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BOŻENA GIEREK AND WOJCIECH KOSIOR
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Chapter 2.

THE SWISS CARNIVALS OF PAYERNE AND LAUSANNE: PLACE-MAKING BETWEEN THE *MISE EN SCÈNE* OF SELF AND THE OTHER(S)

Monika Salzbrunn

ABSTRACT: The Swiss cities of Lausanne and Payerne are growing increasingly diverse, with 42% and 38% of their populations comprised of foreign residents respectively. How does this diversity impact festive traditions as well as the way cultural self-identification is put on stage? The *Brandons de Payerne*, a local carnival that has been celebrated 120 times since 1870, tends to put the imagined other on stage (the French, the Roma, *etc.*). These celebrations are strongly interconnected with city life, history and governance. Whereas several floats in the past expressed ambiguous messages and stereotypes of particular groups, in 2017, a giant swimming pool with women wearing burkinis was meant to symbolize a message for tolerance. The aim of the present chapter is to analyze the way representations of alterity are performed in Payerne. In the last part of this chapter, I provide a counter-example of a different, more recent festive event in order to highlight my findings by contrasting them with a case where certain groups do not perform the other but themselves during carnival: In Lausanne, the picture is slightly different and the carnival tradition more recent. A *Fête du Soleil* was invented in 1982 and became in 1996 the *Carnaval de Lausanne*. Responding to a general European demand for exoticism, the organizers have incorporated immigrant groups as such, turning the initial classic carnivalesque Othering by masquerades into a reification of the (invented) Self.

KEYWORDS: *Brandons*, carnival, Othering, performance, place-making, wordplay

INTRODUCTION: CARNIVAL AS A MOMENT OF PLACE-MAKING AND *MISE EN SCÈNE* OF SELF AND THE OTHER(S)

Feasts are a mirror of social and cultural changes over space and time¹ and have a transformative potential for both individuals and societies, as the

¹ See the introduction to the present volume.

anthropological literature has shown.² Often, parties create an arena in which participants commit to change or maintain the *status quo*. The subversive potential of carnival has been discussed over decades in the literature on festive events: is the possibility of turning the world upside down for a couple of days a year sufficient to nourish political action outside this liminal situation (Turner 1969), or are critique, irony, and mockery (Bakhtin [1965] 1968) permitted by secular and religious leaders in order to maintain a peaceful social order the rest of the year? The performance that is part of the feast, and its rituals, change over time and space and become reinvented (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983) under the influence of the public. In late-modern societies, the question remains as to which potentially paradoxical forms the continuous need for rituals takes today (Caduff & Pfaff-Czarnecka 1999), and how it is transformed through the participation of new actors, namely in a context of migration and a growing diversity of populations.

The present chapter deals with place-making and the *mise en scène*—staging of Self and the Other during carnival. How do the protagonists of the carnivals present themselves through costumes, rituals, discourses, publications, jokes, and performances, and how do they represent other people, like immigrants, neighboring countries, politicians, *etc.*? Which changes can be observed over time? Besides analyzing the way representations of alterity are performed in Payerne, I provide a counter-example of a different, more recent festive event, in order to highlight my findings by contrasting them with a case where certain groups do not perform the Other but themselves: the carnival of Lausanne.

The two Swiss cities of Lausanne and Payerne are becoming increasingly diverse, with respectively 42% and 38% of their populations of foreign residents (compared to 22% overall in Switzerland). How does this *de facto* diversity impact each festive tradition as well as the way cultural self-identification is put on stage?

During six years' fieldwork, I have observed different ways of place-making. Place-making includes the way people imagine their space of living in symbolic and material terms. I consider carnival or, in the case of Payerne, the *Brandons*, as a means of strengthening the inhabitants' link to their city. The *Brandons de Payerne*, a local carnival that has already been celebrated 120 times over more than a century, tends to put the imagined Other on stage

² For an overview, cf. Salzbrunn (2011, 2014) and other chapters of the catalog of the MUCEM exhibition "Le Monde à l'envers," 2014.

