https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2022.87.vlaskina

THE RITUAL YEAR OF THE NEKRASOV COSSACKS IN TURKEY AND IN RUSSIA: REFLECTING ON THE ADAPTATION TO NEW ENVIRONMENTS

Nina Vlaskina
PhD, Senior Researcher
Federal Research Centre The Southern Scientific Centre
of the Russian Academy of Sciences
nvlaskina@gmail.com

Abstract: The Nekrasov Cossacks belong to an ethno-confessional group that had to cope with adaptation to new environments several times. This happened due to multiple rounds of migration. Originating mainly from the southern Russian provinces with agriculture as a predominant type of economy, we would expect them to follow the agricultural calendar well, but ethnolinguistic expeditions to the Nekrasovites in 2010–2013 showed only some remnants of these motifs in the descriptions of the ritual year. Analyzing the causes of this, the article traces the Nekrasovites' adaptation to the changing natural, economic, religious, and cultural context. The author pays attention to the different dominant in their economy in Turkey, where fishing acquired a higher status than agriculture. In addition to this, climatic differences between Turkey and southern Russia are noted, because they may underline the fact that some of the calendar omens and agricultural prescriptions may have lost their relevance. The necessity of religious consolidation of the Christians in the Turkish Muslim community led to the elaboration of the confessional dominant in the Nekrasovites' ritual year, which maintained its stability even later, in the atheistic Soviet state. After their re-emigration to Russia, the Nekrasovites adapted to the rules of the new Soviet atheistic society and another round of changes in the predominant activities, since part of them settled in the region specializing in viticulture and winemaking. The changes in the ritual system, which followed their migrations, are analyzed in the article.

Keywords: adaptation, agriculture, cultural dynamics, fishing, migration, military community, Nekrasov Cossacks, religion, ritual year

INTRODUCTION

The Nekrasov Cossacks make up an ethno-confessional group of the Russian people named after its leader Ignat Nekrasov. During their history as a community, they migrated several times (Zudin & Vlaskina 2016: 4–7). Having left their settlements (*stanitsas*) in the Don region in the first decade of the eighteenth century,[1] they lived in the Crimean Khanate (the Kuban River basin) for 30 years. Then they moved to the Ottoman Empire (the Danube Delta). In the last decade of the eighteenth century, they moved again – to the northern coast of the Aegean Sea and to the southern coast of the Black Sea (the vicinity of Lake Kuş, which the Nekrasov Cossacks called Mainos). After more than two hundred years of exile, they returned to Russia: one group in 1912, and another 50 years later, in 1962. Each time, the Nekrasovites[2] found themselves in different climatic conditions. As a result, their economy changed. For all these years, the main tasks of the group were:

1) to preserve the core of the culture, the ethnic and religious identity (and this tendency correlates with the general Old Believers' fixation on the maintaining of closed, conservative, and traditional societies);
2) to adapt to the changing environment (this tendency was brought about by necessity).

In this article, the causes of the conservation and adaptation processes are analyzed. It concerns their reflection in the regular round of Nekrasov Cossacks' calendrical rituals. The primary sources of the current research are several field notes of folklorist Fedor Tumilevich[3] from the middle of the twentieth century, made in the Krasnodar region. In addition, numerous interviews also served as the research material. They were collected by the author of the article and her colleagues from the Federal Research Centre The Southern Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences,[4] Southern Federal University,[5] and the Kuban Cossack Choir[6] during field studies of the Nekrasov Cossacks living in the Stavropol region in 2010–2013. Yet another source was the Chronicle of the Nekrasov Cossacks on the margins of the liturgical books from the first years of the eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century (Tumilevich Archive 1–2; Rudichenko & Demina 2012). Photographic and written documents stored in the Novokumskiy branch of the Stavropol Regional Museum of Fine Arts and in the private collections of the respondents were also used in the research. Lexical data from the *Dictionary of the Dialect of the Nekrasov Cossacks* are also added to the list of materials (Serdiukova 2005).

