, 468; Charles Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Niort: Favre, 1884), 3:436–38, 462–63.

2. For the meaning of *festival* in the Romance languages, see the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, 5th ed. (Florence: Tipografia Galileiana, 1886), 5:757–58, 814–20; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, 8th ed. (Paris: Hachette, 1932), 1:537, 554; *Real Academia Española, Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, 19th ed. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1970); José Pedro Machado, *Dicionário Etimológico da Língua Portuguesa*, 3d ed. (Lisbon: Horizonte, 1977), 3:38, 40.

3. For the meaning of *festival* in English, see for instance the *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. H. Kurath and S. M. Kuhn (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press and London: Oxford University Press, 1952), 3:451, 529; *The Shorter English Dictionary*, ed. C. T. Onions, 3d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 742–43; *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, ed. P. Babcock Gove (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam Co., 1976), pp. 815, 841.

4. For the meaning of *festival* in the social sciences, see *Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, ed. Maria Leach (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1949), 1:376; *Dictionary of Mythology Folklore and Symbols*, ed. Gertrude Jobes (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1961), 1:563; *The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 6:198–201; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York: Scribner's, 1961), 5:835–94. For general discussions of festive events, see Victor Turner, ed., *Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Rit-*

ual (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982), especially pp. 11–30, and also his "Liminal to Liminoid, in Play, Flow and Ritual," *Rice University Studies* 60 (1974), pp. 53–92; Robert J. Smith, "Festivals and Celebrations," in Richard Dorson, ed., *Folklore and Folklife* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 159–72, and his *The Art of the Festival* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1975); Carla Bianco and Maurizio del Ninno, eds., *Festa. Antropologia e Semiotica*, Acts of the International Congress of 1978 in Montecatini (Florence: Nuova Guaraldi, 1981); Roger Caillois, "Theorie de la Fête," *Nouvelle Revue Française* 27 (1939): 863–82; 28 (1940): 49–59; Beverly Stoeltje, "Festival in America," in Richard Dorson, ed., *Handbook of American Folklore* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 239–46; John J. MacAloon, "Cultural Performances, Culture Theory" in his (ed.) *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle* (Philadelphia: ISHI Press, 1984), pp. 1–15; Jean Duvignaud, *Fêtes et Civilizations* (Paris and Geneva: Weber, 1973); Marianne Mesnil, "The Masked Festival: Disguise or Affirmation?" *Cultures* 3 (1976) no. 2:11–29. For festive events as symbolic representations of worldview, see Alan Dundes and Alessandro Falassi, *La Terra in Piazza: An Interpretation of the Palio of Siena* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975). Compare Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on Balinese Cockfight," *Daedalus* 101 (1972): 1–37.

5. For the sacred/profane dichotomy and semantic pair, see Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (London: Allen and Unwin/New York: Macmillan, 1915); Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961). Compare Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, eds., *Secular Ritual* (Amsterdam: Van Gor-

- cum, 1977). For the contemporary situation, see Robert Bellah *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970). For an application to contemporary festivals, see Bruce Guiliano, *Sacro o Profano? A Consideration of Four Italian-Canadian Religious Festivals* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1976); Jean Duvignaud, "Festivals: A Sociological Approach," *Cultures* 3 (1976) no. 1: 13-28; Frank Manning, *The Celebration of Society: Perspective on Contemporary Cultural Performances* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1983).
6. For festive inversion, see Barbara Babcock, ed., *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978). Excess, affirmation, and juxtaposition are discussed in Harvey Cox, *The Feast of Fools: A Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969). Joseph Pieper, *In Tune with the World: A Theory of Festivity* (New York: Harcourt, 1965) discusses festive behavior as a form of assent to the world as a whole. See also his *Über Das Phänomen Des Festes* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1963). Contrast Yves-Marie Berce, *Fête et Revolte* (Paris: Hachette, 1976), Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968), and Miguel de Ferdinandy, *Carnaval y Revolucion y diecinueve ensayos mas* (Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial Universitaria, 1977). Analogies between daily and festive behavior are stressed in Roger Abrahams and Richard Bauman, "Ranges of Festival Behavior," in Babcock, *The Reversible World*, pp. 193-208. Roger Cailliois, *Man and the Sacred* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1959) sees festival as periodical excess and chaos. On transgression see, for instance, Robert J. Smith, "Licentious Behavior in Hispanic Festivals," *Western Folklore* 31 (1972): 290-98; Sherry Roxanne Turkle: "Symbol and Festival in the French Students Uprising" (May-June 1968) in Sally Moore and Barbara Myerhoff, *Symbols and Politics in Communal Ideology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 68-100.
7. Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968). For the concept of Oicotype see C. W. Von Sydow, "Geography and Folktale Oicotypes," in *Selected Papers on Folklore* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1948), pp. 44-59.
8. For rites of sacralization see, for instance, Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958), pp. 367-87 and *The Sacred and the Profane*, pp. 20-65.
9. This concept of time appears in Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), pp. 15-16. Compare Edmund Leach, "Cronus and Chronos" and "Time and False Noses" in his *Rethinking Anthropology* (London: Athlone Press, 1961), pp. 124-36; Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, pp. 85-95.
10. For rites of purification and safeguard see, for instance, Peter Rigby, "Some Gogo Rituals of 'Purification': An Essay on Social and Moral Categories," in E. R. Leach, ed., *Dialectic in Practical Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 153-78; Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966).
11. For rites of passage, see the classic Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Barbara Myerhoff, "Rites of Passage: Process and Paradox," in Victor Turner, *Celebration*, pp. 109-35; Max Gluckman, "Les Rites de Passage," in his (ed.) *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962), pp. 1-52. For discussion of extensive ethnographic comparative data, see Frank Young, *Initiation Ceremonies: A Cross-Cultural Study of Status Dramatization* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965) and Martha N. Fried and H. Morton, *Transition: Four Rituals in Eight Cultures* (New York: Norton, 1980); Judith Brown, "A Cross-Cultural Study of Female Initiation Rites," *American Anthropologist* 65 (1963): 837-53.
12. For rites of reversal see Barbara Babcock's discussion in *The Reversible World*, pp. 13-36. Rich comparative materials and iconography from Europe appear in Giuseppe Cocchiara, *Il Mondo alla Rovescia* (Turin: Einaudi, 1963). A theoretical discussion of the concept is in Rodney Needham, "Reversals," in his *Against the Tranquility of Axioms* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 93-120.
13. On pilgrimages see Surinder Mohan