(the French, the Roma, the Chinese, *etc.*). Furthermore, local political scandals and issues (linked to big wine producers or to the purchase of weapons by the federal government) are subject to irony and denunciation during the processions or in the carnival journal. These celebrations are strongly interconnected with city life and governance, *e.g.*, the founding member of the organizing committee of the *Brandons* was the city's mayor, and the guide of the local historical abbey played a central role. During the main procession, which attracts between 13,000 and 18,000 spectators (for a city of 9,388 inhabitants), the historical city center is closed and one must pay a fee for entrance into this privatized space. Media pay considerable attention to the ongoing events, which are dominated by the Swiss tradition of *Guggenmusik*.³ Whereas several floats in the past expressed ambiguous messages and negative stereotypes with regard to particular groups, especially the Roma and the French, in 2017, a giant swimming pool with women wearing burkinis was meant to symbolize a global message of peace and tolerance.

In the cantonal capital of Lausanne, the picture is slightly different and the carnival tradition more recent. In 1982 a group of local residents invented a *Fête du Soleil* (Festival of the Sun), which in 1996 evolved into the *Carnaval de Lausanne*. Responding to a general European demand for exoticism and folklore, the organizers incorporated immigrant groups as such, turning the initial classic carnivalesque Othering by masquerades into a reification of the (invented) Self.

CREATING COMMUNITAS THROUGH CARNIVAL?

In the history of anthropology, there are various definitions of the terms related to the analysis of festive events; for example, in 1997 German anthropologist Klaus-Peter Köpping pointed out the complexity of the term “feast” and the problem of its differentiation from “ritual.” He also noted that the question of the transformative potential of such events was still a moot point in the social sciences. Ritual times and leisure periods are defined differently depending on the historical context. During the 5th century, feasts were

³ Music played by carnival marching bands (percussion, flutes, various brass instruments) who wear costumes, particularly popular during Swiss-Alemanic and Swabian-Alemanic carnivals. The word *Gugge* seems to be derived from ‘bag,’ used to designate a child’s trumpet. Cf. *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* at <https://digital.idiotikon.ch/idtkn/id2.htm#!page/20181/mode/1up>

already considered a “completion of leisure, thus leisure was separated from sacred time” (1997: 106). When it comes to the religious legitimation of a feast, its concept is close to the definition of a ritual (Köpping 1997: 106).

For the purpose of this study, the assumption that feasts possess a transformative potential, which can occur thanks to the participating public, is of particular interest. Following this reflection, I consider *carnival* as a variety of feasts which have a transformative potential thanks to the participating public. The frontiers between participants who are part of the processions and the participating public standing aside are fuzzy and situational, so that roles can be shifted and spectators can be part of the performance. Nevertheless, there are carnivals that draw a clear line between protagonists and spectators,⁴ especially recently in Nice, where spectators were made to buy tickets, submit to strict security checks, and remain in restricted areas in which their behavior was controlled by security and organizational staff (Salzbrunn 2011, 2014). This kind of carnival, which should instead be described as a spectacle or consumption-oriented mega-event, is subject to harsh critique due to its restrictive framing of the event.⁵

As mentioned above, Köpping (1997) discusses the problem posed by distinguishing between the (secular) feast and the (sacred) rite and highlights many commonalities between the two domains: derision of the meaning of sacred texts and symbols by the Christians themselves, which was very common in the medieval culture of festivals, and the temporary transgression of norms and rules, or taboos, in the current social practice, also outside

⁴ The distinction made between protagonists and spectators depends on the context and disposition of the specific festive event. In Nice, *e.g.*, during the *Bataille des Fleurs* (Flower Battle) and during the main carnival processions, spectators are separated from participants by barriers. The participants are mainly professional street artists or music groups especially engaged for the carnival. As a counter-example, during the independent *Carnaval de la Plaine* (Carnival of the district of la Plaine) of Marseille, the organizers refuse to make a distinction, inviting everybody to join the feast without borders. Nobody is paid to participate since the whole event is self-organized by volunteers. However, people who do not wear masks or costumes have a higher risk of having their faces and clothes covered in flour, as a sign of mockery. In the case of Cologne, spectators mingle before, during, and after the procession with the procession participants, mainly because the large majority of the participants are local volunteers.