The study of the culture of the Nekrasov Cossacks in the chosen aspect correlates with the complex principle of studying cultural phenomena, the basis of which is the idea of the connection between (or co-development and inter-

dependence of) the economic and cultural history of mankind. Various implementations of this idea have been widely presented over the past century (Wissler 1923; Forde 1934; Levin & Cheboksarov 1955) and continue to be relevant in both European and American anthropology and ethnography. In Soviet ethnography, such studies elaborated the theory of *economic-cultural types* (the historiography of the issue is covered in Andrianov & Cheboksarov 1972). In American ecological anthropology, the same scope of the concept is expressed by the term *subsistence systems* (Moran 1982 [1979]: 42; Sutton & Anderson 2004: 43; see also Yamskov 2017 for a consistent comparison of the use of the two terms). Defining the subject of a comprehensive study of folk culture, which involves an appeal to the history and economy of the group under analysis, the author follows the representatives of the Moscow School of Ethnolinguistics, who postulate that "the entire 'plan of content' of culture, folk psychology and mythology, regardless of the means and methods of their formal embodiment (word, object, rite, image, etc.)" should be studied (Tolstoi 1995b: 39).

MAIN CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC BASE OF THE NEKRASOVITES' COMMUNITY

The traditional Slavic system of time measuring and counting in annual cycles was oriented simultaneously to natural phenomena, predominant economic activity, life events, and church holidays. This was scrupulously reasoned by Svetlana Tolstaia (1999; 2005: 10). Originally, the Nekrasov Cossacks were mainly Eastern Slavs from the southern Russian provinces, representatives of different professional groups (peasants, fishermen, hunters, and military men (Mininkov 2021: 219–220)). Many of them fled from their home settlements to the Don Lands trying to get out of villeinage, because serfdom did not operate on the borderlands. In the new place, not all of them had the opportunity to engage in the kinds of activities that they had been engaged in before.

In this period in the Don Lands, agriculture was not the basis of people's existence. Up to the late seventeenth century, the Nekrasov Cossacks were mainly engaged in military campaigns, hunting, fishing, and cattle breeding (Pronshtein 1961: 73–78).[7] After the Nekrasovites left the Don for the Kuban basin, agricultural work was temporarily dropped from the list of possible activities. As they wrote in their Chronicle Notes in 1720, cereals were bought from the Don Cossacks who stayed in their homeland (Tumilevich Archive 1: 47). But theoretically, it continued to be considered as one of the decent occupations for the Cossacks. Discussing the list of Ignat Nekrasov's testaments[8] in 1733,

the Nekrasovites determined the following possible occupations for a Cossack: "a Cossack is a warrior, hunter, fisherman, craftsman, grain grower"; a special section of this text stipulated the rules for the life of grain growers (Tumilevich Archive 1: 64–65, 78–80).

But, supposedly, the male part of the Nekrassov Cossack society mainly participated in numerous military campaigns – it was this type of their activity that was captured in historical sources (Sen' 2001: 94–120). In the Ottoman Empire (in the Danube Delta, on the shores of the Aegean Sea and in a settlement on Lake Kuş, close to the Black Sea), their main occupation was fishing. Since 1775 (Efimov & Bakhrevskiy 2017: 94) and later, petitions and other types of materials were regularly recorded in Ottoman documentation, where fishing was mentioned as an occupation that the Nekrasov Cossacks were consistently engaged in.

Step by step, agriculture regained its earlier position. By the second half of the nineteenth century, a significant part of Nekrasov residents were already employed in it, which was reflected in oral narratives (Tumilevich 1958: 212–216). After their re-emigration to Russia, their major occupation underwent another change. The first Nekrasovites, who moved to the Russian Empire in 1912, settled on the north-eastern coast of the Azov Sea after several relocations, where they were engaged mainly in fishing. The second group, who returned to the USSR in 1962, settled in the Stavropol region and became important members of the winemaking collective farms.

