

ISSN 1732-4254 quarterly

BULLETIN OF GEOGRAPHY. SOCIO-ECONOMIC SERIES

journal homepages:

<http://www.bulletinofgeography.umk.pl/>
<http://wydawnictwoumk.pl/czasopisma/index.php/BGSS/index>
<http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/bog>

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Between sacralization and festivalization of public spaces: a case study of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings in Poland

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How to cite:

Przybylska, L., 2015: Between sacralization and festivalization of public spaces: a case study of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings in Poland. In: Szymańska, D. and Rogatka, K. editors, *Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series*, No. 27, Toruń: Nicolaus Copernicus University, pp. 171–180. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/bog-2015-0011>

Abstract. The purpose of the paper is the identification and interpretation of the dynamically developing contemporary mass event called the Cavalcade of the Three Kings (*Orszak Trzech Króli*). It was organised for the first time in 2009 in Warsaw. On the 6th of January 2014, about 630,000 inhabitants of 177 towns and villages, singing Christmas carols and wearing colourful crowns on their heads, publically celebrated the religious feast of Epiphany. In the author's opinion, the cavalcades can be perceived as a new phenomenon in public spaces placed between sacralization and festivalization because they have some components of religious events and festivals but they are neither. They seem to be a new hybrid event, with religious and festive elements.

Article details:

Received: 16 November 2013

Revised: 14 May 2014

Accepted: 11 December 2014

Key words:

cavalcades,
festivalization,
Poland,
sacralization,
Three Kings.

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1. Introduction

In the author's opinion, the public celebration of Epiphany, known colloquially as Three Kings' Day, can be interpreted in many different ways. The author has observed many different attitudes to this phenomenon. For some people, the event is a fantastic idea; many others, however, have mixed feelings. Sometimes the Cavalcade of the Three Kings is called 'the Way of the Cross with carol singers' and it is perceived as a new, bizarre custom. The author has found on the Internet many other names given to the cavalcade, e.g. march, parade, fair, secular feast or festival. Thus, there is a problem of how to define these cavalcades: are they religious events? or are they cultural events, embedded in the Biblical context? Secondly, what is the most adequate synonym for the cavalcades: are they processions, festivals, marches or perhaps something else? Finally, there is the question why they became popular in the 21st century in Poland.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze and interpret this new mass event in Poland called the Cavalcade of the Three Kings (*Orszak Trzech Króli*). The research was based both on quantitative and qualitative measures, including a cartographic presentation of the phenomenon. The documents downloaded from the website of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings were the basic source of information on the scale of the phenomenon (Orszak Trzech Króli, 2014). The following two paragraphs present the social science and theological literature, in the author's opinion, that is necessary to understand the nature and history of the cavalcades in Poland. In the third part of the paper, the course of the cavalcades taking place on 6th of January in Polish towns and villages is described. Then, the dynamic development of the phenomenon in time and space is analyzed in the period of 2009-2014. Finally, the paper offers an interpretation of the phenomenon.

2. Theoretical background

The phenomenon of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings can be perceived as a visible sign of the return of visual culture or, on the other hand, as an

example of the coexistence of some old customs and the modern phenomenon called the festivalization of culture. According to the Foundation of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings (Orszak Trzech Króli, 2013), it is assumed to be a direct continuation of the old tradition of annual rites and customs called nativity plays. However, the modern way of celebrating Three Kings' Day has some features of modern festivals. Most festivals contain music, but not all festivals are music festivals (Ronström, 2011). The same applies to the Cavalcade. It contains religious components, but it is not a liturgical assembly with priests praying according to officially registered church formulas. Secondly, everyone can attend. It is not obligatory, too. Moreover, many cavalcades have artistic directors designing them in detail.

Festival is an old phenomenon in Europe. The word is derived from Latin *fešta* and *festivus* (Ronström, 2011). There are a number of words in the same family - *feast*, *festivity*, *fest* - that point in the same direction: a suspension of ordinary life, and a focus on expressive forms like clothes, food, music, dance, often with a distinct spiritual component. In older times, most festivals were held under the auspices of the church and were part of the religious calendar. Today, partly because of the explosion of festivals of all kinds all over Europe, a festival could be described, in the words of the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth, as "a vessel of meaning", that can be used in all kinds of ways, and filled with all kinds of contents" (Ronström, 2011: 2).