⁵ After the end of the official Nice carnival, these criticisms became particularly intense, as the independent participative carnival of the harbor, organized by local associations, was forbidden by the prefect due to security measures—only a couple of hours before it was supposed to begin.

the ritual context. Even though norms can be temporarily transgressed, the consequences of this experience do not necessarily lead to a transformation. Depending on the historical context, feasts operate as events stabilizing or transforming the system. Often, parties create an arena in which participants either commit to change or maintain the status quo. Following his literature analysis of Rabelais and his (Renaissance) world, Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin considered medieval carnival as an event that can generate *communitas* ([1965] 1968). However, if there is a strong border between spectators and actors, the feast is considered as a spectacle rather than a carnival. Indeed, in Bakhtin's definition of carnival, free interaction between people, encounters between disparate groups and elements (misalliances), as well as eccentric behavior are central elements. Nevertheless, Bakhtin's interpretation of carnival, drawn from his lectures on Rabelais' writings, has to be put in the context of his own biography.⁶ Today, the question whether and how *communitas*—or a sense of belonging—is created through carnival is still important.

While there exists controversy within German folkloric studies (Köstlin 1978), more specifically, between Hans Moser (1964, 1982), Dietz-Rüdiger Moser (1993), and Hermann Bausinger (1983),⁷ with regard to whether carnival should be understood as a civil or Christian tradition, French scholar Jacques Heers distinguishes between the *Fête des fous*⁸ and carnival (1983). Even though Heers himself considers this separation artificial, he categorizes the *Fête des fous* as belonging to ecclesial and extra-ecclesial, spontaneous, disorderly, and popular feasts (Heers 1983: 298). He interprets carnival, on the other hand, as an aristocratic, secular, deliberate attempt to govern the city. However, the medievalist shies away from a strict separation between

⁶ According to Kinser,

Bakhtin's carnivalesque interpretation of Rabelais's communalism was a supremely political act of communication in the sense in which we have used this phrase. It has more than any other single work dislodged Rabelaisian metatexts from their wonted individualist-humanist assumptions; with respect to Bakhtin's more immediate intellectual context, it has had wide-ranging influence as an effectively disguised voice of protest against Stalinist 'community.' (1990: 248)

⁷ Bausinger criticizes Dietz-Rüdiger Moser for assuming that a sinful life was put on stage during carnival in order to subject it to public ridicule. In Bausinger's opinion, theological sources indicate rather a plethora of ecclesiastical prohibitions and spiritual exhortations that oppose the rude and excessive practice of these customs.

⁸ *Fête des fous* can be translated as "fools' feast." The term *fou* is still in use today, e.g. *Fou du roi* ('jester') or as an adjective ('crazy').

“medieval popular feasts” and “modern carnival” (Heers 1983: 300). Similar to Heers, French anthropologist Daniel Fabre ([1992] 203) makes a distinction between rural, urban, and courtly carnival supported by iconographic and literary sources—beginning with Goethe. Such distinctions between rural and urban spaces, on the one hand, and disorderly popular feasts and celebrations organized as a showcase by political stakeholders, on the other, can still be applied today from an analytical point of view.

French political scientist Denis-Constant Martin (2001) presents methodological and epistemological reflections on comparative carnival studies, arguing that the meaning of social change can be understood through the study of carnival. By applying semiotic analysis, shifting power relations can be studied. Regarding the *Brandons de Payerne* we will indeed discover how dominant political forces have been criticized or ridiculed during carnival. However, as we will see later, the organization of the feast is dominated by a group of people who influence the political, economic, and cultural life of the town (and certain individuals have an impact on the whole region). Therefore, the definition that carnival puts the world upside down, allowing the weak and the powerless to govern the city during a limited time, only partly fits the empirical findings in Payerne. The mockery expressed during the *Brandons de Payerne* allows for hidden political oppositions to appear publicly—if the committee decides to do so.