As the reader may see, the economic base of the Nekrasovites' household changed several times. Further, the reflection of these changes in the symbols and events of the ritual year is analyzed. This process is considered from the angle of the main occupations and values of the Nekrasovites. Military elements, reflections of fishing and agriculture and religious axiology in their calendrical system are analyzed. In the ritual practices, the signs of different identities and predominant activities of the Nekrasovites do not line up in successive ranks and do not exist independently of each other. On the contrary, they are simultaneously marked by different cultural codes of the same ritual, and often the ritual represents a cluster of meanings, which, as Nikita Tolstoi wrote, can be expanded in the cultural text (Tolstoi 1995b: 63–77). This thesis can be illustrated by decomposing one of the ritual practices of the Nekrasov Cossacks into elements:

> *At Mid-Pentecost* [date of the Christian calendar, Nekrasovites as Christians],
> *the Cossacks went around the village with an icon, church banners (horugvy)* [religious attributes, Nekrasovites as Christians],

> *and the Nekrasovites' banner* [military attribute, Nekrasovites as warriors]
> *praying for rain* [ritual action aimed at fertility, Nekrasovites as farmers]. (Gulina 2010)

Another important point is that the descriptions available of the Nekrasovites' ritual year are partial, so it is difficult for the author to build consistent correlated series for each aspect of the issue. Hence illustrations of the chosen principle of analysis will be demonstrated.

MILITARY ELEMENTS IN THE NEKRASOVITES' CALENDRICAL YEAR

Military elements in the Nekrasovites' ritual year are represented as ritual attributes, objects, and actions. In the first group, there is an attribute or some feature ascribed to a saint. They say that when it thunders, Elijah the Prophet comes down from the mountains and carries gunpowder and a shot to load the cannons (Tumilevich Archive 3: 28 rev.). There are certain objects that are associated with military service, which were used in different ritual actions: the Nekrasovites' banner, rifles, and canons.[9] Informants described the performing of these actions as following the testaments of Ignat. Here are several examples:

> *We lived according to the testaments of Ignat. We went to the cross procession, carried Ignat's cannons and fired them.* (Tumilevich Archive 3: 32)

> *On the old banner of Ignat … when the banner was against the light, Ignat was visible in the fabric. The banner was made of silk. The banner was green. This banner was sacred. When it was carried out on Mainos* [lake] *for the Baptism* [the Feast of the Baptism of Our Lord, or Epiphany, January 6/19. – N.V.] *and for the First Feast of the Savior* [Procession of the Honorable Wood of the Life-Giving Cross of the Lord, August 1/14. – N.V.], *the Cossacks came up, crossed themselves and kissed it. When the cross was dipped into the water, Cossacks fired Ignat's cannons.* (Tumilevich Archive 3: 49 rev.)

> *In the year 7347* [1839] *of the month of October, on the 24th day, there was a military circle, Cossacks held a memorial service for Sir Ignat,*

> *and on the 25th–26th days of the same month, his book was shown in the circle, they read the testaments, and then for three days they honored the memory of Ignat: Cossacks on horseback showed themselves in battle, the young, the old walked with the banner of Ignat around the villages, fired cannons, rifles, pistols, there were feasting conversations around the villages, horse riding. Ataman Dementiy Selivanov handed out awards to horsemen.* (Tumilevich Archive 2: 128)[10]

The last quote also provides an example for both ritual objects and actions that characterize the Nekrasovites as warriors – there was horse racing and competitions[11] associated with the feasts. They existed in the folk calendar at the earliest stage of the existence of this community. In 1731, in the testaments of Ignat, Cossack games on horseback are mentioned as one of the possible ways of holding holidays (Tumilevich Archive 3: 73). After 100 years, as we see, they were carried out as a part of the commemorative event. Such competitions gradually ceased to exist by the middle of the nineteenth century. The interviewees born at the beginning of the twentieth century no longer kept horses either in Turkey or later, after their re-emigration to the USSR. Instead, fishermen's boat racing appeared. Shooting canons and rifles and taking out the Nekrasovites' banner during feasts were performed longer. They are mentioned in the descriptions of the festivities organized upon the return of the Nekrasovites from the winter fishing season and in the stories about the abovementioned religious processions at Mid-Pentecost.

The gradual fading away of the military component from ritual life occurred due to relations with the Turkish authorities, who considered the demonstration of the Nekrasovites' national symbols as a threat to their authority.

