YEARBOOK OF BALKAN AND BALTIC STUDIES

VOLUME 2

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VOLUME 2

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Introduction

The second issue of The Yearbook of Balkan and Baltic Studies is dedicated to ritual and festive culture (*Rituals, Feasts, and Practices*). It is one of the most dynamic fields of modern culture. On the other hand, it tends to be the most conservative and nationally (ethnically) coloured one. Both calendar and family ritualism are the main subject of these papers. Lina Petrošienė covers the issues of carnival ritualism presented in Lithuanian mass media in the 1920s. Calendar feasts in mixed (both in ethnic and religious terms) families are discussed by Akvilė Motuzaitė, who sees them as a manifestation of transnationalism on the one hand and an important cultural strategy on the other. Irina Stahl and Barry L. Jackson consider the memorials erected in memoriam of the people who died unexpectedly, and their role and function within the city space (Bucharest, Romania). Rasa Paukštytė-Šaknienė discusses family feasts in Lithuania and Bulgaria, paying special attention to the cultural, ethnic, and religious features of both traditions. The last two articles in this chapter deal with the traditional skills and practices of the material culture (Nijolė Pliuraitė Andrejevienė, Anete Karlsone). This topic is becoming increasingly sensitive in the context of cultural (material and intangible) heritage, ethnic specifications, and national identity.

The second part in the volume is dedicated to ethnicity and its manifestations in the context of modern identification processes (*Ethnicity and Its Manifestations: Identities*). Numerous ethnic markers that form ethnic boundaries (cf. Fredrik Barth) continue to develop, acquiring new attractive shapes, going along with the new times, tastes, needs, and, of course, market demands. The problems pertaining to the historical memory of the communities of the Tatars in different historical and cultural environments are described in Veneta Yankova's article. The articles by Nadezhda Rychkova, Galina Miškinienė, and Sergey Rychkov discuss food, etiquette, and ethnic cuisine in

the context of cultural heritage, ethnic and religious culture as a manifestation and commercialisation of food as ethnic and national heritage. The last article in this edition is by Ana Pascu, and it is dedicated to the classical narrative structures of identity of two communities dealing with different types of households, i.e., shepherding and ore mining, in one of the areas of Romania.

The article by Svetlana Ryzhakova is dedicated to the interesting and topical issue of the interpretation and adaptation of exotic cultures in Europe, using the reception and perceptions related to the mystical India in the Baltic States as an example.

Thus the present edition of The Yearbook of Balkan and Baltic Studies is a collection of diverse studies carried out by both young and well-established scientists, who study the areas of the Balkans, the Baltic States, and, on a wider scale, Europe and Russia. This collection of different topics, methodologies, and approaches represents the current state and urgent issues of European science. We hope that this edition will be interesting and useful for a wider audience.

The articles are based on the presentations of the third conference on Balkan and Baltic Studies in Vilnius in 2017, which was organised by the Institute of History and the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. There were some new participants from Russia, Romania, Croatia, and other countries, who, alongside the traditional partners from Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, managed to define some new areas of emphasis, topics, and approaches.

We are very grateful to all authors, and our special thanks go to Diana Kahre, Tiina Mällo, and Nemertis OÜ for their help and time.

Ekaterina Anastasova, Mare Kõiva, and Žilvytis Šaknys

I

Rituals, Feasts and Practices

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THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY LITHUANIAN PRESS ON THE WINTER-SPRING CARNIVAL AROUND THE WORLD

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Abstract: The article shows what information the press between 1905 and 1940 provided Lithuanian readers about Shrovetide celebratory traditions around the world. The information collected, consisting of seven articles, thirty photographs and drawings, is fragmentary but fairly informative, providing a good and concise understanding of this cultural phenomenon in a popular manner. By surveying and interpreting the available data, it tries to answer several questions: what significance these publications might have had on Shrovetide celebratory traditions and methods of celebration in the early 20th-century Lithuania; how this information correlates with current academic research and known empirical data; what Lithuanian Shrovetide had in common with the winter-spring carnival celebrated around the world.

Keywords: customs and traditions, periodical press, Shrovetide in Lithuania, winter-spring seasonal carnival

In the early 20th century the Republic of Lithuania became an independent state and re-appeared on the map of Europe and in the community of free societies. The Lithuanian press of the time promoted the clear goal of fully and proudly integrating in the political, economic and cultural context of Europe and the world as quickly as possible. Beyond informing readers of events in Lithuania and the world, the press sought to forge and inculcate a new national consciousness, social morality, fashion, traditions and habits.

Urban Shrovetide (*Užgavėnės* in Lithuanian) carnivals, balls and masquerades and rural-style costumed Shrovetide processions were among the press's favourite topics and among the most exploited, in different ways, of calendrical holidays, right up until World War II. Over time this channel of information became quite significant and in some cases the sole source of information about this subject for academic studies and the reconstruction of tradition. This was discussed in articles by this author in 2013 and 2015 (Petrošienė 2013: 14–21; Laurinavičiūtė-Petrošienė 2015: 150–163). Other authors researching calendrical holidays including Lithuanian Shrovetide, Dalia Senvaitytė (Senvaitytė 2013: 115–117; 2013a: 267–285) and Eglė Aleknaitė (Aleknaitė 2011: 25–32), also made use of this source in a similar fashion.

D. Senvaitytė, based on the positions of theoretical social constructionism and authoritative cultural studies theoreticians, claims with good foundation the media are one of the most influential social institutions responsible for construing consensus reality. The media, in essence maintaining the dominant ideology, indicate about what people should think and what opinion they should hold about it (Senvaitytė 2013: 115–117).[1] In other words, in verifying and interpreting media reports, one must keep in mind the portrayal of the phenomenon at hand is a specific kind of construction.

The **goal** of this article is to show what information the press from 1905 to 1940 provided Lithuanian readers about the celebration of Shrovetide traditions in the world. By surveying and interpreting the available data, it tries to answer several questions: what significance these publications might have had on Shrovetide celebratory traditions and methods of celebration in early 20th-century Lithuania; how this information correlates with current academic research and known empirical data; what Lithuanian Shrovetide had in common with the winter-spring carnival celebrated around the world.

Of the large mass of material surveyed comprised of 400 items (articles, reports, advertisements, rhymed texts, photographs, drawings etc. dealing with the topic of Shrovetide) published in 38 Lithuanian periodicals between 1905 and 1940, only 7 articles were found which discussed the winter-spring carnival abroad. The visual component of the material is much greater, with 30 photographs and drawings from around the world published between 1927 and 1938. This material constitutes the **research topic** of this article.

Three main themes came up in the publications surveyed: 1) the origin and characteristics of winter-spring season/Shrovetide carnivals in Europe; 2) the historical evolution of carnival; 3) descriptions of carnival in foreign countries and their comparison to Shrovetide as celebrated in Lithuania. These themes dictate the form of this study which will attempt to answer the questions they raise. Textual, interpretive and comparative **methodologies** were used.

It has been said before that in the early 20th century there were at least two models for celebrating Shrovetide in Lithuania, and likewise the articles in the press describing and favouring one of the other ways of celebrating Shrovetide. For instance, a correspondent writing in the illustrated newspaper *Naujas žodis* (The New Word) in 1927 said that Kaunas, then the provisional Lithuanian capital, "following international European traditions", could not fall behind in celebrating Shrovetide, and therefore many different masquerade balls were being held (NŽ 1927a: 9). Looking at press reports from 1905 to 1940, one can say with confidence Kaunas and the other Lithuanian cities did not fall behind Western Europe at all in this regard.

At the same there were other voices calling for a return to native village culture. Almost every other ethnographic-type publication on Shrovetide traditions began or ended with regret over the disappearance of Lithuanian traditions. They expressed the aspiration to maintain, support, continue or merely to conserve Lithuanian-ness, sometimes taking great offence at the urban forms of the holiday, condemning them and calling for their ban.

Controversial positions in the press might have had a specific effect on the choice to celebrate Shrovetide in one manner instead of the other, and on the expansion of that model. In the 1930s the state policies carried out by the Nationalists Party and favourable position the highest leaders of the state held towards ethnic culture held great sway.

Origins and Characteristics of Winter-Spring / Shrovetide Carnivals in Europe

The press attempted to explain to readers the etymology of the word carnival and its significance, its origins in Europe and to define the period when carnival was celebrated.

As have many others in all times, the journalists of the period also believed carnival had arisen from "a spring festival from idolatrous pagan times" (NŽ 1927: 10) and the "humorous processions" held during the Saturnalias and epiphanies of ancient Rome (D 1932: 8). This theory of the origin of carnival is widespread and based on the speculation by J. G. Herder and the brothers Grimm and their followers that ancient traditions harken back to very ancient, pre-Christian times, since when over the millennia these traditions and customs have carried on without change. Peter Burke, who examined the popular culture of the early modern period (1500–1800) and the European carnival, believes that, even admitting the antiquity of the Italian carnival, it is impossible to show through documentation that it is the same as that of Roman times, if one wants to speak accurately.[2] Popular culture is historical and has always been a matter of multi-directional evolution. One can only more comprehensively document it from relatively recent times, between 1500 and 1800 (Burke 1994: 21).

The Lithuanian press called carnival the child of the southern countries and the foster child of urban culture. The mass celebration during the winter season in Lithuania doesn't coincide with the budding of plants in spring and there was no urban lifestyle in Lithuania, and thus there is no carnival. Only the Lithuanian weddings held in rural style had elements of the carnival. And if we are speaking of Lithuanian carnival, "here we have the matter of international masquerade balls and carnival", in whose footsteps we should follow (NŽ 1927a: 9). There is truth in that, but Burke would say we were looking at carnival "through Italian glasses". The carnival tradition in Europe was never homogenous. There are clear regional variations. This diversity was the result of natural conditions, climate, social consciousness, the religious and political situation and even the price of meat at specific times of the year (Burke 1994: 182). So the question of what manner of celebration may be called carnival doesn't have a single definitive answer.

Likewise, there is no one strict, fixed date for carnival. Carnival may be connected with Shrovetide, but also with other days of saints in the winter

and spring period. This is what is also indicated in the Lithuanian press (NŽ 1927: 10).

Two etymologies for "carnival" were discussed: "carne vale" and "carrus navalis" (NŽ 1927: 10; ŪP 1937: 11), which are also provided in the current sources of information on the general subject (Carnival; Valantasis 2000: 378). Information about the Germanic *Fastnacht* and very briefly about the Russian *Maslenitsa* has also been provided (NŽ 1927: 11). The explanation of carnival terms and descriptions of carnival traditions in different countries led the authors to identify at least two kinds of traditions, the Roman and the Germanic (D 1932: 8). They are compared against each other, with the comment that "in ancient times the Germans' *Fasching* [*Fastnacht*] were just as noisy as the carnivals of the southern lands. Only they lacked the prerequisite characteristics of carnival: sanguinity, grace, colorfulness" (NŽ 1927: 11).

In the words of the author, two decades ago, i.e., the late 19th century and early 20th century, there were things similar to carnivals held in Lithuania, but the tradition had now died out. All that was left was "driving around in horse-drawn carriages" (D 1932: 8). Clearly the author isn't talking about an urban carnival, but rather Shrovetide celebrations in the Lithuanian villages which, in terms of the diversity of forms of European carnival, could also be called carnival.

Nonetheless, the reports in the press from 1905 to 1940 show the local variation on urban carnival was very much alive and thriving in the early 20th century. In Kaunas and the other larger cities of Lithuania, and from the 1930s onward on the periphery, there were extravagant urban-type masquerade balls which were held indoors and enjoyed extremely great popularity (Petrošienė 2013: 14–21; Laurinavičiūtė-Petrošienė 2015: 149–188). In this regard, Lithuania did not fall behind Western Europe.

The authors of the articles consider the main reasons for the carnival being what it is in Lithuania: the climate and the urban situation in Lithuania (NŽ 1927a: 9). This is in complete agreement with a general summary of research on the carnival of Western Europe. The frigid winter climate in Lithuania as well as in the rest of the cold and dark northern part of Europe caused winter-spring carnivals to be held differently here than in Southern Europe. The active cultural life of the south took place on the streets and squares of the cities and towns, outside, while in the north it happened indoors, in closed quarters. Therefore, according to the authors, the spring carnival is more intense in the south, while

in the north it is a midsummer affair (Burke 1994: 57). It should be noted these sorts of generalisations fail to take into account the Russian *Maslenitsa*.

The evolution of Lithuanian carnivals was in a certain sense also guided by frequent attempts by the secular and ecclesiastical authorities to ban or otherwise regulate mass carnival processions by urban residents. Orders and memorials of the Vilnius Jesuit Collegium and Academy from the 17th and 18th centuries demonstrate there were rambunctious Shrovetide carnivals in Vilnius during that period. Huge crowds of city residents and people from surrounding areas assembled for the Shrovetide fun in Vilnius. Jesuit clerics sought to control it by issuing orders on who could participate in the holiday, how it should take place, and etc. (Memorialai 1987: 193–194, 212–214, 264).

Written sources from the 16th to 18th centuries also contain information that Shrovetide masquerade balls similar to those held in the palaces of magnates in Western Europe also took place at the residences of the Lithuanian grand dukes (Trilupaitienė 2010: 42–45). That means urban Western-type carnivals were held in Lithuania several centuries ago. Elements of the Western tradition spread and took hold in the Lithuanian countryside through the culture of the manor estates and the activities of the Jesuits.

The early 20th-century Lithuania press also has descriptions of different ways the upper and lower classes in Western countries celebrated carnival. These differences are illustrated by Italy's example. The aristocracy celebrated in a sophisticated way in castles. The lower classes of Milan for whom the fancy castles and cafés were inaccessible flocked to the carousels and attractions on the streets and freely celebrated as they saw fit (LA 1930: 5).

Examining European popular culture of the early modern period, Burke calls these ways of celebrating the "large" and "small" traditions, which interacted. Urban artisan and rural peasant as well as so-called marginalised people – meaning in various parts of Europe Jews, Turks, Roma and Muslims – adhered to the "small tradition" in its exotic forms (Burke 1994: 42). A countless number of pop-culture versions went into the making of the "small" tradition in Europe.

There was a clear social stratification in Lithuania and Europe as well which gave rise to the cultural landscape. In reference to Shrovetide and seeking the widest possible context in terms of time and space, there are clearly urban and rural, high class and lower class methods of celebration, and interaction between these methods. In Kaunas in the 1930s, then the capital of the state of Lithuania, a rural-style Shrovetide procession with street battles was held for

the first time. Students in the riflemen's corps at Vytautas Magnus University held the event according to the Žemaitijan (Samogitian) style of celebration (LA 1936). A similar Shrovetide carnival procession was held the following year (LA 1937; LA 1937a).

Processes very similar to those in Western European countries took place in Lithuanian culture. Local variation and colour was the result of a number of factors elaborated above.

Historical Evolution of the Winter-Spring Carnival in Europe

The historical development of the European carnival is described in a small number of newspaper articles and even then only partially. They touch upon interesting political and economic aspects of the European carnival and its connection to ideological and/or political battles.

Although the Roman-type carnival is portrayed as the hearth and origin of the tradition, more historical facts are provided about the Germanic *Fasching*. They say the oldest carnival described in writing was the *Fasching* amusement at the palace of Bohemian herzog Boleslav III in AD 1003. This recalls that the tradition in one way or another had already been continuous for a thousand years (D 1932: 8). Of the European carnivals in the Middle Ages, that of Nuremburg was the most famous one.

It was retold that this well-known entertainment had been going on for two hundred years and attracted lovers of adventure from around the world. Holding the carnival was monopolised in 1349, by permission of king Karl IV, by the city's butchers guild, loyal to the king. The carnival brought them huge profits. In 1539 this monopoly right was rescinded, also because of politico-religious considerations: during one carnival the butchers insulted the famous theologian A. Osiander, portraying him as the fattest priest in the world who would burn in hell (D 1932: 8). The religious battles and the Reformation's relationship to popular culture put a stop to the history of the carnival there for some time.

The evolution of the carnival is connected with the strong craftsmen and shopkeepers' guilds and their culture which arose in the early modern period in the cities of Western Europe. Their leisure time with its holidays, festivals and carnivals was often associated with a patron saint (Burke 1994: 36). At the same time, many different professional guilds sought to participate in the

Shrovetide carnival and to display their talents. The butchers weren't just the favourites of the Shrovetide carnival or *Fasching* in Germany in Nuremberg, they actively participated in the *Fasching* in Königsberg in the 16th century. (NŽ 1927: 11). Returning to the period and the topic at hand, it must be noted Shrovetide masquerade balls were also held by different professional organisations (artists, press workers and various social circles in Lithuanian cities in the first half of the 20th century (Laurinavičiūtė-Petrošienė 2015: 166–167)).

Carnival was also portrayed as a kind of instrument for government manipulation. The story was retold of the carnival held in Lübeck in the late 17th century which helped quell unrest among soldiers who hadn't been paid. There was such longing for the fun and games of the *Fasching* that it sufficed to overcome a social crisis, at least for the time. Even in time of war the need to have fun was irrepressible: in Frankfurt in 1806 the price of admission to the *Fasching* held there was doubled because too many people wanted to attend. "*Fasching* dancing simply turned into mania" (D 1932: 8). Carnival is also interpreted as means of social control as well as protest (Burke 1994: 199–204), but there are no remarkable examples expressed in concrete actions regarding the connection between Shrovetide celebratory traditions and social protest or control contained in the early 20th-century Lithuanian press.

Control over carnivals was effected not just for religious or political reasons, but also for pragmatic public safety concerns. The historical material contains examples from different locations – London, Seville, Moscow – about the acts of violence and deaths during Shrovetide carnivals (Burke 1994: 187–188). This is also mentioned in connection with English Shrovetide and pancake-making at a Westminster school in the late 19th century. The story was told that the pancake cook used to use a 500-year-old pan for this. He was supposed to flip the cooked pancake masterfully into the air and the students were supposed to grab it and tear off as large a piece of pancake as they could. If the cook was not able to flip the pancake up into the air properly, then the students were allowed to throw books, quills and other objects at him. The year 1864 was the final one for this tradition because the cook became angry and beat the students with a ladle, which hit one student in the temple. Since that time, this "pancake ceremony was toned down" (D 1938: 3).

Religious, social and cultural factors greatly influenced the development of carnival. Secular and ecclesiastical authorities fought for centuries against popular forms of belief and entertainment, but not always successfully. In

Lithuanian villages, priests sought to ban or at least control certain elements of Shrovetide celebrations. The urban masquerade balls held in the early 20th century in Lithuania were also criticised in the press because these sorts of diversions promoted drunkenness and sexual licentiousness, were a waste of money and so on.

Carnivals in Lithuania and Abroad

It was said earlier that the articles surveyed contained much about how the holiday was celebrated and associated customs in the Italian cradle of the carnival, in Venice, Rome and Milan. Venice, "the Queen of the Seas", is called the centre of the carnival. The carnival especially thrived and attracted many in the Rococo period in the 16th and 17th centuries. Venetians dawned expensive antique Italian costumes and played the parts of *commedia dell'arte* characters such as Arleccino, Colombina, Pantalone, Pulcinella, Pierrot and others (NŽ 1927: 10; LA 1930: 5). These characters were popular at the manor estates in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the 16th to 18th centuries and at the masquerade balls held in restaurants in Kaunas in the early 20th century (Laurinavičiūtė-Petrošienė 2015: 25–27, 172–173).

In the words of one correspondent, horse racing, solemn processions, confetti and flower battles formed the core of carnivals in Rome (NŽ 1927: 10). Horse races and driving around in horse-drawn carriages had a somewhat different nature and intention in Shrovetide celebrations in the Lithuanian countryside, but were nonetheless important elements of the holiday. The custom was linked with abundance and a good linen harvest in the coming year.

Italian carnival, it was written, didn't just take place on the streets and squares. The public, dressed for carnival, assembled for dances at cafés and restaurants as well. According to the Italian custom, the youth must dance all night, otherwise the coming year will be a sad one and the young person will not find a wife or husband (LA 1930: 5). Regret was expressed that Lithuanians were "cold-blooded" and too reserved, reportedly making this sort of fun inconceivable in Lithuania. While one may admit there are differences in northern and southern temperaments, studies of urban and rural Lithuanian Shrovetide show there were evenings of dancing and feasting that were held at the palaces of magnates in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th and

17th centuries, and that dance was a requisite part of celebrations in the early 20th century held indoors at city restaurants and cafés and at rural farms.

Discussing French carnival, they say the French adopted the carnival customs of the Italians. The main event in the Paris carnival was the solemn procession of an ox with golden horns through the streets of the city. Various beauty contests were held during carnival as well, including the selection of the Beauty Queen of Paris (NŽ 1927: 10). The masquerade balls in the cities in early 20th-century Lithuania also featured different contests for masks, costumes, characters, ethnic dress, dancing and so on. Masks and characters portraying heroes from literature of the period, characters from exotic lands, and national, ethnic and patriotic figures were the most popular and frequently took first place in such contests.

It was mentioned that the press incorporated much information from German-speaking countries. According to the author of one article, Germans also celebrated Shrovetide and held loud *Fastnacht* celebrations, which were not as sophisticated and colourful as the Italian and French carnivals. Germans were more concerned with large amounts of food and drink, according to the report, and had certain ceremonies (customs) regarding them. Readers would have noted the similarity between German (Germanic) and Lithuanian Shrovetide traditions. This is primarily the just-mentioned abundant consumption of food and drink, the presence of fatty foods and multiple food feasts before Lent. Ingredients of dishes were also the same: peas, potatoes, pork. Germans connected the abundance of food with success and riches in the coming year, as did Lithuanians. People's actions during Shrovetide in Germany were also responsible for a good linen harvest: the German mother and father were required to dance to ensure flax plants grew taller. The higher the husband raised his wife during the dance, the taller the plants would grow (NŽ 1927: 11). It's easy to see this was a different sort of information, associated popular culture and the concerns of farmers.

On Shrovetide celebrations in England, the Lithuanian press reported English people celebrated it very ceremoniously and tradition demanded the cooking of pancakes, as in Lithuania. English pancake-cooking traditions were "exotic", demanding both special utensils and the ability to juggle pancakes in the air theatrically. Pancake-cooking and special pancake-flipping contests were held in the family, at schools and in the community (D 1938: 3).

Pancakes as the main holiday dish for Shrovetide are also mentioned in writings about Russian *Maslenitsa* (NŽ 1927: 11). There were heated debates about "the ethnic origin" of the popular Shrovetide pancakes in early 20th-century Lithuania and especially at restaurants in Kaunas. There were those who said pancakes were not a dish of Lithuanian Shrovetide and that they had been spread by bureaucrats returning from Russia (Laurinavičiūtė-Petrošienė 2015: 181–183). There might have been some truth in that assertion, but wheat flour dishes were and are a part of Lithuanian cuisine. The dispute illustrated a rather limited understanding of Lithuanian customs and those of other peoples around the world.

Some others didn't bother describing more fully the Shrovetide customs of other ethnicities and only tried to showcase similarities with Lithuanian customs. It was written that the Portuguese throw beans and wheat flour during carnival, while Lithuanians throw oats. In Peru, as in Lithuania, participants try to pour water over one another. The Czechs lead a bear, while Lithuanians have a bear and other anthropomorphic figures. Tyrolean Swiss leave the peaks for the cities during carnival and entertain themselves by calling city residents Gypsies and little black men (ŪP 1937: 11). As mentioned, those writing about Shrovetide carnivals held abroad found many similarities between German and Lithuanian Shrovetide. They also noted certain things never seen in Lithuania, including the elegant Italian processions attracting foreign visitors and the commercialisation of the *Fasching* in Germany (ŪP 1937: 11). Press reports about the masquerade balls held in Lithuanian towns and cities demonstrate the commercial aspect was just as plain to see in Lithuania.

Conclusion

There aren't many descriptions of foreign carnivals and comparisons with Lithuanian Shrovetide, photo-reportage and drawings in the Lithuanian periodical press in the early 20th century, but those that do exist are done very professionally and served to expand readers' horizons. They failed to have a real effect on Lithuanian Shrovetide celebratory traditions, however, for at least a few reasons. First of all because of the fragmentary nature of the reports spread out over time. Secondly, urban *vs.* Western-type masquerade balls were not news at all in the early 20th century in Lithuania. The new thing was that this way of celebrating, imparting to it an "exalted content" through the actions of

social organisations and schools, spread to the Lithuanian periphery and was considered, despite criticisms, progressive and acceptable.

By comparing information, one can say the conceptual elements of the Western European carnival and Lithuanian Shrovetide traditions are exactly the same, while some of their methods of fulfilment differ, but also sometimes take the same form. Some elements were adopted from the urban culture of Western Europe and through the agency of palaces and manors of the magnates of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania eventually took root in Lithuanian soil.

The intense Lithuanian ethnic-values propaganda of the 1910s to the 1930s encouraged the incorporation of rural culture elements in the city environment. The village-style Shrovetide processions begun then continue to this day. The urban-type masquerade balls of the early 20th century which had been so intense over time disappeared or became rarer and were held in a closed environment.

Notes

1 The author bases this on the work of Stuart Hall (Hall 1997), and McCombs and Donald Shaw (McCombs & Shaw 1993: 58–67).

2 Peter Burke says popular culture is the non-elitist culture of less-educated social strata (craftsmen, peasants, etc.) (Burke 1994: xvi–xxiv). This goes by the term *liaudies kultūra* in Lithuanian, literally, "the culture of the people".

Abbreviations

D 1932. Karnavalui tūkstantis metų. *Diena*. Kaunas, No. 6.
D 1938. Anglų užgavėnės. *Diena*. Kaunas. No. 10.
LA 1930. St. S. Itališkas karnavalas. *Lietuvos aidas*. Kaunas, No. 47.
LA 1936. Užgavėnių "svečiai" Kauno gatvėse. *Lietuvos aidas*. Kaunas, No. 93.
LA 1937. Užgavėnių karnavalas. Lašinio ir Kanapinio kova Kaune. *Lietuvos aidas*, No. 62.
LA 1937a. Vakarykščios Lašininio ir Kanapinio kautynės. *Lietuvos aidas*. Kaunas, No. 65.
LŽ 1914. Ainis. Užgavėnių "žydai". *Lietuvos žinios*. Vilnius, No. 40.
NŽ 1927. Karnavalas. Carnevale. *Naujas žodis*. Kaunas, Nos. 3–4.
NŽ 1927a. Lietuviški karnavalai. *Naujas žodis.*Kaunas, Nos. 3–4.
ŪP 1937. V. B-unas. Mūsų Užgavėnės ir užsienio karnavalai. *Ūkininko patarėjas*. Kaunas, No. 5.

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CALENDAR FESTIVALS AS A FORM OF TRANSNATIONALISM AND CULTURAL STRATEGY IN THE MIXED FINNISH-LITHUANIAN AND GREEK-LITHUANIAN FAMILIES

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Abstract: The object of the paper is to research the celebration of calendar festivals within Finnish-Lithuanian and Greek-Lithuanian families in Finland and Greece respectively. The subject was approached mainly from the Lithuanian women's perspective, since most of the mixed marriages involved Lithuanian females and rarely Lithuanian men in the countries chosen. Six main Lithuanian calendar festivals of different origins were in focus of the study. Three festivals belong to the Christian calendar: Christmas Eve (*Kūčios*), Christmas (Šv. *Kalėdos*) and Easter Day (Šv. *Velykos*); and the other three are national festivals significant for the State of Lithuania historically: 16th February (Day of Reinstating of the State of Lithuania), 11th March (Day of the Re-Establishment of the State of Lithuania) and 6th July (Statehood Day). The aim of the research is to reveal how the calendar festivals referred to above are celebrated in the particular context of emigration: within mixed marriages. Available transnational connections suggest different forms of celebrating, which are shaped following certain strategies.

Keywords: calendar festivals, cultural strategy, identity, mixed marriage, transnationalism

Lithuanian ethnologists attribute the Christian celebrations to the traditional festivals and national festivals are characterised as being modern. (Concerning classification of festivals, see Paukštytė-Šaknienė 2016: 13.) All these days have certain meaning from the individual point of view, which is externalised with the help of various traditions, symbols, rites, individual or communal actions and performances. Celebrations usually prompt certain emotional involvement and particular experiences or they carry sentimental attachments from the past. The externalisation has different levels and forms based on individual or family actions and initiatives, informal group or communal arrangements and festive events organised by formal institutions and organisations. Different secondary subjects (like mass media, information technologies, local or global market, advertisement or fashion) can influence the construction of celebrations or make various impacts. Also, celebration of the festivals is affected by the present social circle, place of residence or sojourning (urban or rural in Lithuania or emigration) and accessible resources.

The main ethnographic material was collected using the semi-structural interview method in the period of the years 2009–2012 and 2017. Eleven women agreed to give an interview in depth in Finland and nineteen – in Greece. Most of the families researched reside in urban areas of Finland and Greece. In this context, ways of celebrating (or not celebrating) of the festivals are affected by the local cultural environment, private and public social circles, effectiveness of formal or informal local organisations (e.g., Lithuanian community and its initiatives) and accessible resources. To focus on an individual, ways of celebrating also depends on the personal attitudes, values, preferences, support of the nearest family and its emotional involvement. A strong stimulator of the Lithuanian type of celebration can be a native Lithuanian family and friends. Such culturally heterogeneous contexts impose possible building and usage of various transnational channels. The analysis of the calendar festivals suggests discussing them following the grouping referred to above. Celebration of traditional festivals (Christmas Eve, Christmas and Easter Day) has characteristics that emphasise family or more private time. Modern (but, I would argue, not less traditional) festivals of the State of Lithuania (16th February, 11th March and 6th July) are more public or communal celebrations. These features influence ways of celebration of the days within mixed families. Still, the material reveals that Lithuanian celebration of Christian festivals is sometimes transferred into the circle of local Lithuanian community.

Festivals in the Context of Transnationalism

As it was pointed out, the research focused on Lithuanian women's experiences within mixed marriage, who reside abroad. Physical distance from the sociocultural life in Lithuania creates a certain cultural space, which is very much up to the individual initiative and preferences to which cultural elements – native, local or some other – may fill that space. This space becomes a certain medium for potential transnational movements and cultural mixing. The flows of different elements can be combined, balanced with some dominating more than others. In this context, native traditions can be adapted in the foreign environment, combined with local customs or ignored. They can also be chosen and practised according to the locality of celebration – in the native country or abroad in the place of residence. Also, the family, its social circle, communal and organisational context on the occasion may direct the form of festival, if it is being performed at all. Usage of transnational channels enables transferring Lithuanian cultural elements into the present local (foreign) context. Such cultural mobility and fluidity make impact on the women's identity reconstruction; also influence other members of the mixed family (including children), maybe even wider social circle and society. In this way, certain celebrations of calendar festivals become a form of transnationalism.

Mobility and migration challenges former cultural forms of identity constructing: some may remain, new ones may arise and their relevance may alter. This is because identity in the transnational context gains new notional nuances and various alternatives. Referring to Orvar Löfgren, different kinds of mobility change people's lives, activities and ideas. But increased mobility does not have to mean increased rootlessness. Mobility can sometimes be a strategy to produce stability (Löfgren 1996: 164–165). A migrant (and not only migrant) individual may be characterised as living in cultural transit. So, the scholar spotlights the studies focusing on the ways in which the local, national and global interact, constitute each other, blend, mix or are kept apart. Sometimes the global makes the local stand out more clearly (Löfgren 1996: 167).

Thus, different festivals including appropriate symbols, ceremonies and traditions plays important role in the transnational cultural swirl and identity construction. According to Pertti Anttonen, we should consider all traditions both inventions and human interventions in the sense that they are socially constructed categories with which people structure their experience and

reproduce the social world. Tradition is today a highly contested identity space (Anttonen 2016: 106–107). Celebrations are usually of communal character. Festivals often involve groups of people who find it relevant for their cultural world even if the occasions can be signified or externalised individually. In these cases they can be characterised as familial and social. Referring to Jolanta Kuznecovienė, it is also important that individuals would not only participate in performing traditional rituals or just accept existing symbols. People must reinterpret them and impart new meanings according to the shifting circumstances that often cause changes in the community life. It is intriguing, how the belonging to community is expressed, affirmed and passed to another generation (Kuznecovienė 2008: 76). The cultural intensity of Lithuanian forms of festivals may moderate in emigration; it can also gain vitality and additional cultural meaning in the foreign context. Their practice depends a lot on individual inspirations, attitudes, motivation, also on the family's cultural context and communal organisation and accessibilities to it in the resident location.

The Main Christian Festivals within Mixed Families in Finland and Greece

The ritual year of Finland and Greece is related to the Christian calendar, similarly to Lithuania and many other European countries. The majority of Lithuanians are Roman Catholics (77,2% according to the census of the year 2011)[1] and follows the Gregorian calendar including Christian festivals. The majority of Finns (72%)[2] belong to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, which follows Gregorian calendar, the same as Roman Catholics do. The majority of Greeks[3] belong to the Greek Orthodox Church, which has different practice concerning the dating. Regarding Christmas, the Greek Orthodox Church adopted the Gregorian calendar, so the Greek Christmas always coincides with the Catholic (and Protestant) Christmas on the 25th December. Regarding Easter Day, Greek Orthodox Church uses the Julian calendar (like Russian Orthodoxes), which is 13 days behind the Gregorian calendar (Orthodox Easter falls between 4th April and 8th May on the Gregorian calendar). That means that Greeks and Russians celebrate together Easter, but not Christmas. The Easter Day coincided in the 21st century on the years 2004, 2007 and 2011, 2014, 2017. The conjunction or disjuncture of the festival dates following different

Churches may influence ways of celebration within mixed families due to different partner's customs and congruity of the festive dates.

