

Research

GARDENER'S SOUP FESTIVAL IN ZLATARITSA – DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL TOURISM OR PRE-ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN: A CASE STUDY

Margarita KARAMIHOVA

St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Turnovo

Abstract. This article discusses the heritage re-establishment during a gourmet festival. Fieldwork data (2007-2015) have shown that unlike other new gourmet festivals in Bulgaria the Gardeners' soup festival serves to be achieved several very different goals: First of all this is an important part of pre-election campaigns for local authorities and for Parliament. Second – this festival strengthens local identity and integrates different ethnic and religious groups inhabiting the small town nowadays. Despite it was pronounced as gourmet festival and was introduced as a part of local strategy for development of tourism the ethnography shows that main actors do not promote it as touristic attraction. Thereby Gardeners' soup festival is not stereotypic small-town festival.

Keywords: invented tradition, identities, heritage, politics, minority groups, festival, ritual year

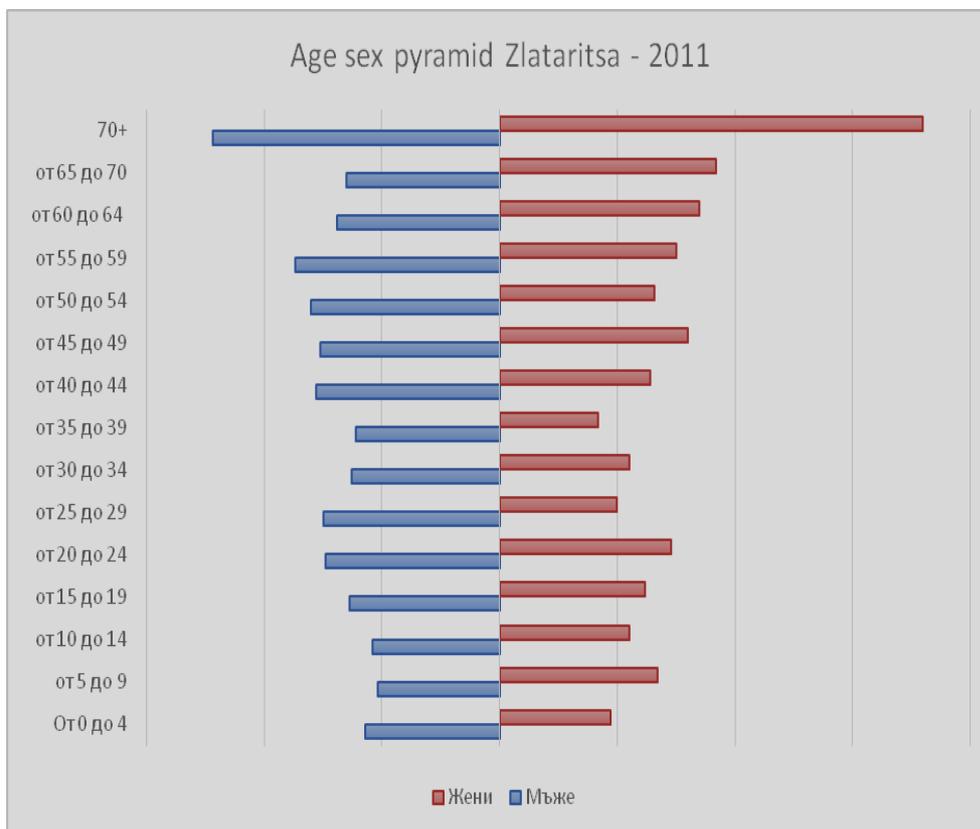
Brief history of Zlataritsa

Nowadays small town of Zlataritsa is situated at Mid-Northern Bulgaria near the city of Veliko Tarnovo. The old village of Zlataritsa, recorded in tax registers of the fifteenth century, is located high on the slopes of the Bulgarian Fore-Balkan near the river Burzitsa. The opportunities offered by the geographical location and the tax allowances enjoyed by the *dervendji* population (locals granted with a special status due to their duties in guarding the mountain passes) during the Ottoman domination kept the local population stable. Modern times caused the reconfiguring of Bulgarian lands, and with that came with new challenges. In Zlataritsa, the demographic revolution was started by the generation born in the modern Bulgarian state around the beginning of the twentieth century. The comparatively poor semi-mountainous soil and the limited natural resources, which could not provide for the rapidly increasing population, as well as the new requirements of the changing economy, necessitated more serious investments in institutionalized education. Many people from Zlataritsa specialized in market-oriented gardening, and at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries they sent teams of gardeners abroad (e.g., to Russia, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia), as well as to Northern Bulgaria (in the regions of Pleven and Varna). The seasonal labour migrations stabilized the population in the village, ensured a descent standard of living for the families of the gardeners, but also profoundly changed the local cultural model.¹⁾ At the start of the twentieth century, Zlataritsa became an attractive location for Muslim Gypsies from the high mountain settlement of Kotel, as well as for Vlach Gypsies (Eastern Orthodox Christians) from the region. The overgrowing village therefore moved down, closer to the river. Temporary labor migration of gardeners continued until Second World War, gradually diminishing in size and intensity.

During the socialist modernization period, the generations born in the 1920s and 1930s migrated to the big cities at the end of the 1940s and early