> *Mid-Pentecost is in the middle between Easter and Pentecost. And on this day, the Nekrasovites went out there, as we called it, "around the town". Well, it's like: there was a service in the church, then everyone came out with an icon, church banners, with an altar table outside the village. Earlier, they say, they went to the lake. And the Turks forbade it, and the Nekrasovites began to make their procession outside the village. At the same time, they carried the Nekrasovites' banner with them – the one with which they left Russia. The Cossacks walked in a procession and carried this banner with them. They are coming – these are icons there, an altar table, church banners and this banner. And then they began to ban it. The Turks say: how is it, they say, they have been living here for so many years, and they carry the Nekrasovites' banner. And now it was banned, that's all.* (Gulina 2010)

In Soviet Russia, this ritual action, without being subjected to formal changes, was transformed from the point of view of interpretation, as its form coincided with carrying out the Soviet flag during Soviet festivities.[12] The meaning of this action changes from the demonstration of the unity of the Nekrasovites' military society to the demonstration of the unity of the Soviet nation.

When analyzing the dynamics of ritual elements associated with the status of a warrior, a special point should be taken into account: in Imperial Russia, the preservation of such ritual elements was intended to emphasize the values associated with the military activity of the Cossacks and their loyalty to the Motherland. Military service was the most meaningful part of the life of every Cossack until the first half of the twentieth century. At the early stage of their history, military campaigns were a guarantee of their existence as freemen, and after 1721 (Speranskiy 1830: 367), the Don Cossacks were subordinate to the Military College of the Russian Empire and were obliged to serve the Tsar as border defenders.

After the Nekrasov Cossacks had emigrated from Russia, their evaluation of military service changed. Living in the Ottoman Empire, they had to take part in wars on the side of the Turks (against Russians) and tried to buy themselves out of the service. One of the repetitive motifs of the narratives depicts a Nekrasov soldier in the Turkish army, who shoots over the heads of Russian soldiers (Tumilevich 1961: 216; Elisiutikov 2010). So, the military values in the calendric rituals eventually ceased to be supported by the elements of everyday life, and corresponding symbolic elements are no longer recorded in the calendrical feasts.

RITUAL ELEMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH FISHERY IN THE NEKRASOVITES' CALENDAR YEAR

Since fishing was the main occupation of the Cossacks both before leaving Russia and in Turkey, we shall now see how it was incorporated into the system of the ritual year. Being subjects of the Ottoman Empire, the Nekrasovites fished in the Marmara, Black, Aegean, and Mediterranean seas and various Turkish lakes (Tumilevich 1961: 244). Wherever they emigrated, they tried to find a location near a river, a lake, or a sea.[13] This occupation was obviously reflected in the way Nekrasov Cossacks speak about themselves. In numerous narratives about their identity and history, they underline that they are above all fishermen: "Our Cossacks were fishermen. Every Cossack should work – this is Ignat's testament" (Tumilevich 1958: 213; see also ibid.: 201, 210; 1961: 217); part of

Ignat's testaments describe the rules for fishermen's lives (Tumilevich Archive 1: 81–83); in their requests to the Ottoman administration, the Nekrasovites said that fishing was the main source of food for them and asked for tax reliefs (Efimov & Bakhrevskiy 2017: 101).

The fishing industry organized the rhythm of communal life, including the events of the ritual year. The timing of outbound fishing determined the specific division of the calendrical year into two long periods: the winter and the summer ones. In earlier times, church feasts marked the beginning and the end of a fishing season: the Nekrasovites fished from autumn (the Day of Saint Demetrius (October 26 / November 8[14]), or the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God (August 15/28), or the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14/27)) to spring (Saint George's Day (April 23 / May 6) or Easter). It is to be noted here that Saint Demetrius' and Saint George's days denote turns to winter and summer in several Balkan traditions (Agapkina 1999: 93; Tolstoi 1995a: 497).

According to the respondents, in the middle of the twentieth century, the division into two periods in Turkey remained, but the dates were defined by the Turkish legislation – from September 1 when fishing opened until April 15, the day after which fishing was prohibited because of the fish spawning season (Banderovskiy 2010). Summer, when men were at home, was the time for solving important issues for the community: it was in summer that the Nekrasovites gathered during a *circle* assembly to select their leader (*ataman*) and solve public problems and needs. In summer, the Cossacks arranged marriages and worked in the field.