Although the national majority is enveloped in the transnational contexts in their everyday life, the local ethno-cultural space usually dominates the heterogeneous channels on the festal occasions. Lithuanian women within mixed marriages abroad have a possibility to observe and take part in the local festivals that may bring divergent feelings and emotions. The experiences induced by the local environment, individual inner values and attitudes, cultural heritage brought from the native family, particularly receiving family's context and interpersonal situations prompt certain cultural negotiations. Finally, women shape kind of strategies that help them to coordinate different cultural elements on the occasions. These strategies lead to a different nexus towards local and native traditions and practices on the celebratory days. The relation with annual cycle of festive days in the receiving country is influenced by the level of individual integration, social acceptance, awareness of native cultural heritage, ties with the native family, also by the impact of different accessible organisations coherent with Lithuanian culture. In time, shifting family life and changing relations may modify these strategies. For instance, experiences in raising children, husband and family-in-law's reflections on various cultural moves introduced by the Lithuanian woman may support or repress the initial attempts to bring some changes. Thus, foreign partner may identify with the nation of majority on the festive occasions; or the foreigner may identify with the native nation or state of origin in that case. I consider it as an individual choice made in the environment of 'others', which is bound by various factors. The choice to use native cultural elements and integrate them into the mixed family's life abroad would signify a form of transnationalism that can be of different intensity. These elements used and applied on the festive days and occasions can differ in individual cases: there can be selection, adaptation or improvisation, often fusion of the 'native/own' and 'foreign/local'. There is also an option to ignore some cultural forms of festivals – the 'own' or 'local'. Participation in the communal Lithuanian events abroad can be seen as transnational activity, when an individual expresses his/ her belonging to the native group abroad.

Different nations or ethnic groups distinguish by more or less diverse ways of celebration calendar festivals even if they are based on the same Christian ritual year. Lithuanian women bring own cultural heritage in these different environments and experience different outcomes in relation to that. So, it is worth dividing the study of Lithuanian women's experiences in Finland and Greece.

Finland

The main calendar festivals in a foreign country can be seen as a critical moment, which may challenge cultural identity and feelings of belonging. It is more acute especially in the first years of living abroad in the mixed relationship or marriage. As one interviewee noted, she felt awkward during the first Christmas celebration in Finland. She was observing it and came to a realisation that they had to 'create new traditions'. (Interview No. 10. FIN-LT.) She looked for a compromise between her own and husband's customs, which could be considered as a certain cultural strategy. The interviewee did not want to make Christmas Eve supper for the husband in the Finnish way – with ham and other animal products – but stick only to the Lithuanian Lent-diet at the table. Her decision was to begin fasting period earlier and have her Lithuanian supper a day before. On the actual Christmas Eve, she would enjoy the festive table and taste all food. This way of celebration was preserved for all the following years.

In some other mixed marriages, women found a different way of compromising concerning Christmas Eve. Every second year they went to the woman's native family in Lithuania, and every other year her parents came to Finland. In both countries, they followed local traditions which satisfied family members of different cultural backgrounds (Interview No. 4. FIN-LT; Interview No. 6. FIN-LT). The forms of celebration Christmas depended on the location – Finland or Lithuania – in some other mixed families also (Interview No. 2. FIN-LT). Other women revealed an altered compromise. Her family usually spent Christmas in Lithuania with the woman's native family, but the Easter Day was always in Finland with the husband's relatives (Interview No. 3. FIN-LT). In another case, mixed family always stayed in Finland for the Christmas and travelled to Lithuania for the Easter Day (Interview No. 9. FIN-LT). The ways of celebration depended on the location. In this way, the location or place of festivals became a decisive element in the strategic organization of the mixed family's ritual forms.

The last strategy was to combine or mix different traditional elements despite the place of celebration. Women often applied it especially in the first years of life within the mixed marriage. The durability of this effort depended a lot on the feedback of the rest of the family regarding the novelties. According to one woman, 'flavors [of the traditional Lithuanian Christmas Eve dishes] were strange for kids as well as to some other family members. As a result, I was eating the dishes alone even for a few days because no one was interested in

them. So, finally I stopped making them' (Interview No. 1. FIN-LT). Strategies may change in time because of changing circumstances: modifying children's attitudes, husband and his family's responses and feedback time-wise.

Woman's individual inclinations or emotions towards a particular cultural environment may play an important role in shaping Christmas traditions within the mixed family. One interviewee mentioned that the general Christmas spirit of the Finnish city, the ritual time of peace and tasteful decorations satisfied her feelings on the occasion better comparing to the Lithuanian environment. The Finnish food and customs prevailed in her family because she considered them as more emotionally fulfilling (Interview No. 7. FIN-LT). Another woman was also aware that Finnish traditions were prevailing in her family: this made her 'life easier', not so obligatory in regard to her cultural heritage (Interview No. 8. FIN-LT). Strategic decisions applied in this case can be perceived as assimilative. Still, it does not mean that other cultural forms of the family life are organised in the same manner.

The Easter Day was not considered that prominent comparing to Christmas among the women interviewed in Finland. One informant mentioned that dyed eggs impressed the Finnish husband's family and the tradition was welcomed. Still, the egg-rolling games were considered bizarre and inappropriate: 'one must not play with food!' – as the interviewee recalled the phrase (Interview No. 3. FIN-LT). The egg-dying tradition was probably the main element that was brought into the mixed families in Finland and took transnational form. It was practised especially if the families included small children. Some women spend Easter holidays making touristic trips within Finland or other countries (Interview No. 11. FIN-LT). In this case, the occasion lost its primary meaning.

The transnational connections are actuated by the initiatives of the Lithuanian community of Finland with its core group in Helsinki. It involves not only some Lithuanian women but also their families, especially kids, which helps to transmit the cultural flows further. Referring to the interview with the community member, the traditional gathering on the Christmas and Easter events consolidated participants' identity and belonging. There was Catholic Mass arranged with a Lithuanian priest on both occasions, who sometimes was involved in the educational program for children on Easter Day. Christmas was celebrated with the performance by the pupils of the Lithuanian weekly school. Sharing the Santa Claus' gifts, common meal and interaction were important elements of the feast (Interview No. 9. FIN-LT).'

Greece

The main Christian festivals – Christmas and Easter – have opposite connotation in Greece: the Resurrection of Jesus Christ usually is more highlighted in the context of the ritual year. Christmas Eve is not celebrated particularly by Greeks. This customary 'emptiness' of the occasion awoke different emotions for the Lithuanian women, because the traditions of the nearest social circle abroad did not correspond to the native family experiences. As one woman noted, strong nostalgia obsessed her on the Christmas Eve; she was missing that family atmosphere and traditional patterns of the day (Interview No. 5. GR-LT). Depending on the individual cases, native traditions can play a significant role in identity constructing in the new environment abroad. But, the integration of the 'own' elements into the mixed marriage may demand additional effort, incorporation with similar ones or some other strategic decisions like split or double celebrations, so the traditions become a part of the mixed family's life.

In some cases, the location or place of a festival became a decisive element in the strategic organisation of the mixed family's ritual forms, as mentioned above. One family would always celebrate Christmas in Lithuania with the woman's native family and the Easter Day it would spend in Greece with the husband's kin (Interview No. 12. GR-LT). In other mixed families, this 'place' factor was not persistent, but a diverse type of strategic celebration developed: Christmas festivities had Lithuanian connotation and the Easter was considered a Greek celebration (Interview No. 3. GR-LT; Interview No. 19. GR-LT).

The same as in Finland, some women realised that practices of the native traditions abroad demanded additional effort and endeavour. Its maintenance was strongly affected by the local husband and his circle's acceptance and support. The awareness of importance of cultural affinity prompted some women to incorporate and arrange common Christmas Eve celebrations with their mixed families. In this way, rather intimate family festival of Christmas Eve got a more collective form abroad. Some other family cases referred to a persistent woman's effort to practice Lithuanian Christmas and Easter traditions in the mixed marriage (Interview No. 17. GR-LT; Interview No. 16. GR-LT), or the opposite strategy – that was to adapt oneself and follow the local customs (Interview No. 1. GR-LT). The assimilative strategy was based on the viewpoint that it would be 'egoistic to demonstrate own traditions abroad'. The woman regarded conformity to the husband's circle as the proper way without expectations of their adjustment to her. She felt like she was a minority, and this status did not empower her for the culturally divergent acts (*ibid.*)

The conjunction or disjuncture of the Catholic and Greek Orthodox Easter dates influenced ways of celebration within the mixed families in Greece. When the dates were different, the occasion gained individual spaces time-wise. This created an opportunity for diverse cultural implementations within mixed marriage without contesting or putting into the shade some of them. The differentiation of the dates enabled women to combine societal obligations towards husband and his family's expectations and fulfil own cultural exigency. Celebration of the Greek Easter usually followed the local way in the mixed marriage, which was often combined with the wider family-in-law's reunion. Catholic Easter was signified with traditional egg-dyeing and decorating, egg tapping and rolling games, especially if there were children included. Thus, mixed families practised the tradition twice, if the Catholic and Orthodox Easter dates varied.

According to some women, sometimes it was still hard to infuse the festive Easter spirit at home when it was an uncelebrated day in the local society (Interview No. 13. GR-LT). Several women referred to the significance of the Lithuanian community's initiatives on the occasion. (Interview No. 11.GR-LT; Interview No. 2. GR-LT; Interview No. 4. GR-LT). The communal gathering, sharing of the Lithuanian dishes, coloured eggs were combined with other activities like quiz, egg-rolling games, or Lithuanian film watching, which usually involved the Greek husbands as well. Collective celebration infused the festival with cultural meaning and greater power among the participants. The opportunity to speak native language and meet other Lithuanian women in similar social position created a feeling of unity and belonging. The place of festival was often decorated with the Lithuanian flag and national colours were dominating in participants' outfit or accessories. The symbolism strengthened identity awareness and transmitted it to the children of the mixed parents.

National Festivals of the State of Lithuania in Finland and Greece

The calendar festivals referring to the historically significant events of the state of Lithuania do not have equivalent celebrations on the same dates in the host countries like some Christian festivals do. Thus, there is a cultural space for the possible engagements within mixed marriages without shading or competing with the local practices. The forms of celebration – the national festivals of

Lithuania in Finland and Greece – depend a lot on formal and informal communal initiatives in the locations. Individual acts are rarer but they do exist and play a significant role in identity construction. Women look for individual forms of expression especially if the collective events can hardly be accessed. Often they involve the local husband and children, which also makes a certain cultural implication. Some women are active in both ways – privately and publicly, others prefer communal activities or confine themselves to actions in the private circle.

However, Lithuanian communities play a greater role on the occasions and create cultural forms involving a bigger number of participants. They often cooperate with the formal institutions like Embassies of Lithuania in the countries under focus. Lithuanian communities can be very strong transmitters of transnationalism. Active leaders with good organising skills can develop very meaningful and expanded activities involving many nationals residing in the foreign country on a permanent or temporary basis. The organisations build ties between the native and receiving countries based on practical, cultural and educational matters. The communities can be a very strong transnational channel escalating different cultural forms based on ethnic and national principles. Their essential activity is focused on emitting so called 'Lithuanian' cultural elements and adapting them within the foreign environment. Thus, the celebration of the Lithuanian national festivals within mixed marriage is affected by the accessible initiatives of the organisations in the countries of residence.

The main Lithuanians' Community of Finland is based in Helsinki. There is an equivalent organisation in Greece – the Lithuanians' Community of Greece based in Athens. They usually coordinated celebration of the national festivals with the Embassies of Lithuania respectively. The dates of 16th of February and 11th of March were commemorated often with an arrangement of Lithuanian musicians' concerts in Helsinki. Lithuanians in Greece would also participate in the events arranged by the Embassy of Lithuania, if there was an opportunity, and arrange an unofficial celebration in parallel. The organisers aimed to induce Lithuanian spirit by inviting participants to choose the outfit with the national colours or symbols. They also adapted local tradition that was usually practiced on the 1st January by Greek families – the cutting of 'vasilopita' cake (St. Basil's Bread) with a coin hidden inside (Klimova 2015: 295–296). Adaptation and practicing of the custom within the Lithuanian community created the feeling of proximity and familiarity. The Greek tradition was shifted to the foreign circle but still did not lose its function and effectiveness.

All Lithuanian communities worldwide are invited to sing the national anthem on the 6th July, the Statehood Day. It was another occasion when some women along with the other members would gather for communal acts of identity expression in Finland and Greece. The event would often be attended by whole families, including local husbands and children because of its unofficial and open form. According to one informant, Lithuanians in Finland set up a tradition to wear symbolic crowns, which would make a connection with the coronation of Mindaugas, the First and only king of Lithuania (Interview No. 9. FIN-LT). Lithuanians in Greece would again dress in national colours and have Lithuanian flags for the occasion. The performing of the national anthem would be followed by a common meal or coffee and socialising. The very participation in the festivals of the state of Lithuania in the host country is of the utmost importance. Women as well as other participants strengthen their identity by joining the Lithuanian communities and celebrating the occasions with particular acts. It strengthens cultural awareness and creates a medium for sharing the sense of communal identity.

Generalisation

Calendar festivals with the particular traditions, symbols and other sociocultural elements transferred into the foreign, or 'other', cultural environment gain supplementary meanings and contextualise identity construction processes. Living within mixed marriage in the 'other' space can be a certain stimulus to integrate cultural forms based on native cultural heritage, or it can prompt invention of new traditions for different occasions. In some cases, native traditions can be adapted, integrated, modified or submerged within the local context. Sometimes native traditions can be ignored or, on the contrary, dominate the local ones. In this way, the new environment may presuppose different forms of festival celebrations, which are the result of cultural flux and mixing. In other cases, even the character of a celebration can be modified along with the modified traditions: it can move from the private family circle into more public or communal festivity. It also happens that the event of public character can be commemorated in the private space using particular symbols and elements. The transition or transformation of traditions and integration of them in the foreign environment can be considered as a form of transnationalism. Different strategies are applied to find the most suitable form of celebration within

the mixed marriage abroad. It plays an important role in identity constructing and cultural life of the mixed families' members, including children and other individuals participating in the events.

Notes

1 https://osp.stat.gov.lt/documents/10180/217110/Gyv_kalba_tikyba.pdf/1d9dac9a-3d45-4798-93f5-941fed00503f, last accessed on 07.02.2018.

2 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Finland, last accessed on 12.02.2018.

3 The Greek government does not keep statistics on religious groups and censuses do not ask for religious affiliation. According to the U.S. State Department, an estimated 97% of Greek citizens identify themselves as Eastern Orthodox, belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greece, last accessed on 12.02.2018.

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SUDDEN DEATH MEMORIALS IN BUCHAREST: DISTRIBUTION IN TIME AND SPACE

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Abstract: Only one year after the 1989 revolution, which ended the communist rule of Romania, Bucharest experienced a significant increase in the placement of memorials commemorating people who died unexpectedly. This study examines the unique set of circumstances which lead to the resurgence of this long-standing practice and the reclamation of the urban public space for placement of these memorials. A total of 290 sudden death memorials, representing 313 individuals, were identified in Bucharest between 2000 and 2018.

Keywords: Bucharest, evolution in space, evolution in time, public space, religious practices, roadside memorials, sudden death memorials

Introduction

Shortly after the violence of the 1989 events which lead to the fall of the communist regime in Romania, a variety of memorials and monuments dedicated to the 'heroes of the revolution' appeared throughout Bucharest (Stahl 2010; 2013). Memorials rapidly proliferated the city's public space. Some memorials were erected in central places where many people lost their lives. Still others appeared near churches or in front of military units, which had suffered losses during the violent confrontations. The victims' family members erected some of the memorials, while others were constructed at the initiative of the victims' associations or local authorities who were eager to show their repentance for past wrongs and their solidarity with the bereaved. Regardless of the initiator of the individual memorial, each bore the same cross-shape. The city, little by little, was studded with crosses: "clear markers of the recent political change and the freedom of religious expression that it engendered" (Stahl 2013: 893–894).

This 'memorial mania' (Doss 2010) which dominated most the 1990s and continued throughout the 2000s encompassed what, at the time, was called "the national reconciliation process". The construction of official state monuments gave an opportunity to the now former communists to re-enter the public scene and to mourn the loss of innocent victims, together with their former opponents. The monuments served as the common ground where former enemies could meet and take part, side by side, in the numerous commemoration ceremonies.

Within this context unofficial cross-shaped memorials made their appearance in the city centre. These memorials bore a personal touch providing the victims' names, ages and occupations along with the circumstances of their deaths. Sometimes pictures or a few words were added telling of the family's or friends' grief. Additional memorial crosses, inspired by earlier memorials, soon followed, marking places where people's lives ended under various circumstances, but as unexpectedly as the deaths of the heroes of the 1989 revolution. Although most memorials are dedicated to road accident victims, others are for victims of more unusual causes of death including falls, electrocutions, strokes, suicides, drownings, and even murders (Stahl 2013: 894; 2010: 388).

Memorials in Bucharest have specific characteristics, related to their appearance and function, which make them stand apart from most examples referred to Western academic literature. Made out of durable and long-lasting materials,

memorials in Bucharest are intended to be permanent not 'temporary', nor 'ephemeral', as the 'grassroots memorials' (Margry & Sánchez-Carretero 2011), nor do they represent forms of social action. A more suitable term to describe them would be 'roadside memorials'. Memorials in Bucharest are in their large majority crosses, so they could be referred to as 'roadside crosses' (Everett 2002). The sight of a cross beside a road is so common in the public sphere in Romania that it has become a symbol of road accidents and has been used by Traffic Police for several years as a symbol in their safe driving campaign. However, although usually located next to roads, memorials in Bucharest are not always related to road or traffic accidents, but rather to the fact that roads are the main spaces of circulation of the continuously moving urban population. Compared to official Traffic Police data, the location of memorial crosses does not correspond with the roads or places with elevated accident rates. Memorials sometimes can be found in the most unexpected places such as: next to rail tracks in the Central Railway Station; under the windows or in the gardens of apartment buildings; next to playgrounds or parking lots; on the riverbank; or in the middle of the park. Deaths that occur in public spaces are marked, regardless of their nature. Although memorials vary, in Bucharest, they all have one thing in common, which is the very event that underlies their erection: the sudden, unexpected and thus unprepared-for death. For this reason, Stahl called them 'sudden death memorials' (Stahl 2013), a term that more appropriately describes the reason for their existence. From this perspective, the Romanian memorials seem to be similar to memorials in Southern and Eastern Europe, such as the former Yugoslavia[1] (Rajković 1988a; 1988b) and Russia (Yudkina & Sokolova 2014). The Greek *proskynetári*, although quite similar in function to the Romanian crosses, are different in their appearance, as they represent miniature Orthodox Churches (see Panourgiá, qtd. in Everett 2002: 20). Various nations in Latin America, such as Chile and El Salvador, also exhibit memorials with a similar purpose (Woolf & Escobar, qtd. in Everett 2002: 18).

These sudden death memorials are not shrines in the sense that Fraenkel (2011) understood a 'shrine'. She uses the term in a broad context as a place "where written material is concentrated and intimately mixed with candles and flowers, and with a broad range of other objects such as toys, flags, ribbons, clothes, etc." (Fraenkel 2011: 233). This description does not correspond with the sudden death memorials in Bucharest, most of which consist of a simple metal cross. As for the intrinsic idea of "adoration and praying practices at a religious,

holy site" insinuated by the term 'shrine' (Margry & Sánchez-Carretero 2011: 23), it has to be mentioned that although in Romania the memorial cross is occasionally consecrated by priests, sprinkled with holy water and smoked with incense, the place it marks is not a place of veneration. It is however, a place where one prays for the soul of the deceased. It is in this regard only, that memorials in Bucharest address the public and require participation of strangers, as is the case of 'spontaneous shrines' described by Santino (2006: 12). Field interviews revealed that, it is not uncommon for strangers to leave flowers at memorials, or to light a candle in memory of the deceased, or rather to ease his soul.

Only a few particular memorials in Bucharest are 'performative' in the sense given by Santino (2006; 2010). These are the unique memorials raised in memory of the 'heroes of the revolution' and for the victims of the violent demonstrations of miners in 1991. The result of violent, political or social confrontations, these memorials make a statement, they are, using Santino's words, 'the silent witness' (2006: 12). Long before any official monument was erected for these victims,[2] before anyone knew their names; small, insignificant, fabricated crosses were the only indicators of their sacrifice, the only ones to tell their story.

As the number of sudden death memorials in Bucharest continues to grow, a pattern of their distribution in space and time has emerged. The current article investigates only the matter of their distribution in space and time. An in-depth examination of the form and function of these memorials is reported elsewhere, as are the victims' demographic data (Stahl 2010; 2013).

Theories of Mass Behaviour

Although Doss (2010) remarked about an extensive variety of memorials commemorating the dead and their rapid and prolific appearance as 'memorial mania', this could be an apt expression for the more narrowly defined sudden death memorials in Bucharest as well. What is at the root of this manic growth? In order to answer that question, it is necessary to explore several relevant theories. Ogunlade (1979) states that social restraints are generally group derived and form the basis of society and culture. When the social restraints are not group derived, but are imposed by an external authority, the risk to individuals who deviate from the imposed expectation is increased by a degree equal to the

threat of force and the probability of punishment. Communism used both of these elements to control religious practice and traditional folk beliefs among the populace to reshape Romanian society and culture.

Associative imitation theory (Heyes & Ray 2000), also called 'contiguity', asserts that information and behaviours which constitute culture do not originate from within the individual, as Bandura thought (Bandura 1986) but, are passed from generation to generation. This transmission theory allows for macro and micro [an entire society or individual family unit] passage of traditional behavioural expectation. The degree to which a society and its culture can be reshaped is dependent on the strength of collective memory. As long as some memory or record of a previous cultural behaviour or belief exists, it can re-emerge. The speed and strength of re-emergence is equal to the prevalence of the memory or record of the previously accepted behaviour or belief. The more widely practiced the traditional behaviour is, the more rapidly it can be restored when external constraints are removed. Additionally, behavioural re-emergence may be aided by social facilitation (Wheeler 1966). One individual's acts serve as "a releaser for the same behaviour in another or in others", which in turn promotes the same "action in the whole group" (Thorpe 1956: 120). A widely held cultural value or behaviour of long-standing, once prohibited, may quickly re-emerge after the prohibition and threat of punishment are removed. The erection of crosses is not a recent phenomenon. Accounts from the seventeenth century suggests the pre-existence of large numbers of crosses along Romanian roadsides (e.g. Călători 1973: 206; Călători 2001: 1247, 1291).

Gustav Le Bon was first to identify the social phenomenon of 'behavioural contagion', a type of social influence. He used the term to describe undesirable aspects of social behaviour within a crowd of people (Le Bon 2009 [1895]). Since the appearance of his work, in late nineteenth century, the theory has undergone many refinements and expansions (Stephenson & Fielding 1971) and is no longer understood to relate solely to undesirable behaviour. Still central to this prevalent theory is the concept that a crowd can reduce personal restraint of behaviour engendering a group identity (Redl 1942). Within group identity, there is a loss of fear and restraint of one's behaviour, which can lead to deviation from acceptable social norms. This understanding of behavioural contagion also implies a sense of 'deindividualization' as further defined by Festinger, Pepitone and Newcomb (Festinger *et al.* 1952). People in groups lose a personal sense of responsibility and independent identity, which are

subsumed into the group's identity (Freedman *et al.* 1980). Thus, the group becomes responsible, not the individual, and the normal social restraints are diminished. Ralph Turner found that when one or more people violate the established societal norms, it becomes easier for each successive person to transgress the prohibition (Turner 1964). Each successive person who performs the behaviour serves as an endorsement to others to behave in a similar manner. This concept is much like social facilitation. The initiator of the 'deviant' behaviour establishes it and subsequent individuals set a pattern, which, if sustained by an increasing number of people, reaches a critical threshold and becomes the new social norm. Hence, the behaviour is normalised and can become an expected social behaviour embedded within the cultural context.

A further concept useful in the understanding of group behaviour comes from the 'Werther effect'[3] presented in David Phillips' work (Phillips 1974). When a well-known or highly admired person performs an action, that behaviour appears 'endorsed' and provides support for others who wish to act in a similar manner (Phillips 1974). In this way, a once rare behaviour can become commonplace. In 1979, Ogunlade defined behavioural contagion as a "spontaneous, unsolicited and uncritical imitation of another's behaviour" (Ogunlade 1979: 205). His model contains four conditions he found present in contagious behaviour; most importantly, the initiator of the behaviour serves as a positive example or reference to observers of the behaviour. Unlike Le Bon, Ogunlade does not assume the undesirability of group behaviour in his model of behavioural contagion.

According to Freedman the appearance of individual behaviour may manifest in two forms: point clusters or mass clusters. In point clusters, activities or behaviours tend to occur within a related time period and within a contiguous space or spaces. Clustered behaviours, which are not grouped in contiguous space, but are grouped within a related time-period, are mass clusters (Freedman *et al.* 1980). Two additional concepts are valuable in any discussion of behavioural contagion: size [number of members] and density [proximity of members] (Freedman *et al.* 1980). The size of a group is of less importance than how tightly the group members are spaced. The greater the density the more contagious the behaviour. Widely spread rural populations are less affected by non-group, externally imposed constraints, as previously discussed, and traditional behaviours are more likely to persist when compared to more densely populated urban environments. Concomitantly, urban populations are more

prone to behavioural contagion due to their density. Hence urban populations experience a greater impact of non-group externally imposed constraints while they are also more likely to undergo increased behavioural contagion upon the removal of the externally enforced constraints.

Methodology

In the year 2000, a longitudinal study of sudden death memorials located within the city limits of Bucharest was undertaken. The study is now in its 19th year. Repeated fieldwork campaigns have so far revealed a total number of 290 memorials. Each time a memorial cross or other monument was located it was photographed and a note was made registering its location and structure. After registering a sudden death memorial, it was plotted on a city map. This plotting allowed researchers to return to the field site and examine the memorial and its surrounding in greater detail. This process proved valuable in finding neighbouring memorials and lead to collection of direct source materials. Direct sources consisted of several short interviews with shopkeepers, neighbours, and passer-by's in the area where memorials were located. These provided needed information regarding the cause of deaths and dates of placement of the monuments. Furthermore, three extended interviews with priests who had been called upon to bless these memorials provided valuable information. A two and a half-hour, in-depth interview with two family members who had lost two loved ones in a car accident and had erected a memorial to their memory, was also revealing.[4]

Quantitative data concerning the distribution in space and time of the memorials in addition to gender, age at death and other information about the persons to whom they had been erected was recorded. Subsequently, information was gathered from indirect sources, such as printed or online articles and broadcast media.

Several memorials disappeared over the course of fieldwork. As they still had a role in the distribution, as will be shown, they were kept in the study for plot mapping and statistical purposes. The locations and dates of monument the erections were graphically plotted to visually depict emergent patterns.

Findings and Discussion

The existance of sudden death memorials in Bucharest is not exceptional. Similar memorials are visible all over Romania and, despite a few regional differences, they are very much alike. What is exceptional, however, is the stunning increase in their numbers after 1989 [refer to Figure 3 and Figure 7 below]. Over the past three decades the spread of sudden death memorials in Bucharest has been considerable, encouraged by permissive legislation which does not impose sanctions or restrictions on those who install them, either on public or private land. The situation is quite different in the neighbouring Republic of Moldova, where memorials were the object of a special order issued by the Minister of Transportation, who demanded their express removal before the end of 2016. Western countries, and fifteen American states (Margry & Sánchez-Carretero 2011: 14) have also taken legal measures to stop the spread roadside memorials. Opposite legal measures are in place in New Mexico, where damaging *descados* (resting places) is a criminal offense and the family must be notified before necessary removal. In Romania, local authorities discourage new installations, when asked for permission. The two bereaved family members interviewed inquired at the Bucharest city hall before installing their memorial cross. Although it was not illegal, they were advised not to go ahead with their plans, so that the city would not resemble "one big cemetery".

Memorials are generally regarded with respect in Bucharest and even protected; to remove them would be considered callous, even sinful. However, public opinions on this issue are divided. Individuals opposed to memorial placement feel personal tragedies should not be imposed on others. There are those who are sympathetic toward the bereaved and are tolerant, if not accepting, of this traditional practice. Road workers interviewed for this project declared that if necessary, they only temporarily relocate the roadside memorials, taking care of putting them back in place once their job is done. People living close to memorials, mistaking the researcher as a city official, have repeatedly asked that the memorials not be removed, stressing the tragedy behind them. Nevertheless, over the years, a number of memorials have disappeared, mainly due to roadwork and city planning.

Why are these memorials highly regarded and why was there such a rapid proliferation of memorials in the immediate post-communist period? There are several theoretical answers to these questions. Ogunlade's (1979) 'group

versus non-group derived behavioural constraints theory' suggests that the collapse of communist rule and the resultant freedom to engage in religious and ancient traditional practices provides a partial answer. During the communist regime overt religious expression was restricted in Romania and more strictly enforced in the national capital, Bucharest, than elsewhere. Religious restrictions ended with the removal of communist rule. When external threats are removed, previously prohibited cultural behaviours can re-emerge.

Historical sources mention the existence of large numbers of crosses alongside Romanian roads as far back as the seventeenth century (e.g. Călători 1973: 206; Călători 2001: 1247, 1291). Their presence continued in Bucharest until they were removed and transferred to museums and churchyards under communism. Despite communist prohibition, the erection of commemorative memorials was never wholly abandoned in Romania, although it was more common in rural regions than in urban environments where the threat of force and the probability of punishment were greater. Judging by the year of death inscribed on the memorials, the oldest memorial registered in Bucharest dates from 1974 (Figure 1). In total only sixteen memorials erected during the communist period were inventoried. Perhaps there were more which may have been removed by government officials during that period. Undoubtedly the fear of punishment curtailed the long-standing cultural practice of commemorating the dead with a cross at the scene of death. Although curtailed, these sixteen memorials testify to the continuation of the practice even under communism. The cross therefore was not a new element in the cityscape of Bucharest and may well explain the re-emergence of sudden death memorials, but perhaps not the rapidity of this re-emergence. The case described in the former Yugoslavia (Rajković 1988a; 1988b), where communist authorities had a difficult time restraining the expansion of the practice, only confirms this assumption.

In the communist era, however, memorial placement was done in a rather discreet way, thus reducing the threat inherent in non-group derived social restraints identified by Ogunlade (1979). The memorials were smaller, less elaborate, and usually handmade in comparison to the larger commercially manufactured, more recent memorials. They were mainly located at the periphery of the city, away from the eyes of officials and local authorities (Stahl 2010: 398; 2013: 895). As in the case of other religious practices, the restrictive measures imposed by the communist regime were more visible in Bucharest than in remote rural areas or even other cities, where these traditions

continued unhindered. Widely spread rural populations are less affected by non-group, externally imposed constraints (Freedman *et al.* 1980) and traditional behaviours are more likely to continue.

During communism, Bucharest was heavily industrialised. To meet manpower needs for the newly industrialised city, rural inhabitants were relocated to Bucharest. This influx of rural inhabitants brought with them their old traditions which were repressed in their new home. According to Heyes and Ray's (2000) 'associative imitation theory' their cultural practices would be transmitted from generation to generation and not quickly forgotten. Because communism in Romania lasted little more than one generation, older traditions were not extinguished. The density of rural people in the city and the strong memory of tradition, combined with the removal of restraints, allowed the long-held cultural practice of creating memorials to rapidly re-emerge in the urban public space.

The tone for the re-emergence of the traditional cross/monuments to mark sudden death within the city of Bucharest was set by the monuments to the heroes of the revolution. The example given by the heroes of the revolution served as both an endorsement, as defined by Phillips (1974) and as a positive reference to observers of their actions. As in the case of the former Yugoslavia, the power of the examples was considerable (Rajković 1988b: 177). These celebrated heroes served as models for other monuments to be placed in public space (Stephenson & Fielding 1971). Ogunlade (1979) speaks of how a positive role model serves to advance imitative behaviour. The example of these powerful role models in conjunction with the reappearance of group derived social norms lead to the re-emergence of the memorials. The rapid proliferation is explained by Turner's theory (1964) of behavioural contagion as well as by Heyes & Ray (2000). When the externally imposed forces of communism were removed social facilitation (Wheeler 1966; Thorpe 1956) took over. Even former communist leaders then publicly embraced religion, and conflicts over practice of the cultural tradition within the city ceased. Increasing numbers of individuals began doing what they had wanted to do, i.e. place a cross/monument for the dead and so others, seeing this, also did the same free from the non-group derived prohibitions. Theories posited by Turner (1964) and Heyes & Ray (2000) predict such behaviour. The behaviour grew within the city to a point where it was both acceptable and perhaps expected of families. The density (proximity of members) of the city that once prevented people from violating the externally, non-group derived rules now facilitated behavioural

contagion (Freedman *et al.* 1980). The greater the density the more contagious the behaviour.

The assertion of group derived social norms appeared immediately following the December 1989 revolution with the establishment of seven memorials to the 'heroes of the revolution'. Another six sudden death memorials materialised in 1990 (Figure 1). Interviews conducted during fieldwork revealed that people do not always erect a memorial immediately following a death but do so by the first anniversary of the death. Consequently, it is difficult to date the actual construction of the memorial thus, for our purposes the date of death, as inscribed on the memorial, served as a reference. During the decade following the revolution (1990-1999) a total of 111 memorials sprung up in the city (Figure 2). The year with the largest distribution of memorials was 2005, with 16 memorials, closely followed by 1999, with 15 memorials (Figure 1). Since 2007 there has been a decreasing trend in the placement of new memorials. The number of new memorials, two, registered in 2016 approximates the prevalence of new memorials during the communist years. The 'memorial mania' seems to be waning. It must be noted that 34 memorials of the total of 290 have an unknown date of origin which may impact this downward trend. Figure 1, shows a clustering of memorial erections in time with intermittent declines and a current downward movement. Figure 2 demonstrates the rapid

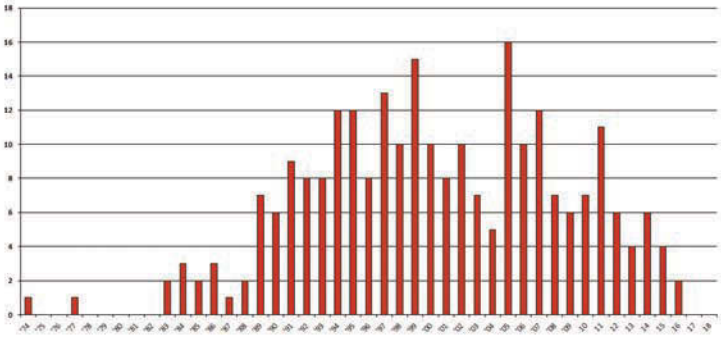

Figure 1. Distribution of memorials by year, taking into account the year of death of the commemorated person. Note: for 34 memorials, the date of death is unknown.