To conclude this section, we can define the *Brandons* as a carnival-inspired feast, during which sarcastic expression of local oppositions and broader political ideologies is allowed, to a limited extent, albeit mainly controlled by the committee. As we will see later, the transformative potential of the *Brandons* was much higher during the medieval feasts preceding the creation of today's *Brandons de Payerne*, since religious power issues were much more important.

Whereas many anthropological scholars refer to the category of “tradition” as opposed to “modernity,”⁹ and research the maintenance of particular festivals over time, other writers focus on innovative questions, such as gender issues. Thus, studies of festive events, especially carnivals, by young ethnologists and sociologists concentrate on new aspects, such as the impact of heteronormativity. Kerstin Bronner, for example, works on Swiss carnival groups and focuses on spaces for individual agency in the reproduction of

⁹ Cf. Alexander (1994) for a critique on these concepts and related modernization theories.

social belonging—especially in reference to the cultural assignation of gender and heteronormativity. She explains that “around the phenomenon of carnival there exists a vivid culture of associations” (Bronner 2011: 12), but that there has been a lack of research on the “meaning of carnival for the individual, and its influence on biographical processes” (Bronner 2011: 13, translation mine).

The present chapter includes biographical information on an important figure of the *Brandons de Payerne*, Jean-Louis Kaenel, a long-standing member of the carnival committee¹⁰ and for several decades the guide of the Payerne abbey. In fact, the priory of Payerne was founded in the 10th century by monks from Cluny in Burgundy and sponsored by Queen Bertha (907–966), who is now buried in the priory. In 1240 Payerne became a free town. The political history is still present in contemporary jokes that surface during the *Brandons*.

THE BRANDONS DE PAYERNE

In contrast to similar festive events that take place before Easter, the *Brandons de Payerne* have not taken the name of carnival. Etymologically, the word *brandon* signifies “cinder” and refers to the remnants of torches that were burnt during the feast of light. This custom goes back to 1268, when lights were burnt on the first Sunday of Lent (*Invocavit*) in order to celebrate springtime and the arrival of (more) light. The fire was also meant to chase away bad spirits and had a sense of purification (Juriens & Gilland 2011: 16). The first written record of a pagan feast mentions the inversion of power roles: on January 6, 1420, the day of Epiphany, the prior of the abbey of Payerne served wine to the people, who danced day and night. A couple of weeks later, in February, during carnival, the people expressed their opposition to the prior, who represented the power of the monks of Cluny and was therefore a dependent of the Duke of Savoy (Wirz 1997). In 1492, a revolt against the monks took place in Payerne.

The ancient Catholic city of Payerne turned to Protestantism during the Reformation (1536) and the *Brandons* festivities continued during the Catholic Lent period, until the Monday following the *Invocavit* Sunday. In this

¹⁰ My deepest thanks go to Jean-Louis Kaenel, who offered me a whole day for interviewing him although he was already more than 90 years old.

context, the timing of carnival amounted to a provocation of the Catholics, but was also a way to overcome Protestant prohibitions. Until 1867, fire was lit during the *Brandons*; afterwards it was replaced by masquerades. In 1870, the first such procession was organized by the *Comité des Masqués* (CDM, or Masks Committee). In 1895, the first issue of the journal of the *Brandons* was published. Generally, it is released on Saturday during the *Brandons* days. Since then, the journal has been edited by *Plumiers* ('writers'), whose names have always been kept secret. The journal is full of word games and "private jokes" understood only by the local population. On each A3 format page, there are photos and articles about local events, anecdotes or amusing errors committed by local institutions or local people. On the left and right columns are small advertisements for enterprises that have helped finance the journal. These advertisements do not resemble conventional ads but instead are also comprised of funny texts about each firm, restaurant, *etc.* No text is signed; everything is prepared in secret. If somebody wants to provide ideas to the *Plumiers*, he or she can put an anonymous note in a box, which is located in a pub.