1950s. Those who stayed experienced the collectivization of the land into cooperative farms (later agricultural and industrial complexes). As a consequence, part of younger generations redirected to the factories in nearby towns or entered army or militia, in order to ensure better prospects for their children. At the beginning of the so called “transition period” (1989), many who migrated in the 1940s and the 1950s came back to Zlataritsa as pensioners, at least during the summer. Gradually they were followed (at first to take care of their elderly parents) by those born in the 1940s. The members of this group, though economically very weak, are an authoritative bearer of local memory, patriotism and willingness to be publicly visible in the society. This returned group cherishes and transfers memories of the past settlement to the new generations, and this is particularly enforced by the fact that the population of Zlataritsa has changed with great speed for such a small community, especially after 1990, at the expense of the immigrant Bulgarian Muslims, Turks and new groups of Roma/Gypsies (Karamihova, 2009). At present, most of the young and socially significant people (that means two-thirds of the local population) are not bearers of local memory. At the same time, my observations show that they willingly accept the opportunities for integration and identification with the place and its at least six hundred-year long history.

The census of population held on 31.12.2014 shows 2093 inhabitants in Zlataritsa (National statistical institute). The statistical data describes an aging population with low birth rates, high mortality, high emigration rates and increasing percentage of Roma/ Gypsies population due to relatively high level of immigration.



This demographic profile is similar to that of most small settlements all over Bulgaria.

My family originates from Zlataritsa. Both – my mother and my father were descendants of migrating to Romania gardeners. My parents migrated to Sofia in 1949. Their return migration coincided with so called start of “transition” (1989). Zlataritsa is the place with which I am connected as strong as with my native place – Sofia, therefore living for 2-3 months there each year I did my observations of recent development of the location.

On methods

My work on this concrete case study goes far from common ethnography. It started accidentally as a participatory action research (Hemment, 2007) in

the summer of 2007. I was invited by the Mayor of this small town Stephan Dobrev to consult his team on how to organize a Gardener's soup feast (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Mayor Stephen Dobreff (in the middle) and the “gardeners”, 2007

The declared idea of the feast was to honor our ancestors who were successful temporary labor migrants to Eastern and Central Europe. The idea was to organize a competition for best cooked vegetable soup in big cauldrons (Fig. 2). I helped the team to write a scenario and voluntarily supported the organization of the feast. I invited the ethnologists from Veliko Tarnovo University St Cyril and St Methodius to participate in the jury (Fig. 3). I had no right to be a member of the jury because of close kin or friendship relations with participants in the competition. Still those times I gained respect in the small town because of my position as assistant professor in Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. It allowed me to be included in the list of official guests of the event and to register the feast by my camera.



Fig. 2. A cauldron

It is important to mention that the first feast was organized just before the elections for local authorities. Stephan Dobrev was running for mayor office for second time. He was supported by Bulgarian Agriculture Party. His hidden goal was to gain electorate by organizing a nice holiday providing soup for free. Actually for mandate 2007-2011 was elected Pencho Chanev, supported by patriotic coalition lead by Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO, known as "VMRO" after 1990). In the summer of 2008 I heard that the new mayor does not plan to organize the Gardener's soup feast. After the meeting we had, he agreed that it will be of citizens' interest to continue organizing the celebration (Fig. 4).