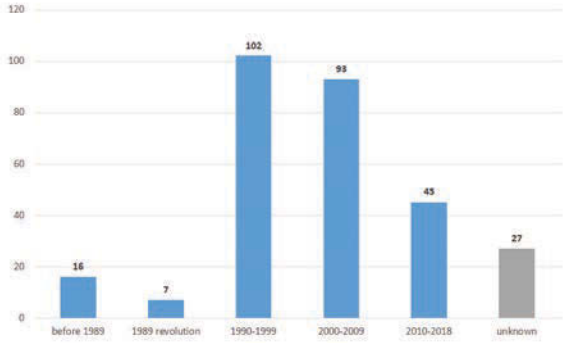

Figure 2. Distribution of memorials by decades in which the sudden death of the commemorated persons occurred.
Note: In Figure 1, the specific dates of death are unknown in 34 cases. However, in Figure 2 seven of these cases could be identified in specific decades.

growth of sudden death memorials in the 1990s and the first decade of this century providing one of two of Freedman's 'point cluster' model (Freedman *et al.*, 1980) criteria, i.e. occurrence within a related time period. The figure also provides evidence of the prior existence of sudden death memorials however limited in number.

Freedman's (Freedman *et al.* 1980) second criteria for the 'point cluster' model requires the occurrence within a contiguous space or spaces. To determine whether this criterion is met, location mapping by sequence of installation was undertaken. In Figure 3 one can see that memorials erected prior to 1989 were generally well outside the centre portion of the city, thus drawing little attention. These memorials were on roadways exiting the city and were closer to outlining villages than to central Bucharest.

The memorials to the heroes of the revolution are added to the location map in Figure 4. These memorials are more centrally located, near scenes where violence took place in December 1989. Four memorials are clustered very near each other, in the Western section of the city where much of the fighting took place, close to military installations and the former Ministry of National Defence. These memorials appeared in early 1990.

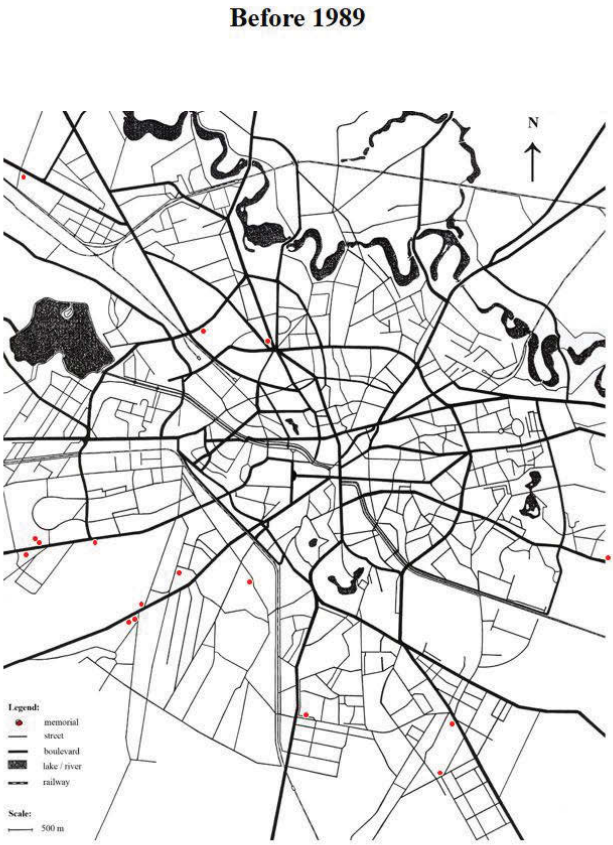

Figure 3. Sudden death memorials before 1989.

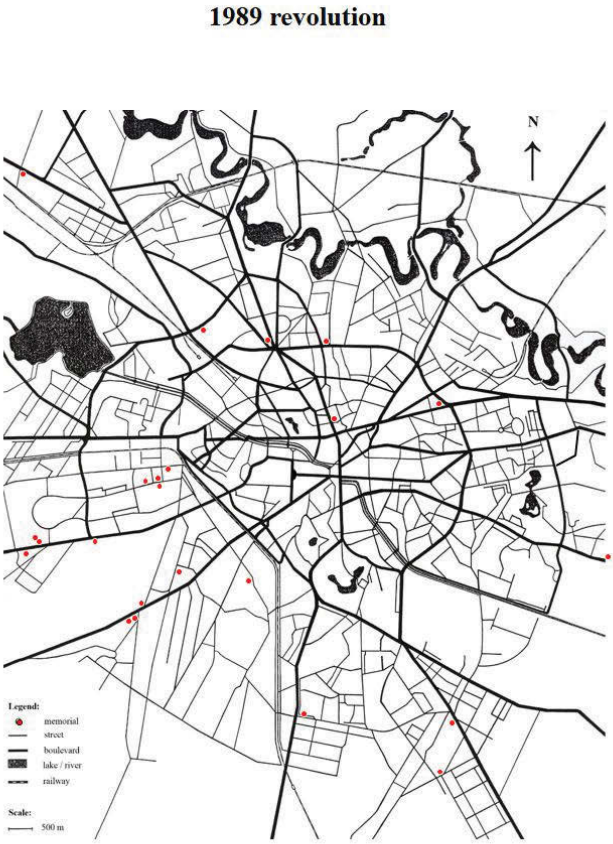

Figure 4. Sudden death memorials related to the 1989 revolution.

Figure 5. Sudden death memorials between 1990 and 1999.

Figure 6. Sudden death memorials between 2000 and 2009.

Figure 7. Sudden death memorials between 2010 and 2018.

Figure 5 shows the locations of 102 new memorials erected between 1990 and 1999. One can notice the widespread placement of the memorials throughout most neighbourhoods within the city. Large new clusters of memorials, with as many as six in a location are apparent. The river bank is also host to five or more memorial sites.

By the first decade of this century memorials stretched from the periphery to the heart of the city and frequently form clusters of 4–8 memorials. Ninety-three additional memorials emerged. Boulevards, streets, tramway lines, the lake and the river banks all have memorials. By the end of 2009 there was a total of at least 218 (Figures 2 & 6) memorials. The heaviest concentration of memorial sites is found in the Western part of the city, where several memorials dedicated to the heroes of the revolution are located. New memorials have clustered around these areas (Figure 6).

Figure 7 shows all 290 memorials registered in this research. The heaviest concentration of memorials remains in the Western portion of Bucharest, with multiple clusters of 4–8 crosses. However, every part of the city and all major boulevards, numerous well-travelled streets, the tramway lines, the lake and the river banks teem with memorials.

This paper explored the distribution of sudden death memorials in space over time. Multiple theories gave possible explanations for the rapid re-emergence of an ancient practice, one that did not entirely disappear during communism, of erecting memorials for sudden deaths and for their proliferation in Bucharest. Initially the memorials were unevenly distributed but were in contiguous space. Over time memorials became more widespread with multiple clusters in well-travelled locations. By applying Freedman *et al.*'s (1980) model of contiguous space relationships over distinct time it is reasonable to conclude that criteria for 'point cluster' are satisfied. It must be remembered that memorials are not only related to road accidents and in fact the erection of them re-emerged in a prolific way due to revolution and not a road or other accident. Each memorial gives silent witness to a tragic death regardless of its unexpected location within the city.

Notes

1 The study was conducted in the 1960s and the 1970s and referred mainly to Croatia, Montenegro and Slovenia. Serbia was not included.

2 A monument, symbolically named "The Rebirth" or "The Resurrection", was inaugurated in 2005. Installed in the square were Ceaușescu gave his final speech, it mentions the name of 1058 victims.

3 In 1974 Phillips introduced the term Werther effect to describe the often referred to copycat suicide phenomenon. He named it the Werther effect after the Goethe novel: Die Leidendes jungen Werther (The Sorrows of Young Werther) published in 1774. The main character of the novel committed suicide after being rejected by the woman he loved. It is reported that many young men, finding themselves in a similar situation, hanged themselves dressed in similar manner to the fictional character, Werther.

4 This interview was with the mother and sister of a woman who perished in an auto accident. Her young daughter died four days later from injuries received in the accident. The memorial is dedicated to both, because "that is the place from which they both went away".

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FAMILY CELEBRATIONS IN LITHUANIA AND BULGARIA: ETHNIC, CONFESSIONAL AND CULTURAL TRAITS

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Abstract: The article is aimed at answering the question whether confessional and ethnic background has an impact on the holiday traditions that bring family members together. The investigation focuses on Christmas as it was qualified as the most important family celebration by both – citizens of Vilnius and those of Sofia. Analysis of Christmas as celebrated in the 19th – early 20th century revealed that Lithuanians and Bulgarians give particular prominence to Christmas Eve, and neither differences in the geographic environment and history nor Baltic and Slavic ethnic and Catholic and Orthodox religious background resulted in any significant distinctive features. In the second half of the 20th century the festival in question was considered illegal in the regions under investigation. In the late 20th – early 21st century Christmas Eve became the most important celebration that brings the family together in the cities subjected to investigation. Moreover, the research revealed that Christmas as observed by Orthodox Bulgarians in Sofia is more akin to the festival observed by Catholic Lithuanians and Poles in Vilnius than to that celebrated by Orthodox Russians.

Keywords: Balts, Christmas, Christmas Eve, ethnic, religious, and cultural identity, family, holiday, Slavs

Analysis of calendar festivals observed by modern families of Vilnius citizens of Lithuanian, Polish, and Russian nationality revealed that despite the after-effects of the Soviet atheist policy and latter-day secularization processes, religious aspects have retained importance. Old Ritualists and Orthodox Russians observe Christian festivals according to the Julian calendar, whereas Catholic Lithuanians and Poles use the Gregorian calendar.[1] The difference between the festivals observed in accordance with the two calendars is 13 days. Therefore, people of the abovementioned confessions (usually Russians) in Lithuania celebrate Christmas after the New Year – on the 7th of January (Vyšniauskaitė 1993: 6). However, different confessions are distinct not only by the date of the festival. Investigation of festivals celebrated by the citizens of Vilnius revealed that Catholics, unlike Orthodox people and Old Ritualists, give particular prominence to Christmas Eve. Certain ethnic group related peculiarities, especially pertaining to festive food, can be distinguished. The investigation exhibited that in the festivals observed by the citizens of Vilnius religious factors are accountable for more similarities than the ethnic background. Analysis of Christmas and Christmas Eve does not suggest of the cultural affinity or distinction of the Slavic nations (Poles and Russians) as compared to the Balts (Lithuanians) (Paukštytė-Šaknienė 2016b: 29–74). The said findings prompted to conduct an investigation in a city of a different country, namely Sofia. Although Vilnius and Sofia are capitals of two independent states of the European Union, they are characterized by quite distinct history. After WWII Bulgaria became a Socialist country, whereas Lithuania was incorporated into the USSR as one of its republics. The two cities also differ in their geographic location, ethnic and confessional structure[2] and a number of other factors which in the comparative analysis might translate into tangible differences. As Orthodox and Slavs Bulgarians could be compared to the Russian population of Vilnius which for the most part is also Orthodox. And the Slavic background ought to be important. For example, Bulgarian researcher Rachko Popov spotted the similarities of winter and spring festivals and their rituals characteristic of Slavic ethnic groups and coupled them with the common background (Popov 1989: 73–74). On the other hand, Slavic peoples may profess different beliefs and the Orthodox faith in different countries may also manifest certain distinctions. Calendars used by Orthodox people in Lithuania and Bulgaria differ. On 12 March 1916 the Bulgarian parliament adopted the law providing for the introduction of the Gregorian calendar. Bulgarian Orthodox Church, however,

continued to use the Julian calendar until 1968 when Bulgarian, Romanian, and Greek Orthodox Church adopted the Gregorian calendar, and today only the Easter cycle festivals are continued to be observed according to the Julian calendar (Introduction…). Thereby, Easter time in Bulgaria corresponds with that of the Orthodox Russians, whereas Christmas is celebrated together with Roman Catholics. Another Slavic nation – Poland – adopted the Gregorian calendar together with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the end of the 16th century.

Despite the Christian origin of the festival in question, there are certain differences in the folk traditions observed by Balts (Lithuanians and Latvians) and Slavs as part of the celebration. By comparing these traditions from the perspective of time and location we will strive to answer the question whether religious and ethnic background plays an important role in the traditional celebration of festivals that bring the family together.

The main source of the article comprises field investigation material collected in Vilnius in 2012–2016 within the framework of the projects "Social Interaction and Cultural Manifestations in the City: Leisure Time, Festivals, and Rituals in 2012–2016" and "Contemporary Festivals in the Families of Vilnius Citizens in 2014–2016" and in Sofia in 2015 conducting the project "Contemporary Festivity in Bulgaria and Lithuania – from Traditional Culture to Post-Modern Transformations in 2014–2016". Based on the said material and additional ethnological research conducted by other authors, the author of this article attempts to compare Christmas as the family celebration in two different cities in the period from 1950 to 2015.

Traditional Slavic and Baltic Christmas and Christmas Eve

Christmas – Jesus Christ's birthday – stands out in the structure of the ritual year among the majority of Christian nations. In East Lithuania in the mid-20th century Christmas was celebrated for four or even twelve days until the Epiphany (6th of January) (Šaknys 2001: 39). In the modern-day Lithuania this festival also stands out for its duration – in 1990 Christmas and Boxing Day were declared public holidays, whereas in 2012 another day-off – Christmas Eve – was added to the festive season. In Bulgaria the tree days are also considered official days-off. As in the past Bulgarians, similarly to most European nations, gave prominence to the 12-day period starting with Christmas (Slaveikov 2012: 12).

Public discussions that took place in Lithuania in 2012 with regard to the declaration of Christmas Eve a public holiday emphasized the need to prepare for the celebration of Christmas. However, ethnographic descriptions of Christmas for the most part focus on Christmas Eve rather than Christmas. For example, in ethnologist Juozas Kudirka's book "Christmas Eve and Christmas in Lithuania", which is considered the most exhaustive analysis of Christmas and Christmas Eve as celebrated in the late 19th–early 20th century, Christmas Eve is given way more consideration than Christmas. When describing the day of Christmas Eve the ethnologist highlights spiritual purification (fasting, reconciliation with one's neighbours, payment of debts), work that should be done exceptionally by men and women, and pre-Christmas visit to the bathhouse. Descriptions of the night of Christmas Eve feature decorations of the room (the nativity crib, Christmas tree, sheaf of corn) and preparation for the festival. Christmas Eve dishes, course of the dinner, predictions of the future, and various beliefs related to Christmas Eve are described in detail. A much smaller part of the book is dedicated to Christmas – it features the description of going to the church and getting back on Christmas morning, Christmas breakfast, Father Christmas, sanctification of oats on Boxing Day, seeing off of the hired workers, and Christmas games (Kudirka 1993: 34–243). Thus, the focus is on Christmas Eve dinner. When writing about Christmas as observed by the Poles of Vilnius region in the mid-20th century, researcher Maria Znamierowska-Prüfferowa also focused her attention on the description of the Christmas Eve dinner and traditional dishes, whereas the description of Christmas was confined to a few sentences. Traditional Polish Christmas Eve dishes described by the abovementioned author are akin to those served by Lithuanians (Znamierowska-Prüfferowa 2009: 141–145). Preparations for the festive season and family reunions on Christmas Eve were also emphasized by respondents that had been questioned in the course of the research, though the focus here for the most part was on the social aspect of Christmas Eve, i.e. the possibility to spend time with the family.

Similarly, in Bulgaria emphasis is also laid on Christmas Eve dinner. For example, in Racho Sleveikov's book Christmas Eve, though called Little Christmas (Malka Koleda), is described in greater detail than Christmas itself (Slaveikov 2012: 9–20, 158–160). According to researcher T. A. Koleva, Christmas Eve dinner in the late 19th–early 20th century Bulgaria was a solemn occasion. People would sit around a small round table or on the ground, hay would be laid under

the table or table cloth. Traditionally 9–12 lenten dishes prepared from what was grown on the farm were served: beans, stuffed peppers, cabbage rolls, layered pumkin pie, "kutia", vodka, wine, corn ears, salt, nuts, garlic, and stewed fruit. Traditionally the oldest person in the family would take a handful of hay from the table and fumigate the hives. This was a rite of purification intended to scare away evil spirits. Upon return the head of the family would bow three times in front of the dinner table, take the bread, raise it above his head and break to pieces. Then, he would offer the first piece of bread to all members of the family, so that they could take a small crumb. One piece of bread would be left until the morning and then given to farm animals, another one would be placed under the icon, third one – near the fireplace "for the deceased parents/relatives". The remaining bread would be placed high on a shelf (usually situated along a wall in Bulgarian houses), so that the corn grows tall. Traditionally members of the family would not leave the table during the dinner, whereas the head of the family would walk around the table with his head down so that corn ears grow heavy and lean down. Ritual dishes would be taken off the table in the morning and then the children would slide down the hay stack from one side so that the corn leans to one side. Later, the hay would be used to tie around a fruitless plant/tree or would be kept until Saint George's Day when it would be burnt on a grapevine to "protect from thunder". Numerous rituals were used to predict the future: a silver coin found in food would mean good fortune, full nut – health, empty nut – illness. Girls would not eat their crumbs of the ritual bread rather putting them under their pillows in hope of seeing their future husband in a dream (Koleva 1977: 272).

Christmas Eve dinner in Lithuania in the period in question differed in the selection of dishes predetermined by a more severe climate. Catholic faith is accountable for the prominence laid in the Christmas wafer which can be associated with bread in Bulgaria. In Lithuania there was no tradition to put coins or other things into bread or pastries, besides, Christmas Eve dishes in Lithuania were made without animal fat, only vegetable oil was used. Dishes were prepared using legume crops (peas and beans) and cereals (oats, wheat, barley), poppy, hemp, and flax seeds, vegetables (potatoes, beetroots, cabbages, carrots), and other delicacies gathered in the forest (mushrooms, nuts, cranberries) and garden (apples, cherries, honey). Herring and other types of fish was a mandatory dish on the Christmas Eve table. Similarly to Bulgaria, in Lithuania hay was also laid under the table cloth before Christmas Eve dinner, food was

left on the table overnight (for the souls of the deceased) and the hay was used to tie around apple, pear, and plum trees (Kudirka 1993: 64, 118–122, 169–172).

However, comparison of the festivals in Lithuania and Bulgaria may reveal other differences. Although the words for Christmas in Lithuanian and Bulgarian languages are somewhat similar (Lith. *Kalėdos*, Bulg. *Коляда*), words used to denote Christmas Eve in the two languages are completely different (Lith. *Kūčios*, Bulg. *Бъднивечер*). In the course of history linguists have come up with a number of explanations concerning the derivation of the word Kūčios. Today, the words *kūčia*, *kūčios* are used not only to denote Christmas Eve, but also the Christmas Eve dinner and in some regions also certain dishes served during the dinner (Kudirka 1993: 15–17). Bulgarian name of the festival may be associated with the ritual tree *бъдняк*. For example, according to Bronislava Kerbelytė, alms collecting is a specific feature in the celebration of Christmas Eve among East Slavs, whereas the ritual of badnjak is typical of South Slavs who would cut a tree or a tree stump, carry it around houses, later placing it on the fire (Kerbelytė 2012: 31–48). N. I. Tolstoi distinguished this ritual as the central ritual of the Christmas cycle among South Slavs (Tolstoi 1995: 127–131). On the other hand, in the past similar rituals were considered significant among Balts as well. For example, in Latvia – the other Baltic country – Christmas Eve was also associated with a tree and called *Bluķa vakars* (Olupe 1992: 9). Sources suggest that back in the 18th century a log would be dragged around and later burnt in the territory of the present-day Latvia. In Lithuania this custom is only found in the 19th century sources (Kudirka 1993: 234–242).[3] This makes it obvious that analysis of ancient Lithuanian and Bulgarian festivals may reveal certain similarities that were retained disregarding different geographic environment and history, Baltic and Slavic ethnic and Catholic and Orthodox religious backgrounds.

Christmas and Christmas Eve in Urban Families

In the Socialist period Christmas could not gain any significant differences. According to Dilyana Ivanova, the leading ideological structures in Socialist Bulgaria managed to form a new concept of national heritage aimed at entrenching the said concept in each and every sphere of life. An important role was played by the newly formed Socialist festive culture which encompassed new "Socialist" events and rituals as well as traditional festivals free of religious and

"bourgeois" content (Ivanova 2015: 332). Following the Soviet occupation of Lithuania, the system of calendar holidays underwent substantial changes. The only public holidays were revolution-related festivals (with the exception of New Year's Day). Moreover, new folk festivals that suited the cultural peculiarities of the newly-formed Lithuanian SSR were introduced. Throughout the Soviet period the concept of "new traditions" aimed at legitimizing the newly-developed festive rituals was being actively framed (Paukštytė-Šaknienė 2016a: 25–26). However, in the last decade of the 20th century both the countries witnessed the traditional customs' restoration process whose results can be recorded in the course of our field investigation.

A respondent (b. 1933), who moved to Sofia in 1959, claimed that though under the Socialist rule the celebration of Christmas was forbidden, people continued to celebrate within their families, at times secretly. During that period none of the church festivals was officially recognized. A woman born in 1941 and living in Sofia since 1961 said that while her parents were alive the family would gather at their house for Christmas Eve. Today, the centre of family gatherings is her home where her closest ones – children and grandchildren – come. They bake bread – *numa* – for Christmas and by all means make pork dishes or stuffed turkey – this is the tradition she brought along from her village (the woman was born in Southeast Bulgaria, near the Turkish border). On Christmas Eve, however, the family restrain from eating meat, usually the served dishes contain beans and fresh vegetables. Sweet pie – *нугаче* – is baked.

Part of the respondents claimed that they had not celebrated Christmas before "democracy" and then it became the most important family celebration. According to the respondent born in 1952 in Sofia, seven, nine or thirteen dishes are served during the Christmas Eve dinner. At least seven dishes should be on the table. The indispensable Christmas Eve dishes include cabbage rolls and bread – *баница* or *пита* – with secrets – *каемет* – inside: a piece of the hardest wood, coins, or pieces of paper containing wishes. Bread is usually broken and distributed by the oldest member of the family. On the Christmas Eve dinner table there should always be nuts to keep the diners strong and healthy and garlic to protect from the evil eye and also help stay healthy. After midnight the fast is over and eating meat is allowed. On Christmas day solemn family lunch and dinner are arranged. On Boxing Day people go out to visit their friends and relatives, exchange presents. Usually things that would cheer the receiver or would be useful to him/her are given as presents. Something

is brought to the house of the hosts, for instance, a blender, a pot, a grater, or a coffee-pot – so that the house is cosy and the family has everything it might need. According to the woman, earlier natural fir-trees were decorated, but today, due to environmental considerations, they use an artificial Christmas tree. Presents are exchanged on Christmas Day – in the morning of the 25th of December – in the respondent's family first of all children get their presents and then adults exchange theirs. The respondent has noticed that some people use stockings to put their presents in, but she does not like the new trend. The woman tends to stick to her family's traditions.

All respondents emphasized that Christmas Eve is a family celebration, however, the majority of them also related to Christmas as a family festival. A woman born in 1948 who relocated to Sofia in 1970 claimed that she always celebrates Christmas Eve and Christmas exclusively with her family. A man born in 1966 and living in Sofia since 1979 also said that he always has Christmas Eve dinner together with the immediate family. The next day, i.e. at Christmas, his parents come to visit, whereas on the third day (Boxing Day) he celebrates together with his friends. At times different traditions are observed. In the family of a woman born in 1945 there is a tradition that on Boxing Day children (now grandchildren) go to visit their neighbours and give them red and blue braids as protection from the evil eye. This is related to health. According to a woman born in 1953, on Christmas morning their family always go to church (although this is not typical of the majority of the respondents).

Similar celebrations are characteristic of interfaith families. According to a woman born in 1978, Christmas Eve is celebrated together with the parents of one of the spouses, and Christmas (first day) – with the parents of the other spouse. The festival lasts for two days. Her husband's father is Catholic and his mother is Orthodox. On Christmas Eve the father-in-law says a Catholic prayer, but all other customs are Orthodox. An odd number of dishes is served. They eat bread (*питка с късмети*) with baked in symbols: coin – for wealth, bean – for fertility, tree bud – for health, and button – for work. It is usually the mother or mother-in-law who do the cooking. The oldest person in the family breaks the bread and distributes its pieces to all members of the family. A piece is left for Mary, mother of Jesus – *Богородици*. Traditional Christmas dishes include *сарми* – cabbage rolls with meat – and stuffed peppers. Besides, *чюбрица* – a mixture of spices to dip the bread in – is prepared. The family of the respondent consider it important to have *ушав* – dried fruit stew – on the

table. Presents are placed under the Christmas tree on Christmas Eve or after midnight and unwrapped on Christmas morning.

At times more remote relatives get together on Christmas Day and the younger generation of Sofia citizens claim that on this day it is allowable to invite friends. Younger respondents' stories suggest that alongside the old traditions new practices are being introduced. For example, according to a woman born in 1990, they have a family tradition to look through family photos and videos. A respondent born in 1988 claimed that at Christmas she goes to visit her parents as her mother makes traditional salad and her father fries a turkey, but the woman named the possibility to spend this time of the year with her parents rather than the traditional dishes as the main reason for going to her parents. Here Marija Prodanova's words that Christmas Eve "is about home, family, and affectionate communication" (Prodanova 2013: 201) can be cited.

Christmas Eve is very important to the Catholic Poles living in the largest cities of Bulgaria. In terms of celebration, Bulgarian Poles fall into two groups: those who celebrate according to Polish customs only, and those who celebrate twice, according to Polish and according to Bulgarian tradition or once in a mixed fashion (Mihaylova 2014: 279). One of such Polish traditions is the distribution of *opłatek* (Lith. *kalėdaitis* – Christmas wafer, i.e. a type of bread made of wheat flour and baked in thin dough layers with depictions of Gospel scenes upon it) (*ibid*.: 279–280). Besides, different Polish dishes are served, including the sweet cake with poppy seeds or with honey, beetroot soup, and carp which are also known in Lithuania (*ibid*.: 280).

Citizens of Vilnius also appreciate the possibility to spend time with their families. Christmas Eve and Christmas Day are usually dedicated to the family, whereas Boxing Day (at times also Christmas Day) are for going out and visiting friends. For example, a respondent born in 1990 claimed: "Of all the festivals I like Christmas best because it is a family occasion with a special atmosphere – people eradiating kindness, delicious food, the smell of the Christmas tree, the spirit of Father Christmas. It takes about a week to get ready for Christmas: we decorate the house and buy the Christmas tree. Then, in the morning usually my father and I decorate the Christmas tree, while my mother is working in the kitchen, later, we go on with wrapping presents, working all day, decorating the dinner table and waiting for our relatives to come. During the dinner we break the Christmas wafers, eat, talk, and finally check what's under the Christmas tree. However, the celebration is not over yet. We go to

visit my grandma and repeat the whole ritual there." The woman emphasized that this festival is rather special for the whole family. Due to the possibility of the family reunion, a respondent born in 1989 also considers Christmas time an exceptional occasion. The woman claims: "The festival I like is Christmas Eve because I spend it with my parents, brother, and grandad. It is the only occasion that brings all our family together" (Paukštytė-Šaknienė 2013: 313).

For Catholic Lithuanians and Poles Christmas Eve dinner is a particularly important element of the festival as it starts with the sharing of *kalėdaitis*/*opłatek* (Christmas wafer) among family members. Usually an even number of dishes – twelve – is served (in the mid-20th century Vilnius this tradition was typical not only of Catholics but also of Orthodox families (Znamierowska-Prüfferowa 2009: 214) which differ from their counterparts in Bulgaria. The recent tendency among Russians is giving less prominence to Christmas Eve dinner than Lithuanians and Poles, however a Russian respondent born in 1991 indicated that it is obligatory to go to the bathhouse before Christmas Eve dinner and during the dinner no less than twelve dishes should be served so that the upcoming year is prosperous for the family (Paukštytė-Šaknienė 2016b: 65). On the other hand, Russian respondents, unlike their Lithuanian and Polish colleagues, could hardly identify the most important Christmas Eve dishes. Investigation of typical Christmas Eve dinner food revealed that dishes based on flour and cereals prevail. Fish (including herring) and its dishes are ranked second. Analysis of the most important dishes suggests that Lithuanians cannot imagine Christmas Eve dinner without *kūčiukai* (small, slightly sweet pastries made from leavened dough and poppy seeds), whereas Poles consider fish (particularly carp which is very popular throughout Poland) and Russians – herring – the most important festive food. There is more diversity in traditional Christmas Day food. Lithuanians and Poles mostly prepare meat dishes, dominated by various types of fried chicken. On the tables of Russian families, however, dishes containing no meat prevail. This phenomenon can be coupled with the fact that part of the Russians celebrate Christmas on the 25th of December according to the Gregorian calendar when Russian families are still fasting (Paukštytė-Šaknienė 2016b: 48, 82). There are certain differences in the time of Christmas tree decoration. In Vilnius it is quite obvious that Orthodox people purchase their Christmas trees not prior to Christmas as Catholics do, but after the Catholic Christmas, usually before the New Year's Eve. Ž. Šaknys' investigation revealed that school students receive presents at different time – Poles usually on Christmas Eve, Lithuanians – on Christmas

morning, and Russians mostly on New Year's Day (Šaknys 2016: 95). Festive church attendance is not always subject to nationality and religion. Polish people usually go to church on Christmas Eve, Lithuanians – on Christmas Eve and on Christmas Day, and Russians also on Christmas Eve, but the latter go to church least frequently of the representatives of the three ethnic groups (Paukštytė-Šaknienė 2016b: 64).

Thus, it can justly be concluded that in the modern families of Vilnius citizens representing the three ethnic groups Christmas Eve and Christmas are considered the most important and valuable family celebration. A considerable part of Russians, however, lay less prominence on Christmas Eve, considering Christmas the most important festival. Respondents in Bulgaria, however, similarly to Lithuanians and Poles, emphasize the significance of Christmas Eve.

Conclusions

The research revealed that despite secularization, religious factors have retained their importance in the celebration of Christmas. On the other hand, differences have been observed within communities professing the same faith. The fact whether the festival is celebrated in accordance with the Julian or Gregorian calendar is more important to the content of the festival than different religious backgrounds. Most Orthodox and Old Ritualist (Old Believers) Russians of Vilnius celebrate Christmas according to the Julian calendar, i.e. 13 days later than Catholics. Usually their Christmas falls on a workday, therefore the celebration differs from that on a day-off. Another important aspect is the fact that Russians are apt to focus on the celebration of the first of January, thus showing less consideration for Christmas Eve and Christmas that are celebrated later. However, for Bulgarians who celebrate in accordance with the Gregorian calendar, Christmas and especially Christmas Eve have retained greater importance.

Cultural memory also plays an important role in the form of the festival, though certain archaic elements of the celebration (for instance, dragging and burning of a tree) cannot be exercised in modern cities. On the other hand, certain traditional features of the festival that have been passed down from generation to generation as well as days-off dedicated to celebration facilitate family reunions in the urban environment and allow representatives of different generations qualify Christmas as the most important family and personal celebration of the year.

Notes

1 In the bigger part of the territory of the present-day Lithuania the Gregorian calendar was introduced in 1586. In 1800 the country reverted to the Julian calendar and the Gregorian calendar was reintroduced in 1915. Orthodox people and Old Believers in Lithuania continue to use the Julian calendar.

2 The population of Vilnius is made up of 65.49% Catholics; 8.93% – Orthodox people; 1.04% – Old Ritualists. From the ethnic point of view 63.2% are Lithuanians; 16.5% – Polish; 12% – Russians. In Sofia 69.1% of the total population are Orthodox people; 0.8% – Protestants; 0.5% – Muslims. From the ethnic point of view 87.9% of the city's population are Bulgarians; 1.5% – Gypsies; 0.5% – Turks. Thus, the population of Sofia is more homogeneous from both – ethnic and religious point of view.

3 The custom of log dragging was much more typical of Shrove where it was still observed in the second half of the 20th century (Vaicekauskas 2005: 77–78).

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TOYS AND EXPRESSION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY IN SOVIET LITHUANIA. ETHNOGRAPHIC DOLLS AND FIGURINES

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Abstract: The article is based on the assumption that ethnographic dolls were a constituent part of the social movement for preservation of the ethnic culture and national identity during the Soviet times. The object of the research is two arrangements of ethnographic dolls titled Wedding in Kupiškis and Mardi Gras Masks. The dolls and their arrangements were created by folk artists Ona Bakanauskienė and Jadvyga Šemetienė in the 1960s–1970s. The goal of the analysis of the ethnographic doll arrangements is to reveal their origins and sources of creation, methods of depiction and their significance for preservation and revival of ethnic culture and national self-awareness.

Keywords: ethnic identity, ethnographic dolls, exhibition, Mardi Gras masks, Soviet Lithuania, wedding in Kupiškis

Introduction

Dolls are human-shaped figurines that have been used in a wide variety of human activities since times immemorial, such as religious rituals, customs, performances and games of young girls. Dolls that represent the ethnic culture of a nation are called ethnographic dolls. They are custom handmade dolls made of traditional materials and used as figurines (for more information, see Pliuraitė-Andrejevienė 2012: 255–274). The differences between dolls and figurines were revealed by Juri Lotman who claimed that figurines and children's dolls relayed information in entirely distinct ways. According to him, a figurine is a mediator between its creator and the audience that it relays information to while children's dolls relay information only during playtime (Lotman 2004: 319). Ethnographic dolls are a form of sculpture and are most often used in exhibitions due to their capacity to relay the information from their maker to the audience.

The making of Lithuanian ethnographic dolls started at the beginning of the 20th century. A team of intellectuals prepared an exhibit of dolls dressed in folk costumes and arranged to represent a scene of matchmaking at a Lithuanian wedding in the countryside. The doll arrangement was presented at an international exhibition in Paris in 1900 (Čerbulėnas 1985: 18). State institutions showed their interest in the lack of Lithuanian toys in the 1930s, i.e. during the years of independent Lithuania. According to the cultural historian Lijana Šatavičiūtė, "the focus of national politics was turned to the strengthening of national patriotism, promotion of own culture instead of the Western World, the history of one's family, national heroes, national customs and the beauty of the land's nature" (Šatavičiūtė 2003: 55). Professional artists were the first ethnographic doll makers. Together with her assistant Honorata Ivanauskienė, artist Sofija Užumeckaitė Moisiejevienė made eight Lithuanian dolls for a toy competition in 1931. The dolls represented country folk of different social status dressed in folk costumes (Figure 1). When speaking of the goal of Lithuanian doll making, she said, "I want to use the dolls to show the Lithuanian folk costumes worn in Raseiniai Region in the end of the 19th century as I remember it" (Užumeckaitė Moisiejevienė 1931: 880). This shows that traditional attire worn by country folk were considered as one of the key aspects of national identity in Lithuania during the inter-war period.