The term 'festivalization' has become popular among scholars to interpret the development of festivals at the turn of the 21st century (Häußermann, Siebel, 1993, 1998). Understood as the expression of a new urban policy and celebration of cultural and social elements, including the religious ones which unify social groups, festivals are the subject of research conducted by scholars from many scientific disciplines (Hitters, 2007; Karpińska-Krakowiak, 2009; Rasmussen, 2010; Cudny, 2011; Ronström, 2011; Kuligowski, 2013). The author of this paper considers festivalization in a broad sense as the incorporation of elements characteristic for festivals into new events. Festivalization can be perceived either dynamically, as a process, or statically, as an effect of the occurrence of numerous festivals or festival-related events in public spaces.

The general idea of a festival is about organizing, artistic events, mostly periodical, frequently combined with the convention of a contest. Festivals offer to their spectators a variety of forms and possibilities to celebrate, as well as to animate and dramatize the world around them (Karpińska-Kraskowiak, 2009). Festivals are used to attract people. There is a number of factors that motivate the public to participate in festivals. The reasons may be social: external group interaction and socialization, a sense of belonging to the community, entertainment, relaxation, event excitement or unusual experience; educational, including cultural exploration, building up knowledge and professional skills, emotional development, curiosity, event novelty; or, finally, familial: family integration, known-group socialization, spending one's leisure time together with relatives (Karpińska-Kraskowiak, 2009). Festivals are important 'as collective' manifestations in an era of growing individualism (Ronström, 2011: 9).

Marching is a part of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings in Poland. The term 'march' evokes some associations with other forms of marches, which have become popular since the end of the 1990s. They are organized by many different groups of people or organizations which want to attract some attention to the problems they consider important. For instance, in many cities there is the Pink Ribbon Walk organized in order to popularize breast cancer prevention (in Warsaw since 1998), a yearly meeting of women named Christine has also a march in its program, in 2013 the 13th Herring March through the Puck Bay took place. In the 21st century, the so called Marches for Life are becoming more and more popular. Referring to Kałucki's (2011) term 'trailmania' (*szlakomania*), and simplifying the phenomenon of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings, it can be stated that the cavalcades are visible signs of 'marchmania' – a process whose origins are connected with some deep changes in both secular and religious culture. Those marches can be perceived as some new forms of creating communities based on the same values and opinions in contrast to traditional communities based on the place of residence or blood ties. Surprisingly, in the age of the Internet, supposedly the age of disappearing social ties and traditions, some new customs are established which unite people. Marching and singing are used

to symbolize group cohesion, strength, vitality, and community unity. 'To set everything in motion was the core of modernity, moving forward became highly valued, to stand still meant stagnation and death' (Ronström, 2011: 9).

The phenomenon of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings can be also perceived as a visible sign of the return of religion to public spaces. Czepczyński (2012) states that sacralization, historization, aestheticization and animation are new socio-spatial processes that can be noticed in small towns of the Pomorskie voivodship, and that sacralization is the most vivid and dynamic one. It is expressed by locating and renovating figures of saints, crosses, papal monuments or plagues in central parts of a town like a marketplace. However, he does not define sacralization. In the author's opinion, the process of sacralization could be defined as the rise of visibility of religion-related objects and events in public spaces. In other words, it is landscape sacralization or visual manifestation of religion in landscape. Studies conducted by the author in different parts of Poland in recent years prove that it is a process that occurs in the whole country, not limited to one province or small municipal units (Przybylska, forthcoming). Apart from the above-mentioned "architectural sacralization" seen in figures and temples, we can distinguish a temporal one, observed in new and old religion-related rituals taking place in public spaces, e. g. open air services, some festivals, and races. What they have in common is the ephemeral existence in landscape and the engagement of different senses of observers or followers. Concluding, sacralization is perceived in this paper as it is understood by some scholars (Ostwalt, 2003), including human geographers (Matlovič, 2000; Klima, 2011; Czepczyński, 2012) who emphasize spatial aspects of any phenomena, and therefore treat sacralization as an effect of homo religiosus activity in space. The cavalcades, however, can be studied from the anthropological point of view, implementing for instance Erving Goffman's, Victor Turner's and Arnold van Gennep's theories of rituals and rites of passage (Chałupnik et al. 2010; Goffman, 2011).