Fig. 3. The Jury



Fig. 4. The first participation of Pencho Chaney (with white shirt)

From 2008 to 2012 I was participating regularly in the feast. My colleagues, ethnologist from Veliko Tarnovo University and Ethnographic Institute with Museum, BAS were regular members of the jury. Being recognized as respectable representatives of a science which is studying national traditions, their presence legitimized the feasts as “truly traditional”. I could not participate in the feast next 3 years but I kept watching photo and video reports of local cameraman Pavel Kisiov published in Facebook, media reports and newspapers articles dedicated to the event. It gives total of 6 years of participatory observation and 3 years of text and visual materials collection.

Methodology

There are already many studies of local feast during late socialist epoch and during post-socialism. They are explored in terms of “festivalization of culture” (Troeva, 2011). A special focus was put on policies of communists’ state toward creation new festive system aiming to establish a new ritual year (Troeva, 2011). In post-socialist times new local feasts are explored in terms of local identity enforcement. The problems related to group and personal *identity* are so over studied that it will be enough just to mention that the methodological frame here is constructivist.

I had the chance to develop studies in the field of Political Anthropology in early 90s. Still in the summer of 2007 it was obvious that the new feast is a part of the pre-electoral campaign of Stephan Dobrev. That is why it was necessary to pay attention on main actors, their messages and symbols of political, borrowing methods from political anthropology (Balandier, 1969; Geertz, 1973; Anderson, 1991; Gupta, 2007).

From the beginning of Ethnology as academic discipline, the ritual year stays in the focus of scholars. That is why the theory for analyzing ritual, symbols and performance developed by Victor Turner (Turner, 1991) and his followers are important to understand the feast in question. I am borrowing from Robert Lavenda (1991) following important statement:

[m]unicipalities create a momentary, if recurrent, popular architectonics, a symbology of local significance, a public presentation of the community to itself and to outsiders. A public culture emerges.

The aim to measure the impact of this repeating feast on homogeneity of ethnic palette in Zlataritsa urged me to review theories concerning multiculturalism (Rex & Singh, 2003). Studying a new feast in development still in 2007 I registered tendency local borders to be overcome and the event to enter in national media. Still I keep in mind the statement of Lavenda (1991): “And even in festivals that propose to celebrate ethnicity, it is ordinarily the ethnic heritage of the dominant group that is accented”.

Different actors helped to extend the geography of participants and in 2015 I can state that the feast became international. That is why it was necessary to check the concepts on local, global, glocal level, starting with Michel Kearney (1995). Thus again and again I had to work with a toolkit of theories instead of being imprisoned in just one theory.

The gardener’s soup feast

The beginning

As it was mentioned, the Gardener’s soup fest was initiated by Stephan Dobrev during his mandate as elected mayor of municipality (2003 - 2007). In a conversation he told me that his grandfather was *gazda* (chief) of a *tayfa* (gardener’s team) and he used to organize seasonal labor migration to Russia. In his private archive Mr. Dobrev keeps different documents related to his grandfather’s job. The narrative about that successful businessman is a part of the family story. The idea to organize a feast in honor of successful ancestors in the beginning of September he explained with ritual calendar of the town. According to tradition the main feast (*sabor*) of Zlataritsa was celebrated on the 24th of May. It is devoted to St Cyril and St Methodius – authors of the Bulgarian alphabet -

and their veneration is rooted in Bulgarian Renaissance. About 1998 it was decided to celebrate a special day of Zlataritsa on May 9th. The argument was that this is the day of celebration of local church's patron – St. Nicolas, the day of Europe and in fact – for elderly communists in the town - the day of “Soviet victory against fascists”. So, mayor Dobrev argued that the ritual calendar is misbalanced – too many feasts in the spring and no feast in the autumn. He proposed a constant date for celebration – 4th of September. The reason is that on 4.09.1074 the village of Zlataritsa was pronounced to be a town. It had happened during celebration of 50 years after the so called “September uprising”, 1923. On September 23th small communist group (my grandfather Jordan Darlevinc) had occupied municipality and pronounced communist regime for a few days. Stephen Popstoyanov, the leader of rebels was killed by police and nowadays one can see his humble monument in the center of the town. There were not so many villages to revolt in 1923 so the village of Zlataritsa was granted in 1974 with new status as a part of communist invented heroic history. In post-communist times this part of collective memory stays shadowed but still is recalled during Gardeners' soup feast. More visible is the message that former village became a town despite its very poor condition nowadays.