Figure 1. Lithuanian dolls and their makers. S. Užumeckaitė-Moisiejevienė and H. Ivanauskienė. 1931. Kaunas, Lithuania. M. K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art, Kaunas, Lithuania. Unknown author. ČDM GP 54163/42.

Renowned Lithuanian artists made ethnographic dolls for international exhibitions as per order of the Government. The ethnographic doll arrangement titled Wedding and made by artist Domicelė Tarabildienė was exhibited in Paris in 1937. Artist Konstancija Tulienė created the ethnographic doll arrangement titled Lithuanian Wedding and presented it at the international exhibition in New York in 1939 (Mušinskienė 2008: 1). Both artists focused on the beauty of folk costumes and did their best to reveal their regional differences by displaying the participants of a Lithuanian wedding. The ethnographic dolls created during the inter-war period reflected the Government's aim to revive and preserve the traditional countryside culture.

After Lithuania lost its independence, ethnographic doll makers were faced with new challenges. The Soviet Government deemed Lithuanian folk crafting an important tool in spreading their ideology and encouraged folk artists to choose new topics and to create items reflecting the achievements of socialism or

dedicated to important events of the Soviet regime (Vaidila 1985: 5–7). However, ethnographic dolls also had a hidden mission of relaying certain information.

The Soviet Government attempted to instil a socialistic culture in Lithuania, at the same time rejecting any ties to the old traditions. In the 1950s, the Government promoted weddings in the style of the Young Communists, where the main roles were played by the friends of the newlyweds rather than their relatives. These weddings had nothing in common with traditions and "quite a few parents felt pushed to the background due to one or another reason" (Daniliauskas 1983: 45–46).

Juozas Mickevičius spoke thus about the approach taken by the Government towards traditional calendar feasts during the Soviet times:

> *Several students gathered at the home of the student Petronėlė Sodytė in the evening of the Mardi Gras sometime around 1950. Viržinas, the leader of the youth communist organization in the high school, found out that the students celebrated Mardi Gras by eating pancakes on Shrove Tuesday and reported it to the Principal of the School Jurgis Macelis. The latter made an announcement at the Teacher Council about the participation of the said student in the celebration of Shrove Tuesday. The evaluation of the conduct of P. Sodytė was reduced to grade three for making pancakes and refusing to admit her guilt. The other participants had their hair cut short and they had to dance on Saturday evenings during the entire Lent* (Mickevičius 2008: 399).

Ideological censorship was applied to limit ethnographic publications on even the most popular traditional calendar customs as long as they were printed. According to Žilvytis Šaknys, such publications were released only from 1957 to 1960 and from 1965 to 1971 in several singled-out cases (Šaknys 2014: 94).

Yet, other possibilities arose to promote traditional ethnographic celebrations. In the 1960s, a social movement dedicated to ethnic culture and local lore grew stronger. Various local lore and folklore clubs and after-school gatherings joined the movement and focused their activities towards gaining a deeper knowledge of the Lithuanian history and ethnic culture to counterbalance the Soviet ideology. The local lore specialists held various expeditions, traditional celebrations, lectures and parties that attracted hundreds and thousands of people. This was a cause for much anxiety to the Government (Ramonaitė & Kukulskytė 2014: 161–181).

O. Bakanauskienė and J. Šemetienė were self-taught folk artists that arose in the times of this political and cultural turmoil to continue the traditions started by their predecessors, i.e. the Lithuanian doll makers during the inter-war period. These two artists worked hard to make ethnographic dolls that could present certain information to the people that could not be relayed otherwise from the 1950s to the 1980s.

Wedding in Kupiškis

O. Bakanauskienė was born in a family of Lithuanian emigrants in Dnipropetrovsk City (Russia) in 1915. She decided to return to Lithuania in 1936 and stayed in Kaunas. O. Bakanauskienė had various jobs, worked as an actor in the Kaunas Young Spectator's Theatre and was an active participant in cultural activities held in Kaunas. Without a doubt, she was familiar with the ethnographic dolls created by K. Tulienė for the New York exhibition as they were widely promoted in the inter-war press. Perhaps this influenced the artist's future choice to make similar doll arrangements. O. Bakanauskienė lost both her husband and son after the war. She led a difficult life and soon turned to doll making as a source of livelihood. The employees of Kaunas Museum noticed her dolls accidentally and suggested that she made more dolls like these and took part in the first folk art exhibition to be held after the war in Kaunas in 1952 (Ramanauskienė 1958: 41). Since 1953, O. Bakanauskienė had been an active member of all associations uniting folk artists and artisans. She worked from home for Kaunas Dailė Art and Craft Factory and dedicated her free time for making doll arrangements. During the Soviet times, the dolls made by O. Bakanauskienė were displayed at folk art exhibitions in the categories of folk textile and souvenirs. The exhibitions were held in Lithuania and other Republics of the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

In 1970, O. Bakanauskienė created a doll arrangement portraying the characters of the ethnographic performance titled Wedding in Kupiškis and reflecting the old wedding customs at the home of the bride's parents. The history of the performance dated back to 1932, when it was first held in Kupiškis County in the Highlands (Lith. Aukštaitija Region). Several enthusiasts came together and prepared an ethnographic performance titled Wedding in Kupiškis. The participants of the performance wrote the plot about wedding customs in Kupiškis County back at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the

20th century based on their own memories and narrations by other people. The ethnographic performance quickly became popular in Kupiškis County and other regions of Lithuania as well (Zabielienė 2004: 30).

The residents of Kupiškis County remembered the first ethnographic performance vividly even during the Soviet times after the war. These memories were the stimulus that encouraged the intelligentsia of Kupiškis Town to gather country folk and revive this ethnographic performance once again. Aušra Zabielienė noticed that the wedding customs depicted in the play were the same as the customs of Kupiškis residents described in various ethnographic sources. The said ethnographic material was collected and published in a cultural magazine by a renowned photographer, museum attendant and local lore specialist Balys Buračas in 1935 (Zabielienė 2004: 31). The second era of the Wedding in Kupiškis ethnographic performance started in 1966. O. Bakanauskienė saw the performance several years later, in 1969. According to her daughter Laimutė Levickienė, born in 1941, O. Bakanauskienė was so impressed by the Wedding in Kupiškis performance that she felt the drive to make dolls representing the characters of the play and reflecting the old wedding customs (e.g. L. Levickienė, fieldwork data of 06.03.2017).

O. Bakanauskienė made a doll arrangement comprised of 32 dolls in half a year. The doll arrangement had all the main characters of the wedding play: the matchmaker, the challenger of the wedding giving out invitations, bridesmaids, groomsmen, the bride and her parents, brother and sister, the groom, musicians, the judge of the matchmaker, the guests of the wedding, the wedding hostess and host and carriers of the dowry chest. The 20–30 cm tall dolls were handmade from wires and cardboard and their heads and hands were made of wood using the craft of woodturning. The wooden parts of the dolls were made by folk artist Petras Levickas who was the son-in-law of O. Bakanauskienė. The facial expressions were cut out from coloured paper, cardboard or artificial leather while the hair of the dolls was made from flax.

The dolls wore traditional male and female attire, shoes and even sashes which were a time-honoured dress element of the country folk in the Highlands. The doll clothes were made of handmade woven fabrics purchased from weavers and folk artists or at folk art and craft store. O. Bakanauskienė also made doll clothes, sample shoes and embroidered decorations herself based on the samples of folk costumes prevalent in the Highlands and collected by artist Antanas Tamošaitis (Tamošaitis 1939: 39–43). She also made other wedding attributes

Figure 2. Characters of a wedding in Kupiškis. The wedding challenger and the matchmaker. Šiauliai Aušra Museum. Šiauliai, Lithuania. Photo by Rimgaudas Žaltauskas 2017. ŠAM 5406/7–8.

and elements used in the ethnographic performance, e.g. O. Bakanauskienė learned how to make the himmeli–type straw decoration called the Orchard by taking apart a similar ornament made by another artisan.

All the wedding characters were placed either alone or in small groups on a plinth like statuettes. The dolls seemed like characters on a stage and so the doll arrangement gave the impression of a performance. The matchmaker stood with a staff in hand depicting the moment the matchmaker and the groom arrived to greet the bride on the morning of the wedding (Figure 2). The challenger of the wedding also had a staff and wore a hat adorned in colourful ribbons.

Figure 3. Group doll arrangement. The bride's farewell to her parents. Šiauliai Aušra Museum. Šiauliai, Lithuania. Photo by Rimgaudas Žaltauskas 2017. ŠAM 5406/1–4.

This was the scene, where the challenger of the wedding was inviting all the neighbours to escort the bride to the church. The grouped dolls depicted the bride's entourage, i.e. the bridesmaids and groomsmen, who accompanied the bride to the church. The bridesmaid dolls were dressed in folk costumes and wore traditional fabric wreaths called Kalpokas. The wreaths were a traditional bridesmaid headdress adorned in artificial flowers and worn in Kupiškis County until the beginning of the 20th century. The groomsman dolls were dressed in white linen attire strapped with a folk sash and all of them had the symbol of a groomsman, i.e. a pocket square with a branch of rue. The grouped doll arrangement of the bride, her parents and the groom reflected the scene of the bride saying goodbye to her parents before leaving for the church (Figure 3). The wedding celebration was even more realistic with several dolls depicting musicians with traditional musical instruments escorting the bride to the church. The custom of hanging the matchmaker during the wedding in the Highlands was reflected by a doll depicting a judge reading the verdict to the

lying matchmaker. Dolls wearing headdresses depicted guests of the wedding as these types of headdresses were worn by married women in the Highlands until the end of the 19th century. The guests of the wedding held a traditional straw decoration called the Orchard (also known as himmeli) in their hands as it reflected the wedding custom of buying the orchard to gain the right to feast at the table. The doll arrangement also had characters depicting the wedding host with a pitcher of beer and the wedding hostess with a cake. The last dolls of the arrangement were the carriers of the dowry chest. They wore large straw hats and had sashes and straw swords. A small dowry chest was placed nearby. The wedding rituals at the bride's home ended with the dowry chest being taken to the groom's house.

The Wedding in Kupiškis doll arrangement made by O. Bakanauskienė was displayed in the folk art exhibitions in Vilnius and Moscow in 1970. An article discussing the Moscow exhibition called the dolls of the Wedding in Kupiškis made by O. Bakanauskienė a popular souvenir, the creation of which required proficient knowledge of sculpture, deep understanding of folk costume designs and subtle taste (Počiulpaitė 1981: 5). O. Bakanauskienė was awarded a number of certificates of acknowledgement, diplomas and meritorious awards given "for ingenuity in creative work" (Blužienė 1970: 1). A set of greeting cards with photos of the Wedding in Kupiškis doll arrangement was released in 1971. The set introduction described the ethnographic wedding dolls as "a piece of our nation's history" (Bakanauskienė 1971:11).

To be able to make ethnographic dolls, O. Bakanauskienė had to adapt to the policy of the Government and to take part in exhibitions dedicated to the commemoration of significant events to the history of the Soviet Union. O. Bakanauskienė had favourable conditions to freely make ethnographic dolls during the Soviet times because she was a member of the Folk Art and Craft Union which supervised folk artists and their work.

The dolls of the Wedding in Kupiškis doll arrangement contributed to the reconstruction, revival and preservation of the old wedding customs.

Mardi Gras Masks

Not much is known about the life of J. Šemetienė, born in 1923. She lived in Kaunas during the Soviet times and worked as a teacher of crafts in a school. The artist started making ethnographic doll arrangements in the 1970s. She offered the Open-Air Museum of Lithuania to acquire her very first doll arrangement titled Mardi Gras Masks in 1980. She said that she taught children how to make dolls during her crafting classes and sometimes made parts of figurines together with her young students. J. Šemetienė called herself a master folk artist but she did not participate in any folk art exhibitions and was not a member of any folk art and craft unions. Being highly skilled in arts and crafts, J. Šemetienė made dolls in her free time for her own pleasure (e.g. J. Šemetienė, fieldwork data of 06.03.1980). J. Šemetienė must have visited folk art exhibitions as she lived in Kaunas and must have seen the ethnographic doll arrangements made by O. Bakanauskienė. These exhibitions might have encouraged J. Šemetienė to start making dolls like these as her methods of doll making and depiction were quite similar to those of O. Bakanauskienė. This is why J. Šemetienė can be considered a follower of the creative works of O. Bakanauskienė.

Mardi Gras is a winter festival celebrated on the last day before the Lent which lasts for a month and a half. Even though this celebration had no direct connection to religion, its relation to the religious calendar was enough of a reason for the Soviet Government to try to eradicate the Mardi Gras traditions (Kudirka 1996: 4). Besides denying and banning the old religious festivals during the first years of the Soviet occupation, an attempt was made to create socialist festivals with nothing in common with the traditional ones. As this idea failed, the authorities decided to take advantage of the old festivals by giving them a 'socialist content'. Merriment was encouraged during the Lenten period in another manner, i.e., by holding a winter festival, which replaced Mardi Gras (Šaknys 2015: 114). Mardi Gras was called the Winter Banishment Festival during the Soviet times. Its revival started in the 1950s. According to Lina Petrošienė who researched the development of this festival during the Soviet times, the celebration was brimming with contradictions and was very diverse in nature (Petrošienė 2014: 48). Even though some people kept trying to hold a traditional Mardi Gras celebration, their "spontaneous community-inspired initiatives were suppressed and heavily controlled" (Petrošienė 2014: 55). The festival agenda was often unified or undergoing constant changes as

Figure 4. Mardi Gras character Morė. Open-Air Museum of Lithuania, Rumšiškės, Lithuania. Photo by Rimgaudas Žaltauskas LBM 27467.

several of its holders from cultural institutions tried to vary or incorporate the old Mardi Gras customs into the enforced new ones. It was thanks to the researchers of ethnic culture and certain separate individuals that "significant attempts to resist and at least partially preserve our national identity were made during this complex historical period" (Petrošienė 2014: 48).

When speaking of her inspiration, J. Šemetienė said that she was most impressed with the photos and slides of traditional Mardi Gras festival characters and masks worn by the participants of the Mardi Gras celebrations. She also saw samples of traditional wooden masks in folk art exhibitions (e.g. J. Šemetienė, fieldwork data of 29.07.1980).

J. Šemetienė made a doll arrangement consisting of twenty dolls that depicted the main characters of the Mardi Gras festival, their masks and other inventory. The dolls were either solitary or grouped into couples and placed on a plinth much like statuettes. The doll arrangement looked like a march of Mardi Gras characters intent on joking around, having fun and entertaining others.

J. Šemetienė assembled the bodies of handmade dolls from wooden and plastic sticks and covered them in cotton wool. Masks or plastic balls with masks served as the heads of the dolls. The legs were wooden and the dolls had either leather shoes or natural felt boots.

All Mardi Gras dolls had masks and wore traditional folk costumes of country folk. These elements were a reflection and an impression of the typical looks of the respective characters, their personality features and mood. The costumes of the dolls were sewn from handmade woven or factory-made fabrics by J. Šemetienė herself.

J. Šemetienė created the Mardi Gras masks using the papier-mâché method by mixing paper and adhesive and gluing the paper strips to the clay mask mold made by herself. When the mask hardened and got dry, J. Šemetienė would colour it and place it on the doll's head.

The doll arrangement by J. Šemetienė depicted traditional characters of Mardi Gras, e.g. the Morė character impersonated by a doll dressed in a peasant's clothing and fixed on a wheel or the runners of a sled (Figure 4). The oldest traditional masks were those of a goat and a bear and were also portrayed in the Mardi Gras doll arrangement, where these characters were depicted as playing the drums or double-bass. This highlighted the revel typical to Mardi Gras celebrations that were full of music and songs. The Mardi Gras doll arrangement also displayed traditional masks that made fun of people of other nationalities, such as the Jews or gipsies, due to their distinct traditions and lifestyles. The dolls also drew parallels between the Mardi Gras characters and Christianity by portraying the devil, the Reaper and the witch. J. Šemetienė liked to bring different Mardi Gras characters together, e.g. making a couple of the devil and the witch to reveal the sentiments of mischief and tricks typical to Mardi Gras (for more information on Lithuanian Mardi Gras characters, Vaicekauskas 1995). Other dolls represented characters that reflected the common country folk, such as Newlyweds, A Pair of Paupers, The Rider. The coupled devil and spinster characters revealed the negative attitudes of the country folk towards unmarried women during the Mardi Gras (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Mardi Gras characters. The devil and the spinster. Open-Air Museum of Lithuania, Rumšiškės, Lithuania. Photo by Rimgaudas Žaltauskas. LBM 27470.

This way, J. Šemetienė used the language of dolls to portray traditional Mardi Gras characters instead of the socialist players of the Winter Banishment Festival, such as bribetakers, illegal traders, bureaucrats or moonshiners (cf. Černeckis 1961: 9).

Conclusions

The research revealed that Lithuanian dolls made by professional artists with the goal to represent their ethnic culture in various exhibitions were the predecessors of ethnographic dolls made during the Soviet times. The traditions of Lithuanian doll making were continued during the Soviet times by folk artists

O. Bakanauskienė and J. Šemetienė who based their work on ethnographic and folklore events held at that time and other visual materials. These artists made theatricalised ethnographic doll arrangements to reconstruct the old customs of rural weddings and Mardi Gras and the participants of these celebrations and their attributes, hence helping to preserve and revive these customs. This was how ethnographic dolls evolved from being used as tools of ideological education by the Soviet Government into important messengers of cultural information that was not tolerated by the Soviet regime. The article confirmed the assumption that ethnographic doll making was closely related to the nurturing of national values and was a constituent part of the social movement that fought to preserve ethnic culture and national identity.

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TOPICALITY OF TRADITIONAL SKILLS IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

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Abstract: The interest in intangible cultural heritage, proposed by UNESCO, continues to maintain its topicality in the community. Traditional skills and knowledge are part of the intangible cultural heritage. Nowadays, with a variety of information flows becoming more and more active, they continue to maintain their place in the society of Latvia.

The skills of using dyes present in plants for dyeing textiles (wool, linen, etc.) and other materials form one of the areas of Latvian, as well as Bulgarian, intangible cultural heritage.

The present article provides an insight into the current situation in Latvia regarding the use of plant dyes and the knowledge of the field. It is based on a study conducted in recent years with the aim to find out the motivation of people interested in research and use of the traditional knowledge, and its role in modern society.

Keywords: ethnology, intangible cultural heritage, plant dyes, traditional skills

Introduction

Nowadays, with the increasing circulation of various kinds of information, the traditional skills and knowledge also continue to preserve their place in the life of the community. They are part of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity, which UNESCO has been focusing on in recent years. In 2003, the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) was adopted. In turn, on December 1 2016, the Law of the ICH came into force in Latvia. According to its definition, the ICH also comprises traditional skills and knowledge. Part of them is the use of plant dyes.

In recent years, the public interest in dyeing with natural dyes has been growing in Latvia. Every year, dyeing workshops are held in different places of Latvia. There is also an active exchange of information on this topic on social networks (*Facebook*, etc.). Besides, several exhibitions have been devoted to natural dyes. From 25.01.2012 to 04.03.2012, for the first time, the travelling exhibition "Daba krāso" (Nature dyes) could be seen in the Latvian Museum of Nature. It gathered a very large number of visitors. Later, the exhibition was also displayed in different places outside Riga. In September and October 2017, another exhibition "Daba krāso – "Dzilna" aužˇ (Nature dyes – "Dzilna" weaves) could be visited in Limbaži. It presented the achievements of the weavers of Limbaži Folk Applied Arts Studio working with yarns dyed in plant dyes. There are other additional events where the interest in dyeing with natural dyes has been paid attention to.

Dye plants (as well as natural animal dyes) have always been and are still being studied in connection with the history of textile making technologies (including history of chemistry), the occupation of professional craftsmen, and, of course, the development of fashion. In this area, both highly-practical publications (Berger 2011; Bräuer 1989; Casselman 1993; Buchanan 1995; etc.), and also cultural and interdisciplinary studies (Cardon 2007; Kay-Williams 2013; Michel Pastoureau 2001, 2009, 2014, 2017; Chenciner 2004; etc.) can be found. The attention of the explorers of natural colourants is mainly focused on the economically significant natural dyes: the red colour from *Rubia tinctorum* L. and *Galium* L., as well as from cochineals *Dactylopius coccus* Costa and brazilwood *Paubrasilia echinata* (Lam.) Gagnon, the blue colour from woad *Isatis tinctoria* L. and indigofera *Indigofera tinctorum* L. etc.

There are comparatively fewer studies of the use of plant dyes as a traditional skill, the environment of application of which historically is generally related to the peasant or folk lifestyle (Fraser 1996; Maxia *et al.* 2013; Mayolo 1989; Böhmer 2002; etc.). Such studies are possible in those regions where the type of subsistence economy was preserved for a relatively long period of time and where the provision of clothing was carried out within each family. Thus, the inherited knowledge and its use were preserved there for a longer time.

The only book in Latvian on the possibilities of use of natural dyes is the practically oriented edition of 1990 – "Krāsošana ar augu krāsvielām" (Dyeing with Plant Dyes) (Madre 1990). Ilga Madre, the author of this edition, was a handicraft master, at that time a socially active dyer with plant dyes, who also participated in the collection of ethnographic materials.

Although in the public events held in Latvia today, one could observe interest in this area of traditional skills, there is little scientific research. So far, several texts have been published by the author of this article on the sources of dye plant research (Karlsone 2014, 2016a, 2016b, 2017, 2018). This article is a continuation of the ongoing research and gives an insight into the current situation of practical use of plant dyes and the knowledge of this field. Its purpose is to explain what the motivation of the people interested to learn and apply traditional knowledge is, how they are inherited, what their content is, what is the level of existence of the use of plant dyes tradition in modern times in Latvia, and so on.

In the summer season of 2016 and 2017, a survey was conducted among the people interested in this field. Most of them were participants of dyeing workshops. As the survey was conducted in a specialised interest group, its results do not fit into statistic indicators of developments in the whole Latvian society. As it is planned to continue the survey, the data obtained are considered as initial information that may change conducting further research.

Survey on Dyeing with Plant Dyes: Characteristics of Participants

The questionnaire "Pētījums par krāsaugu lietojuma tradīciju" (Study on the Tradition of the Use of Plant Dyes) comprised twelve questions. They record both the minimal personal information about the speaker and issues related to various aspects of the use of plant dyes. None of the questions offer

multiple choice options. Consequently, the results highlighted several groups of responses that were not previously foreseen.

If the dyeing workshops took place in the open-air territory of the museum, both the participants of the workshop, and also the random visitors of the event were asked to fill in the questionnaires. Participants of the dyeing workshops are only part of the people actively seeking for new information in this field. Due to various circumstances not all the participants of the workshops filled in the questionnaires. The total number of questionnaires analysed currently is 94. According to the results, it is possible to determine trends in the development of the tradition of using dye plants in Latvia nowadays.

Those interested in dyeing with plant dyes and taking part in dyeing workshops consist of mostly women. There were only 6 men – both active dyers and casual observers. Nevertheless, in content and character their responses fitted in the total set of the answers, without any special difference from others.

Summarizing data on the age of respondents, it is found that most of them are in the range of 40 to 60 years of age. However, the youngest were only 12 and 15 years old, but the oldest – 79. Respectively, the respondents, in most cases, were born from the late 1950s to the 1980s.

Although questions about the level of education and place of residence were not asked, the observations during conversations show that both rural and urban residents are interested in dyeing with plant dyes, as well as people with higher and general secondary education.

One question in the questionnaire was about the level of previous knowledge about dyeing with plant dyes. In some cases, the respondents answering this question gave two answers. For example, 'there is no prior knowledge, only a little bit read about it in theory' (questionnaire No. 7, a woman born in 1962). As a result, the total number of responses is higher than the number of respondents.

More than 1/3 of the respondents, in this case, 37, answered negatively regarding previous knowledge about the use of plant dyes. Still, ¼ of these responses (nine cases), indicated that there is no prior knowledge with the addition that the only contact with plant dyes is the dyeing of eggs for Easter. So, to some extent, there is some experience in the use of plant dyes, if not in the dyeing of textiles.

Personal experience and practice is the second most commonly mentioned type (twenty-five cases) in which knowledge about dyeing with plant dyes has been acquired. Some respondents had only had isolated attempts, the results of which were not always satisfying. By contrast, others, who were independent practicing dyers, have accumulated varying degrees of experience. The participants of this group of respondents take part in the dyeing workshop to deepen knowledge and to clarify problematic issues.

The third group of responses (twenty-three cases) regarding background knowledge suggests that knowledge about dyeing with plants was obtained through observation. These are the respondents' childhood memories, when their mother, grandmother or some other relative, dyed yarns with plant dyes; or observations participating in dyeing workshops when plant dyes are used by craftsmen.

In the fourth place, according to the number of being mentioned (eighteen cases), the answer is that the knowledge is purely theoretical because dyeing with plant dyes has only been read about or heard about from others. In this case, too, the level of theoretical knowledge could be very different – from very general information to very specific knowledge, which, due to different circumstances, by then had not been used in practice.

Dyeing with Plant Dyes: Motivation of Interest

An essential question of the research carried out on the use of plant dyes nowadays is that of motivation of interest. The respondents, if they wished, were free to specify several motives. In the first place, as a motivation that makes dyeing with plant dyes attractive, the close link of this activity with nature stands out. In this case, it is not analysed how substantiated are the claims in some of the replies regarding the absolutely 'ecological' nature of this field. Still, in general, this group of responses undoubtedly shows the growing popularity of the 'green lifestyle' in today's society. The fact that dye plants, as a renewable natural resource that is the basis for the development of sustainable economy, is recognised also by modern day researchers of colourants in other parts of Europe (Bechtold & Mussak 2009: XX).

In the second place of motivation, with thirty-three answers, comes the set of responses that could be denoted as 'curiosity'. This group contains answers

that mention this activity as simply interesting, as well as indications that by mastering dyeing with plant dyes it is possible to further educate oneself.

In the third place, with twenty-four answers, comes the set which emphasises that the interest is based on the cultural-historical aspect - the fact that dyeing with plant dyes is a traditional skill that has been practiced in the previous centuries. So, the historical aspect, the fact that it is 'the skill that the ancestors knew' (question No. 50, a woman, 1964) is relevant to about ¼ of the respondents. This aspect is relevant mainly for people aged 40 to 55 and also for some 58, 61 and 66 years old respondents. This motivation was not mentioned in other age groups.

The fourth set of answers (twenty-two responses) is the artistic quality of colours obtained from plant dyes: tone nuance, pleasant, harmonious tones, from which it is easy to create colour compositions. Also, such descriptions as 'colour tones are unique, warm, appealing to Latvian mentality' are used (question No. 64, a woman, 1947), as well as simply 'natural colours' (question No. 35, a woman, 1973; No. 36, a woman, 1948). The respondents in this group represent all age groups, including the girls born in 2000, and the oldest respondent in this survey, a woman born in 1938. The view expressed has got both a practical justification and it is possible to discern in it a reference to the interwar period rhetoric about the use of plant dyes occurring in public space in Latvia. The artistic qualities resulting from the use of plant dyes were especially emphasised in the introductory part of the articles published in Latvian press in the '30s and '40s of the 20th century (Liepiņa A. 1931; Niedra 1938; Liepiņa M. 1940; etc.). This view also continued to exist later in the education of handicraftsmen.

The fifth place (fourteen replies)contains answers in which the substantiation for the motivation of interest in dyeing with plant dyes is the creativity, a qualitative characteristic of this field, the possibility to experiment, not always receiving the expected result. It seems fascinating and interesting, attracts to this activity.

In six responses, alongside other motives, the economic benefit was mentioned. Plant dyes existing in nature are a resource relatively easy to access and it does not require great expenses.

Also, only in some responses, the motivation for person's interest in dyeing with plant dyes was to practise handicrafts. Alternatively, some people

considered that yarns dyed like that were part of the so-called archaeological costume (imitation of the costumes of the 9th–12th centuries) or the process of creating an ethnographic costume. The last set of answers is related to the activities which, in preparation for the centenary of the State of Latvia, have been prompted by the Latvian National Centre for Culture with the common motto: 'Katram savu tautastērpu!' (A national costume for everyone). In recent years, they have gained popularity in a large part of the society of Latvia, and many women, but not only – also men, want to obtain their own national costumes. For some of them it seems very important that the yarn for the 'ancient' outfits should be dyed in accordance with the old technologies, which would thus give the costume a greater sense of 'authenticity'.

The Type of Dissemination of Information

The questionnaire also contains a question about the source of information from which the respondent has acquired knowledge on the use of dye plants. It is interesting, that even part of those respondents, who previously said they had no background knowledge, have answered this question. In the first place with fifty-two answers is the acquisition of information from other dyers or the work of a particular craftsman. Twenty-five answers state that the information was obtained from relatives of previous generations: mother, aunt or, more often, grandmother. So, to a large extent, the transfer of traditional knowledge from generation to generation continues to exist in an oral form or through direct observation. However, beside the inheritance of information in the circle of relatives, its circulation among people in their interest groups also exists. The answers of the respondents also mention five folk applied arts studios, the participants of which are currently actively using plant dyes in Latvia. The number of handicraft groups which use plant dyes is larger, as only a small part of the Latvian handicraftsmen participated in the survey.

The second most important source from which knowledge about the use of dye plants can be obtained is specialised literature (thirty-six answers). It includes both the only book on dyeing with plant dyes published in Latvian so far (Madre 1990) and the publications in mass media. Sometimes, the respondents mentioned this book inaccurately, without knowing the author, the exact title and time of publication. Since the book was very popular at the time, it can

still be found in the bookshelves of many families, therefore it can be specified quite easily. The book of I. Madre has been mentioned in 13 responses, which makes up 1/3 of the answers of this group.

Only in some cases the names of publications are specified, and they are both interwar period women's magazines such as 'Zeltene' and 'Atpūta', as well as the handicrafts attachments of the magazine 'Padomju Latvijas Sieviete'. If in the columns of the magazine 'Zeltene' several articles on dyeing with plant dyes can be found (Retels 1927; Liepiņa 1931; Niedre 1931; Ķeņģis 1934; Niedra 1938; etc.),in the magazine 'Atpūta, there have been only two of them (Pāvuliņa 1935; Fišers 1940). Many more articles on this topic have been published in such publications as 'Latvijas Saule', 'Sievietes Pasaule', 'Zemkopju Saule', 'Mana Māja', etc. However, especially 'Zeltene' and 'Atpūta' as very popular publications could be more closely associated with the inter-war period publications containing a lot of useful information for the household. This could have been the reason why in the memory of people these publications especially are associated with information about dye plants.

During the Soviet period, the only general-purpose women›s magazine, the attachment of which also contained practical information for handicrafts, was 'Padomju Latvijas Sieviete'. This publication typically gives descriptions for weaving, knitting, clothing cut-outs as well as cooking recipes and practical tips for everyday household matters. Articles on dyeing with plant dyes can only be found in five attachments of this magazine (Madre & Ošiņa 1979; Skujiņa 1980; Madre 1984). Most likely these are the articles by I. Madre that have remained in the memory of people, because in the publication of Emma Skujiņa, which is the answer to readers' questions, more information is included about the effect of plant dyes on various textile fibres. In contrast, the information given by I. Madre is similar to that provided in her later book on dyeing with plant dyes.

The other ways of gathering information indicated in the questionnaires are the Internet and television. The Internet as a resource of information about dyeing with plant dyes is becoming increasingly popular in recent years. Specialised companies of plant dye users and distributors operate in different countries of the world, various groups and individual conversation sites are available on social networks. Among dyers, the most popular are the web pages where one can not only buy natural dyes, mordants, etc., but also get acquainted with educational information on dye plants and the process of dyeing, for example,

www.wildcolours.co.uk. But television nowadays is a rather inadequate source of information on using plant dyes. There it may be possible find some information about public activities in this field that would help to acquire dyeing skills only indirectly. In the 1980s, however, there were broadcasts on Latvian television where I. Madre showed and explained the process of dyeing with dye plants in great detail. The broadcasts of this time are probably reflected in the respondents' answers. Also the answers to other questions reflect the activities of I. Madre. Several dyers have indicated that they have worked with plant dyes about twenty or thirty years ago. It dates back to the '70s and '80s of the 20th century, which corresponds to the time of I. Madre's activities. Her active work led to a growing interest in dyeing with plant dyes and a desire to try it out yourself.

The knowledge acquired in educational establishments has also been mentioned as a source of information on dyeing with plant dyes. Respondents have named both secondary specialised schools such as Riga Applied Arts Secondary School, Smiltene Agricultural School, etc., and higher educational establishments – the Faculty of Home Economics of the University of Latvia [now Faculty of Pedagogy and Home Economics], the Faculty of Textile Materials Design and Technology of Riga Technical University, and the Latvian Academy of Arts. Within the framework of the course in home economics or the acquisition of textile arts, in Soviet times and in some places even today, students are introduced to the use of natural dyes.

As a little surprise in the answers regarding the sources of information, folklore, in particular – the Latvian folk songs, was mentioned. Some dozens of Latvian folk songs, which constitute only a tiny part of the very large collection of our folklore, however, also reflect the use of several dye plants. Additionally, in 2012, a CD of folklore recordings together with a small booklet on dyeing of yarn and fabrics with plant dyes was released, called "Saviešu mēļošana" (Dumpe *et al.* 2012).

Dye Plants and the Process of Dyeing

The respondents were asked to name the dye plants they knew, even if they themselves had not used them. Given that about one third of the respondents had acknowledged that they did not have preliminary knowledge of dyeing

with dyestuffs, surprisingly, only three people admitted that they knew no dye plants at all. Many of them could name three or four of them. Those who named six, seven or more dye plants, already possessed real dyeing experience that was revealed while working together. These respondents did not mention all the dye plants they knew, but only the most commonly used ones. Among the respondents, there were also those who named ten, eleven, twelve, sixteen, seventeen and eighteen dye plants.

In total, 76 dye plants and other natural colourants, such as cochineals (*D. coccus*) and extracts of colour pigments – indigo and purple – were named. 44 of them were mentioned only one or two times. Cinnamon (*Cinnamomum* spp.) and tumeric (*Curcuma longa* L.) have also been used as colourants. Among the plants named, there were those recorded in ethnographic sources as early as the end of the 19th century, as well as those used for dyeing only starting from the second half of the 20th century. More than ten times the plants were named in a way that can be botanically specified as: *Alnus* L., *Hypericum* L., *Betula peldula* Roth., *Anthemis tinctoria* L., *Beta esculenta* L., *Allium cepa* L., I. *tinctorum* L., *Chamomilla recutita* (L.) Rauschert, *Galium* L., *Quercus robur* L. and *Vaccinium myrtillus* L.