If cavalcades are religion-based events, there is the question whether they can be considered as procession. Procession is defined in the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (2014) as "organized group or line of people or vehicles that move together slowly as

part of a ceremony". In a narrower sense of proceeding, the term is used in the technical language of theology, and it refers to a limited group of rituals accompanied by priests. In the theological sense, the cavalcades are not processions, but in a broader sense they can be perceived in this manner. In 2013, the author of this paper found the term "the Processions of the Three Kings" and "the Foundation of the Three Kings" in not existing anymore English version of the Foundation of the Cavalcades of the Three Kings' website (Orszak Trzech Króli, 2013). The words procession and cavalcade seem to be synonymous because a cavalcade means "a line of riders, vehicles, etc., moving along in the same direction; a procession of riders or carriages" (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, 2014). The word cavalcade was chosen in this paper because of the strict religious connotation of the word procession in theology and in Polish, as well as the historical usage in the event called the **Cavalcade of Magi** in the 19th century, mentioned in the next section.

3. Historical background of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings

Three Kings' Day is a customary name of the Christian holly day of God's Revelation, called also Epiphany, which is celebrated on the 6th of January in the Roman Catholic Church in order to commemorate the day when God revealed Himself to people through his messiah, *Jesus* of Nazareth. The Gospel of St. Matthew says that "magi from the east" (The New American Bible, 2014: Matthew 2: 1), called also the Kings or Wise Men, came to Bethlehem to worship Christ, bearing gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh. Although the Bible does not mention the number of people "they" or "the Magi" refers to, the three gifts have led to the widespread assumption that there were three men traditionally named Casper, Melchior and Balthazar.

Epiphany is one of the oldest Christian feasts celebrated as early as in the 3rd century in the East and in the 4th century in the West (Nadolski, 2013). For Western Christians, the feast primarily commemorates the coming of the Magi. On the 6th of January, Eastern churches celebrate the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan. In both traditions, however, the es-

sence of the feast is the same: the manifestation of Christ to the world, whether as an infant or in the Jordan, and the Mystery of God's Incarnation. Christians believe that absolute God's revelation is fulfilled in Jesus Christ (Perszon, 2014). Epiphany belongs to Christmas Time in liturgical calendar. While Christmas is a holly day which emphasises the historical fact of Jesus' birth on Earth, Epiphany is a celebration of His revelation to pagans, and in the Magi, metaphorically, to all nations. The Biblical Magi are "the symbol of the whole human kind looking for the messiah" (Sroka, 2013: 227). Thus, Epiphany emphasises the messianic role of the ecclesiastical community, too.

Three Kings' Day has been embedded in liturgy and folklore. The traditions that have developed over the centuries comprise: house blessings, blessings of Jordan Water, blessings of frankincense, gold, and chalk, announcement of the date of Easter, and dramas (Nadolski, 2013). The latter initially were liturgical ones played during holly masses in churches. There were "processions with stations like Magi in the east, Jerusalem, the way to Bethlehem, the crib, angel's warning, coming back, Herod's reaction" (Nadolski, 2013: 193). For centuries, Epiphany was also linked to nativity plays or "Herod shows". Initially, they were popular in Italy and later in France. In Spanish-speaking countries a new custom of parade has emerged. It is the Magi ride through the streets. The first documented celebration of this kind, known as the **Cavalcade of Magi**, dates back to 1866 and it took place in Alcoy. It is considered to be the oldest known cavalcade not only in Spain, but in the whole world (Spanish Fiesta: Cavalcade of Magi, 2013); Three Kings' Day customarily initiates the Carnival period.