Bhardway, *Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973); Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); and Victor Turner, *Process, Performance and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbolology* (New Delhi: Concept, 1979). For parades and processions, see, for instance, Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Albert D. Mackie, *Scottish Pageantry* (London: Hutchinson, 1967); Leroy F. Vaughn, *Parade and Float Guide* (Minneapolis: Denison, 1956); David Colin Dunlop, *Processions: A Dissertation, Together With Practical Suggestions* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932).

14. For classic rites of conspicuous consumption and ritual offerings, see H. G. Barnette, "The Nature of the Potlatch," *American Anthropologist* 40 (1983): 349–58. For an interpretive essay, see Alan Dundes, "Heads or Tails: A Psychoanalytic Study of Potlatch," *Journal of Psychological Anthropology* 2 (1979): 395–424; Roy A. Rappaport, *Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); Evon Z. Vogt, *Tortillas for the Gods: A Symbolic Analysis of Zinacantan Rituals* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964); E. S. Drower, "The Ritual Meal," *Folk-Lore* 48 (1937): 226–44; Sula Benet, *Festival Menus 'round the World* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1957).

15. On the relationship between ritual drama and festival see, for instance, Tristram P. Coffin and Hennig Cohen, "Folk Drama and Folk Festival," in their *Folklore in America* (New York: Doubleday, 1966), pp. 195–225; Victor Turner, "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors" in his (ed.) *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors. Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), pp. 23–59; Abner Cohen, "Drama and Politics in the Development of a London Carnival," *Man* 15 (1980): 65–87; Alfonso Ortiz, "Ritual Drama and Pueblo Worldview" in his (ed.) *New Perspectives on the Pueblos* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press,

1972), pp. 135–62; Richard Schechner, "Ramlila of Ramnagar and America's Oberammergau: Two Celebratory Ritual Dramas," in Victor Turner, *Celebration*, pp. 89–106; Paul Radin, "The Ritual Drama" in his *Primitive Religion* (New York: Dover, 1957), pp. 289–306.

16. On ritual exchange see the classic Marcel Mauss, *The Gift* (New York: Norton, 1967). On pp. 40–41 Mauss discusses the three obligations to give, to receive, and to reciprocate. See also Raymond Firth, "Symbolism in Giving and Getting," in his *Symbols Public and Private* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), pp. 368–402. For ethnographic data, see for instance G. A. M. Bus, "The 'Te' Festival or Gift Exchange in Enga (Central Highlands of New Guinea)," *Anthropos* 46 (1951): 813–24. On economic aspects see Roger Abrahams, "The Language of Festivals: Celebrating the Economy," in Victor Turner, *Celebration*, pp. 161–77.

17. On games, play, and ludic elements in festival see the seminal Johann Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955) and Roger Caillois, *Man, Play and Games* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1961). Context is discussed in John M. Roberts, Malcom J. Arth, and Robert R. Bush, "Games in Culture," *American Anthropologist* 61 (1959): 587–605. *Communitas* and *hierarchy* are terms of a semantic pair introduced and discussed by Victor Turner in *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-structure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969), pp. 94–204.

18. These concepts are discussed in Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, pp. 319–21, 431–34. See also Herbert Jennings Rose, "Suggested Explanation of Ritual Combats," *Folk-Lore* 36 (1925): 322–31.

19. For medieval mimic battles see, for instance, William Heywood, *Palio and Ponte* (London: Methuen, 1904).

20. See notes 8 and 9.

21. A classic extensive study of a complete festival cycle in Arnold van Gennep, *Manuel de Folklore Français Contemporain*, 9 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1938–58). Comparative data are in E. O. James, *Seasonal Feasts and Festivals* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1963). For the festive cycle of a single religious group, see, for instance, M. M. Un-

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