The place

The feast is happening at the wide meadow named “The Mulberries” near the river. There are many hundred-year old mulberries surrounding the traditional place for village gatherings. A nice bridge is leading strait to the Church and town's center.

In the beginning the preparation of the place was starting with electricity and water supply and with arranging fireplaces. Later (2010-2011) was developed an infrastructure project with financial support of EU funds. Beautiful fountain, an open-air stage, fireplaces and a sunshade were built. Thus “The Mulberries” were marked as the place for Gardener's soup feast (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. “The Mulberries” – a view from the bridge

The scenario

In the summer of 2007 was prepared a scenario which stays almost the same during next 9 years. The program of the feast consists of several activities. Of course the main task is to cook the soup. Each team prepares vegetables and carefully fans the fire under huge cauldron. The soup has to be ready about 11 – 11.30 h.

The opening of the feast is about 10.30 - 11 h. It starts with greetings from the mayor and official guests. Follows brief description of gardeners traditions by local museum worker; consecration of water; „sending gardeners abroad“: dance and music performances; „meeting gardeners“; jury; awards; party (Fig. 6).



Fig. 6 „Sending gardeners abroad”

During the years different new activities were added to this scenario. At 2007 in the Municipality was organized a round table devoted to future development of the town. It was videotaped and lately broadcasted by local cable TV. Next years the idea about organizing round table was abandoned but instead many politicians have been invited to participate in the feast.

It became a tradition to shoot the feast and to broadcast it in the evening of 4th of September. Locals enjoy the recording and love to be shown on TV. As a tool for strengthening local identity national media reportages are very welcomed.²⁾ Zlataritsa citizens are proud to be known in the country as tradition keepers.

People from Zlataritsa are very proud because there was born Mikhail Ganev - World Junior Champion and World Champion in men's freestyle wrestling. He was awarded honorary citizen of Zlataritsa. The town has long lasting

tradition in development of freestyle wrestling. Many teenagers belonging to local sports club choose to study in high schools developing sports. It is well known that sports can serve as a vehicle for gaining better social status. Thus at 2011 Tanya Lazarova who was running for mayor office, financed freestyle wrestling competition. Tanya Lazarova was supported by Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria party (GERB). World Champion in men's freestyle wrestling Mikhail Ganev and Radoslav Velikov were invited in the jury. Many kids from Zlataritsa, Veliko Tarnovo and Elena took part in the competition.



Fig. 7. Free style wrestling competition, 2011

According to popular tradition the main prize was an alive ram. The winners from different age groups gained money. Despite its great success the competition had happened just once. Tanya Lazarova gained 15,64% of electoral votes. Stepfan Dobreff and Pencho Chanev gained 24,68% and 35,65% so they had to go to ballotage. Supported by VMRO, Pencho Chanev gained second mandate.

At 2014 were elections for Parliament. The historian Milen Mihov, a very popular in the region assistant professor in Veliko Tarnovo University St Cyril and St Methodius was elected as a candidate by his party VMRO. For years he was working together with Pencho Chanev. These times with their united efforts in Zlataritsa were invited nationwide popular candidate-deputies from all political spectra (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8. The Politicians

It was obligatory politicians-cooks to wear traditional costumes and to bring vegetables with them. They had to slice onions and to peel 1 kilogram of potatoes.³⁾ The very popular TV shef Uti Bachvarov, was animating this competition.



Fig. 9. The Major and the Shef Uti Bachvarov

Gathering so many stars assumed wide media coverage. Surprisingly reportages on national TV channels did not broadcast this part of the feast in which were competing the politicians. Still the journalists from regional newspapers were shooting a lot and were publishing huge reportages with politicians.