Secrets and masks have been part of the *Brandons* for a long time. The masks that prevent recognition have progressively disappeared from the streets but remain visible during masked balls and during the *Nuit des Chineuses* (Ladies' Night¹¹). During this night, which now takes place on the Monday of the three main *Brandons* days, women go out at night and chat up or even drive men, including their husbands, wild in the local pubs—in order to test the effectiveness of their masks. It is only during this event that women feature as protagonists; otherwise, they have always been excluded from CDM, the organizing committee. CDM membership works by co-optation, that is individuals who are interested in joining the committee need a sponsor to support their application. According to Kaenel, one of the key criteria for being accepted in the CDM is to be a *Payernois* (from Payerne).

We do not have foreigners. This is typically *Payernois* [...]. You have to be known by other *Payernois*; the people from the CDM can say "he can join us" if he is a good *plumier*, if he can organize carnival processions, because there are two mask committees: a mask committee of writers and a mask

¹¹ The word *chineuse* derives from the French verb *chiner*, which has several meanings, e.g.: 'go to a marketplace, especially a flea market,' and 'look for good value' (*cf.* <https://grandrobert.lerobert.com/robert.asp>). Here, the *Chineuses* are women who go out in order to disturb men in pubs, to have a flirt or to pick them up for a dance.

committee for the production, preparation, and organization of the procession, this is extraordinary. (translation mine)¹²

Once a new member has entered the committee, he is assigned the grade of *mourdzet*, a kind of apprentice, before becoming *moure* or even *grand moure*, ‘the chief.’

During the post-war period, local society was divided according to political preferences: the *Grilletts* were “radical” whereas the *Cafards* were “liberal.” Each group had its own journal, its own music group, *etc.* According to Jean-Claude Juriens and Rémy Gilland (2011: 6), the animosity was so strong that no *Grillet* ever went to a boutique owned by a *Cafard*. Times have changed, and during contemporary *Brandons* the divisions between the local population and politicians, business owners, the central power from the capital Bern, or foreigners are far more visible than between members of the different local political parties.

Before analyzing the contemporary representations of the “Other” in the *Brandons*, an incident that had an impact on the city’s image should be mentioned. In 1942, Arthur Bloch, a Jewish cow trader, was killed by an anti-semitic group. In 1943, the court sentenced five young men, one of them to 15 years in prison, another to 20 years in prison, and three others to lifetime. In 1947, another trial was held against Philippe Lugin, who was charged with being the instigator of the crime. Lugin was a former Protestant pastor who had converted to national socialism and worked as one of the principal agitators for the regional section of the National Movement in the canton of Vaud. He professed a virulent hatred toward Jews and organized conferences that were attended by the group of men who later killed Bloch. After the murder, Lugin attempted to flee to Germany but was arrested by American forces and sentenced to 20 years in prison. In 2009 Jacques Chessex published a novel on the incident, *Un Juif pour l'exemple* (“A Jew Must Die”). Reactions of the local population were extremely pronounced, since several people were afraid of their city acquiring a bad reputation. During a public debate in

¹² Interview of Jean-Louis Kaenel by Monika Salzbrunn, August 28, 2014. Original citation (in French):

Non! On n’a pas, on n’a pas d’étrangers. C’est typiquement Payernois [...]. Ouais au moins d’être connu de d’autres Payernois, mais surtout des gens du CDM, des gens du CDM peuvent dire mais bon ils peuvent venir avec nous, s’il est bon plumier, s’il peut organiser des bons cortèges, parce qu’il y’a deux comités de masqués, comité des masqués des écrivains et l’autre comité des masqués fabrication préparation et organisation de cortège, c’est extraordinaire.