The question about the mordants used in the dyeing process was answered by twenty-nine respondents. They named both naturally formed substances such as urine, ash (lye obtained from ash), salt, iron rust water, beer, sour apple juice, acid birch juice, etc., and synthesised chemicals: alum, tin salt, iron sulphate, copper sulphate, tartar, chromic bichromate, vinegar, etc. This suggests that both ancient and contemporary dyeing methods are used, but the use of chemical mordants predominates.

As the answers to some questions were duplicated, the formulation of some questions should possibly be changed. It is intended to continue the study in the coming season and beyond.

Conclusions

Nowadays, in Latvia, a significant place in acquisition of the traditional skill – the use of dye plants – in addition to the direct observation of the work of masters and the inheritance within the family, is obtaining information from

publications in the Latvian language. International information available via the Internet occupies a relatively small place.

The main motivation for the interest in dyeing with plant dyes includes the environmental considerations and the fact that this field is not well-known in the common information space. It offers new, exciting information, an opportunity for broadening one's knowledge. In addition to these motives, historical and cultural, and creatively artistic motivation are also very significant. The fact, that dyeing with plant dyestuffs is part of the Latvian traditional cultural heritage, is important for a relatively large part of the people interested in this field.

The knowledge about dye plants is generally quite deep, which is evidenced by the significant numbers of dye plants named, and the fact, that those people, who believed they had no knowledge and experience in the use of plant dyes, still possessed some information about them. The tradition of using some dye plants for Easter egg dyeing that is still being actively practiced in Latvia also helps to maintain the level of this knowledge.

The range of natural dyes used for textiles varies over time. People use the available information creatively and experiment freely. It shows that the tradition of the use of plant dyes among the people who are interested is still alive. It is inherited and continues to develop.

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II

Ethnicity and Its Manifestations: Identities

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HISTORICAL MEMORY OF TATARS IN BULGARIA AND IN LITHUANIA – COMPARATIVE ASPECTS[1]

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Abstract: The article is part of a larger study from which only some theses are presented here. The theoretical framework of the study is grounded in the concept of historical memory which is understood as a generalised image of the knowledge of the past, made up of many interacting ideas conceived as information, functions and processes of representation, constructiveness, updating. The historical memories of the Tatars in Bulgaria and in Lithuania are being recognised as an important component of the particular historical heritage of the respective regions. The present analysis identifies their contribution in building the regional cultural specificity since the former migrants not only incorporated themselves into the host society, but they also left their mark in the local memory. In this way, they helped change the cultural landscape by incorporating themselves into the cultural specificity of the given space. That is why the studied areas could be thought of as historically formed cultural regions and, more precisely, multicultural regions in whose construction the historical memory of/for the other is involved.

Keywords: historical memory, Tatars in Bulgaria, Tatars in Lithuania

Introduction

Tatar communities on the Balkans, in Poland and in the Baltic countries represent historical diasporas today. Their distinctive culture and participation in the history of the inhabited regions helped create a cultural specificity of their own. These communities are characterised by the so-called diaspora identity (Williams 2001), which was formed under the influence of intellectual elites and cultural and educational institutions, as well as by a corresponding diaspora historical memory with its indicative image and symbolic manifestations. The notion of the Crimea as a land of origin occupies an important place in the historical memory of the Tatars not only in Bulgaria but also in the Baltic region. But while the migration from the Crimea is still a living ancestral memory for the Tatars in Bulgaria, the Tatars elsewhere in Europe have not preserved such a memory. It is important to note that in the notions of present-day Tatars there is a vast symbolic space stretching from the Crimean peninsula through the Black Sea (Dobroudzha) and to the Baltic region, which is full of the toposes of the Tatar past. As Harry Norris sums it up: "The regions from the Baltic to the Black Sea shape their identities" (Norris 2009: 145–146).

This determines the comparative aspects of the present exposition. The article is part of a larger study from which only some theses are presented here. The theoretical framework of the study is grounded in the concept of *historical memory* which is understood as a generalised image of the knowledge of the past, made up of many interacting ideas conceived as information, functions and processes of representation, constructiveness, updating, etc. (...).

Alternative Historical Memory (Crimean Tatars from Northeastern Bulgaria)

Crimean Tatars in Northeastern Bulgaria are part of the demographic legacy of the Ottoman epoch on the Balkans. Until recently the study of the history of the community was carried out mainly in the context of the idea of a Bulgarian nation, an idea which was being built in the 19th century and in relation to the Bulgarian national narrative, whereupon the approach of excluding those who are foreign was followed – aliens, colonised, Muslims. The concept of historical memory allows for the construction of a more real and demythologised Tatar image as well as for rethinking the Tatar past on the Balkans and

its inclusion as an important part of the historical heritage of certain regions in Northeastern Bulgaria. The memory of Crimean Tatars is viewed as a case of alternative historical memory, which in some aspects complements the official historiography and opposes the national narrative. The exposition is directed towards the bringing to light two main ethno-deterministic approaches to the past: one of them was created by observers who were external to the community (European travellers, researchers, etc.), an approach represented by more documentary evidence (1.) and the other approach, the so-called ethnohistory, which presents the people's own historical narrative about events of the past (2.).

(1.) The testimonies of the others are introduced through the presentation of the images of the Tatars in the Bulgarian national narrative in the 19th century. The analysis of folklore texts and literary works from the Bulgarian Revival period (until the end of the 1870s) outlines the Tatar topic in the collective memory of Bulgarians. It is found that the heterogeneous Tatar images are included in the paradigm of the emerging national narrative as variants of the unambiguous, unified and stereotyped image of the ravager. The denomination "Tatars" in the context of Bulgarian folk songs is used as a generalisation of a hostile alien. For the purposes of the national narrative, oral traditions reproduce mythologemes and narrative models which form a folkloric-mythological matrix in the understanding of the foreign. Such mythological images are also spread in the writings of the late 18th and 19th centuries in support of the Bulgarian "great narrative" which legitimised the ideological project for the creation of the nation. Similar ethnic stereotypes, formed according to models of folklore culture, prevail in historiographic, publicistic and literary texts from the National Revival period.

Migration movements from the middle of the 19th century and the migration of the Tatars from the Crimea to the Balkans are recorded in the travel notes of some European observers of the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian State. The case of the French physician Camille Allard (18…–1864) who travelled through Dobrudzha in the autumn of 1855 – just about the time of the Crimean War (1853–1856) – and recorded his direct impressions of Dobrudzha Tatars is indicative (Allard 1864). His notes contain important details about the Crimean migrants in the Constanta (Köstence) region and the Tatar village of Karaköy in an early stage of their settlement in this region of the Balkans. The encounters of the French physician with the otherness in its Tartar manifestations are marked by signs of ethnocentrism and stereotypical

notions. In his narrative there is no distancing glance towards the physician's own culture but the immediate interaction between him and the Tatars and the gradual process of familiarizing himself with them give rise to understanding and significantly weaken the original prejudices. The records reflect important information about Tatar immigrants from the Crimea as a result of direct observations during their active migrations to the Balkans. Valuable information of immediate character was preserved about the processes of settlement and adaptation to the new environment, the social and religious organization, social differentiation, crafts, lifestyle and mentality of the migrants, their cultural specificity and their differentiation from the local people. The Austro-Hungarian cartographer Felix Kanitz, who travelled through Danube Bulgaria in 1860–1879 was also a direct witness of Tatar colonisation on the Balkans. The images of Tatar migrations during the 19th century, preserved by him, reflect a more objective and more realistic view of the reality of the migration in its complexity, proneness to conflicts, contradiction and political root causes. But a number of historical and ethnographic texts published after the Liberation (Konstantin Jireček, Georgi Dimitrov, Yov Titorov) demonstrate the persistence of stereotyped notions about Tatars and their past.

The observations of others are supplemented by data from Bulgarian periodicals from the time of the migrations ("Tsarigradski Vestnik" (Constantinople newspaper), "Dunavski Lebed" (Danubian Swan) and "Bulgaria", etc.) as well as from the local oral history. The cultural contact with Tatars during the 19th century begot extremity – in the ethnocultural dimensions of the notion – for the European participants in the contact. Even for those who had immediate impressions and longer contact with the migrants, it was almost impossible to break free from the paradigm of their own culture, also the national and European stereotypes and prejudices towards the Tatars. For a long time, the notions about Tatars remained in the farthest register of otherness associated with the foreign, hostile and dangerous. Such an approach uncritically mythologised the public image of the Tatar, and turned out to be quite resilient both in the most largely spread notions of society and in historiography. From the mid-19th century the perceptions about the Crimean immigrants began to be grasped in their everyday human manifestations thanks to the experience of direct communication. An understanding of the Tatar contribution to the history of the region of Northeastern Bulgaria and Dobrudzha was gradually built. Nevertheless, popular views continued to reproduce stereotypical images and preconceptions about the colonised.

Figure 1. Tatars from Bulgaria (Dobrich, 1932). Picture from "Mevlyana club" in Dobrich. Photo by V. Yankova.

(2.) The personal story of the past reflects the points of view of the community and its members regarding events and personalities of the past and includes elements, images and notions that often remain invisible and incomprehensible to the external observer. This is an unrecorded, unpreserved, fragmentary memory, in whose functioning and transmission models of traditional folklore language prevail. It is limited to the recent past and family memory and reflects detailed information about the past of the community. Such a historical memory is a foundation for the ethnohistory of the community.

Due to the time gap and the growing shortage of "memory keepers", the migration of the Tatar ancestors from the Crimea is a story which is gradually being effaced from the preserved oral history. This story is scattered in fragmentary family memories of the migrant ancestors. The most general reconstruction of the oral history of the migration to the Balkans demonstrates that its narrative follows the trajectories of migration by crossing spaces and cultures and marking its counterpoints: the starting point from where the migrants leave and the place of settlement in the new environment. The oral history of the Tatar migrations to the Balkans is shaped as a distant fragmen-

tary narrative told by an integrated historical diaspora community that seeks to preserve its ethnocultural specifics. In the family memories the facts and events of the history of the migration are summarised in dramatic stories of escape from violence and war. The immigrant past of the community has been reduced to many family stories that reflect a generational attempt to survive and adapt. And since the memory of the descendants reconstructs the debris of what happened in times gone, heroic and legendary notions are added to the images of the migrant ancestors and these notions determine the mythographic potential of the family stories. They are supported by the sacralised values of family relics and by the emblematic notions of Tatarness – the land of origin, the Crimean, and the Tatar house. The narratives told today about the migrations to the Balkans are part of the great tale of Tatar integration in the host environment and of the Tatars' own contribution to its cultural and historical heritage. Today the lack of historical knowledge and the fragmentation of Tatar family memory is compensated by the self-reflection of contemporary academic and popular science publications on Tatar issues. Such a critical and devised notion of the past carries the message of a different story, a peculiar alternative to official historiography.

Figure 2. Old Tatar house, Onogur village. Photo by V. Yankova.

The oral history of the Dzhamadin family is indicative of the complex processes of adaptation of the migrants from the Crimean Peninsula to a different social and cultural environment on the Balkans. It constructs a generalised notion of real-world historical events which is achieved by the use of selectivity, reconstruction and "legendarising" of facts and events. Affirmed via the exemplar of the ancestors, the "own" in the minds of the family descendants is harmonious and somewhat idealised. And this is a potential element of a future family mythography. The memories of Ridvan Kyashif from the village of Onogur, Dobrich region, are a personal testimony of family history and family memory. According to their message, the Tatar past is an inalienable part of the past of the village and of the region; the Tatars are inscribed in the microhistory of the settlement and have left their traces in the local memory. The notion of the Kyashif family is highlighted as part of the idea of Tatarness, which is distinguished from the Turkish ethnic culture and outlined by the primordial markers of the "own" such as "language, blood and soil". The images of the past are reduced to the family memory stretching within the compassable bounds of time. It is conceived as an inheritance that must be preserved and transmitted between generations as a guarantee for the family's durability. An indicative trend registered among the Tatars in Bulgaria today is the construction of a personal myth and an aristocratic genealogy. Such amateurish surveys have been created to compensate for the awareness of the insufficient knowledge about the past and the need for a dignified memory built via the constructs of the Tatars' own glorious history and the family myth. The anthropological approach to such cases assesses them in a more adequate way as an opportunity to correct and complement the official historical narrative by creating a "history of their own" in order to achieve a richer and more multifaceted idea of the past. On the basis of the analysed material, the main images of the past are outlined, a past which is represented in fragmentary and generalised dimensions, covering the chronology of the recent past.

The diaspora memory highlights the role of the progenitor who came from the Crimea and/or is a unit of a constructed aristocratic genealogy but who is necessarily transformed into a symbolic capital for the family. Such a concept of the past is conceived as part of the microhistory of the individual settlements and the historical heritage of the entire region. The prominent family testimonies that belong to the popular knowledge of the Tatars' past in Bulgarian Dobrudzha are fragments of the Tatars' ethnohistory, which, despi-

te its multifaceted and sometimes controversial nature, can be considered as a kind of corrective for the ethnocentric national history. These are examples of alternative memories that complement or even compete with the national memory that dominates in the official historiography by asserting a pluralistic point of view of the events of the past.

Summary: In the clarification of the Tatar participation in the history of the Balkans in the popular perceptions and in historiography until recently it is necessary to bear in mind the significant role of the images and the notions of this past: the Tatar narrative was formed in close correlation with and in opposition to the Bulgarian national narrative and was also influenced by stereotypes and prejudices widespread in the European cultural space. But although the European travellers and researchers perceived the cultural contacts with the Crimean migrants as signs of the hostile alien, the ethnohistory of the Tatars created critical and devised notions that carry the message of a different narrative and this ethnohistory is perceived as a kind of corrective for the ethnocentric national history.

Heroic Historical Memory. Tatars in Lithuania

The empirical case of the European Tatars – Tatars in Poland, Lithuania and Belarus, provides an opportunity for the observation and analysis of the heroic historical memory.

(1). The Islamic culture of the Tatars in Lithuania has a religious memory of its own, sacred toposes (mosques, cemeteries, local places of worship), a corresponding legendary topography, and it manifests itself in characteristic (ritual, oral and written) forms. This religious cultural memory is governed by the authority of the ancestors and outlines the trajectories of the correlation with the past according to the canons of the patriarchal world, from the myth to the legend and the family memory. The memory transmitted via verbal communication from one generation to the other functions on the boundary between remembering and forgetting, the personal memory and the ancestors' narratives of the past. It is concentrated in toponyms – verbal signs of places that no longer exist (settlements, lands, cemeteries) related with the traces left by the Tatars. The religious literature of the Lithuanian Tatars represents a unique cultural phenomenon since it is based on several local languages

(Polish and Belarusian) while preserving some Arabic, Ottoman and Turkic-Tatar language elements. During the centuries-long existence of Lithuanian Tatars in a different environment they preserved the long-lasting memory of their specific culture with religious codes of its own. In the cultural memory of the community, Islam is perceived as a fundamental value in which the members of the diaspora seek and find their essence. In the collective notions, Islam is conceived as a supreme value on the maintenance of which the existence of Tatarness depends. Tatar Muslim tradition and Islam, called "the religion of the ancestors", are also perceived as an inheritance from the previous generations. Through them a "sense of the past" is being maintained which is perceived as knowledge of the past, respect and attachment to the "legacy of the ancestors" and an effort to preserve and continue it or follow suit. The conception of Islam as a "religion of the ancestors" is a guarantee for vitality, durability and continuity of the community over time. Such an ethno-confessional belief in religion also motivates the demarcation between Lithuanian Tatars and the "new" Muslims in the region.

Figure 3. Tatars from Lithuania. Picture from Lithuanian Tatar household museum, Subartonys. Photo by V. Yankova.

In the generalised notions of the macro-society, the perception of the exceptional contribution of local Tatars to the national histories of the peoples of the region dominates. And, according to the Tatars' opinion of themselves, they are "faithful to their military duty and oath", "faithful to the land that has accepted them as a people of its own".

(2). The role of historiography is also important in the social construction of memory. From the mid-19th century until the mid-20th century fundamental historiographic texts were published which formed important trends in the construction and perception of Tatars today. The period which lasted nearly a hundred years and during which Tatar ethnohistory was formed – with the idea of rehabilitation as its main message – led to the construction of the concept of this past as "heroic annals". Driven by the energy of the Tatar intellectual elite of the 1920s and 1930s, the concept of the ancestors' history and their heroic martial past became a factor for ethnic mobilisation and consolidation for the whole Tatar community. The widely popularised historiographic works which were created generated prestigious heroic models and positive messages that strengthened the Tatars' self-identification. The most highly developed, documented and publicly presented to date is the military history of European Muslims with its inscription in the heroic past of the region. Through the authority of professional historiography during the 1920s and 1930s a powerful process of "production of images" and of myth-making was set in motion, a process which was interrupted in the mid-20th century by the events of the Second World War and was later resumed in new dimensions in the changed socio-political context of the 1990s. Tatar ethnohistography rejected in a well-grounded way the prejudices existing at those times and formed another image of the Tatar – a reconstructed, restored, enriched, multifaceted and at the same time invented since its purpose was to fundamentally change public attitudes. The new Tatar image was shaped under the influence of the ideas dominating during the interwar period as part of the national mythomotorics, the ethno-mobilising ideology and rhetoric of its time. At the same time, the mythology of the Tatar migration to this part of Europe and the genesis of the Lithuanian Tatars' community were validated.

In the context of such a historiographic strategy, a prestigious notion of the Tatar as a warrior, a warlord and a nobleman was validated. This was an image which was historically documented and "partly invented" in the family legends, an image related to the knightly virtues of the ancestors from the Middle Ages

and to the universal nostalgia for lost origins. The Tatar narrative was shaped as heroic and directly related not only to the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania but also to its successors. Tatar participation in the history of the region is perceived as a vital national resource and a sustainable topos of social activity. As a result of in-depth research, the perception of the Tatar past is affirmed as a part of the local past, the ethnic memory is experienced as a common, shared memory, and the Tatar narrative is integrated into the national narrative. The Tatar story of the past is constructed not as an alternative, but according to the dominant "great narrative", whose main message regulates the durability and cohesion of the nation over time. The semantics of such a heroic and dignified perception of Tatar history should become a rationale for the national unity in the present and a guarantee of its future.

The memory of words – legendary, narrated and recorded, factological and "partly invented", passes a thread between the monolithic and unambiguous character of the legendary narrative, the genealogical legends and the kaleidoscopic character of the oral history and the tangibility of what once was reflected in the life stories. The mythology of the Tatar settlement and the biographical testimonies of crises survived by the community mark counterpoints in the historical memory of the European Tatars. The stories of the beginning in the legendary history of the Tatars follow the invariant model of the mythology of the migrations representing the movement from the starting point to the end point of their settling down. Due to the remoteness in time of the Middle Ages, there is not enough data on migrations as a process, and the evidence of the space of the exodus is stored in generalising and symbolic forms. This lack of sufficient information is compensated by the stories about the settlement in the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, stories which have built a mythography which is still vital today. The mythology of the settlement is a heroic "story of kings and battles" and of great men in which history is shown as "a metaphor of mythical realities". In such a tale of the past, the role of Vytautas the Great (1392–1430) – an ancestor and hero – as well as of the ancestors who are perceived as noble and loyal warriors, is central. Toponyms, toponymic tales and etiological legends point to the local versions of this mythological text and outline the topography of the Tatar settlement in the area and the topographic variable traces in local memory. They construct a more complete and harmonious narrative about the genesis of the Tatar community in this territory. In its basic elements, Tatar mythography follows the trajectory of the national narrative in emphasising the heroic and dignified Tatar participation in it.[2]

Today genealogical studies among the Tatar population are an object of increased public interest including both professionals and amateurs, genealogies and family stamps are being reconstructed and the biographical memories pass on the motive of the prestigious aristocratic family background. However, this activity is not built only on a historical and documentary basis but also on an uncritical personal interpretation of the sources, invention of facts and events of the past. Such an approach originates in the popular understanding of special origin as an expression of social prestige, a reason for pride or some other social need. Such a need for elitism/belonging to a privileged class and for distinction can also be seen as a reaction against the unification, a reaction which motivates the fashionable world trend of taking interest in genealogy nowadays.

(3). The 1990s marked the beginning of the newest period in the history of the European Tatars which is characterised by the revived interest in their own past, the reconsideration of the cultural and historical heritage, the introduction of new facts and documents into scientific circulation and their popularisation through the media and the global network. Such an understanding of the past – as a value – and the need to "remember one's roots" in the construction of the present have triggered numerous commemorative practices related to emblematic Tatar toposes. The driving force behind this process is the modern Tatar intelligentsia which perceives itself as a kind of a continuator in the new conditions of the work of the figures from the times of the Tatar revival. At the boundary between two millennia, the policies of memory and the saturation of the public space with the loci of Tatar history and the creation of new "places of memory", as well as their revival through commemorative activities, have important functions. The periodic repetition of commemorations, celebrations and holidays ritualises the memory and revives the images of the past. The recalling via the act of repetition is directed against forgetting, toward the "memory as a duty" and is an important precondition for cohesion within the community. There is also a public recognition and legitimation of the Tatars' merits as an ethno-confessional minority for the building of a specific ethnocultural image of the region and for the common past shared with the host environment. This helps maintain a positive image of the whole Tatar community. The policies of Tatar periodicals are characterised by the view of the importance of history and the need for a more diverse understanding of the Tatar past in the region.

Figures 4–5. Exposition and book in Arabic alphabet from Lithuanian Tatar household museum, Subartonys. Photos by V. Yankova.

The popular historical narrative in the aforementioned periodicals coexists with a complementary idea of events and personalities from medieval Tatar history and from the Islamic world. Thus the chronicle of the European Tatars is shaped at the same time as a part of the local/regional past and the "great" history of the Tatars in the world.

Summary: During the period which lasted for nearly a hundred years the ethnohistory of Tatars in Lithuania was formed and the idea of their heroic and dignified past was constructed. The historiographic works generated prestigious exemplars and positive messages that strengthened Tatar self-identification. Such an attitude towards the past plays an important consolidating role for the Tatar community and supports the policies of recognition by the macrosociety. In its basic elements, Tatar mythography follows the trajectory of the national historical memory by becoming a rationale for national unity in the present and a guarantee of its future. The greater part of the historical memory of Tatars in Lithuania is based on mediated, learnt, retransferred experience and knowledge, acquired via different media of memory, and not via the direct life experience and sensory experience of the individuals/community that keep the memory. This fact determines the intensity of the construction of the ideas of the Tatar past to a great extent today. Such a heroic historical memory of the past of the European Tatars makes part of the national patrimonium, it explains the specificity of the historical heritage and the cultural specificity in this European region.

Conclusions

The idea of the national plays an important role in shaping the presented historical memories. Through its all-encompassing and normative character, the national historical memory leaves its mark both on the "little narrative" of ethnohistory and on the "history of the regions". The particular national and community elites offer the symbolic construction of different models of collective identity for the focus groups being studied. This is why the types of historical memory that have been examined mark different correlations to the national mythology and the national narrative: they are their alternative (a complement and/or counterpoint), an episode of theirs or their projection (a micromodel). This is also due to the specificity of the historical and cultural contexts in which the separate memories are formed and/or registered – in active processes of national affirmation, national and regional/territorial consolidation, and others.

The historical memories of the Tatars in Bulgaria and in Lithuania are being recognised as an important component of the particular historical heritage

of the respective regions. The present analysis identifies their contribution in building the regional cultural specificity since the former migrants not only incorporated themselves into the host society, but they also left their mark in the local memory. In this way, they helped change the cultural landscape by incorporating themselves into the cultural specificity of the given space. That is why the studied areas could be thought of as historically formed cultural regions and, more precisely, multicultural regions in whose construction the historical memory of/for the other is involved.

Notes

1 The article is part of a monograph in preparation titled "Historical memory and images of the past. Based on examples from Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Lithuania".

2 A. Мухлинский "Исследование о происхождении и состоянии литовских татар" (1857); "O muślimach litewskich. Z notat i przekładów litewskiego tatara Macieja Tuhana-Baranowskiego" (1896); Talko-Hryncewicz, J. "Muślimowie czyli tak zwani Tatarzy litewscy". Kraków (1924); St. Dziedulewicz "Herbarz rodzin tatarskich w Polsce" (1929); St. Kryczyński "Tatarzy litewscy. Próba monografii historyczno-etnograficznej. Rocznik Tataryw Polskich, 3" (1938) and others.

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EVERYDAY MEALS ETIQUETTE IN FOOD CULTURE OF URBAN TATARS-MUSLIMS

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Abstract: The article views the religious aspects of food etiquette of Kazan Tatars based on the polling results, statistical data, and literature sources. The topicality of the issue is due to its poor coverage; it is actualised by the religious renaissance of the Tatars in the post-Soviet period, the dramatically increased interest in the genealogical roots of their ethnic culture, factors of its development and structure of self-identification. The authors compare the bases of nutritional behaviour of the Tatars with the recommendations stipulated by the Islamic sources, and disclose the degree of their compliance with the canons. The research revealed both the competencies (knowledge of the Islamic etiquette rules) and the level of their actual occurrence. For comparison, the similar results were taken, obtained during the research of a Tajik community in Kazan – a group with stronger expressed religious characteristics, compared to the Tatars. The research revealed the variety of the canonic Islamic food culture by the example of two Muslim models (Tatar and Tajik), both in terms of individual nutrition components (main foods, national cuisine, ways of cooking, etc.), and in terms of food culture in general, including etiquette.

Keywords: etiquette, food culture, Muslims, Tatars

Introduction

Among the numerous components of ethnic culture, a special role is played by the elements constituting the life-support system, i.e., the constituents without which human life becomes extremely complicated or impossible at all. Such components, alongside economic forms, labour tools, dwelling, clothes and some others, include **food** with the whole complex of objects and processes related to it. Food as an element of culture has come a long historical path, constantly becoming more complicated and acquiring various forms. As an indispensable element for maintaining life, food has acquired sustainable forms reflecting the ethnic specificity of human collectives. It appeared to be the least prone to levelling, unification and, finally, globalisation – the objective processes emphasising the unity of the human race. In the culture of each people on Earth, their own cuisine has been formed, with its peculiar traditions and features, which, as it seems, are doomed for long-term existence. Simultaneously, **etiquette** was being formed – a code of rules shaping people's behaviour during cooking and taking meals. The etiquette, in turn, was influenced by a whole range of factors – economic, social, historical-cultural, due to which the behaviour rules acquired the stable features of the regional and ethnic specificity.

Studying food and nutritional behaviour of people has always been topical. It is topical today, too, taking into account the dynamic character of modern life, the numerous transformations, the active cultural interactions and mutual influences – everything which characterises the development of ethnic cultures.

The article presents the experience of studying food etiquette by the example of the Tatars – one of the largest ethnic groups in the Russian Federation. The research is based on literature and statistical sources, as well as authors' materials and observations obtained during the implementation of a scientific project "Religious determinants in food culture (by the example of the Tatars and Tajiks of Kazan)" (2016–2017). The main tool was polling of the respondents. The sample size was 300 people and it included urban Tatars – Muslims. The sample structure by gender, age, and main social groups corresponds to the general population structure.

The diverse scientific literature devoted to the research of food and food etiquette, both in Russia and abroad, can be grouped into three main areas: natural scientific, ethnographic and sociological. The natural scientific approach is aimed at the issues of food safety, bases of healthy nutrition (Maddahi *et al.*

2014; Nading 2017). The sociological approach is determined by dynamic social transformations in the society, polarisation of the global community into "the satiated" and "the hungry", which sets new scientific tasks of studying the actual problems of life of individuals (Veselov 2015; Veselov 2016; Scott 2001). The ethnographic approach is related to viewing food as ethnocultural phenomenon possessing distinct ethno-differentiating and ethno-integrating properties, which arouses great researcher interest around the world (Traditsionnaya pischa 2001; Etnografija pitanija 1981; Renner 2007). We use the complex ethno-sociological approach which, alongside apparent accent on the ethnocultural constituent, pays much attention to the social aspects of the issue, and uses sociological methods.

The research of food and food etiquette of the Volga Tatars has its own history. The first significant data on the issue were left in the 19th century by Karl Fuks (Fuks 1991) and Kayum Nasyri (Nasyri 2015). This basis allowed a deeper study of the issue, which resulted in a comprehensive article by K. and M. Gubaydullins: "Food of the Kazan Tatars" (Gubaydullin & Gubaydullina 1927), and a section titled "Food" in a monograph by N. I. Vorobyev: "Material culture of the Kazan Tatars. Experience of ethnographic research" (Vorobyev 1930). Both works are peculiar for the detailed description of food and valuable remarks on etiquette characteristic of the Tatars of the end of the 19th and the first third of the 20th centuries. Later publications devoted to the Tatars' food, both summarising fundamental monographs (Tatars 1967; Muhamedova 1972; Tatars 2001) and individual articles (Gabdrafikova 2013; Gatina-Shafikova 2016; Nurmukhametova 2013), did not contribute much, except some facts from little-known sources or materials of field research of the authors. Therefore, the specific research of the Tatar food and food etiquette, including those with comparative quantitative materials, remain much demanded.

Confessional Composition of the Urban Tatars

The ancestors of the Volga Tatars adopted Islam over one thousand years ago. Since then, the Islamic tradition in the Middle Volga region has been much transformed (Gayazov). This process was influenced most by the Kazan Khanate annexation to the Russian state (middle of the 16th century) and the territorial location of the Tatars within the zone of Christian-Muslim borderline and intense contacts with their Finnish-speaking and Slavonic-speaking neigh-

bours. The popularity of a reformatory bourgeois-liberal nationalistic movement (Jadidism) among the Volga Tatars in the 1880s–1890s determined the features which distinguish the local Islam from other, first of all radical, trends. A significant influence was made by the fact that after the 1917 October Revolution the Tatars found themselves in the epicentre of social upheaval, including mass atheisation of the population. By the second half of the 20th century, the prevalence of religious beliefs among the population decreased sharply: by the end of the 1960s, the share of believers among the Kazan Tatars was 25.8%, by the end of the 1980s – not more than 30% (Kildeev 2014: 135). In general, by the beginning of the 1990s, among the Tatars in Tatarstan there were 17.9% of believers, 19.7% of the hesitant, 46.6% of the indifferent, and 15.8% of the atheists (Kildeev 2014: 141). The next period of the social life liberalisation influenced the increased level of religious beliefs among the population. The dynamics of the urban Tatars, considering themselves to be believers of various degrees, was as follows: 1990 – 34%; 1994 – 66%; 1997 – 81% (41% of them called themselves rather believers than non-believers) (Musina 2011: 329).

At the present stage of religious renaissance, the Tatar culture comprises both the secular and the religious tradition, forming a rather sophisticated picture of the ethnic mode of living. As shown by the 2011 research, about 84% of urban Tatars considered themselves to be believers, among which the shares of "active" and "passive" believers are approximately equal (Musina 2011: 329). Among the Tatar youth, over 80% considered themselves to be believers, but the ratio of those who observe the rituals and those who do not was 11 to 70 (Khodzhaeva 2013: 298). The research of 2013 showed that 84.3% of the urban Tatar respondents considered themselves to be believers, over a half of which (about 56%) were "practising" believers (those who try to observe the religious traditions and rituals); the rest considered themselves to be "nominal" believers (those who do not observe the traditions and rituals) (Musina 2016: 22). However, this statistics is based exclusively on the self-identification of the respondents and does not take into account the actual religious practices. In general, the recent researches mark the stabilisation of the number people self-identifying themselves as believers, but the share of practising believers among them grows.

Our research, in compliance with its objectives, comprised only the religiously devout respondents.

Bases of Islamic Food Etiquette

As is known, the Quran and other Islamic sources contain the detailed list of behaviour norms regulating almost all spheres of life of the Muslims. The Islamic food etiquette is also described in detail (Etiket 2018). It is based on the conception that food and nutrition process do not just satisfy the human vital needs (material aspects), but have a hidden intrinsic spiritual meaning. In the Islamic culture, food is the source of nutrition and the source of pleasureas well as the source of health; both a therapeutic means and a means of improving and elevation of a human. The significance of food in Islam is emphasised by the fact that food and nutrition are mentioned in a large number of the Quran surahs (over 250 ayats).

Based on the Islamic recommendations concerning food, one may classify the etiquette norms into groups, taking into account the sequence of the process (preparing for a meal; a meal *per se*; finishing a meal) or its features (everyday or festive meal; absence or presence of guests, etc.). In each group, the rules of behaviour will be distinctly lined up according to their topicality – the necessity and possibility to apply them in the specific community at the given period of time. The Islamic etiquette rules are of various characters: they may be categorical or voluntary, prohibitive or resolving; they may pursue hygienic or health-improving and therapeutic purposes; they may contain religious dogmas requiring either rigorous observance, or conscious implementation, etc.

Thus, for example, the hygienic meaning apparently prevails in the recommendation to wash hands before and after a meal. Such norms as praising the God at the beginning and the end of a meal, or declining an invitation for a meal containing prohibited objects, do not require any explanations, they just must be observed. While the requirement that before a meal the person should realise that they take food to maintain their body for worshipping the God, implies abstracting from the taste, visual and other hedonistic aspects and concentrating on the idea that this food would help to fulfil the religious duties. As for such recommendations as to eat on a cloth laid on the floor, or to take food with three fingers, they conform to the accepted behaviour rules only in certain societies.

The Islamic sources pay significant attention to the principles of healthy nutrition. These, in particular, include moderation in eating. Some Islamic preachers believed that food is the main cause of all diseases and the habit of

satiation is the cause of all ailments. They identified the reverse link between eating and bodily health, considering that everyone who starts eating more, starts being sick more often. Thus, several rules of healthy nutrition were formulated to preserve good health: start eating in a positive mood; do not sit at the table if you are not hungry; stop the meal while you are still hungry; chew the food thoroughly; give preference to natural products, etc. Apparently, these principles are universal and inherent not only for Muslim cultures; it is enough to recall, for example, the condemnation of gluttony as one of the deadly sins in Christianity.