Today, we can observe different customs associated with the feast of Epiphany all over the world, too. Poland is not an exception. Nonetheless, the proliferation of the new custom in the period of several years in the 21st century is worth scholars' attention. The Cavalcades of the Three Kings took place for the first time in Warsaw in 2009, on Sunday preceding Three Kings' Day. This initiative emerged in Warsaw "Zagle" Catholic School managed by the "Sternik" Association and soon it has become a nationwide event (Orszak Trzech Króli, 2013).

4. Epiphany as a public space event

The Cavalcade of the Three Kings is a kind of street nativity play combined with a street parade. The event runs in three dimensions: spiritual, artistic and charitable. People sing carols together and perform in plays connected with Jesus' birthday. There is also a competition for the prettiest Christmas Crib. For example, in Zielona Góra the event starts at noon with a mass in Holy Savior Church and then some carol singers go along the Niepodległości Avenue to the main square. Afterwards, everybody worships the Infant Jesus in the Crib next to the city hall. In Wrocław citizens meet on the square in front of the cathedral and go to the Main Square, where the crowd sings carols, worships the Holy Family and prays.

Not only colorfully dressed people take part in the Cavalcade of the Three Kings, but also an orchestra and even animals. The crowd follows the three people dressed up as the Three Kings symbolizing three continents – Europe, Asia and Africa. Those people are usually priests or other representatives of the local society organizing the procession. Sometimes they are representatives of local authorities as in Dzierżoniowo, where in 2013 the Three Kings were the city mayor, the commune head and the owner of a local publishing company. During the ceremony paper crowns and songbooks are given to people.

It has to be pointed out that cavalcades are held along the main streets. Those streets are not only important as parts of communication systems, but they also have a historical and symbolic meaning, and they are perceived as prestigious by citizens and are well-known by tourists from other parts of Poland, e.g. Krupówki in Zakopane, Krakowskie Przedmieście in Warsaw, Piotrowska Street in Łódź or Świętojańska Street in Gdynia.

During the celebration of Three Kings' Day in many Polish cities money is raised by the New Millennium Foundation sponsoring scholarships for talented students or by other organizations chosen by a city or a village which organizes the cavalcade. In 2012, in Warsaw, volunteers of the above-mentioned foundation raised 18 000 PLN. This amount of money equals six yearly scholarships (Orszak

Trzech Króli, 2013). Everyone who donates the foundation is given a sticker with a logo of the event.

The Cavalcade of the Three Kings fulfills the above-mentioned criteria of a festival: it is periodical, with a variety of forms, including contest, animation and dramatization of the world around it (Karpieńska-Krakowiak, 2009). During the processions, traditional and current symbols are merged, which allows us to see that the events from 2000 years ago are still relevant for the modern man. The form of march accompanied by music and interrupted occasionally by street performances is a kind of animation. The biblical story of Jesus, The Magi and King Herod involves the theme of the universal battle between evil and goodness. The Christmas crib contest which accompanies the celebration on Three Kings' Day is one the above-mentioned festival elements, too. According to Cudny's (2011) classification of festivals, the Cavalcade of the Three Kings can be called regular and large-scale.

For some people the Cavalcade is a form of ludic performance, a street fair or a colorful festival like many other feasts that take place in public spaces in Poland and in the world these days. For others, it is a part of the so-called new evangelization. The organizers of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings have commented on the celebration in 2013: "The Word of God, carols and deep faith have finally returned to public spaces. We have taken an advantage of the opportunity to show beautiful Polish families who cultivate the traditions and faith of their ancestors and bring up their children worthily. Poland and the whole world could see the cheerful and hopeful face of Christianity represented by 250 000 people taking part in the Cavalcade despite bad weather conditions." (Orszak Trzech Króli, 2013). The above-mentioned quotation is the evidence that Cavalcades of Three Kings in Poland are not only cultural events but religious ones as well. What is more, in the author's opinion, they can be classified as a good example of temporal sacralization of public spaces. The Cavalcades of Three Kings sanctify public spaces by means of Christmas carols and drama, which retell the story, the Good News described in St. Matthew's Gospel about the birth of Jesus, the redeemer of all nations.