Many thanks to Cécile Navarro for the transcription of the interview.

Yverdon-les-Bains, not far from Payerne, the author, Jacques Chessex, died of a heart attack. In 2016, his novel was adapted into a film by Jacob Berger. I mention this incident and the cultural production that followed, since these events continue to have an impact on the way Payerne and its inhabitants construct their (self-)image.

THE “OTHER” ON STAGE DURING THE *BRANDONS DE PAYERNE*: MIGRANTS, REFUGEES, AND NEIGHBORS

We¹³ have been following the *Brandons de Payerne* since 2013. As a researcher who is accustomed to observing carnivals as a central part of my research, I was struck from the beginning of my work in Payerne by the way alterity was constructed during the *Brandons*. When I first came to watch the central event of the *Brandons de Payerne*, France as a State and the Roma as an imagined group were the principal targets of mockery, apart from very local or national Swiss political struggles.

Switzerland is a small but wealthy country which needs to affirm itself *vis-à-vis* three significantly larger and, to some extent, economically more powerful neighbors, especially Germany and France. In 2013, France’s economy was the object of derision, especially after the election of the socialist François Hollande, a perfect target in a region dominated by a more right-wing philosophy and economic liberalism. The same year, Italians were shown as *Pizzaioli* and *Mafiosi*.

In several European countries, the presence of nomadic people such as the Roma has been an issue of local or national political debates. In 2013, the presence of the Roma in Payerne was a central subject in the *Brandons*. The Roma were shown with stereotypical apparel and behavior, on a huge float comprised of several parts. The dominating stereotype was their supposed relationship to standards of hygiene. During the parade, one man was constantly sitting or turning around a toilet seat, imitating an individual with very vulgar and dirty behavior. The whole group on the float played with toilet paper, such that both the float and the street were indeed left quite dirty in the wake of their passage. On the float, a clothes line was set, symbolizing the popular xenophobic idea that the laundry should quickly be taken home

¹³ I would like to thank Raphaela von Weichs, Barbara Dellwo, and Cécile Navarro, collaborators at my Chair for Religions, Migration, Diaspora Studies, at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, for their participation in the fieldwork in Payerne.

as soon as the Roma arrive in town because they had a reputation as thieves. This prejudice was also expressed by porcelain and cutlery in vitrines, underlined by the written sentence “Je suis venu, j’ai volé, j’ai revendu” (‘I came, I stole, I sold’). Finally, a caravan and a brimming dustbin were featured, reinforcing the prejudice that the Roma neither separate garbage nor buy the expensive compulsory plastic bags in which the waste must nowadays be put due to a new regional law.



Fig. 1. The representation of the Roma during the *Brandons de Payerne*, 2013 (Photo: Monika Salzbrunn)

In Switzerland, the Other, a target of laughter and sometimes hate, can be anybody, but recently several media and election campaigns have focused on Muslims (Behloul 2013: 24–26). In 2016, one year after the arrival of more than a million refugees in Germany and 39,523 in Switzerland (Staatssekretariat für Migration 2015), the subject of the main float during the *Brandons de Payerne* were Syrian refugees. A boat with surrounding waves was covered by the sentence “Sy-rien ne va plus, on débarque chez vous.” This wordplay is difficult to translate, with two possible readings, *i.e.* (1) ‘If nothing goes anymore, we turn up at your place’ (*Si rien ne va plus, on débarque chez vous*), and



Fig. 2. Wordplay against the Roma “I gave my hand and he took my arm” during the *Brandons de Payerne*, 2013 (Photo: Monika Salzbrunn)

(2) ‘Syrian does not go anymore, we come to you.’ Here, the image of a wave of people flooding Switzerland by boat, as used by far right-wing movements in French- and German-speaking parts of Europe, is obviously adopted: *Das Boot ist voll* (The boat is full)—the title of a critical book on Swiss refugee policy during World War II by Swiss author Alfred Adolf Häsler—was also the slogan of the populist Republican party in Germany and of a Nov 24, 2002 referendum on the initiative of the populist right-wing party, *Schweizerische Volkspartei* (SVP; Swiss People’s Party), in Switzerland.