The beginning and the end of this period of outbound fishing were marked by special rituals of seeing off the Cossacks on a fishing trip and the subsequent meeting with the participation of the whole community. The Cossacks were greeted with Ignat's banner, firing rifles, and a cannon salute (Tumilevich 1958: 14).

Fishing activity initiates the emergence and functioning of special ritual practices. For example, if a Christian feast fell on the fishing time, the Cossacks could arrange boat races (which, as was mentioned above, replaced the horse racing competitions in the Nekrasov Cossack community). Because of the importance of fishing for this community, the vernacular explanation for the ban on eating fish during the Apostles' Fast evolved in their tradition (it lasts from the first Monday after Pentecost until the Day of Apostles Peter and Paul – June 29 / July 12). In a Cossack legend, the apostles Peter and Paul were fishermen selling their catch. Poor trade in the summertime compelled them to turn to God. At their request, God established fasting – forbade the eating of meat, eggs, and dairy produce and permitted the eating of fish (Zudin 2013: 41).

Finally, the importance of fishing in the economic system of the Nekrasovites resulted in the appearance of fish dishes in their festive menu: cold fish soup (*stiuden'*), catfish dumplings, doused fish (fried and stewed with onions and tomatoes) and others (Vlaskina 2022: 211).

After the Nekrasov Cossacks returned to Russia, the status of the fishing industry in their economy changed significantly. Some of them, who settled in the Krasnodar region, worked on the collective fishing farms during the Soviet period. The fishing crew included not only the Nekrasovites but also other residents of the area. In addition, the fishing methods were changed. In the Stavropol region, the Cossacks worked on a winemaking collective farms and longed for fishing (because they could no longer do it) and fish dishes. In Soviet Russia, along with the activity, the rituals of seeing off or meeting the Cossacks from fishing trips disappeared; the timing of the fishing catch was no longer linked to the church holidays.

AGRICULTURAL ELEMENTS IN THE NEKRASOVITES' RITUAL YEAR

The hypothesis that agriculture was not on the list of the main occupations of the Nekrasovites in the early eighteenth century is evidenced by an entry in their chronicle of 1720. The members of the circle asked: "'Is it possible to plow a field?' The circle instructed the council of the old people to delve into the business of grain growing and read the testaments out in the circle next year" (Tumilevich Archive 1: 63). At the same time, as mentioned above, 13 years after this entry, a special part of Ignat's testaments was dedicated to the decent life of grain-growers. Various Ottoman documents prove that the appropriate part of the Nekrasovites was engaged in agriculture, including those who decided to stop fishing and become farmers (Efimov & Backhrevsky 2017: 100–107).

Probably, due to the fact of abandoning agriculture at the stage of the group formation (when they lived in the Crimean Khanate) and some other factors that will be discussed below, the Nekrasovites preserve only some of the symbolic objects and ritual actions characteristic of the rich metropolitan agricultural East Slavic tradition. Many of the preserved fragments belong to the festive culinary traditions: the Nekrasovites cooked a lot of bakery products for Christmas (squash[15] and plum pies, donuts, cookies in the form of a hoof); at the end of the Shrovetide week (Forgiveness Sunday) the mother-in-law baked a special pie (*karavai*) for her son's wife, and the daughter-in-law brought it to her own mother. Furthermore, on the Day of Forty Martyrs (March 9/22), the

Nekrasovites baked cookies in the form of larks and gave them to children; on the second day of Christmas (December 26 / January 8), women baked a special bread *kalach* for the midwife who helped them in childbirth (the same pie the Cossacks brought and left in their church for memorial days); for Lazarus Saturday, they prepared pancakes with caviar and brought them to poor people and widows (Novokumskiy Archive: 7–14). On the Day of Vassiliy the Great (January 1/14), they baked a ritual bread *kanysh* with grain laid in one of its corners. Finding this part portended a good harvest for the one who found it (Mironova 2012: 392).