A number of recommendations in Islam are of expressed social character. Thus, people are encouraged to help the hungry, the poor and the needy; the value of any, even small, source and amount of food is stated; arrogance and demonstration of excess extravagance in treating guests is impeached, as well as preferring of the rich and high-born table companions to the ordinary ones. Also, Islam establishes the principles of tolerant relations with the believers of other confessions, allowing common meals.

An important feature of most Islamic etiquette norms is that the sources do not explain them, giving broad scope for free interpretation of these norms by the followers. Our results, as shown below, demonstrate that Muslim actively use these opportunities when following the Islamic norms in accordance with their conceptions, preferences and tastes.

Norms of Nutrition Behaviour of the Tatars

The fundamental regulating principle in Islam is the distinction between the permissible (*halal*) and the forbidden (*haram*). In the nutrition etiquette, this principle is directly related to a number of norms; some of these norms were studied in our project. Generally, the respondents are not only familiar well enough with the terms "halal" (72% of respondents) and "haram" (68% of respondents), but the majority of them (68.5% of all respondents) claimed that they try to observe these rules in nutrition.

At the same time, as our research showed, declarations sometimes diverge with the actual behaviour when observing specific requirements. For example, a well-known prohibition in Islam refers to drinking alcohol; it is forbidden not only to drink alcohol, but even to be present at the meal where it is served. According to the poll results, the Tatars do not always observe this rule. Of all

the respondents, less than a half (42%) agree with this norm, 30% do not agree with it, 28% could not answer. By comparison, 97.8% of the Tajik respondents in Kazan agreed with this norm. The second question from the category of prohibition norms referred to the negative attitude of Islam towards using silver and golden kitchenware for eating and drinking. Among the polled Tatars, this prohibition is accepted as a norm only by 22.4% men and 14% women; about 40% of respondents could not define their attitude to this norm; one fifth of the respondents accept the prohibition in full; the same amount mostly accept it. Comparing these answers to those of the Tajiks, we see that they differ greatly: 96% of the Tajiks accept the prohibition to use the kitchenware made of precious metals for eating and drinking.

The same group of questions included two indicators of accepting and executing a number of religious dogmas. One of them referred to beginning a meal with commemoration of Allah and thanking Him after a meal. According to the poll, 31.3% of the respondents always observe this norm, 18.5% do it frequently. Over a third of the respondents (36.4%) do it from time to time. In their comments these respondents, as a rule, stated that they observe this norm during collective meals at religious festivals and rituals. Apparently, this norm is not stereotyped for them; it is not a part of their religious conscience, but is executed as a pattern of collective behaviour. This norm is never observed by 8.5% of the respondents (11% men and about 7% women). It should be reminded that all our respondents consider themselves to be Muslim believers in a varying degree. In the reference group of the Tajiks the above norm is considered to be mandatory: 100% of the respondents told that they observe it.

The second indicator in this group of questions was an answer to the question: "Do you consider eating with the left hand or with two fingers a deed of Shaitan?" One third of the Tatar respondents had difficulty answering this question. As for the rest, about 40% of the respondents agree with it, about 30% do not agree. There were no significant differences in this indicator in various age-gender groups of the Tatars. In the Tajik group, the number of those who agree with the above statement is close to 80%.

The above norms are close to the recommendation of Islam not to reject an invitation for a joint meal with the representatives of other Abrahamic religions (Christianity and Judaism). Over 80% of the Tatar respondents agreed with that norm; 12% are indifferent regarding this situation; 7.6% do not agree. The opinion of the Kazan Tajiks in this sphere is significantly different: less than half

of the respondents agree with it (44%), others are against. Supposedly, these results are due to the fact that the Tatars are more ready for interethnic and interconfessional contacts than the Tajiks. While the Kazan Tajiks are more oriented towards communication with their congeners (Stolyarova & Maddahi 2012), the Tatars, who have been living next to the Russian and other Volga peoples – Christians and pagans – for over 400 years, have elaborated the forms of peaceful interaction with them in all spheres of life – family, friends, neighbours, working. It is not accidental that answering the question about a joint meal with the Christians and Jews our Tatar respondents added a comment: "With pleasure!"

Several questions were related to the Islamic norms of healthcare character. The simplest norm of washing hands before a meal is observed by the majority of our respondents: 81.7% of the respondents always wash their hands (71.9% men and 89.5% women); 14.1% do it often (23.4% men and 6.8% women). An absolute majority of these people see only hygienic sense in the procedure of washing hands; about 3% associate this action with the norms of Islam; about 20% see the double sense – both religious ("this is prescribed in the Quran") and hygienic.

Among the rules of healthy eating, Islam specifically supports moderation in eating and thorough chewing of food. Our research showed that many neglect these recommendations. Thus, 68% of the Tatar respondents admitted they eat too much, while over a half (56.2%) said they eat while not hungry. Only 4% of the respondents are not prone to gastronomic excessiveness; 12% sometimes over-eat. The behaviour of men and women in our data collection is identical. It should be noted that the corresponding indicators among the Tajiks are significantly lower: 28% of the respondents admitted they eat too much; 24% said they eat while not hungry.

Thorough chewing of food, recommended both by religion and dietology, is not a stereotyped behaviour for most of the respondents. Over half of the respondents (55%) admitted that they have a habit of eating quickly. Only about 13% of the Tatar respondents do not have such a habit; another 18% do not generally do that. Notably, this is one of the few questions in which the indicators of the Tatars and the Tajiks coincide (57% of the Tajik respondents make haste while eating).

The next block of questions referred to the norms of social character. Two conjugate questions: "Do you consider treating other people with food to be

a piety deed?" and "If you spot a hungry person while eating, do you invite them to share the meal?" provided a lot of positive answers among the Tatar respondents – 86% and 81% respectively (among the Tajiks, 100% of the respondents gave positive answers to both questions). As for the Islamic call not to make differences between the healthy and the disabled people when choosing one's table companions, over 60% of the Tatar respondents agreed with it; 18% of the respondents do not make any difference as for this issue. In this situation, men are less punctilious than women, though the difference is statistically not significant. However, compared to the Tajiks, 99% of whom support this Islamic norm, the Tatars look more exacting. The difference is also significant as for the Islamic recommendation to abstain from a meal intended for rich people only. While 92% of the Tajik respondents support this norm, only 33% of the Tatar respondents do. About 30% of the Tatars completely disagree with this norm, while for the majority (about 40%) this is not important.

From the viewpoint of Islam, collective meals should be preferred – the food towards which many hands are stretched. For the Tajiks, this norm is almost mandatory, 98% of the respondents observe it. For the Tatars, the situation is not as unambiguous, though there are not very many opponents of collective meals – 14% of the respondents. The rest are divided into approximately equal parts: one half of the respondents prefer collective meals to individual ones, the other half is indifferent. The motifs of behaviour differ depending on the preferences. The advocates of individual meals explain their choice by inconveniences occurring during collective meals: "I'm shy", "I don't like conversations", "I don't like being watched", etc. The advocates of collective meals speak of their personal preferences ("It is more fun together", "It is more interesting", "Communication is pleasant", etc.), adding religious motifs: "A collective meal is a piety", "Sunnah prescribes it", "There is more Baraka (goodness)", etc.

Conclusion

Thus, the etiquette related to nutrition behaviour of the Tatars undoubtedly bears the features of the traditional cultural complex formed under the strong influence of the Islamic factor. However, the declared behaviour norms do not always coincide with the actual forms of behaviour, as our research showed. Actually, one may speak of the specific Muslim variant of the Islamic food culture canon, inherent to the urban Tatars. This variant reflects several features

of the Tatars: a combination of the ethnic and confessional forms of identity (the form of the so called folk Islam in Tatars); unpopularity of the radical (fundamental) Islam; close historical links with the representatives of other ethnoses and confessions. Thus said, the Tatars perceive themselves as a part of the Islamic world and try to highlight their unity with it by various means, including the food culture and etiquette as its indispensable part.

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THE QUESTION OF PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL TRADITIONS: CULINARY HERITAGE OF LITHUANIAN TATARS

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Abstract: The history of Lithuanian Tatars settled in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania encompasses more than 620 years. During all these years they were influenced by various political, economic, religious factors. This culturally and ethnically heterogeneous community due to the co-living side by side with Christians has been strongly assimilated and integrated to the local society. Tatars brought unique tradition, where pre-Islamic traditions and Islamic dogmas were tightly bounded. This mentioned synthesis did not stop evolving and changing. Finally, it was supplemented by elements, taken from Belarusians, Poles, Lithuanians and other nations of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, who had become neighbours of Tatars. Combination of several different cultures gave a distinctive shade to the faith, customs, and daily life as well as to the cultural heritage of Lithuanian Tatars. There are little works dedicated to the cultural heritage, especially to the cuisine of Lithuanian Tatars. Sparsely preserved culinary heritage of Lithuanian Tatars and its varieties in the national cuisine of Lithuania is being discussed in this article.

Keywords: cuisine, features, heritage, Lithuanian Tatars, traditions

Introduction

Mostly distant to the West from their Turkic compatriots and living in Eastern Europe, the ethnical group of Lithuanian Tatars[1] celebrated the 620th anniversary of the settlement in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 2017. The Tatars arrived from Kipchak steppes and Crimea, bringing particular culture. Influenced by the factors of the West European civilization, this culture changed and acquired new features, but at the same time Lithuanian Tatars managed to preserve partly their identity, and, most importantly – their religion (Islam). The Lithuanian Tatars entering the new Lithuanian-Belarusian-Polish environment gave it some Muslim features. The basis of the newly created tradition was the long experience of Islamic religion and culture. We can learn about this tradition from the written sources, first of all, from the manuscripts, written in Arabic script, but in Arabic, Turkic, Ruthenian, and Polish languages (*kitabs*, *hamails*)[2], and we rely on the memory of our ancestors. Features of the cultural heritage of the Lithuanian Tatars should be sought in the original religious architecture, Slavic-speaking Arabic writings, colourful folklore, original traditions and customs, culinary heritage.

In this article, the history of preservation, modification and development of the Tatar cuisine in Lithuania is supposed to be considered.

To the History of the Issue

The very first mentioning of the Tatars and the culinary heritage of Turks could be found in the literature of the 16th century. Michalo Lituanus wrote about it in his treatise "On the Customs of Tatars, Lithuanians and Muscovites. Ten Different Fragments of Historical Content" in 1615, so did Piotr Czyżewski in his treatise "Real Alfurkan of Tatars Divided into Forty Parts" in 1617. Although Michalo Lituanus wrote about the customs of the Perekop Tatars, with whom the troops of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania encountered more often, he was well informed that the first ruler of the Crimean, Khanate Haji Khan Giray, was born in Trakai and was enthroned by the Grand Duke Vytautas (Lituanus 1966: 25–26). The basis of the treatise was the observations of the author, who has visited Crimea and has observed character and customs of the Crimean Tatars. There are no doubts to suppose that such customs could largely coincide and were typical to the Tatars of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Going on

a military campaign, Tatars took with them some dried millet grains and grated cheese (Lituanus 1966: 27). According to the observations of the author of the treatise, Tatars abundantly consume milk and the plant cicero (Italian peas), always sober and not wasteful. They eat a lot of meat, but the law prohibits them to drink wine and to eat pork (Lituanus 1966: 30). The observation of the author, describing how the Tatars act at the table, seems very interesting:

> *They seek the equality and well as in their clothes, as well as in their lifestyle. They have a breaking and sin of the divine law, which is being punished by hitting with sticks, if anyone, in spite of ancestor's or archaic habits, stands out from the peoples of his nation in clothes, or in a band, or in a hat, or in long hair, as well as who eats his food on his own, not sharing with each attendee, or if the host takes the meal earlier, before it has been put in the middle, cut into pieces and carefully mixed, that each person would get the same size of a piece. During the trip, they not only eat from one plate, but even rush through one another to serve older or weaker human* (Lituanus 1966: 1–32).

About the strict observance of respect for the beloved ones, seniors, neighbours, and guests testifies the following observation of the author:

> *None of the Saracens does not dear to eat even a piece, before crushing and mixing it with different food, that everyone gets the equal amount of the food* (Lituanus 1966: 42).

Where grapes grow, Muscovites, Tatars and Turks produce wine, but do not drink it, they just sell it to the Christians and for the money they get, they buy ammunition necessary for conducting warfare (Lituanus 1966: 40). The Perekop Tatars do not overuse seasonings, drink milk and well water (Lituanus 1966: 41). If we carefully follow the observations of Lituanus and compare these with the law, according to which Tatars live, we can see that in everyday life, they (the Tatars) are guided by the prescriptions of Islamic law – the Sharia. Confirmation of this can be found in the texts of manuscripts of Lithuanian Tatars (Miškinienė 2015: 149–160). The most characteristic confirmation is the slaughter of animals of the Lithuanian Tatars, which was carried out in a strictly defined manner. If any deviation from religious precepts during slaughter occurred, believers did not eat such meat.

Piotr Czyżewski in his pasquinade calls the Lithuanian Tatars "cucumber Tatars" and "onion landowners", as a direct indication of their occupation – growing cucumbers and onions (Czyżewski 2013: 58). Directly taken from the Lithuanian Tatars the word *soğan* (Lithuanian – *svogūnas* (onion)) is found among the small borrowings in the Lithuanian language. Local inhabitants buy cabbages and turnips from Tatars (*ibid*.: 64). Further author states, that "Tatar is not a prince, just eater of goats. Simple peasant was not able to pronounce *koźiniec* (an eater of goats) and that is why he called a Tatar person a prince" (*ibid*.: 64). The fixation of the epithet 'the eater of goats' shows that Tatars used a large amount of goat meat.

Some pieces of evidence about the cuisine of Lithuanian Tatars could be found in the manuscripts written in Arabic script, but it didn't include systematically selected recipes, and furthermore, those recipes were not included into a separate book and were not published as cookbook collections. Culinary skills were passed on from generation to generation.

The interwar period includes the beginning of intensive researches in the field of material culture of Lithuanian Tatars. The works of an orientalist by education, Imam Ali Woronowicz, and orientalist Jameel Aleksandrowicz, were dedicated to the elements of the preserved culture of Lithuanian Tatars. Stefan Tugan-Baranowski, Stanislaw Kryczyński and other researchers of the Tatar studies wrote about it as well. Moreover, the 6th chapter of the S. Kryczyński's study "Lithuanian Tatars. An Attempt at a Historical-Ethnographic Study", which was published in 1938 in the 3rd number of annual magazine "Tatars Chronicle" (*Rocznik Tatarski*) (143–150) was dedicated to the material culture of Tatars.

Preserved legends eloquently testify about the material culture of Lithuanian Tatars. In the article of A. Woronowicz "Language of Polish Muslims", which was published in the journal "Tatars Life", a traditional Tatar pie with stuffing *belush* (*belichi, belishi*) and Tatar pancakes *dzhaima* were mentioned (Woronowicz 1934: 9–10). *Dzhaima* belongs to festive dishes and is being prepared for certain ceremonies. Those pancakes have a form of flapjack and remind Uzbek bread. *Dzhaima* is made of wheat, with the addition of water and salt; it is fried in oil and is given to all participants of a funeral dinner. As S. Kryczyński has noted in his study, "name of this flapjack is rarely found in Turkic dialects and if it is being found, only in Kipchak dialects. This is evidence, that *dzhaima* is one of the oldest cultural heritages of Lithuanian Tatars" (Kryczyński 1938: 148–149). A. Woronowicz in his subsequent article "Lithuanian Tatars' Language Remains",

which was published in the annual journal "Tatars Chronicle", investigates the preserved Arabic-Turkic language elements in use by the Lithuanian Tatars and expands the list of traditional dishes.

However, only a few lexemes from the 600 listed could be correlated with the names of original eastern dishes. It is *ashur*[3], *halva*, already mentioned *beliush* and *dzhaima*. Drinks *sherap* (arab. *sharab* – wine) and *sherbet* (arab. *barbat* – drink) were mentioned. Other four mentioned drinks – *mene*, *rechik*, *tasnim* and *tinatl al-habal*[4] – have mystical-religious character. The linguistic situation changed after 100 years. In 1999, an MA student of Vilnius University, Natela Nasibova, conducted research in Forty Tatars Village. She found that despite the fact that material culture occupies the fifth place out of the total number of nine among the components of national identity (10% of respondents mentioned its importance), the amount of extant orientalism numbers from this field is the richest one (Nasibova 2005: 198). The names of eastern dishes are well known for all respondents, while a lot of the other vocabulary, recorded in A. Woronowicz' and S. Kryczyński's works, have become little or not used at all (Nasibova 2007: 517–518).

Traditional and Festive Cuisine of Lithuanian Tatars

The traditional cuisine of Lithuanian Tatars consists of two parts – festive (Friday and ritual) and ordinary cuisines. Specifically – dzhaima, ashure, halva, milk porridge from rice with raisins, "lokshen" (Belarusian term) – soup with homemade noodles and dumplings of minced meat, "shtukament" – stewed beef with beans, could be assigned to the traditional festive cuisine, which is served during one or another festival or ritual. The traditional cuisine of Lithuanian Tatars is an inalienable part of their religion – Islam. It is no coincidence that *gal'ma* (flour, fried in oil) and dzhaima are Sadaqah[5] and is being given during religious rites. A traditional drink of the Lithuanian Tatars, *syta*, is fermented from water with honey (without hop and alcohol). Syta is served for guests during various holidays and during the execution of family rites such as name giving, nikiaha (engagement) or during funeral.

The Lithuanian Tatars as other Turkic nations like such dishes as pilaf, kebab (shish kebabs), chorba / shurpa (various soups) with vegetables and meat, a special place is occupied by peremechi and chebureks in everyday life. Meat is an inalienable ingredient in the recipes of all kinds of soups. Traditional

drinks – such as *kumys* (mare milk), *katyk* (strongly diluted sheep milk) and yogurt were familiar for the Lithuanian Tatars, but were not used for food.

One hundred leaves pie (*shimtalapis*) should be mentioned among the sweet dishes. It is a layered cake made from a very long rolled dough, in which thin and brittle layers are abundantly greased with butter and sprinkled with sugar and cinnamon. The pie filling consists of raisins with poppy seeds. All this is wrapped into a roll (snail) and baked in a stove or oven. One hundred leaves pie is a kind of traditional layered pie – *perekachevnik*. In Belarusian language *perekachevnik* corresponds to "layered pie", in Russian language it corresponds to the verb 'to roll' (roll out). The dough is made in the same way as indicated above, and the filling can be very varied: from chopped goose with a lot of onions to cheese with greens, cheese with raisins, and curd with raisins or dried plums.

Living in a foreign environment, the Tatars adapted to the local, European cuisine and transformed it into their own style. So called "European" dishes were peppered a lot by the Tatars, adding seasonings from various herbs as well as fat. The Tatars ate meat and meat products more often than all other inhabitants. One of the Tatar contributions to Lithuanian cuisine is meat preparation. The authentic Lithuanian sausage *skilandis* must be made of chopped meat not minced meat. This way of meat preparation was brought by the Tatars and has been preserved since then. Relying on sources, S. Kryczyński wrote about the grades of meat popular among the Tatars: "Most of all they like lamb and goose, previously willingly ate meat of goats, so their neighbours nicknamed them eater of goats" (Kryczyński 1938: 142). The method of drying meat, well known to kipchaks from the 13th century, ant to nogais from the 14th century, was brought to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by the Tatars. Unlike their compatriots from Kazan and Crimea, the Lithuanian Tatars do not consume horse meat (Buinovska & Moćkun 2012: 10).

Cabbage rolls are characteristic dishes of the Lithuanian Tatars. Their original shape, however, was slightly different from the ones we are used to nowadays. These were *dolma*; they were made of grape leaves and mutton. *Dolma* became cabbage rolls in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: grape leaves were replaced by cabbage leaves, and beef was used instead of mutton (Girniuvienė 2016: 14).

Dumplings were also brought to Lithuania from the East. Their predecessor was the Tatar *kundum*. To make dumplings, just like kundums, meat must be chopped not minced. Today you will only find the Tatar *kundum* in a Tatar family. What you see in the supermarket in the form of a precooked food is

far from the true Tatar *kundum*. Besides, some researchers of the culinary heritage suggest that the predecessor of the Lithuanian *cepelinas* (potato-meat dumplings) was also the *kundum*.

In the end of the 20th century, after the long exile, when Crimean Tatars started to come back to their homeland, to the Crimea, thanks to the renewed contacts between compatriots, the cuisine of Lithuanian Tatars was replenished with new (forgotten) Tatar recipes. There is no doubt that the cuisine of Lithuanian Tatars was influenced by the examples of Kazan Tatars' cuisine, who had arrived to Lithuania to implement large construction projects in the '80s of the 20th century (the examples of Visaginas and Klaipėda). So, such culinary products as *beshparmak* (patties of triangular shape with meat), watermelon pie (pumpkin pie with minced meat) and others returned to the table of Lithuanian Tatars.

In 2011, on the initiative of three Lithuanian Tatars from Lithuania, Roza Makulavičiūtė-Aleksandrovič, Liusė Milkamanavičiūtė Gaidukevičienė and Fatima Šabanovič Buinovska, a small brochure "One Hundred Leaves Pie and not Only It… The Secrets of Lithuanian Tatars Culinary Heritage" was published. This included the descriptions of the most popular dishes of Lithuanian Tatars. Recipes passed fromlips to lips, from moms, grandmas and ancestors, appeared in this album. Roza Makulavičiūtė-Aleksandrovič learned the secrets of recipes from her mother Jelena Chaleckaitė Makulavičienė (born in 1925 in Adamonys village, the district of Alytus), the latter – from her mother Emilija Vilčinskaitė Chaleckienė (born in 1906 in Raižiai village, the district of Alytus); Liusė Milkamanavičiūtė Gaidukevičienė learned how to cook Tatar dishes from her mother Elžbieta Asanavičiūtė Milkamanavičienė (born in 1930 in Žiežmariai town, the district of Kaišiadorys), from her grandmother Jelena Raižauskaitė Asanavičienė (born in 1911 in Raižiai village, the district of Alytus) and from her great-grandmother Ieva Gembickaitė Raižauskienė (born in 1891 in Merkinė town, the district of Varėna). Fatima Šabanovič Buinovska took the secrets of dishes from her mother Aminė Radkevič Šabanovič (born in 1936 in Ivje town, Belorussia) and from her grandmother Fatima Šabanovič Radkevič (born in 1916 in Ivje town, Belorussia). The recipes presented in the album were witnesses of the 19th century, and the living memory sought ancient times, and covered the territory of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

In 2012, this brochure was supplemented with new recipes and was published under the new title "The Culinary Recipes of the Tatars Cuisine". In the same

year Fatima Buinovska and Slavomir Mockun prepared and published a brochure about the Tatar cuisine in Polish language: "Tatar cuisine. The History."

For more than five years, the traditional Tatar cuisine has been popularised and represented by the Tatar community of Nemėžis, one of the largest Tatar communities in Lithuania. They represent the culinary heritage of Lithuanian Tatars at various fairs and festivals with the dishes, prepared according to the preserved recipe. Tatar community of Nemėžis became a participant of such projects as "Together We Are Lithuania", exhibitions "Litexpo", "Adventure", "Year of Regional Communities", fairs "Fair of Nations", "Fair of Kaziukas", etc. This is the only community that has a certificate to produce 10 dishes of national cuisine.

Conclusion

For more than 620 years, the Lithuanian Tatars preserved the characteristics of their culture and passed it on to new generations. All this time, the elements of Tatar culture were and still are an essential part of culture of the state, which has become a homeland for them. The functioning of culture in a multicultural environment enriches not only the culture of the diaspora, but also becomes a source for other, neighbouring cultures. There is a hope that the modern and succeeding generations will preserve the traditions and rites of their ancestors. Everyone is well aware of the hospitality of the Tatars and may never forget the old saying: "The Tatar kundum is just right for the Bernardine's belly".

The Tatar table etiquette has had its peculiarities. So, the head of the family always sat in the place of honour at the table, next to him the mother, then the children according to their age. If there were old people or guests in the family, the place of honour were provided for them. The first person who started the meal with the word "Bismillia" ('In the name of Allah!'), was the head of the family, after him – all the participants of the meal. After the end of the meal no one stood up from the table until the elder one had read a short prayer which contained ayat from Quran and well wishes.

The relict national dishes of Lithuanian Tatars and the traditions of their use bring us back to the life of the Turkic nomads and the more ancient periods of history; serve as a clear example of the material and spiritual connection of the epochs and a kind of bridge from the past to the present. The cuisine of Lithuanian Tatars is a good material for comparative studies and comparison

of the cuisine of Belarusian, Lithuanian and Polish Tatars with the cuisine of their historic homeland.

Notes

1 Tatars, who arrived to the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 14th century, are being called differently in many contemporary historical works: Belarusian Tatars, Lithuanian Tatars, Polish Tatars or even Belarusian-Lithuanian-Polish Tatars. In historical sources of 15th–18th centuries those definitions like Tatars of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Tatars of Radziwill, Tatars-Cossacks, and etc., used to be used next to the ethnonym Tatars. Definition "Lithuanian" traces Tatars in 19th century, when the necessity of establishment a distinction between Tatars living on the lands annexed to the Russian Empire, and Kazan, Crimean and Siberian Tatars occurred.

2 Kitabs (Arabic: 'book') – one of the genre varieties of manuscripts of Lithuanian Tatars, they are voluminous collections containing texts of various content: the basics of Islamic faith, stories about the life and activities of the Prophet Muhammad, descriptions of rites and rituals, and the main religious and family responsibilities of Muslims. Often, there you can find biblical legends and moralizing stories in kitabs. Chamails (prayer books) consists of Arabic and Turkish written prayer texts and their explanations in the Belarusian and Polish languages. There you can find not only prayers, but also knowledge of Muslim chronology, tips on how to treat diseases with prayers, dream interpretations, prophecy of happy and unhappy days.

3 Ashura ('asura') – the 10th day of the month Muharram, Shiite holiday; compote from nine sorts of fruits.

4 Mene (Arabic: 'man') – "lousy" water; rechik ('rahyq') – the name of the heavenly drink; gasnim (Arabic: 'tasmim') – the name of heavenly drink; wine mixed with water; gintal al-habal (Arabic: 'tin 'al-gibal') – heavenly drink.

5 Sadaqah – voluntary charity, alms.

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ADVERTISING ACTIVITY OF HALAL RESTAURANT BUSINESS: THE EXAMPLE OF KAZAN

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Abstract: The article, based on the analysis of the Internet sites giving information on halal restaurant services in Kazan, statistical and other sources, presents an estimation of their advertising. The comparative analysis is carried out of cafes' and restaurants' advertisements in seven Russian cities, the conclusion is made about the leading role of Kazan in the studied segment of the growing halal market by its saturation with this kind of services.

Based on the estimation of certification agencies' activity for compliance with the "Halal" standard, the general and specific features of certification systems are included of the regions where the studied cities are located. The specific features include different extent of the state participation in the certification procedure.

Recommendations have been elaborated. The administrators of the Internet sites giving information on halal cafes and restaurants should maximally control its reliability. Efforts should be made to certify producers for compliance of their services with the "Halal" standard, and to advertise the certified restaurant business entities. It is appropriate to disseminate the experience of the Republic of Tatarstan in joint certification by a specialised division of a centralised Muslim organisation and an authorised state agency.

Keywords: advertisement, cafes and restaurants, certification, halal, Halal standard, Kazan

Introduction

A lot has been written about the significant growth rate of Islamic economy. Our research is focused on the sphere of restaurant business, in which the Shariah norms play an increasing role. Researchers not only mark the increase of absolute and relative numbers of Muslims in the world, but also emphasise the culturological and hygienic components of such comprehensive and multi-sided phenomenon as the "halal" principle – eating the "lawful", permissible food, corresponding to the Islamic norms (Syed Shah 2011; Khalek 2014; Mohani & Hashanah *et al.* 2013; Shahidan & Othman 2006; Bondarenko & Dzotcoeva 2016, etc.).

"Halal" marking implies that the product does not contain any components forbidden for the Muslims (pork, blood, etc.) and is a pure product. In short, halal is an ecologically pure product manufactured in accordance with the Islamic norms. Halal food can be eaten by people of any nationality and faith.

The diversity of the religious behaviour of the believers is determined by many factors. Our research reveals the role of religious determinant in gastronomical, or nutritional behaviour. This is a comprehensive definition, including both the external components (the role of religion in the society, the state ethno-confessional policy, presence and activity of various theological schools, the activity of other institutions, including market ones) and the internal ones (a person's attitude towards religion, the level of their religious knowledge and education). These components are multidirectional. For example, the functioning of several mazhabs in Islam implies multifaceted behaviour of the believers of different ethnoses. On the contrary, the efforts of the state are usually aimed at reducing the number of subjects influencing the believers' behaviour.

A significant role in market institutions' activity is played by advertisement. Advertisement pursues the commercial, marketing and communicative goals (Kolyshkina & Markova *et al.* 2017: 23).

The summarised list of criteria of international halal systems refers to the requirements for company profiles, employees, premises, equipment, raw materials, suppliers, logistics, packing and marking, documentation and processes.

The research of certification issues is geographically widely spread, but prevails in the South-Eastern Asia, in particular, in Malaysia (Shahidan & Othman 2006; Khalek 2014). Certification issues became topical in that region at

the end of the 1970s–1990s; this means that Russia in general and the Republic of Tatarstan in particular, where the standard was adopted in 2002 (Orlova & Zinov'eva 2015: 40), are in line with the countries most advanced in respect of certification. Researchers emphasise the significance of certification for those countries and regions where the Muslim population is not a predominant majority, as the product and ingredient suppliers may not be Muslims and may not therefore observe the halal rules.

Different regions of the world have their own certification systems, differing both by the number of criteria and by some fundamental approaches. Thus, most certifying bodies do not require an enterprise to belong to Muslims; some insist on certifying all sales outlets of a company, as well as its suppliers (Abd Latif & Mohamed *et al.* 2014).

Our research objective is to elaborate recommendations to those who influence the halal services consumers in the sphere of restaurant business in Kazan aimed at improving their advertising activity. Our tasks were: to carry out comparative analysis of cafés and restaurants advertisements in Kazan and six other Russian cities; to estimate the compliance of restaurant certification procedure with the halal standard.

The following sources were used: databases of state statistics, Internet sites containing information on halal services of cafés and restaurants and various aspects of halal industry, scientific publications on the topic. The research methods were comparative analysis and synthesis, traditional and content analysis of documents; summarising of the quantitative data in an analytical datasheet.

The scientific novelty lies in the fact that this research is the first attempt to interpret the advertising activity of the Russian restaurants rendering halal services to their customers. The practical significance of the research is the recommendations in the sphere of research offered to the halal cafés and restaurants, as well as to the bodies certifying their business.

Comparative Characteristics of the Advertisement Sphere of Halal Market of Cafés' and Restaurants' Services

According to the results of All-Russia census of 2010, the share of ethnoses traditionally professing Islam in selected cities was the following: in Kazan – 47.6% – Tatars (Nacional'nyj sostavTatarstan 2012: 3); in Ufa – 45.4% – Tatars and Bashkirs (Itogi Bashkortostan 2012: 12); in Moscow – 2.46% – Tatars, Azerbaijanis, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Chechens (Naselenie 2012); in Saint Petersburg – 1.6% – Tatars, Uzbeks, Azerbaijanis (Osnovnye itogiPeterburga 2014: 27); in Ulyanovsk – 11.44% – Tatars and Azerbaijanis (Svodnye itogi 2014: 183); in Groznyi (Osnovnye itogi 2017: 168) and Makhachkala (O nekotoryh itogah 2014: 20), according to the regional statistics – over 95%. These statistical data cannot be used for accurate measurements of the halal services market in these cities, because the factors of migration, tourism and way of life should be taken into account.

In March 2017, the author performed a comparative analysis of the texts of cafes' and restaurants' advertisements in Kazan, Moscow and Ufa. The research objective was to give recommendations to the restaurant business enterprises aimed at improving the communication policy. The tasks included: to construct a sample of advertisers; to reveal the presence of absence of mentions about the compliance of the advertised food with the Islamic canons and/or the conceptions of healthy food; to compare the situation in Kazan, Moscow and Ufa by the above characteristic; and to formulate conclusions and recommendations. The sources of information were the Internet sites containing the summarised data on cafes' and restaurants' services in the above cities, including those rendering halal services; first source is the HalalGuide website, which integrates information about halal services in the Russian local markets (Kasimov 2018). Information was collected using the method of content analysis. The sample comprised cafes and restaurants positioning themselves as offering halal food and the cuisines of Muslim ethnoses (Tatar, Bashkir, Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Tajik, as well as Caucasian or Oriental cuisine): 30 enterprises in Kazan, 27 in Moscow and Ufa each.

The HalalGuide website classifies the represented cafes and restaurants into three zones: "green" – the business entity observes the halal standard and is certified by one of the authorised bodies; "yellow" – the business entity observes the halal standard but is not certified by any authorised body, and "red" – the enterprise serves alcohol, which is one of the gross violations of the Shariah norms.

In Moscow, the overwhelming majority of the researched cafes and restaurants (81.5%) use the regional component in Internet advertisement. In most cases this is information about halal food, two enterprises (7.4%) offer arranging celebrations in compliance with the Muslim traditions – *hatm*, *nikah*, alcohol-free weddings, *iftar*.

In Kazan, the share of the researched cafes and restaurants using the religious motif in advertisement is 30%; these are mainly the cafes and restaurants offering Caucasian and Central Asian cuisine alongside with the Tatar one. In Ufa, the share of such catering enterprises is 48.1%.

We found information (two enterprises in Ufa) about using the healthy food traditions in cooking (natural, diet products, alcohol-free celebrations). In all cases (eleven in Moscow, six in Kazan, three in Ufa), such texts are mainly characteristic of the advertisement of those enterprises which use the religious component.

A typical example of a text with the religious component is the following advertisement of a certified café "Itle" in Kazan: "We stick to strict Halal standards at all stages of production: from selecting suppliers and butchering to grilling meat and the overall atmosphere of the place"(Pervyj v Rossii n/a).

We can conclude that some representatives of restaurant business include in their Internet advertisements information on compliance of their services with the Islamic canons together with the statements that their food corresponds to the norms of healthy nutrition. In Moscow this combination is rather common; in Kazan and Ufa it is less common. Supposedly, the reasons for that are: higher level of marketing communications in the capital; in Moscow the level of marketing is higher; the Tatar and other Muslim diasporas in Moscow are more sensitive to observing the Islamic canons in everyday life.