Furthermore, the collective attack against women during the New Year’s Eve night of 2015 was exploited by the wordplay “En partant ils touchent du bois, en arrivant ils touchent des culs” (‘When they leave they touch wood, when they arrive they touch asses’).

In 2017, however, during the *Brandons de Payerne*, a giant swimming pool with women wearing burkinis was unveiled, meant to symbolize a global message for peace and tolerance.



Fig. 3. Wordplay against refugees “When they leave they touch wood, when they arrive they touch asses.” The *Brandons de Payerne*, 2016 (Photo: Barbara Dellwo)

CONCLUSION: BRANDONS DE PAYERNE AND CARNAVAL DE LAUSANNE AS MIRRORS OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGES?

Is this still a derision or a masquerade, or do we observe a primary-degree-reproduction of stereotypes of the “undesired Other”? In the present chapter, we have seen that during the *Brandons de Payerne* masquerade and derision have been replaced by the reproduction of stereotypes about the “Other,” which was the downgraded (French) neighbor, the disregarded Roma, or the feared Syrian refugee. Nevertheless, in the very recent evolution of this centennial feast, a slight cultural change can be observed. Instead of negative stereotypes, there is a message for peace and tolerance expressed by the burkini float, which could also be interpreted as a pragmatic solution for a practical problem.

While in the long-standing tradition of the *Brandons de Payerne*, local inhabitants transmit the right to participate in the carnival as float constructors

or writers in order to put on stage an imagined Other, in Lausanne the picture is quite different. We briefly underline this in order to provide contrast for the example of Payerne. In Lausanne, the capital city of the canton de Vaud, in 1982 a group of locals invented the *Fête du soleil*, which in 1996 became the *Carnaval de Lausanne*. In this part of the same administrative region, the canton de Vaud, the feast has a very different relation to the Other. In fact, it is not the imagined Other who is put on stage but the imagined Self: mostly second-generation Portuguese or Bolivians, who learn local dances from their ancestral regions, sometimes through YouTube videos, and then perform them in order to create a link to their family's country, which some young people have hardly seen themselves. In Lausanne, there is hardly any masquerade or transformation into the imagined "Other": people rather disguise as their imagined ancestors and stage an invented performance in order to connect to an imagined homeland. Sometimes, they mix up elements from various regions and thus extricate dances from their ritual context. The Bolivian group performing in Lausanne in 2015 was, for instance, comprised of rare first- and mostly second-generation Bolivians from Zürich and other Swiss counties, but not from Lausanne itself.¹⁴ Can this still be defined as carnival? There is obviously an element of masquerade, since young people who grow up in Switzerland dress up as their imagined ancestors. But there is neither derision or irony nor an upside-down turning of stereotypes here: it is a *mise en scène* of an imagined Self rather than an imagined Other. It is, however, interesting to note that the organizers have taken over the name of carnival for that celebration—does that mean that the signification of carnival has changed over time? If we look at other recent inventions of carnivals, especially "World culture carnivals," like in Berlin, we will probably see a similar evolution: masquerade and derision of the "Other" are less present here than the staging of an imagined Self. Nevertheless, long-standing carnivals—like the *Brandons de Payerne*, most Euro-Mediterranean carnivals (Salzbrunn 2014), and the carnivals in the French overseas departments (Ndagano 2010)—are still a rich stage for masquerade, irony, and wordplay.

¹⁴ As shown in the film *Carnaval de Lausanne* realized by my student Zuleika Amira Romero in 2015 as part of my seminar on "Transnationalisation culturelle et religieuse par l'art et la musique: théories et méthodes de recherche sur l'événement glocalisé et les communautés virtuelles" at University of Lausanne.

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