Old Slavic ritual actions related to the symbols of food production were almost completely replaced by religious ceremonies. Symbolization of nature signs at certain calendrical dates was also lost. The possible reasons for this will be investigated further below.

During the period of Cossack residence in the territory of modern Turkey, the share of agriculture in their economy gradually increased. But the schedule of agricultural work differed significantly from the southern Russian regions of the Nekrasovites' origin. For example, in Turkey, sowing of winter wheat was timed to coincide with Christmas, while among the Eastern Slavs it was usually timed to the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14/27). Legumes were sown on the Day of Elijah the Prophet (July 20 / August 2); in Russia they were usually sown at the end of spring. After Saint George's Day (April 23 / May 6), they sowed watermelons. On Candlemas feast (February 2/15), they drove cattle to pastures for the first time and hired a shepherd, while in many Slavic traditions it was done on Saint George's Day (Novokumskiy Archive: 11). After the first week of Great Lent, the Nekrasovites went to reap cattails, which they used to twist ropes (Serdiukova 2005: 222), then they opened ground in the vineyards. This change in the timing of agricultural works led to the fact that old signs, prescriptions, and omens timed for certain calendrical dates were unclaimed and therefore fell into disuse.

Another area of transformation is the change in the types of crops grown in comparison with the southern Russian regions. Legumes played a much more important role in the cuisine of the Nekrasovites than that of the Eastern Slavs. In Turkey, Cossacks had large melon fields and they grew many oriental fruits: pomegranates, figs, dogwood, oranges, lemons, dates, quince, and others; they also grew spices and used them widely (Vlaskina 2022: 212–213).

While analyzing the dynamics and transformations of the Nekrasov Cossacks' traditional cuisine, Tatiana Vlaskina says: "Any community that experienced long-distance migrations and long-term ethnic contacts has its combination of original and borrowed dishes in everyday and festive life, filling the recipe with exotic products" (ibid.: 208). In this article, much attention is paid to how new

crops, fruits, and vegetables have been included in the ritual dishes and practices. Here are several examples of this kind. Probably in the Turkish period, boiled beans became the main dish at Lent, and pea noodles were prepared on the Thursday before Easter. Boiled corn was a special dish in the first week of Lent. Cornmeal flour was used to prepare the ritual drink *buza*,[16] which the Nekrasovites drank on Pentecost, and that the midwife gave on the second day of Christmas to all the mothers she had helped in childbirth. Rice was taken up as the filling of the main ritual baking of the communal dinners on the patronal day (pies with rice). Lemons were included in the recipe of the ritual white fish soup (*stiuden'*) of the patronal feast. The Nekrasovites consecrated grapes primarily at the Feast of the Transfiguration of Christ (August 6/19). Young men gave oranges as special gifts to girls during Shrovetide festivities.

After the Nekrasovites re-emigrated to Russia, they returned to the southern Russian set of cultivated crops and also witnessed the mechanization of land cultivation. Therefore, the basis for the agrarian traditions was changed once more. Since then, most of the ritual practices connected with the agrarian calendar were preserved only in people's memories and rarely became subjects of performances of folklore ensembles.[17]

RELIGION AND THE RITUAL YEAR

Along with the key professional activities for the community, the religious history of the group is always directly reflected in the calendar. The religious path of the Nekrasovites was not easy. According to Fedor Tumilevich, in the hierarchy of Cossack identities, the military one has always occupied a dominant position, pushing the religious identity into the background. He wrote:

> *Indeed, there were religious motives in the Bulavin and Nekrasov movements, since a significant number of the participants were Old Believers. But they fought not so much for the restoration of the "old rites" as against the Orthodox Church as the backbone of the feudal-absolutist state.* (Tumilevich 1958: 9)

Some of the legends published by Fedor Tumilevich may also reflect the secondary role of religion, for example, "Ignat Cast the Bullets from the Crosses", which tells how Ignat Nekrasov fought with Empress Catherine I and ordered his master smiths to cast cannon balls from church bells and bullets from church crosses (Tumilevich 1961: 152–153). In the legend "Testaments of Ignat

Nekrasov", priests were ordered to obey the Nekrasovites' society: "A priest who does not fulfill the precepts can be killed as a heretic" (Tumilevich 1961: 172).