We recommend the representatives of restaurant business, positioning themselves in the markets of national cuisines of the Muslim peoples, to actively use information on compliance of their services with the Islamic canons in

advertising their services. This should be done on conditions that they observe these canons in their production. The inclinations for healthy nutrition among the consumers of catering services are increasing; due to that, the emphasis on the halal products' compliance with the norms of healthy lifestyle will enhance the competitiveness of such cafes and restaurants.

The author shares the opinion of a Saudi Arabian tourist who visited Kazan in March 2018, who, leaving positive comments about the city's preparedness for rendering catering services corresponding to "Halal" standard, also recommended to arrange navigation relevant to their location, with guideboards and signs (Ahmad Halaf Ar-Rashidi 2018).

In February–March 2018, we performed the research of advertising activity of restaurant business entities. The research objective was to formulate recommendations for the HalalGuide website administration and the owners of cafes and restaurants, who place their advertising information in that website; the recommendations were to improve the halal services promotion in the local markets of Kazan, Ufa, Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Ulyanovsk, Groznyi, and Makhachkala. The geographical frameworks of the research were broadened in order to reveal the trends in advertising of the halal sector of restaurant business in Russia. To compare with Kazan, we have selected two cities with a rapidly growing share of Muslim population (Moscow and Saint Petersburg); two cities – centre of the Russian Federation subjects with mostly Muslim population (Makhachkala – the capital city of the Republic of Dagestan, Russia, and Groznyi, the capital city of the Chechen Republic, Russia); Ufa (Öfö) – the capital city of the Republic of Bashkortostan with a share of Muslim population, close to that in Kazan, the centre of a region neighbouring the Republic of Tatarstan; Ulyanovsk – the centre of a region neighbouring the Republic of Tatarstan, a city with a significant share of Muslim population. The source of information was the website HalalGuide (Table 1). It is important to note that anyone may add a halal enterprise to the website. The website administration also states that they are not responsible for the reliability of information placed on the website. This means that the website administration does not check the information of the presence of certificate for the offered food compliance with the halal standard, as well as other information.

Table 1. Advertisement of the halal sector enterprises of restaurant business in seven Russian cities.

City	Number of cafes and restaurants on the website, units	By 100 thousand people	Number of cafes and restaurants in the "green zone", units	Number of cafes and restaurants in the "green and yellow zones", units	Number of cafes and restaurants in the "green and yellow zones", %
Kazan	144	12.59	23	138	95.8
Moscow	134	1.16	9	105	78.4
Ufa	36	3.39	2	35	97.2
Saint Petersburg	25	0.51	2	18	72.0
Ulyanovsk	5	0.78	1	5	100
Groznyi	13	4.79	2	13	100
Makhachkala	57	8.18	12	57	100
Total	414		50	371	89.6

Source: HalalGuide. https://halalguide.me/.

The indicator "Number of cafes and restaurants offering halal services, by 100 thousand people of the city population" is introduced to determine the saturation of the market with these services. We do not determine the saturation of the cities in regard to the Muslim population due to the following three reasons. First, there are no statistics concerning the citizens' confessions; these estimations are made in terms of the ethnic composition of the population, and they are very approximate. Second, the range of services of cafes and restaurants is largely determined by the volume and character of incoming tourism. Third, we are convinced that the halal services in cafes and restaurants are not intended solely for the Muslims, but for everyone who is oriented towards healthy eating. This is the main positioning factor of advertisement of halal cafes and restaurants.

The highest saturation of the supply is observed in Kazan. The following positions belong to, in the descending order, Makhachkala, Groznyi, Ufa, Moscow, Ulyanovsk, and Saint Petersburg. Supposedly, the leading position of Kazan is related, first of all, to the active participation in the tourist market which is characteristic of the regional and municipal authorities and business community. In Kazan, the volume of incoming tourism in 2017 was 2.7 million people, which is 10% more than in 2016. The number of foreign tourists was 185.000 people (Analitika 2018). About one third of comments regarding the services of "green zone" cafes and restaurants were from the tourists who came from other Russian cities. Advertisements of the halal restaurant business entities play an important role in achieving such results; it is an additional factor of gastronomical environment influencing the behaviour of the city population.

Absolute majority of restaurant business entities stick to the main halal principles in this sphere of activity – not offering alcohol, which constitutes the main share of potential income and profit (89.6% of enterprises). According to our preliminary observations, this number is constantly growing. At the same time, the share of certified enterprises is only 12.1%.

The Procedure of Restaurant Business Enterprises' Certification for Compliance with the Halal Standard

There is no centralised system of product certification for compliance with the halal standard in Russia. The author gives a brief review of the system of cafes' and restaurants' services certification, with the focus on characteristic of the certification procedure carried out by the Committee on Halal Standard of the centralised religious institution – Spiritual Directorate of the Muslims of the Tatarstan (hereinafter – the Committee) (Procedura sertifikacii). The choice of this priority is due to the author's location as well as to the leading position of Kazan in offering halal services by the cafes and restaurants, which was shown in the previous section.

The Committee was founded in 2005; in four years, together with the Republic Certification Methodological Centre "Test-Tatarstan" (hereinafter – the Centre) Close Corporation performing certification on behalf of the state, it elaborated "General requirements on production and marketing of 'halal' products".

The certificate confirms:

- using the raw materials and processing methods that do not entail harm to humans and the environment,
- rejecting the use of products that include genetically modified and forbidden ingredients,
- ensuring the observance of sanitary-hygienic requirements for producing and storing the products and raw materials,
- ensuring the presence of reliable information on the product label (Podrobnee ob industrii). Thus, the certification authority emphasises, first and foremost, the compliance of the certified service with the norms of healthy nutrition, drawing it beyond the frameworks of any confession. The Committee is involved not only in certification, but also educational-enlightenment, marketing, organisational, and coordination activity.

The voluntary certification procedure carried out by the Committee together with the Centre consists of ten stages. The procedure implies the obligatory visit of the Committee expert and a representative of the Centre to the production site and filling in the testing certificate. The final result is the acquisition of the state certificate of compliance with the "Halal" standard at the Centre (Procedura sertifikacii). Acquisition of such certificate indicates the compliance of the rendered service with both the Shariah norms and the requirements of the Russian legislation. This is the only example of parallel confessional and state certification.

As of April 2018, five restaurant business entities were certified jointly by the Committee and the Centre (taken into account only the enterprises which had a confirmed or prolonged certificate as of the moment of access). This means that the majority of certified sales outlets were certified in other regions (Reestr sertificirovannyh predprijatij). In general, as of 30 March 2018, the register listed 118 enterprises and businesspersons, 61 of them from Tatarstan, 47 from other regions. In Russia there are over 500 certified subjects of this business (Novosti).

In Moscow, there are two certification agencies: "Tsentr Halal Nadzor" Centre for certification and standardisation of the Spiritual Directorate of the Muslims of Moscow and Central region of Russia – there are no cafes and restaurants in the register (Reestr sertificirovannyh organizacij) and International "Halal" Centre for certification and standardisation under the Russia Muftis Council – one acting certificate (Magaziny i restorany).

In Ulyanovsk Region, certification is carried out by the non-profit organisation for promoting the halal standard observance "Halal 73" (Sertifikacija 2016), in Saint Petersburg, Ufa (Bashkortostan), Dagestan Republic – the "Halal North-West" Centre for certification and standardisation, founded under the Spiritual Directorate of the Muslims of Saint Petersburg and the North-West region of Russia (Centr Haljal'), and "Sertifikat RB" Open Corporation (Sertifikacija Haljal 2018).

In Chechen Republic, the voluntary certification system was elaborated in the middle of 2016 by an inter-departmental commission organised by the order of regional government; the system was titled "Halal – Chechen Republic". Its peculiar feature is that the service is free of charge (Sistema).

Comparing the information of certification agencies' registers and the HalalGuide website shows that the website poorly traces the validity of the certificates issued to cafes and restaurants, which leads to reduction of reliability of the data placed in it. It should be noted, however, that the register pages are either absent, or left unfilled in the majority of certification authorities' websites.

In Russia there is a well-developed system of voluntary certification of producers for compliance of their products with the Halal standard, which extends its power to the restaurant business, too. In some regions, this system is more or less centralised (Tatarstan, Chechnya); the reason for this is the joint activity of spiritual Muslim organisations and the state. However, more often the Russian subjects have several officially registered certification agencies. Any certification agency renders its services not only within its region but at the inter-regional level too.

Conclusion

Due to a number of external factors, favourable for halal segment development in the sphere of cafes' and restaurants' services, Kazan, the capital city of Tatarstan, is leading among the Russian cities in this segment. The author recommends the administrators of websites generating information about this business to take responsibility for reliability of this information by introducing checking procedures. The author recommends the owners and managers of sales outlets, when publishing information on the Internet about the compliance of their services to halal standard, to emphasise the principles and norms of healthy lifestyle and hygienic nutrition inherent in halal food and services.

It is necessary to promote both the certification of producers and products in compliance with halal standards and advertising the certified services of restaurant business subjects. This is necessary from the viewpoint of propagating the healthy lifestyle, hygienic and ecological norms in nutrition, and the rules of consumerism. Besides, certification and its advertising facilitate sales in the growing market segment, especially in tourist centres with increasing tourist flow from Muslim countries, including cities such as Kazan. The author proposes that the Tatarstan experience in coordinating the efforts of Muslim organisations and the state in the sphere of certification is disseminated in those Russian regions and foreign countries where the interested representatives of confessions, authorities and business would be able to draw the necessary analogies and come to certain agreements in the interest of consumers.

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THE NARRATIVE CONSTITUTION OF IDENTITY: THE CASE OF PASTORAL AND MINE WORKERS' COMMUNITIES FROM THE REGION OF VALEA JIULUI, ROMANIA

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Abstract: The start of mine exploitation in Valea Jiului after 1840 has caused the birth of two types of local identity communities: the natives (the Romanian peasants) and the newcomers (the foreign miners) who continue even today to redefine themselves, being closely intertwined. The city dwellers were called 'barabe' by the shepherds, and the shepherds were called 'momârlani' by the city inhabitants. The relations between them were tense from the beginning and have considerably influenced the strategies used in building their constitution of identity. They also reflect in the identity narratives which can be found in Valea Jiului in the present. The analysis of those narratives shows a common history, filled with tension, negation and acceptance.

Keywords: constitution of identity, cultural heritage, identity narratives, mine workers, pastoral communities

The Preliminary Context of the Research. Geographical and Historical Data

Valea Jiului (currently 120,000 inhabitants) is a geographical hollow situated in the Southern Carpathians. The hollow is surrounded by Şureanu, Parâng, Vâlcan and Retezat mountains. In North, it neighbours Ţara Haţegului hollow. There are two main rivers: West Jiu (51 km) and East Jiu (28 km), which come together somewhere close to Petroşani city, forming the Jiu river (348 km).

Valea Jiului belonged to the Dacian state; in 106 a. Chr. it was part of the Roman province called Dacia Felix. The discovered coins, dating back to the 4th century a. Chr. prove that the region has been continuously inhabited by a proto-Romanian and, subsequently, a Romanian population. Belonging to Transylvania, it was included in the Hungarian Kingdom from the beginning of the 11th century. It remained in the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918, when Transylvania and Romania united.

In the 15th century, the noblemen from Ţara Haţegului who owned land in Valea Jiului have sent Romanian serfs to live there, giving them a piece of land and receiving in exchange a part of the annual harvest and animals (Stanca 1996: 41). After the fall of serfage (1848), former serfs bought land from noblemen. However, most of the lands remained under noblemen control who, after discovering coal, sold them to the mining societies.

In 1840, they began exploiting coal. They built the Petroşani – Simeria railway (1867–1870). Petroşani city becomes the center of the mining area (appr. 1890). The population is growing fast: the mining societies attract mine diggers from across the Empire (Slovakians, Germans, Austrians, Croatians, Romanians) and ensure living places for them in colonies and provisions with reduced prices. Around 1900, some economic problems and accidents appear and many mines close down; the population decreases.

The mine diggers' situation improves after 1918, when Transylvania unites with Romania, and then gets worse during the global crisis between 1929 and 1933 and during the Second World War.

During the communist age, the mining industry grew fast. Inhabitants across the country (Oltenia, Moldova, Transylvania, Banat) came or were forced to come and work in mines. The cities developed fast.

After the Revolution in December 1989, the Mineriads from the '90 affected the image of Valea Jiului at the national level. The mine diggers were summoned

to Bucharest in 1990 and 1991, 'to defend democracy'; in University Square, there were violent conflicts with the demonstrants. It is not only the mine diggers' image that suffered, but also the image of Valea Jiului, because in the Romanian conscience, Valea Jiului means coal exploitation. As a consequence, they avoid talking about Valea Jiului in mass media.

At the moment, after some national and european political decisions, the mines are closed.

Communities

The fast-growing population of Valea Jiului after 1840 caused tense relations between the natives and the newcomers. The first generation of newcomers and the local inhabitants greeted each other with disapproval because of their ethnic, cultural and language differences.

The peasants were living in scattered villages in the mountains, where they grew sheep and cows in a traditional manner; the mining societies crowded mine diggers' homes in the valley, in the cities. This spacial polarization favoured from the beginning the formation of some distinct communities. People preferred to live in parallel, avoiding contact, and manifested their disapproval through finding ironic names for the others. The city dwellers were called 'barabe' or 'venituri' ("the ones who came here", actually meaning "who have no roots here, like us") by the shepherds, in contrast with 'oamenii de vatră' (the people who have been living in the village for centuries), and the peasants were called 'momârlani' by the city inhabitants (Gălăţan-Jieţ 2005: 14).

The local inhabitants were Romanians. 'Barabele' had different ethnic origins, but, as they were always working in mines, dealing with danger, they soon crossed ethnic, linguistic and cultural barriers. Interethnic marriages were frequent and the spirit of religious tolerance has grown. This is why 'barabele' can be considered a homogeneous group, at least in comparison to 'momârlanii', who have stubbornly kept intact their inherited culture, clothing, lifestyle, traditional occupations, even local animal breeds and fruit-bearing trees, up to the present. The repartition of city dwellers in villages and cities has not intertwined either with identity building: 'momârlani' and 'barabe' remain 'momârlani' or 'barabe', no matter which village or city they live in.

In the present, from the approx. 120,000 inhabitants, only 10,000–15,000 are 'momârlani'.

Purpose

Over time, the historical, political, social and economic conditions have caused 'momârlani' and 'barabe' to interact, to share a common history. After generations of separation, 'momârlani' became mine diggers during the communist times (in Romania, the communist regime lasted in from 1945 to 1989), and worked together with 'barabe', which allowed, at individual level, a better understanding of each other; even so, the relations between them remain tense up to this day, even though the reasons have changed.

The interactions between the two groups have fundamentally contributed to the construction of the two identities in Valea Jiului. They reflect in the identity narratives, having a significant position within them. The interest manifested for this domain is the main subject of the conversations with the outsiders, especially the 'momârlan' ones. The identity narratives are known at the same level in all communities, which proves their importance for all inhabitants.

All in all, we are going to analyse the relations between 'momârlani' and 'barabe' starting from the identity narratives which are circulating in Valea Jiului in the present, whose traces can be found also in the reports about Valea Jiului, published in printing press at the beginning of the 20th century.

Theoretical Markers

Communities define their identity by self-reference and by referencing to the Other; this process is more visible when the cultural differences are bigger, like in Valea Jiului. But P. Ricoeur says that identity built this way is fragile because of many reasons, such as "the confrontation with the Other, felt as a threat. [...] Indeed, the humiliation, the real or imaginary touches brought to self-respect under the poor-tolerated hit of alterity cause the relation between identity and alterity to switch from acceptance to denial or exclusion" (Ricoeur 2001: 103). He adds another cause: the violence of the founding heritage. "The same events, says Ricoeur, might mean glory for some, and humiliation for others" (Ricoeur 2001: 104).

The relations of power between the communities in Valea Jiului have been unequal from the beginning. 'Barabe' had the state's support, while 'momârlani' were under domination and stayed inferior as number, wealth, economic power

and prestige. It is said that this inferiority has influenced the construction of identity.

The process of construction of identity takes a long time and develops through some talented individuals, capable of turning the events into symbolic narratives and establishing relationships between their meanings (Anastasio *et al.* 2012: 115), according to the necessities of their own identity project; at the same time, the group will be resistant to changes, if these violate its identity project (Anastasio *et al.* 2012: 173). The events have multiple meanings and each group accepts a certain one (Anastasio *et al.* 2012: 107–108), which leads to fights and negociations (Anastasio *et al.* 2012: 115).

Margaret R. Somers points out that when the identity of a person (or a group) is not freely expressed, but stifled by the narratives of the dominant group, this will be expressed through counter-narratives, that belong to 'excluded voices', that will reveal 'alternative values' because they refer to social realities that are unknown for the privileged (Somers 1994: 631).

The way these identity narratives circulate is also interesting. The conversations when the people remember the past constitute an important medium for the creation of collective memories, claim Coman. But the conversation is not the only factor. Media, texts, public officials, museums, and monuments are just an example of sources that foster consensus (Coman *et al.* 2009: 139). In Valea Jiului, identity narratives circulate in both ways: orally and through mass media.

Metodology

The process of forming identities in Valea Jiului lasted for 160 years (and continues today). After the Revolution in 1989, journalists, teachers, sociologists and freelancers with no superior studies have been involved in the promoting history and cultural patrimony, in an effort to rebuild the identity of Valea Jiului, which has been powerfully affected by Mineriads in 1990 and 1991 and by the process of mine closure. Their actions are appreciated by the inhabitants. For instance, Marian Boboc, journalist for *Ziarul Văii Jiului* (The Journal of Valea Jiului, online: www.zvj.ro), has systematically republished, beginning with 2006, over 30 volumes, reports and memorial articles from the press of the beginning of the 20th century. Florin Mugurel has launched a site where he posts documents, images and memories, especially about mining, but also

about 'momârlani', with the help of other local collaborators. His purpose is to rebuild the identity of Valea Jiului:

> *The idea of this site was the desire to leave something behind for the community I belong to* [...]. *Before starting a few years ago, I searched the web for a site that was as rich in the history of this area as possible: unfortunately, I did not find one and this is how this one was born. Its purpose is to wash the ugly image left by the post-revolutionary Mineriads and show everybody the true face of Valea Jiului and of the people that live here!* (Mugurel, http://valeajiului.blogspot.ro/p/despre-noi.html).

Dumitru Gălățan-Jieț, 'momârlan', has published more than ten books about the traditional lifestyle of 'momârlani'. There are also other social actors that look for documents, confessions or old photos; they exhibit objects in small ethnographic 'museums', contributing to the procces of reconstructing the identity of Valea Jiului.

Those locals are to be thanked for facilitating the access to these hard-to-reach documentary sources that we have looked into carefully to understand the evolution of relations between communities, as time passed. At the same time, they action as Narrators (Coman *et al*. 2009: 133): they introduce unshared memories and everyting they publish enters oral circulation.

For this study, I adopted an ethnographic approach and analysed a set of identity narratives collected through interviews realised between 2008 and 2017 in the region of Valea Jiului, in the context of some research projects undergone by the National Museum of the Romanian Peasant. My conclusions were confirmed by participant observation: between 2012 and 2014 I lived in the house of some 'momârlani' during the research and I participated in the most important traditional customs.

In a Conflict from the Beginning

The analysis of documentary sources proves that the locals suffered at the beginning of the mining exploitation (1840). There was an inevitable **ethnic conflict,** the inhabitants being Romanians and the newcomers, mostly foreigners. They spoke different languages, and they couldn't understand each other for many decades. Generally speaking, 'momârlanii' did not learn another

language, not even Hungarian, which was the administration's language until 1918. This attitude was not 'primitive', but a strategy to keep their own identity in an unfavourable climate.

The situation gets more complicated through the **economic conflict** with the Hungarian authorities: the first mining societies, which belonged to some noblemen, imperial families and were ruled mainly by Hungarian and German engineers, bought some land to exploit from the noblemen, but also from free peasants. As the mines developed, the Hungarian state issued a law which stipulated the expropriation of the necessary lands, in exchange of an insufficient amount of money. The 'momârlani' peasants owned grasslands and forests, just enough to provide the needs of the household. In 1928, a 'momârlan', Pătru Vasilie, interviewed by a journalist anonim ([Anonymous] 2017: 179–195), denounced the abuses: the directors often used to expropriate grasslands from the 'momârlani' in the name of the mine, but they kept it for themselves and sold all the hay back to the peasants.

The religious conflict shows how tense the relation between peasant and mine diggers was. The peasants have been Orthodox for a long time. The pressures coming from the imperial administration in the 18th century and in the beginnning of the 19th century have determined the movement of 'momârlani' from the West Jiu to the Greek-Catholic Church. The communities from the East Jiu have remained Orthodox. From 'barabe', the Romanian mine diggers were mostly Orthodox, and the other ethnic groups had other religions: Catholic, Reformed, Evangelic, Unitarian, etc.

No other cult has had a church for a long time, because the Hungarian state has not supported the building of churches. The mining societies have donated money and the churches were built after 1860. Then, a religious conflict has emerged, but not between religions, but between 'momârlani' and 'barabe'. 'Momârlanii' were building an Orthodox Church at Petroşani between 1876 and 1900. The mine diggers came to help and the 'momârlani' denied it violently. At Lupeni, the same thing happened when the Greek-Catholic Church was built (Brânzeu 2017: 69–95).

After 1918, under Romanian administration, the number of 'momârlani' working in the mine grew. In 1927, 'momârlanii' were working in the mining societies, but for auxiliary works. In the summer, they were leaving the mine to work in household. (Hossu-Longin in Boboc 2017b: 62)

Around the Second World War, 'momârlani' also became mine diggers. In Uricani city, the mine was closed in 1947. Alexandru Zăpadă, a 'momârlan', was called to work as a mine digger – he had experience from the Lupeni mine. He became a symbol for many people from Uricani: **the first 'momârlan' mine digger.** This symbol marks the change in the mentality of 'momârlani': after this date, 'momârlanii' will try to have at least one mine digger in the family for a safe earning, while the rest of the family continues to raise cattle.

Current Situation

In 'life story'-type and in structured interviews, the respondents say that 'momârlani' and 'barabe' continued to keep a tense relation during the communist period, even though the political, social and economic conditions have changed.

The hierarchical relations between the two communities have stayed the same, because between 1970 and 1980, the coal exploitation from Valea Jiului has become the most important component of the National Energy Program. This involved favouring the mine workers. At the same time, the communists continued to expropriate the lands of 'momârlani', opening new mines. 'Momârlanii' were moved in blocks of flats. Some of them did not accept apartments in blocks and built/moved their houses on the property, outside the expropriated area.

In order to benefit from the economical advantages, the young 'momârlani' found work as mine diggers, working in mines in the same groups with 'barabele': the communist authorities had a policy of leveraging the differences between groups. This policy diminished a lot the old conflicts, but without eliminating them completely. A 'momârlan' told me that, in his childhood in 1970, at school, other pupils were laughing at him because he was a 'momârlan' and 'had milk in his pockets' (I. D., 'momârlan', interview from 2014). But 'momârlanii' continued to raise animals, for their own household needs and for selling.

After the Revolution, some of the 'momârlani' (the ones who were 50–60 years old in 1989) have recovered their lands and went back in their old homes. Although fully aware that there were underground galleries and danger of collapse, they wanted to move on with their lives on their lands. Still, many of their

children lived in blocks and adapted to the urban lifestyle. Getting further from the traditional lifestyle, they married 'barabe', Romanian or Hungarian, which their parents dissaproved of, because of both identity and practical reasons: whoever was to be married into a 'momârlan' family had to integrate in their traditional lifestyle.

In the present, the mine closure forced the young generations, especially the 'barabe' but also 'momârlani', to abandon their traditional lifestyle, looking for work in cities or abroad.

In the last few years, 'momârlani' have grown just a few animals, for the needs of their household alone, because the mine closure reduced the power of purchase and they cannot sell their products anymore. They believe that the mine, even though it helped them prospere, has also brought a lot of damage, offering a way to earn money more easily than growing animals.

> *'Momârlanii' are sheperds from father to son. But I earn money easier out of mining. Why should I stay on the top of the hill with a bat and watch over sheep, when I can go, work for 8 hours and then sleep? It has broken us; it has cause this rupture between us* (V. C., 'momârlan', interview from 2014).

The 'Momârlani' of the over 50-years-old generation (also younger people) are trying to build a new identity for Valea Jiului by promoting their traditional customs. Dance crews were formed to promote their traditional music and dance. Lately, the city halls took over the 'momârlani' customs, promoting them for the City Days. But the city dwellers don't feel represented by the 'momârlani' customs and the people's discontent can restore the past conflicts. The 'momârlani' do not approve of this either, because they would rather organise their holidays by themselves.

The Analysis of Identity Narratives

In Valea Jiului, the most identity narratives try to explain the two names, of 'momârlan' and 'barabă'. The origin of those words is uncertain; this allowed the inhabitants to make different assumptions, using all the available documentary sources. Neither the genuineness of the explanation nor its credibility, but the existence of these narratives themselves is significant. And the fact that most of

them claim that the two names were invented by the other community proves how strong the mutual influence on the identity construction was.

Not even in 1926 did they know where they come from. A Greek-Catholic priest, N. Brânzeu, said that 'barabă' doesn't come from the *Bible* version of Baraba, but probably from 'Bauarbeiter', 'building worker' (Brânzeu 2017: 73–74). In 1937, it was believed that 'momârlani' comes from the Hungarian word 'maradváy' (sic!), meaning 'rămăşiţă', in the sense of 'natives, traces of the Dacian people' or by referring to their 'poor condition of people who live alone in the mountains' (Vintilescu 1937: 505). These representations circulate today in the identity narratives. There's a tendency to create counter-narratives to satisfy self-esteem: discontent of being considered 'traces', 'momârlanii' consider themselves 'descendants of Dacians'. Because the transformation from 'maradványi' to 'momârlani' is not credible, they imagined that the natives heard the men calling them like that and adopted the word, adapting it to Romanian.

More recent dictionaries do not contain these meanings anymore; neither 'momârlanii', nor their names are known at national level and they dislike it. This is why the following representative anecdote has circulated among momârlani:

> *There was a 'momârlan' who went to Bucharest with some sheep cheese. Another one was screaming:*
>
> *– Come and have some Sibiu[1] cheese! Come and have some Sibiu cheese!*
>
> *Another was screaming something else and so on. So our man thought: 'I have to scream too and sell my cheese.' And he starts:*
>
> *– Come and have some 'momârlan' cheese!*
>
> *An old man, very well dressed, comes to him and says:*
>
> *– Dear man, no offense, I've been everywhere around the world but I have never heard about 'momârlan'. What animal is this? he says, I've never heard about this animal!* (P. G., 'momârlan', interview from 2008).

It is believed that the locals called the foreigners 'baraberi' from 'Bahnarbeiter': 'worker at the railway'. Or: 'barabă' comes from the name of Walter Barabek, an engineer of Silesian origins, who designed and built the railway.

It is also believed that the name was given to them by the Italians who came here to work, because they resemble the inhabitants of Marmolada (a mountain region from Italy). In 1937, the 'momârlan' Petru Cic from the Maleia village has told priest Păun Marcu Jura that the Italian woodworkers he was working

with have called the inhabitants 'marmolani'. The other miners borrowed the word and it was adapted in Romanian through metathesis (Gălățan-Jieț 2017).

In the same article, D. Gălățan-Jieț says that the name 'barabe' wasn't given to the miners by 'momârlani', but it was brought to Valea Jiului by the 'moți' from the Western Romanian Carpathians. When they were leaving for work in the country, they would say that they go in 'bărăbie', so they called themselves 'barabe'. The name would later be used by 'momârlani' for all newcomers.

Another respondent told me that the term 'barabă' meaning 'mine worker' also circulates in Năsăud, another mining region of the country. It may be that the term 'barabă' from Valea Jiului and the one from Năsăud have a common origin, because in the mining areas there used to come workers from all around the Austro-Hugarian Empire. This would mean that it was not the 'momârlani' who called the miners 'barabe'. The more significant is the fact that the 'momârlani' are atributed the paternity of this denomination.

Another series of identity narratives concerns the cultural differences between 'momârlani' and 'barabe'. They mutually accuse each other that they do not know and do not appreciate their own culture. The narratives of the dominant group ('barabele') reflect hierarchical relations that have not changed too much. In the present, 'barabele' believe that 'momârlani' are primitive, just like in the past, when they considered them 'unadaptable to what they were bringing – an important industry' (P. U., 'barabă', interview from 2017). Today, miners consider them 'primitive' because they do not enjoy free time and they do no travel, being busy with rising animals:

> *I had some work colleagues, 'momârlani', they never went out once in their lives, they would spend their holidays sew in hand, at the mountain lodge, where they were raising cattle. One time, one of them went to the seaside and exclaimed: "Oh, mother, what a waterhole!"* (G. N., 'barabă', interview from 2017).

'Barabele' accuse 'momârlani' that they do not appreciate the urban culture:

> *The Local Council (of Petrila) is dominated by them* ['momârlani'] [...] *Meaning that even though 'barabele' have given the cultural values, 'momârlanii' are the ones who control and decide for the respective values. And they are very opaque, culturally speaking!* (I. B., 'barabă', interview from 2017).

'Barabele' reject the traditional way of thinking, which relies on the inherited value:

> *But they* ['momârlanii'] *are constrained by the same thinking: 'If my ol'man did it like this, I'll do it in the same way!'* (G. N., 'barabă', interview from 2017).

'Momârlanii' fought back, creating counter-narratives that suggest how complex their traditional culture is. For instance, a 'barabă' does not understand the 'language' of the 'momârlan's' hat:

> *Do you know how a 'momârlan' wears his hat? If he is tired, he wears it on the back of his head, like this. Usually, when he is happy, he keeps it on one side. And when he is upset, he wears is in the front, like this, so everybody can see that something is wrong* (Ionel A., 'barabă', interview from 2014).

In the present, although the tension between the two communities has diminished, it can reappear in case of conflicts. In 2015, I participated at 'nedeia' from the Jieț village. Nedeia is a traditional custom of 'momârlani', which became an identity mark: an alm for the dead, with food, music and specific popular dances. At nedeie, 'barabe' also take part. I noticed that 'momârlani' and 'barabe' dress differently. 'Momârlani' come dressed in traditional clothing, or at least have a piece of popular clothing: the women – a 'ciupeag' (traditional blouse) or a home-hatched bag; the men: specific hats. Barabe are dressed in casual clothes. The local clothing is an identity mark and 'momârlani' consider that people who dress traditionally love the 'momârlan' culture.

But at that event I was warned not to use the word 'momârlan', because the locals get upset, seeing it as a mockery.

Conclusions

Identity narratives that circulate in Valea Jiului in the present reflect the attempts of some local social actors to change the perception about the communitites of 'momârlani' and 'barabe'; in some cases, their polarisation may be tracked down in narratives and counter-narratives which reflect the hierarchical relations between 'momârlani' and 'barabe' and the attempt of 'momârlani' to reach out

from their shadowy corner where they have been pushed since the beginning of mining. The actual context, where the mine workers lost a lot of their economic importance because of the mine closure, looks like a favourable moment for 'momârlani', who wish to be known for their traditional culture and who have managed to turn a nickname into an identity name, into a 'name of pride'.

Notes

1 Sibiu is a well-known region of Romania.

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III

Discussion

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"INDIA" IN BALTIC CULTURAL SPACE: DIMENSIONS, PERCEPTIONS, IMAGINATIONS

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Abstract: This paper is based on the personal experience of author; it points outs the basic references to both real and imagined India in the Baltic states, Latvia in particular. Apart from the global context of fusion of cultures, the 'Indian' – 'Baltic' connections lies in national romanticism related to the comparative linguistic, as well as an idea of particular cultural similarities between Indians and Latvians and Lithuanians.

Keywords: Cultural imagination, Baltic, India, acculturation, perception

This essay is written on the basis of my personal experience in Latvia and Lithuania as a area of my ethnographic fieldwork (aimed at the study of various facets of national culture in Baltic states) and performance activity (in Indian *kathak* dance style, predominantly) since middle 1990ies. Those were (and still are) two very different areas of my research, I was always trying never mix them up, apart form may be few fusion dances, with the "grammar" of *kathak* and content of Latvian folk songs, which were known to the audience. This kind of experiments is quite widespread today, anyway. Otherwise three of my roles,

as a researcher, as a dancer and as a teacher, were apparently different. In the summer 1998, after my solo concert in "Ave Sol" hall in Riga, two girls, Katrina and Anna, met me with the request to teach them some *kathak*; the place for our classes was arranged immediately. My wonderful pupils established in Riga dance studio called "Līla" soon. Since that time I have got involved into "Indian" life of the city, and came to know many people in all Baltic republics who developed a strong interest towards India – in all senses possible. They were academician, researchers, yoga practitioners, healers, musicians, painters and simply admirers. Few of them have an experience of visiting India and even staying there, but most of them – not, they enjoyed their imagined "India", sometimes for a long time. But in any case I was extremely impressed by the level of interest expressed by many of my friends, acquaintances, students, colleagues in various "Indian matters".

Here I am going to discuss the issue of various dimensions of this interest, as well as the models of perception of "India" and ways of so to say the "domestication". I am going just to point out few ideas to the large talk on "cultural hybridity", the very term of which was popularized due to the famous book of Peter Burke (Burke 2009) and defined as a process of cultural encounter, interrelations, contacts, interactions, diffusion, and exchange – in today's Baltic republics. The aim of this paper is to figure out the facets of Indian discourse at it is exists today here.

Exploration of foreign – and especially "Oriental" – cultures is predominantly elitists, or intelligencia's types of cultural behavior, however city today is not merely the *topos* of a capital that prescribes the content of culture, of the spiritual and daily life. A distinction between "urban" and "rural" was quite crucial earlier, but is no longer always valid, particularly in relatively small and developed countries with the good roads and connected society. The experimental activity based on the fusion of various cultures – in a different ways, indeed – happens in Latvia and Lithuania, for instance, very much outside of the cities: Orvydų sodyba (see Landsbergis 2008), "Tautskola 99 Baltie Zirgi" school (2013), Likteņdārzs (Taivāne 2014: 174–188), their own traits and logic of circulation. The ways of perception of "alien" in a certain society always plays a role of a cultural mark, discovering hidden relations and correlations, unfolding possibilities and tensions. Riga in particular, for instance, reminds me a rose of winds: its shape is been created by many different winds blowing always and from all sides simultaneously. In the very center of this 'rose" one

can experience a certain "silence", interpreted differently as a stagnancy or as a harmony. But it is only a part of the whole picture, a certain "eye storm", balancing the rest of the movement.