In 2015 were mayors' elections. Another media star – chef Ivan Zvezdev was invited to be in the jury in the competition between candidate-mayors. Four candidates had to slice carrots. Andrey Malakey, the vice-consul of Russia, joined the team.⁴⁾

The best cooked soup

During the preparation period in 2007 a very important question arose: What exactly means “gardeners’ soup”? All participants agree that it is vegetable soup consisting of all seasonal vegetables. Still it was not clear if our ancestors used to cook it with vermicelli or just with rice. Most of elderly people remember that vermicelli came relatively late in Bulgarian kitchen (about 50-60s of 20th century) so may be the soup have to be cooked with rice. Some people claimed that gardeners were not vegetarians and to put some fish or meat in the soup will be appropriate. The majority decided that it have to be meatless soup.

At 2007 local famous fisherman Zarko cooked a cauldron of *fish soup* and gave it in memory of his bellowed brother who passed away in the same summer. At 2014 local administration prepared 300 liters of *gazpacho*. At 2013 Chinese chef took part in the competition and cooked *Chinese soup*. He is participating in Chinese investment team which was planning to develop a small factory in the town.⁵⁾ Thus besides the vegetable soup which locals imagine as unique and typical only for Zlataritsa periodically different new dishes originating from other continents are entering the small town.

At 2007 mayor Dobrev decided all participants in the competition to receive rewards (money). Ironically grandchildren of old professional gardeners rarely plant vegetables in their gardens. Competitors have to buy all the products from the market. Most of the cooks are pensioners or unemployed so to have some extra money is of critical importance for them (Fig. 10).

A small talk about the jury

From the same start in the jury were participating ethnologist professor from Veliko Tarnovo University, scholars from Ethnographic Institute with Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, members of Parliament, a local chef. Last two years Uti Bachvarov and Ivan Zvezdev were undisputable authorities. Thus the competition has been endorsed by high rank authorities in science,

power and modern cuisine. Gardeners' soup becomes a trade mark, a powerful marker of local identity.



Fig. 10. The awarded

Although in front of cameras all participants declare that the vegetables in the soup are “bio” or “from the garden” it is not true.

Traditional costumes

At 2007 was decided part of participants to dress folk costumes. Local culture community center (*chitalishte*) “Razvitie 1885“ has some folk costumes for performances of traditional dances. They are mass produced replicas of regional folk costumes from Southern and Western Bulgaria. I would label them as *just symbols* of folk costumes. They are not related to local folk tradition, they

are far from real folk costumes but still they are recognizable as national costumes for Bulgarians.

At 2012 folk costumes become obligatory for all participants and for local administration. Very important role played mayor Pencho Chanev who owns several costumes (Figs. 11, 12).

Pretty nice folk costume during the holiday wears his wife. As was said candidates for parliament had to dress folk costumes too. It is necessary to mention two important tendencies in Bulgaria, registered during new millennium.

The first is appearing of Tradition society. It is “*non-government, non-partisan patriotic organization which goal is to popularize and save patriotic traditions related to army symbols and rituals, national values ...Organizes and participates in reconstructions of events and battles from Bulgarian history*”.⁶⁾ It is important to state that Tradition society is very active in Veliko Tarnovo and its region. Veliko Tarnovo University is known as a very patriotic one and its students, especially those mastering in History are active participants in the events organized by Tradition society. Assistant professor Mihov is a leading person in Tradition society. I believe that long-lasting partnership between Milen Mihov and Pencho Chanev added to decision to invent folk costumes in Gardeners’ soup feast aiming to demonstrate tight connection with folk tradition. This case is not isolated in contemporary Bulgarian (and not only) society. But here we can read another text too: in a municipality with mixed ethnic and confessional population Eastern Orthodox Bulgarians decrease in number. That is why demonstration of Bulgarian identity and its (folk) markers gains in value. It was obvious during election in 2015 when the Movement for Rights and Freedom (MRF)⁷⁾ was very active between Bulgarian Muslims in the municipality.