5. Organizers and participants

In 2012, a thriving Foundation of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings was established in Warsaw. Its main aim is to restore Epiphany to public spaces and spread the family and community values. It can be stated that the Foundation of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings plays an integrating role because it helps other towns and villages organizing the cavalcades and it even organizes some nationwide programs to train local leaders. For example, in 2013 such workshops took place in Niepołomice (28th September), Wrocław (12th October) and Warsaw (26th October) (Orszak Trzech Króli, 2013). The scope of the Foundation's activity can be assessed on the basis of data on the amount of souvenirs given out to people downloaded from its website. In 2012, the Foundation gave out 80,000 paper crowns and 60,000 songbooks to the organizers of the cavalcades in the whole country. A year later, 400,000 songbooks and crowns, 500,000 stickers and 1,500 flags were given out.

In Poland, there are also other co-organizers and numerous bodies responsible for celebrations of Three Kings' Day in public spaces. In Warsaw, the *Municipal Office of the Capital City of Warsaw is a co-organizer of the procession, and local bishops and authorities have taken honorary patronage over the event. Local organizers of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings are different institutions, organizations and other bodies. They are parishes as in Dobromierz (a village in the Dolnośląskie voivodship), cooperating schools and parishes as in Grębocin (a village in the Kujawsko-pomorskie voivodship), parishes, and schools in cooperation with a municipal office as in Jarosław (Podkarpackie voivodship), or the Knights of Columbus as in Starachowice (Świętokrzyskie voivodship).*

Schools, families, representatives of local authorities, artists, and clergymen of the Roman Catholic Church take part in the event. It must be emphasized that the number of people celebrating this special day with the Foundation is constantly increasing. The first Warsaw cavalcade gathered 5000 people, who went along the streets of the Old Town. One year later, there were 10 000 spectators and participants. The Old Town streets appeared to be too narrow for the crowd, so in 2011 the route was

changed. It was much longer and it started at Castle Square and finished at Piłsudski Square. 20,000 people celebrated that year (Table 1).

Table 1. The Cavalcades of the Three Kings in the years 2009-2014 in Poland

Year	Cities and towns	Villages	Estimated number of participants
2009	1	0	5,000
2010	1	0	10,000
2011	6	0	20,000
2012	23	1	100,000
2013	81	11	250,000
2014	157	20	630,000

Source: own study based on Orszak Trzech Króli (2014)

In 2011, there were also cavalcades in Poznań, Wrocław, Kraków, Szczecin and Gdańsk. In 2012, colorful and singing processions went through 24 towns and villages. It has been estimated that over 100 000 people took part in these events that year. One year later – 250 000. On the 6th of January 2013, the event was organized in 92 Polish towns and villages. In 2014, it was estimated that as many as 630 000 people took part in cavalcades in 177 towns and villages in Poland. Additionally, since 2013 the Polish Foundation has been the patron of some cavalcades abroad. In 2013, there were 6 events in Spain, Ukraine, the UK and in the Central African Republic, and a year later 10 processions in the USA, the UK, Ruanda, Ukraine, Italy and Germany.

It must be emphasized that the Cavalcade of the Three Kings potentially fulfills the majority of the above-mentioned social, educational and familial motivations for festival participation (Karpińska-Krakowiak, 2009). In 2012, the Foundation of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings was awarded Tulips of National Life Day in the cultural category in the competition for the best artistic activity, which underlines the significance of the family in social and personal life (Marsze dla życia i rodziny, 2013).

6. Spatial diversity

Despite its messiness, it is worth to pay attention to the incredible spread of this new custom.