I am going to argue here that despite quite settled and in a sense closed ethno-social picture with the strong conservative mechanisms, expressed in the cultural and social institutions and ways of predominant decision-making, the content of many areas of local life and culture is highly diverse (see the detail in Ryzhakova 2017). Both social and cultural borders are quite flexible and receptive, they allows many "foreign" elements to entry and to get appropriated. Religious life in a broad sense, including so called spiritual, healing and other practices widely used in Baltic society demonstrated particular fluidity and wide range of variations. For example, there are many instances of referring to Orient, or, rather "Orients" in today's cultural space of the Baltic countries. How this usage impacts on the identity of people, is a question to explore.

The dichotomy of "East" and "West" in Baltic (as well as Balkan, by the way) cultural space is a well-known trope in historical narratives; it includes such characteristics as multiple belonging, marginality (as a category of a "Zwischenwelt", for example), and transition as a permanent state. Both modernization and conservative trends here are equally strong and "work" together: development of brand new devices often clashes with the resistance. Cultural and political ethnonationalism here collide with the certain social fragmentation; small and quite isolated communities (or groups, or social circles) hardly merged into united entity unless the whole historical situation all around is benevolent. Here postmodern opposition between "universe" and "multiverse" is appeared to be very relevant.

The creative imagination, using and application of various magic practices, both inherited from ancestors and neighbors and derived from various cultures, become important tools of psychical and sometimes may be even physical survive.

"Magic" of India, broadly known, explored and used, in case of Lithuania and Latvia has additional references. Several issues were pointed out in a book "Balts and Aryans in Their Indo-European Background" by S. K. Chatterji, published by Indian Institute of Advanced Study in Shimla in 1968 (Chatterji, S. K. 1968). The main reason for a special interest towards India here was a linguistic study, a discovering of Indo-European origin of the local languages, "Letto-Lithuanian" languages, as they were named in middle 19 century, and

a clam of Lithuanian as a certain "Sanskrit" of Europe. Next to the academic studies a quasi-linguistic writing emerged (Leitis 1938; Paliepa 2011), with a considerable mystic and an occult element. One could observe here a certain freak-ness sometimes.

Both real and imagine India has multiple "faces" or manifestations in today's Baltic culture. As everywhere in the world, it arrives in a form of Indian cinema (Bollywood, first and foremost, but not only) in middle of 20 century, but now arising interest only in quite small groups of fans. As in many countries with considerable Indian migrants communities India install herself through the net of Indian restaurants and boutiques, which serves as both business and meeting places of India-oriented persons. Especially popular and now also wide-spread are various practices of yoga. Actually, there are many variations of physical activity, fitness and groups aimed at personal development, whose titles uses the name of "yoga", more or less correctly. They have different origins and different approaches; some of them, as Bikram Yoga, are transnational products of USA based corporations. Iyengar Yoga is another widely known and established technique, as well as a net of institutions. Dozens of small yoga groups are part of the cultural landscape of today's Riga, Vilnius, as well as other towns. In June a global festival called "Days of Yoga" happens in Riga (just like in many other cities of the world) with the participation of variously related persons and groups. It has some commercial flavor, but many events are happened free of cost, including musical and dance programs and workshops. It is also a place of informal meeting for all interested in the subject.

Yet it is interesting to know, that the popularization of yoga in a global scale has a special connection to Riga. A first lady teaching yoga in America was born in Riga; she was Yevgenia Vasilevna Peterson (1899–2002), a Russian noblewoman of Swedish descent, and became famous by the pen-name Indra Devi. A famous Russian poet and singer Alexander Vertinsky dedicated a poem "A Girl Is Not Somehow, And Not Like Everything" to her. Yoga was a part of Roerich Society established in Riga in 1924; people of various origin, walks of life and even religions (as Ivan Matveyevich Roshonok, a medical doctor and the elder of an Old Believers, Grebenshchikov's, community) uses to be a part of this Society and yoga practitioners on their own.

Today it is also traditional Indian medicine, *ayurveda*, as a certain product on market, or as an alternative medical treatment, became also popular. Another "incarnations" of India are various styles and schools of Indian dance and music,

developing in Latvia and Lithuania due to the activity of certain musicians and dancers. Miss Vija Vētra, a girl in a family of Latvian immigrants, a professional dancer with the strong interest towards Indian dance, is may be the most known person here. In 2018 she has been turning 95, and she still dance on stage, fusing together many different styles and dance traditions, including flamenco, modern ballet and many more. South Indian *bharata-natyam* is an important part of her dance repertoire. But it is her own imagination expressed in her choreographies constitutes the uniqueness of her dance approach. Romantic stories of Latvia's legendary past, poetry and mythology are intertwined with the technique of particular traditions. Vija Vētra used to dance in churches, using her experience in a variety of dance styles; she is also device a certain mission vision, related dance to a mystical devotion to a Supreme God. Since middle 1990s she is coming to Latvia from New York (where she lives) every summer to enjoy the local hospitality, to perform and to be in touch with a number of disciples and friends.

Many spiritual groups, religious communities, practicing various traditions of Indian origin are known in Riga and other cities. Apart from most known ISCON (Hare Krishna), they are Sahaj Marga, Sri Chinmoy, groups of transcendental meditation (Maharishi Mahesh Yogi), adepts of Satya Sai Baba, as well as loosely organized groups around Shakti centre, Shiva centre, etc. Some of those groups are part of the global net, and have good international contacts.

But what is more specific for Baltic cultural space is the local "Indian approach" in religious, or rather spiritual spectrum. One of the early explorer of Indian heritage, however, in a peculiar way, was Ernests Brastiņš, a leader of *dievturība*, a Latvian "neo-paganism" (which is not the proper denotation of the movement, it is rather a certain "protestantism of protestants", as it was sharply described by some of my Latvian colleagues). But certain "Indian heritage" was a part of *dievturība* since the very beginning; see detail in (Ryzhakova 2017: 283). Even before the registration of the organization in 1925, a kind of manifesto was composed by E. Brastiņš – "Restoration of the Latvian Dievturība", and published by him with a subtitle "A Brief History, Wisdom and Praise" (Brastiņš 1925).

Later the author himself admitted that this book was not good enough, not well-written.It is an example of a search for a certain Latvian-Indian historical and cultural parallels and unity. The author of the manifesto (possibly E. Brastiņš himself) finds Hindu parallels to all Latvian folklore characters and deities.

Dievs – this is the same as Vishnu for him – "all-knowing" ("Višņa – viszinis" in the text), or Ishwara – the "almighty" ("Isvara – visvaris"), or Shiva – "living" ("Živa – dzīvais"). Laima is certainly the goddess of happiness Lakshmi. Latvian Dēkla is Kali, "the protector of people and cities, a part of Lakshmi". Kārta turns out to be nothing more than "Karma, the doctrine of the consequences of deeds". Ūsiņš is representing the twins Ashvins, "horses of Sun", etc. Little later, in the text "Some proposals for the restoration of the Latvian Dievturība" (late 1920s), E. Brastiņš writes:

> *The deep foundation of the Latvian dievturība constitute Indian Aryan religious and philosophical teachings, mainly the philosophy of Vedanta. As an irrefutable truth (natural law) one should accept the doctrine of the regularity of cause and effect (Karma, Kārta) and the rebirth of the soul, or the doctrine of multiple incarnations. We must accept the doctrine of the Avatar - the Divine Incarnation (Logos, Ishvara, Vishnu) in the great personalities, which were Rama, Krishna, Buddha, Christ. On this basis, some compromise with Christianity is possible. It is necessary to publish the "New Testament" in a new translation, with a comparison with the Greek text. This new edition should be accompanied by extensive commentary from the standpoint of Vedanta philosophy on the personality and teachings of Christ. It should be issued to the people of ancient Aryan holy books, primarily the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gita, etc. We must get acquainted with the teachings of the Indian yogis, and the ways of its realization. In this connection, it would be useful for some prominent devotees to undertake a pilgrimage to India, and spend a few years there. Since Rabindranath Tagore will visit Russia this summer, it would be worthwhile to invite him to come to Latvia, and before that, to acquaint him with the Indian-Latvian relations* (Brastiņš 1925: 32).

Here the "Indian heritage" was a part of the highly synergetic and wide-spread in 1920-1930s national-romantic outlook and a project, formed then in the fantasies of Western Orientalism, including Nazi Germany, under the auspices of the Ahnenerbe Institute.

Later devotees of dievturība did not develop this "Indian" topic properly, although some slight reflection of the "spirit of India" remained on their teachings, but the pantheon and the doctrine of dievturība, polished over time, became more homogeneous and "Latvian".

Within the framework of the "Romuva" movement in Lithuania, which began in the late 1960s, in the late 1990s, and later, late Jonas Trinkūnas and Inija Trinkūnenė became more and more interested in India. They establish contacts with Indians, including some priests who participated in collective ceremonies in Lithuania, including fire rituals (Personal information, talk and discussions, as well as authors participation, supported by photo and video documentation).

In last two decades some Latvians and Lithuanians actively embraced to the exploration and practicing of ritualistic practices of Indian origin. It is interesting to note, that the ideas behind this practices are the least point taken into consideration. The reference to the spiritual practices of Indian origin as not to "Hindu", but to "Vedic" is quite remarkable: "Vedic" here means not at all the real historical background, but peculiar synergetic set of ideas, established by the local practitioners for their own needs. Localization of certain Indian cults and practices is done by many small and tiny groups, such as "Baltais aplis" and many more groups, families and individuals. Mostly they are not intended to popularize themselves broadly. Astrology, magic, healing, organization of festivals, various kinds of rituals may be the source of income, but that is not – or not only – the question of business. The main issues here are social connections, exchange of information, friendship, and alternative ways of doing routine jobs. The stress in "Vedic knowledge" lies not in non-orthodoxy, but rather on "orthopraxy": variety of interpretations is acceptable. The very word "*viedais*" in Latvian language means "wise"; linguistic connectivity makes considerable part of Indian cultural heritage – otherwise alien – recognizable (in some cases, however, confusingly).

Certain "domestication" of "India" in Latvia and Lithuania has several dimensions: romantic national segment is related to comparative linguistic, which led to both academic and non-academic approaches in exploring of the past (national past in particular), and global scene of diffusing ideas and practices, relevant to the daily life, aesthetic feeling and needs of a modern man. Our digital epoch prescribes the fragmentation of the actual reality (Indian, for instance), and using of the elements for the making and remaking of the spiritual life of the actors. Experiments and constant creation constitutes a significant part of the daily life.

One of the peculiar new rituals, recently established and practiced by various groups in Latvia, predominantly not in the cities, but in rural places,

in open air, all over the Latvia, mostly by educated urban citizens is so called "fire ritual" (personally observed by an author and discussed with the other participants). The origin of it probably could be discovered in 1990s – early 2000s activity of various artistic groups, including some ethnographic ensembles and among the folkloristic circles. Artists of Riga, painters, musicians, poets, mystically oriented persons created the interest towards this ritual. Rasma Rozīte and her group, Lilita Postaža, "Baltais aplis" group were among the first practitioners. Some of my Latvian and Russian friends from Latvia (ethnicity never play a dividing role here) traveled to India in late 1990–early 2000 to learn the "fire ritual" from *babas*, *gurus* and priests, as they claimed. What is important, the deep interest towards Indian spirituality always is combined with the involvement into the creation of pan-Baltic, Latvian, Lithuanian or more specific local practices, which could turns with the time to traditions. Brought to Latvia, Indian experience has not got a special and one name and structure, but it is been identified and explained differently by the practitioners. The usage of fire as such could have been rooted in both local ethnographic traditions, highlighted by folkloristic groups, especially since 1980ies, and in ritual derived from Indian practice – out of books, or from the living practice. Now, as I see, it became more widespread and adopted differently by various small groups. It definitely has various reasons including aesthetic, magic, and recreational and many more, and has a multiple cultural references.

So to say little "home magic practice" in form of candle burning at home for different purposes was a part of Baltic daily life even in Soviet time. Burning of bonfire, in particular during the celebration of Latvian *Līgo* (Jāņu nakts between June 23 and 24, Midsommer Day, St. John's Day), or Lithuanian *Joninės*, is widespread. Using the real bonfires as a part of in All-Latvian Song and Dance festival, in the large arena, design by Valdis Celms, has brought the tradition to the official and representational level.

Creation of new groups with hybrid, syncretic identities, free from either local, or national discourse, whether they are Latvian, Lithuanian, Russian or else, is an interesting brand of today's world. This groups, or rather circles with quite open agenda, are at the same time global (or easily can turn global) and limited (could be private, and sometimes even not known to the very neighbors). In Baltic republics they mostly constitute small or even tiny communities. But the ideas, circulated in this groups, and practices established and devised by them have a broad usage and context.

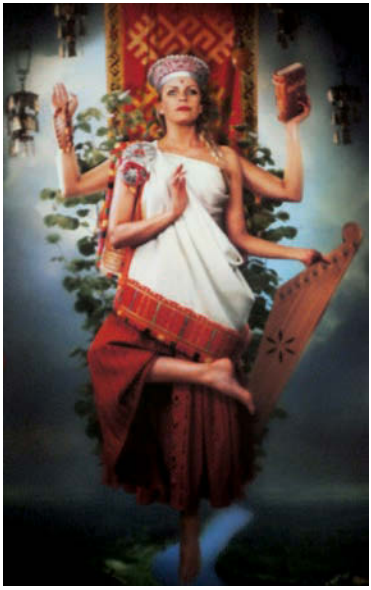


Figure 1. Artūrs Bērziņš. Collage in so called "Tautiskais postromantism" (Folk Post-Romantism) style. Exibition in Gallery "Bastejs", Riga, 2014.

Figure 2. Ritual with fire. 21.06.2017, Ikšķile, Latvia. Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova.

Figure 3. Morning yoga practice. Still from short film "Tomorrow' Regimen" by Kartina Neiburga, 2018.

Figure 4. Indian miniature in the decoration of "Tibetan kitchen" restaurant in Riga. Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, 2016.

Figure 5. Holy "OM" sing in Riga's graffiti. Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, 2008.

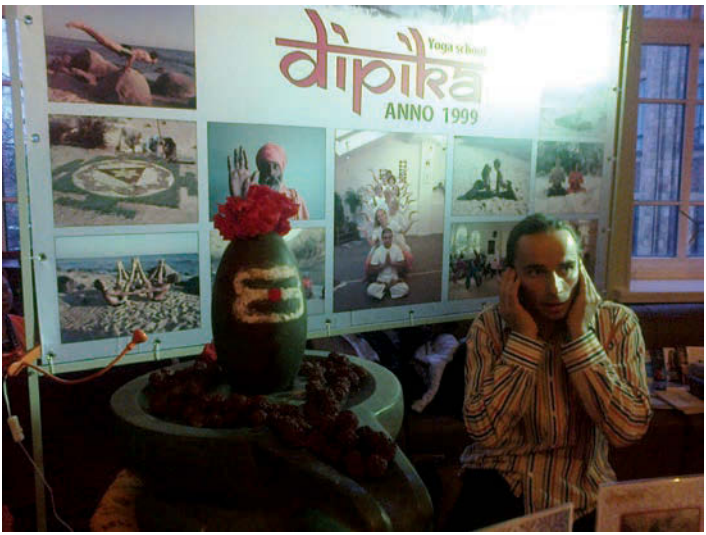


Figure 6. Tourist agencies in the small shops; celebration of Divali in Riga. Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, 2014.

Figure 7. Tourist agencies in the small shops; celebration of Divali in Riga. Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, 2014.

Figure 8. ISCON food selling; celebration of Divali in Riga. Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, 2014.

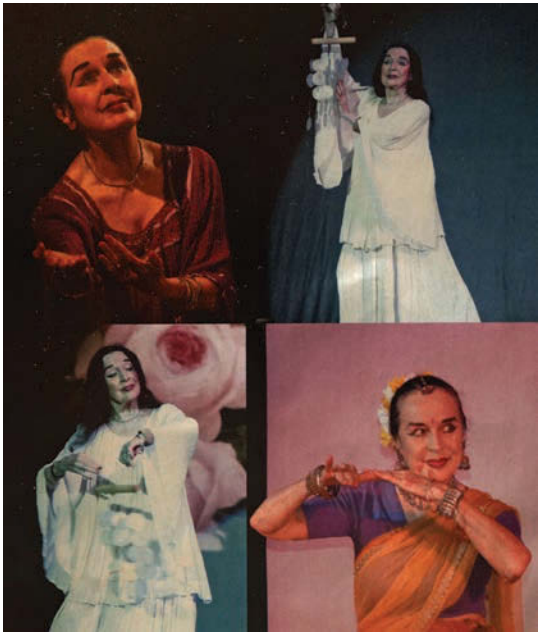


Figure 9. Vija Vetra: a booklet for the dance program "Two worlds" (Divas pasaules) in Riga, 2015.

Figure 10. Vija Vētra: a booklet for the dance program "Roots and wings" (Saknes and spārni) in Riga, 2017.

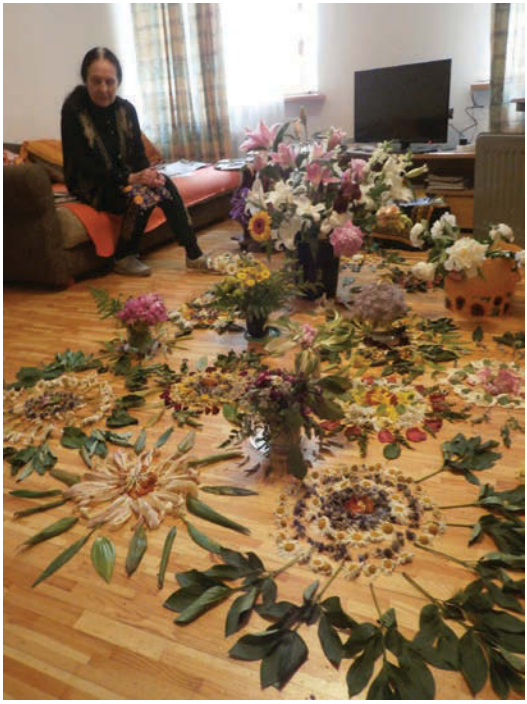
Figure 11. Celebration of Mahasivaratri in Riga. Shakti centre. Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, February 2016.

Figure 12. Celebration of Mahasivaratri in Riga. Shakti centre. Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, February 2016.

Figure 13. Larisa Poskochaya, Svetlana Ryzhakova, Katrina Rute, Anna Melngalve. Dancers of "Bharata" and "Lila" dance studios in Riga. Private collection, February 2016.

Figure 14. Healing by gongs in Riga. Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, April, 2018.

Figure 15. An evening in Riga with Indian music. Anatoly Popov and Svetlana Ryzhakova. Private collection, 2017.



Figures 16–17. Vija Vētra with her flower "mandalas" after the dance program in Riga. Photos by Svetlana Ryzhakova, 2014.

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IV

News and Reviews

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE *BALKAN AND BALTIC STATES IN UNITED EUROPE: HISTORY, RELIGION, AND CULTURE III*

9–11 OCTOBER 2017, VILNIUS, LITHUANIA

The 3rd international conference *Balkan and Baltic States in United Europe: History, Religion, and Culture* was held in the Lithuanian Institute of History (Vilnius) on 9–11 October 2017. This conference was one of the events to take place in preparation for the centenary of the independence of the Republic of Lithuania. On 16 February 1918, Lithuania became an independent state, and one of the main actors in this event was Patriarch of the Lithuanian national rebirth, Jonas Basanavičius (1851–1927). He was a historian, folklorist, ethnologist, medical doctor, and politician, who worked in Bulgaria for almost a quarter of a century. So, he is a historical and cultural symbol of the unity of the Baltic and Balkan states. This was one of the reasons for holding this conference in Lithuania.

Ethnologists, folklorists, historians and anthropologists from Austria, Bulgaria, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Russia, Turkey, and the United Kingdom gathered for three exciting days of panels, sessions, keynotes, discussions, and a tour. The conference was organised by three institutions: the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology, Lithuanian Institute of History; the Balkan Ethnology Department, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; and the International Society for Balkan and Baltic Studies (organising committee: Ekaterina Anastasova and Žilvytis Šaknys (heads), Svetoslava Toncheva and Audronė Daraškevičienė (secretaries), Marianka Borisova, Mila Maeva, Rasa Paukštytė-Šaknienė, Rasa Račiūnaitė-Paužuolienė, Irma Šidiškienė).

The conference continued the discussions which had begun at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia, dedicated to processes of the EU integration in the regions of the Balkans and the Baltics, discussed at the conference *Balkan and Baltic States in United*

Figure 1. Registration. Irma Šidiškienė and Rasa Paukštytė Šaknienė meet the first participants of the conference. Photo by Žilvytis Šaknys, Vilnius, 2017.

Figure 2. First report. Rimantas Miknys and Veneta Yankova. Photo by Žilvytis Šaknys, Vilnius, 2017.

Europe: History, Religion, and Culture (October 2008) and *Balkan and Baltic States in United Europe: History, Religion, and Culture II* (October 2014).

The first conference panel under the heading *History, Memory, Identity* was opened by the director of the Lithuanian Institute of History, Rimantas Miknys (Vilnius, Lithuania). In his presentation "Hermeneutics of Jonas Basanavičius", he reached the conclusion that life in Bulgaria had a decisive influence on the Lithuanian State Patriarch Jonas Basanavičius. Arūnas Vaicekauskas (Kaunas, Lithuania) made a presentation titled "Hittites, Bulgarian Folklore and J. Basanavičius' Theory on Origins of Lithuanians", in which he presented a hypothesis of the origin of Lithuanians created by J. Basanavičius. According to this hypothesis, Lithuanians' ancestors came to their current homeland from the southern Balkans. Veneta Jankova (Shumen, Bulgaria) analysed the historical memory of the Lithuanian and Bulgarian Tatars in her presentation. She presented contemporary manifestations of historical memory: images of the past, the reinterpretation of history, the construction of one's own historical story and its relation to the national narrative. Skaidrė Urbonienė (Vilnius, Lithuania) in her presentation "Monuments to Commemorate Lithuanian Independence: Why Crosses?" discussed the campaign to build monuments to commemorate the 10th anniversary of Lithuanian state independence in 1928. She concluded that this campaign was a successful attempt to revive traditional cross-crafting, and to embed wooden memorial monuments as signs of Lithuanian national identity. Vildane Dinç and Artum Dinç (Bursa and Ankara, Turkey) analysed the imagery of Bulgarian socialism in the memory of the Turkish national minority. They explored imagery patterns in the memories, art, and albums created by the Turkish national minority, focusing on the period from the inauguration of the socialist regime until 1989. They revealed how the Turkish national minority perceived and reacted to the regime and developed strategies to survive in socialist Bulgaria. Ana Pascu (Bucharest, Romania) read a paper titled "The Narrative Constitution of Identity: The Case of the Pastoral and Mine Worker's Communities from Valea Jiului's Region (Romania)". She discussed the ways in which communities in the Valea Jiului region construct their social identity in the period when the coal mines are closing one by one, leading to increased poverty and depopulation, turning an area rich in natural and cultural resources into a marginal zone.

The second panel, *Religion and Sacral Places*, was opened by Robert Parkin's (Oxford, UK) presentation "How Świebodzin Got Its Statue of Jesus: Reflections

on Sacred Spaces and Religious Tourism". Parkin described the history of the statue of Jesus Christ in Świebodzin (Poland) as not being associated with any miracle. Comparisons were made with the Lithuanian religious site of Šiluva, which is associated with a miracle (a vision of the Virgin). The questions were raised about just what we mean by such concepts as sacred space and pilgrimage. Solveiga Krumina-Konkova (Riga, Latvia) in her presentation "Religion in the Post-liberal time" declared that the case of the post-Soviet countries is interesting in that here the post-liberal spiritual tendencies exist alongside expressly liberal and also excessively totalitarian streams of thought. Rasa Račiūnaitė-Paužuolienė (Kaunas, Lithuania) made a presentation titled "Religious Identity of Bulgarian Catholics' Communities", in which she revealed that there are some different characteristics and peculiarities within the local and regional religious identities of Bulgarian Catholic confessional communities. Inese Runce (Riga, Latvia) read a paper titled "The Spiritual Practice of Latvian Roman Catholic Families under the Soviet Regime and Its Influence Today". She announced that the community of the Roman Catholic Church in Latvia has been less affected by processes of secularisation in comparison with other religious communities in Latvia. Jolanta Kuznecovienė (Kaunas, Lithuania) in her presentation "Liberal Democracy and the Voice of the Roman Catholic Church in Public Life of Lithuania" analysed the activity of Lithuanian Catholic Church in the public life of Lithuania in the period 1990–2015. She concluded that even though the state was (and still is) formally separated from church, in practice the state regards the Lithuanian Catholic Church as an influential actor in the political arena, whose voice often determines the final outcome of political decisions and legislation. Maria Mateoniu (Bucharest, Romania) in her presentation "The Tension between Communism and Orthodoxy in the Memory of Saint Nicholas' Monastery" tried to reveal how the nuns of the Saint Nicolae Monastery (Romania) relate to the ecclesiastical authority, the state, and society. Her purpose was to investigate some reflections on Eastern Christianity. Mare Kõiva's (Tartu, Estonia) presentation titled "Inventing Sacred Places" was mostly based on Estonian and Bulgarian material and concentrated mainly on a) energy pillars, and b) so-called grassroots memorials or cultural memory fields created for a certain place. She characterised the creation of memorial sites initiated by Roman Espenberg-Haavamäe in the 1930s, which has now grown into a multi-faceted movement. Kõiva concluded that all these places share a common pattern – new objects make new identities, forms of

sacrality and belonging. Mila Maeva (Sofia, Bulgaria) described the Seventh-day Adventist churches in Bulgaria and the Baltic States. Her paper focused on the historical development of this church and its cultural influence on the local population. The main aim was to describe and analyse the multi- and transnational religious and cultural ties between them as well as their specifics in each country. Svetoslava Toncheva (Sofia, Bulgaria) in her paper "Buddhism in Bulgaria – Dimensions, Specifics and Distribution" declared that in the last decades the never-before-seen Eastern spiritual ideas and practices have spread into the Western world. The presentation's focus was on the specifics and forms of the spread of Buddhism in Bulgaria, with an attempt to show a better understanding of its functionality and place within Bulgarian culture. Monika Balikienė (Vilnius, Lithuania) in her presentation "An Enterprising and Subtle World of Magic Where Nothing Comes for Free" announced that the glorious rise of magic in contemporary Lithuania was obvious. Her paper was based on personal experience gained over the past 17 years, interviewing more than 300 males and females of different ages and educational backgrounds about their life experience concerning evil-eye diseases, energy vampirism, magic healing, and bewitchment of males using menstrual blood in different parts of Lithuania.

The second day of the conference and the third panel, *Ethnicity and Ethnic Cuisine*, was opened by Sergej Rychkov (Kazan, Russia). He presented a paper titled "The Religious Factor of the Gastronomic Behaviour of Urban Muslims in the Context of the Market Behaviour of the Subjects of Public Catering", in which he analysed culinary problems of Muslim ethnic groups (Tatar, Bashkir, Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Tajik, and others) in Russia. Galina Miškinienė (Vilnius, Lithuania) gave a presentation titled "Culinary Heritage of the Lithuanian Tatars". The Tatars, who came from the Kipchak steppes and the Crimea, brought with them a specific culture. Under the influence of Western European civilization, the culture of the Lithuanian Tatars changed and acquired new features. This process was analysed by the speaker through Tatar culinary art. Nadezhda Rychkova (Kazan, Russia) showed in her presentation "Everyday Meal Etiquette in the Food Culture of Urban Tatars – Muslims" that in the food culture and etiquette Muslim Tatars perceive themselves as a part of the Islamic world. The last presentation of the panel – "Factors of Identification and Consolidation of Ethno-territorial Groups of Tatars (on the example of the Volga and Lithuanian Tatars)" by Rozalinda Musina (Kazan, Russia) tried to compare ethnic and cultural identity of the Tatars living in Lithuania and the Volga region.

Figure 3. Ekaterina Anastasova's discussions about the conference with council of Tatars Community of Nemėžis – Tairas Kuznecovas. Photo by Žilvytis Šaknys, Vilnius, 2017.

Figure 4. Traditional Tatar dishes in Nemėžis. Photo by Žilvytis Šaknys, Nemėžis, 2017.

Meeting with the Nemėžis Tatar community finished the programme of the second day of the conference. Participants became acquainted with the history, culinary heritage, and traditions of this community. The organisers and participants of the conference are thankful to Tairas Kuznecovas, chairman of the Nemėžis Community of Tatars.

The third day of the conference and the fourth panel, *Ritual, Fasts, and Leisure Time*, was opened by Rasa Paukštytė-Šaknienė's (Vilnius, Lithuania) presentation "Lithuania and Bulgaria: Family Festivals in Contemporary City". Paukštytė-Šaknienė presented a comparative research of family rituals in Vilnius and Sofia, arguing that the comparison reveals many common features in both countries: "double ritual year" in the era of socialism and the disappearance of the contrast between family and public holidays at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries. Irma Šidiškienė (Vilnius, Lithuania) made a presentation titled "Cultural Aspects of the Co-workers' Community in Lithuanian and Bulgarian Cities". She drew attention to the fact that the dates and the rituals of the same festival do differ in both countries. Another difference lies in the fact whether people choose to celebrate or commemorate feasts with their colleagues or not. Žilvytis Šaknys (Vilnius, Lithuania) read a paper "Leisure and Friends' Festivities in Vilnius and Sofia". He aimed to answer the question how friendship is perceived and in what ways it is supported in two different EU countries, paying particular attention to how friendship functions in the perspective of the ritual year.

Figure 5. Žilvytis Šaknys. Photo by Andres Kuperjanov, 2017.

Figure 6. Third day of conference. Photo by Žilvytis Šaknys, Vilnius, 2017.

Figure 7. Closing of conference, Mare Kõiva. Photo by Žilvytis Šaknys, Vilnius, 2017.

Lina Petrošienė (Klaipėda, Lithuania) in her presentation "Reflections of the Celebration of Shrovetide in Different Countries of the World in the Lithuanian Periodicals of the Early Twentieth Century" reviewed the publications about Shrovetide festival in the Lithuanian press at the beginning of the 20th century. The author pointed out that these publications reflect the aspirations of the society of that period to integrate into the Western European and global cultural context as soon as possible. Svetlana Ryzhakova (Moscow, Russia) in her presentation "India in the Baltic Countries: Hindu Rites and Practices in Latvia and Lithuania Today" argued that the heritage of India is a very important source of inspiration for alternative religions in the Baltic States, especially for Latvians and Lithuanians.

In the 5th panel, *Migrants and Migration*, Akvilė Motuzaitė (Turku, Finland) read a presentation "Calendar Festivals as a Form of Transnationalism and Cultural Strategy in the Mixed Finnish-Lithuanian and Greek-Lithuanian Families". The author revealed that the calendar festivals celebrated in a particular context of emigration – within mixed families – acquire specific meanings from the individual and communal point of view. Mariyanka Borisova Zhekova (Sofia, Bulgaria) read a paper titled "Cultural Heritage Abroad: School Feasts Celebrated in the Educational Institutions of Bulgarian Immigrant Communities". She argued that the Bulgarian school festivals that are celebrated in schools of the Bulgarian community abroad hold a special place in the calendar of festive events, often turning into a festival for the entire community, and forge the cultural identity of adolescents in the context of immigration, giving them new perspectives and popularising Bulgarian culture abroad.

The 6th panel was dedicated to the topic of tradition and innovation. Tatiana Minniyakhmetova (Innsbruck, Austria) in her presentation "Slavic-Baltic Space through the Prism of Magic Books" reviewed the history of some magic books that reached the Russians through the Southern Slavs and the Baltic regions. Irina Stahl (Bucharest, Romania) made a presentation titled "Sudden Death Memorials: A Study in an Urban Context". She noted that since 1990, Bucharest has been subject to a significant increase in the number of memorials erected in places where people unexpectedly lost their lives. Stahl discussed a particular set of circumstances related to the fall of communism and the regained freedom of religious expression that has led to the proliferation of such memorials. Andres Kuperjanov (Tartu, Estonia) in his paper "Sacral, Cultural and Memorial Places Related with Water" analysed the role of water in Bulgarian and Estonian

culture and society. Milena Lyubenova's (Sofia, Bulgaria) presentation "Traditional Practices and Contemporary Expression of the Feast of St. Haralambos the Wonderworker in Bulgaria" focused on traditional practices related to the patron saint of beekeepers and the contemporary expression of the feast in the local community. Jonas Mardosa (Vilnius, Lithuania) in his paper "The Feast of the Pentecost in the Vilnius Calvary: Historical Perspective and the Present" noted that the celebration of the Feast of the Pentecost was renewed in the Vilnius Calvary after the collapse of the Soviet regime. He argued, however, that the modernisation of society and the strengthening of its secular layer has ensured a much more purified religious form for the revived tradition. Marju Kõivupuu (Tallinn, Estonia) presented empirical examples from Estonia that focused on particular heritage practices and communities in their specific sociocultural contexts in her paper titled "Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Estonia's Example". Gaila Kirdienė (Vilnius, Lithuania) in her paper "Ancient Links between the Baltic and Balkan Fiddling and Their Contemporary Interpretations" highlighted some links between fiddle playing customs in the Baltic and Balkan countries. Anete Karlsone's (Riga, Latvia) presentation "Actuality of Traditional Skills in Contemporary Cultural Environment" asserted that traditional skills and knowledge continue to maintain their place in society even today, when various information streams are becoming more and more active. Audronė Daraškevičienė (Vilnius, Lithuania) examined the problem of the moral education of children in the everyday lives of families in contemporary Lithuania. She argued that the principle of adult and child egalitarianism starts to predominate in child education. Nijolė Pliuraitė-Andrejevienė (Rumšiškės, Lithuania) in her presentation "Toys and Expression of Ethnic Identity in Soviet Lithuania: Ethnographic Dolls and Sculpturettes" noted that during the Soviet period some artists continued searching for Lithuanian identity through the creation of dolls. She examined this process and showed how it was possible, by using the "language of toys", to transfer the values of ethnic identity to the younger generation in the most unfavourable conditions.

The conference was concluded with discussions about the future perspectives.

Audronė Daraškevičienė