Figs. 11, 12. The Major and the administration

The second tendency, partly related to the first is visible through activities of National Movement “*Sedyanka*”.⁸⁾ To restore knowledge and skills related to traditional crafts become a mission and hobby for many women in our

digital epoch. Some women started small businesses related to souvenirs production. It became new fashion to wear clothes decorated in traditional style. In this sense people from Zlataritsa were not pioneers. They have no idea about local traditional dress. Clothing in Zlataritsa was modernized relatively early, long before First World War because of many factors. Temporary labor migration abroad of gardeners was in number of those factors. Still the game of identity opens a channel for recognition of costumes replicas from far standing places as their own for all ethnic and religious groups in this small town.

I have to notice that only Bulgarian Muslims from nearest village of Gorsko novo selo wear their traditional costumes as a real group-marker. Their non-professional choral society consists of offspring of forcibly displaced in mid 40s-50s from Rhodopes Mountain Bulgarian Muslims. After years of looking for place to settle, their parents choose to live in high mountain depopulated former Turkish villages in the municipality. In late 80s I had registered many elderly Muslim women who were speaking their Rhodopean dialect of Bulgarian language, singing Rhodopean songs and wearing their traditional costumes. With the years it had changed. Gradually and more visible after 1989, Bulgarian Muslims started to resettle in lowest parts of the mountain or in the cities. Some of them choose emigration to the USA or to the Western countries. Relatively big and stable Bulgarian Muslim community in the village of Gorsko novo selo is the one and only to develop and demonstrate its own group identity. Yet their costumes are the same mass production and are far from local traditional garment in the villages where their parents were born. Howsoever the invented “Rhodopean costume” and the singing with special type *kaba back pipe* are clear marker of their group identity (Fig. 13).



Fig 13. The participants from Gorsko novo selo

Does not matter how many visitors have any feast; everyone has access to the cauldrons and can taste the soup. The cauldrons vary between 14 and 20 each year. Gradually a new scheme was constructed: one of the cauldrons have to be donated to the Elderly Care Home; one has to be donated to the Center for family type child care; one has to be brought at homes for elderly and sick people who cannot participate in the feast. This way the feast is widening its social geography and tends to reach each group and person in the town (Fig 14).

This article does not explore the gender aspects of the feast but it is important to mention women's point of view. Many interviews had shown that women recognize Gardeners' soup feast as "The Feast" in public ritual year. The relatively new fest of the town (9th of May) still stays official and has not serious impact on local culture. Elderly locals are celebrating St Nikolaos of Myra in December and they are not agreeing to venerate Him in May. For

youngsters it does not matter. For local women inviting guests on 24th of May means endless cleaning of the house, cooking, doing dishes etc. They treasure the possibility to go partying well dressed, to enjoy music, free food and meeting friends on 4th of September. In this small town the work is still “divided” between man and women and any escape from routine is welcomed.

A few local peddlers are always presented at the feast. They offer cheap jewelry, toys and some sweets. Thus they add festive emotions especially for kids.



Fig. 14. The kids from the Center for family type child care dressed in folk costumes

NGOs

The non-profit organizations in Zlataritsa have a specific profile according to towns' age structure. There are a Club of Pensioners, Hunting and Fishing

Society „Falcon 1884“, Club of former Army and Police Officers, National Movement of Russophiles, “Homeland” Association. Members of those organizations are predominantly pensioners. Some of them participate in two or three clubs or associations. Most of them had successful careers during communist rule which keeps alive in them strong nostalgia related to socialism, Sovietophilia (Russo-philia) and strong local patriotism. Former Mayor Stephan Dobrev is one of very active members of most of organizations. Active pensioners are visible during the feast supporting its organization (Fig. 15).



Fig. 15. The reservists

In 2014 for the first time in the feast took part the Center for Interethnic Dialogue and Tolerance “Amalipe” [friendship - Romanes] based in Veliko Tarnovo. This Center works predominantly for integration of Romany people. Members of “Amalipe” organized an exposition of photos and recipes from the

cuisine of different local groups collected by pupils. Thereby Romany groups are presented by very active and gaining national popularity NGO.

European funds

The project “Development of attractive and effective regional product – touristic destination Elena-Lyaskovets-Zlataritsa” under Operational Programme “Regional development” 2007–2013 “is already completed, cofinanced by EU through the European Regional Development Fund and by Republic of Bulgaria state budget. The total value of the project is 463 593, 20 lev.⁹⁾ Important goal of this project is to restore “old traditional cuisine” supporting local feasts. As it was mentioned Zlataritsa municipality used the money for improving the festive place.