It emerged in 2009 as a school initiative and then it became an urban event. Two years later, it became popular in five other large cities. In 2012, as many as 24 cities and villages celebrated publically Three Kings' Day; in most voivodships there was at least one locality. In 2013 the number of places with the procession grew again, up to 92. It has become popular abroad and on other continents, too. It must be emphasized that the list of the cities organizing the cavalcades on the Foundation website contains some incorrect data on the number of the localities (in the year 2013, in fact, 98, not 97) and on their status. In 2013, eleven of the ninety-two so-called cities of cavalcades (*miasta orszakowe*) are, in fact, villages. Similarly in 2014, 20 villages are not excluded in a separate category but listed together with "associated cities and towns".

Considering various phenomena in space, geographers are particularly interested in the urban-rural dichotomy and the differentiation according to regions. Firstly, the Cavalcades of the Three Kings are mainly urban events. In 2013, 82 cities, which is 9% of all Polish cities, cooperated with the Foundation of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings. In 2014, the percentage of cities engaged in the cavalcades rose to 17%. In 2012, only a Kaszubian village – Dziemiąny – joined the group of places cooperating with the Foundation. However, in 2013, 10 other villages joined this group, and that is why in the period of 2012-2013 rural areas had higher (20-times) growth dynamics of the discussed phenomenon than urban areas (4-times). In 2014, there were 20 villages organizing cavalcades.

When taking the administrative division of the country into consideration, the largest number of towns, cities and villages where the Cavalcade took place was in the Dolnośląskie voivodship (as many as 21 in 2013 and 27 in 2014). In other regions this number did not exceed 10 in 2013, and was much more differentiated in 2014. It is noticeable that the phenomenon is more popular in south-western part of the country than in northern regions (fig. 1). Wielkopolskie voivodship featured the highest growth in the years 2013-2014 (from 9 to 25 cavalcades). The idea of public celebration of Epiphany invented by the Foundation of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings did not meet with the approval in the neighboring Lubuskie voivodship (no places).

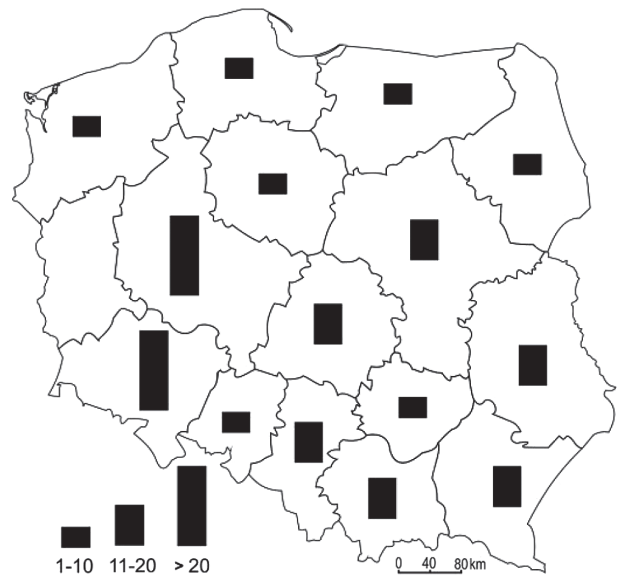


Fig. 1. Cavalcades of the Three Kings in 2014

Source: Own study based on Orszak Trzech Króli (2014)

However, it has to be emphasized that, in fact, there are more towns, cities and villages which publicly celebrated Three Kings' Day than the website of the Foundation states (Orszak Trzech Króli, 2014). Sometimes local organizers do not want to cooperate with the Foundation or they do not know about the initiative. In Łódź, Kielce, Zielona Góra and Toruń, Three Kings' Day is celebrated in a similar way although those cities do not cooperate with the Foundation and that is why they are not on the Foundation's lists (Orszak Trzech Króli, 2014). In 2013 in Zielona Góra, the procession called II Lubuski Orszak Trzech Króli (*the Second Lubuski Cavalcade of the Three Kings*) took place and the participants were wearing paper crowns made by pupils of local schools. Toruń has a longer tradition of celebrating Three Kings' Day. In 2010, there was a colorful procession with some participants from Spanish Pamplona, characters from fairy tales, historic cars, orchestras and exotic animals. Some of the cities and villages have started to cooperate with the Foundation although earlier they had organized cavalcades on their own. Opole is an example of such a city – in 2013 it began to cooperate with the Foundation but one year earlier The Roman Catholic Diocese of Opole had organized the public celebration of Epiphany.