Nevertheless, it seems that, while expressing his point of view on religious history in the 1950s and 1960s, the folklorist was forced to correct it with an eye to the atheistic policy of the Soviet state. In the legend cited above, there was also other Ignat's testament: "The churches should not be closed in Turkey; the bell ringing should not be stopped" (ibid.); Tumilevich managed to save these fragments from censorship. Indeed, in the eighteenth century, the authority of the Church among the Nekrasovites was lower than that of the Cossack assembly, but it was still quite high and consistently rose throughout the nineteenth century as pressure increased from the Muslim population. One of Ignat Nekrasov's testaments was "to keep the faith of the fathers" (Tumilevich Archive 1: 54). So the Nekrasovites remembered, cited, and followed this precept. According to their Chronicle, when leaving the Don stanitsas (Tumilevich Archive 1: 46, 48, 50), they took old liturgical books and icons with them, sacredly kept these objects during their stay in Turkey and later brought books back with them when they returned to Russia.

The invariably high status of the faith and religion of the Cossacks is also demonstrated by documents about the Nekrasovites, deposited in the Ottoman archives. According to the documents mentioned, the construction of a church was mandatory for the Nekrasovites after moving to a new place of residence. For example, they built three churches and installed bells in the village of Donodzh Casa Babadag (near Lake Babadag) in 1795 (Efimov & Bakhrevskiy 2017: 96); in 1840 and 1851 they petitioned for permission to build a church in the village of Kizilhisar (near Lake Iznik; ibid.: 101, 103). Among the historical legends, there are also stories about the construction of churches in the Nekrasovites' new places of residence.

There is no doubt that life in a different confessional environment (among the Muslims) in Ottoman Turkey contributed to the consolidation of the community along religious lines. This tendency can regularly be seen in communities that find themselves in similar conditions (see, e.g., Cederström 2012; Mihaylova 2017). For the reasons that were discussed above, religious events gradually began to dominate in the events of the ritual year of the Nekrasov Cossacks and their ways of understanding time.

Religious feasts permanently defined the basis for dividing the Nekrasovites' ritual year. Church service was the main event of a feast, a starting point determining the timing of ritual actions: "The Liturgy of Hours is held, and after it we will play with Easter eggs"; "On Friday, it was the final service to celebrate Easter, and on Saturday, the last day to play with Easter eggs"

(Belikova 2010). It takes precedence over other rituals (e.g., wedding). For centuries, religious processions for Epiphany, Mid-Pentecost, and patronal feast were strongly preserved.

There are some minor but nevertheless important traits of the Cossacks' religious culture. Tatiana Rudichenko and Vera Demina (2012) point out the peculiarity of the Nekrasovites' church service – the fact that it goes on outside the church building. During the Christmas period, the priest and the clergy made congratulatory rounds through the village.

Concerning the USSR, religious rituals could not be practiced openly there, but the Nekrasovites held religious services at home, although the Soviet way of life, which did not involve the allocation of time for following Christian rituals, certainly influenced the daily practices of young people who were born in Soviet Russia. Nevertheless, religious rituals are the best-preserved part of the Nekrasovites' tradition today. Their patronal feasts are the heart of the Nekrasovites' culture, the visiting card of their society (Pismennaia 2007; Zudin & Vlaskina 2016: 117–122). Irina Belikova said: "If we stop performing our patronal feast, we will cease to be Nekrasovites." It is in the context of the patronal feast that the traditional costume and culinary traditions continue to live. In post-Soviet Russia, the preservation of this group of rituals may also be facilitated by a religious revival and an increase in public attention to confessional issues (Vlaskina 2011).