The organization of Gardeners’ soup fest gives chance for development of gourmet tourism. But there is no evidence for those 9 years that this is a goal of the feast. There is no hotel in Zlataritsa. The few small and not prosperous restaurants offer standardized menus not including Gardeners’ soup in their lists. There is not souvenirs industry. I did not register long lasting regular publicity, nor development of year around activities which could possibly invite stable tourist flow. Even those inhabitants of nearest big city who could possibly visit the feast have no information until media broadcasts and it is too late to travel. Yet the locals know where is located the feast but even on 4th of September are no road signs to lead potential tourists as par example they do for the annual Rock fest in neighboring village of Mindja. Even only those facts are enough to state that the Gardeners’ soup feast is not a part of schemes for development of gourmet tourism. Therefore, this proves that development of any kind of tourism is not a goal for local authorities.

Some outcomes from the first nine years

It is very challenging to explore a vivid and very dynamic feast. Still the first nine years' observation draws clearly some tendencies. Despite it was created and it functions mainly in the field of political, aiming to gain electorate the festival integrates different ethnic groups. During years first awards were granted to representatives of different groups from different villages and the town. The Jury never tolerated one or another group. The festival proposes positive identity, deep roots and feelings of equality between different groups and persons.

The famous guests and media coverage made the festival nation-wide popular. Maybe the politicians succeeded in their efforts to gain electorate. Still I state that the most important result is the integration of multicultural micro-society. Here again I agree with Lavenda (1991) who states:

[I]n conclusion, the public culture created by community festivals is a contested and contestable culture, a field of both political and cultural forces, constituted by events satisfying different tastes and subject to the play of varying interests. But festivals as public events par excellence are accented by the communities in which they are found.

At 2015 Pencho Chanev was elected again. The founder of the feast, Stephan Dobrev invented another feast in 2008. He named it „Pickles and brandy.” This relatively unknown feast connects mainly pensioners who produce vegetables and homemade brandy and serves its integrational functions for that part of local society.

NOTES

1. Subjects of current study are the changes in the redistribution of social roles at the turn of century, particularly in making decisions at different levels, the changes

in lifestyle and fashion, and the changes in the stereotypes of the people of Zlataritsa from this period and its effect on communal life.

2. http://btvnovinite.bg/video/789128027-Praznik_na_gradinarskata_chorba.html
<http://btvnovinite.bg/video/video/tazi-sutrin/dnes-e-praznik-na-gradinarskata-chorba.html>
<http://btvnovinite.bg/video/video/news/praznik-na-chorbata-vav-velikotarnoskiya-grad-zlataritsa.html>

<http://ekcarevec.com/view.php?id=3616%20%E2%80%93%202014>

<http://bnt.bg/news/obshtestvo/den-na-gradinarskata-chorba-v-zlataritsa>

3. <http://www.dnesbg.com/goeshti-novini/polititsi-roniha-salzi-i-beliha-luk-i-kartofi-na-praznika-na-gradinarskata-tchorba-v-zlataritsa.html>

4. <http://www.dnesbg.com/obshtestvo/kandidati-za-kmetove-ryazaha-morkovi-zlatartchani-variha-gradinarska-tchorba.html>

5. <http://www.blitz.bg/news/article/220391>

6. <http://pazitelnatradiciite.com/?p=1008>

7. MRF was pronounced as ethnic party representing Turks and Bulgarian Muslims.

8. <http://sedianka.org/> - *Sedyanka* in folk traditions means festive gathering of young people in the village. Young girls are working (spinning, embroidering etc.) while young man are entertaining them.

9. http://www.njoy.bg/bg/news/view/17824/kak_promenihme_bylgarija/

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✉ Prof. Dr. Margarita Karamihova
 Department of Early-Modern and Modern Bulgarian History
 St. Cyril and St. Methodius university of Veliko Turnovo
 2, T. Tarnovski Str.
 5003 Veliko Turnovo, Bulgaria
 E-Mail: karamihova_m@abv.bg