The author has assessed that in the period of 2012-2014 the vast majority of the cavalcades of

the 6th of January were organized in cooperation with the Foundation of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings. Taking only the voivodship cities under consideration, in 2013 more than a half of them cooperated with the Foundation. They were: Białystok, Gdańsk and Szczecin in northern Poland, Warszawa and Poznań in central Poland, and Wrocław, Opole, Katowice, Kraków, Lublin and Rzeszów in southern Poland. When analyzing some local news channels, the author has noticed that additionally in Łódź, Kielce, Zielona Góra and Toruń some public nativity plays were organized on the 6th of January; however, the cities did not cooperate with the Foundation. In 2013, only three out of eighteen capitals of voivodships did not celebrate Three Kings' Day at all (Olsztyn, Bydgoszcz and Gorzów Wielkopolski). In 2014, Olsztyn and Bydgoszcz joined the Foundation's Cavalcade and, according to the Foundation's website, Gorzów Wielkopolski is going to organize the cavalcade in 2015.

The phenomenon of the Cavalcade of the Three Kings can be analyzed in the context of the *diffusion of innovations*, which is present from the very beginning of the human history and which concerns the process of spreading ideas, behavior patterns and inventions. People meeting each other are a subject of this process (Wolaniuk, 2010). Diffusion is a process when innovations are distributed by appropriate channels to members of a given social system. The innovation can be an idea, an activity, a thing or an item which is perceived as new by the people who adopt it. The Cavalcade of the Three Kings can also be perceived as a kind of innovation. This interpretation deserves a separate scholarly article.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the described event has become more popular since the 6th of January is a bank holiday in Poland. In 2011, when the 6th of January returned to the calendar of non-working days after 51 years of being just a normal working day, 5 cities caught the idea of organizing the Cavalcade. It is clearly visible that this ordinance of public administration has influenced the development of public celebrations. A. Bilska-Wodecka (2012: 220) notices: "The division of the secular and sacred time is a simple result of human religiosity, principles of a given religious association and ordinances of the public administration".

7. Conclusion

The quantitative analyses of the event called the Cavalcade of the Three Kings proved it is a new all-Poland mass event in public spaces. What is more, it is a dynamically developing enterprise as it started in Warsaw and in the years 2009-2014 it became popular in almost 200 localities including some abroad. The paper clearly showed it is a multidimensional phenomenon which runs in three dimensions: spiritual, artistic and charitable. It is a modern continuation of nativity plays in a popular form of marches at the beginning of the 21st century. It mirrors contemporary tendencies in culture (festivalization) and religion (new evangelization). The Cavalcade proves that religion is increasing in significance in many parts of the world contrary to generally assumed, until the early 1990s, the secularization process of modernized societies (Davie, 2013). One must not forget about the political determinant of the phenomenon in Polish context: the Great Transformation in 1989 which initiated all sociospatial changes, including the establishment of Three Kings' Day to be a day off in Poland in 2011.

Concluding, in the author's opinion, the Cavalcade of the Three Kings is modern manifestation of religion in public spaces and a kind of festivalization of life and even religion itself in order to remain relevant for the modern man. Moreover, it is assumed to be a form of temporal sacralization of public spaces in Poland. In the author's opinion the Cavalcade can be perceived as a new hybrid event with elements of religion and festival, a kind of religious festival or mass cultural gathering. Thus, the Cavalcade of the Three Kings deserves a notion "between sacralization and festivalization" because it has some elements of religious events and festivals, but it is precisely none of them. The sacred coexists with the profane. It is a kind of secular-sacred dialogue, as observed for instance by Ostwalt (2003) in North America.

Note

- (1) This paper is part of research project „Sacralization of public spaces in Poland”. It has

been sponsored by the Polish National Science Centre according to decision number DEC-2011/03/B/HS1/00394.

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