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up all the ideas of the article, it is important to underline its main aim – to show how the types of economic activities of the Nekrasov Cossacks changed over the 300-year history of the group. They were peasants, warriors, fishermen, farmers, Soviet collective farmers. And all these types of activity as well as the religious identity determined their ways of dividing the ritual year, actualizing symbols and performing ritual actions. It was religious identity that turned out to be the most stable in a changing environment and continued to determine the content and forms of the ritual life of the group from the very beginning of its history up to these days. The appeal to the traditions of the Nekrasov Cossacks who had to change their living conditions several times and adapt to new social and natural circumstances makes it possible to highlight the mechanism for reflecting such adaptation in the ritual.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The article was prepared within the framework of implementation of the state assignment of the SSC RAS, project number 122020100347-2. I would like to express my gratitude to Cozette Griffin-Kremer for proofreading my article and her valuable comments.

NOTES

[1] The first reason was to flee from the political persecution of the tsarist government (who tried to limit the Cossacks' governing autonomy). The second reason for leaving was a religious conflict since many Cossacks did not accept the church reform of Patriarch Nikon.

[2] Nekrasovites is another name for the Nekrasov Cossacks.

[3] Fedor Victorovich Tumilevich (1910–1979) was a famous Russian folklorist who devoted all his life to field research and publication on the heritage of the Nekrasov Cossacks.

[4] Tatiana Vlaskina and Natalia Popova.

[5] Natalia Arkhipenko, Inna Kalinichenko (Mironenko), and Lidia Uspenskaia.

[6] Anton Zudin.

[7] This does not exclude the fact that, in this period, an important part of the Don region population could have been engaged in agriculture. Historical sources from the late seventeenth century show that people brought agricultural tools from previous places of residence to the Don settlements and, accordingly, they might have inherited folk knowledge about nature and agriculture and, subsequently, the Slavic folk agrarian calendar, from their southern Russian ancestors (Pronshtein 1961: 44, 47; Vlaskina 2022).

[8] Ignat Nekrasov's testaments (zavety) are the laws or the rules of life of the Cossacks, which they established at their special assembly called *circle* (*krug*) in the 1730s and tried to follow throughout their history as an independent group.

[9] Cf. the regular ritual use of the same objects by the Don Cossacks (Rudichenko 2017: 257–258).

[10] Cf. the description of the celebrations of the same type in the Don Lands of the eighteenth century: "Every year, at the cemetery [of the monastery area] on Saturday of Cheese Week [Shrovetide – N.V.], the Cossacks commemorate the dead. Almost everyone, except for the oldest and youngest generations, go out and, after commemorating the dead, they eat and drink, sing, and then arrange horse races, and they make a real battle out of it for their training. There are cases of accidental killings in those races" (Rigelman 1846: 45).

[11] From the beginning of the Don Cossack history till the middle of the twentieth century, the Cossacks participated in military campaigns on horseback. The fates of a Cossack and his horse were closely connected. That is why the horse is one of the most mythologized and at the same time the most important animals for the Don Cossacks (Vlaskina & Arkhipenko & Kalinicheva 2004: 61); the Cossack and the horse are the main characters of the Cossack songs (Rudichenko 2004: 135). Equestrian competitions (horse racing, shooting guns and bows at targets on horseback) are recorded in

mid-eighteenth-century sources and are invariably present in later descriptions of holidays up to modern times (Yarovoy 2021).

[12] On the flag symbolism in different cultures see in more detail in Shanafelt 2008.

[13] Taking into account that the Nekrasovites were Old Believers, we can assume that fishing could be associated with a biblical spiritual activity for catching the souls (Holy Bible 2002: 5).

[14] Hereinafter, the dates are given first according to the Julian calendar and then according to the Gregorian calendar.

[15] In spite of the fact that the preparation of a wide variety of bakery goods from wheat flour can be considered as a Slavic heritage and the fact that the Cossacks had grown squash even before they left the Don area, this type of pie, called *pliashchinda*, was most likely taken over from their Romanian neighbors (cf. Rom. *placinda*) during the period of residence of the Nekrasovites in the Danube Delta.

[16] As Tatiana Vlaskina wrote, the recipe of *buza* "may be linked both to Old Russian and Turkish culinary traditions … but the Turkish recipe for *buza* is closer to the Nekrasovian one, since, like the local Turks, they ferment the drink with corn flour with yeast" (Vlaskina 2022: 215).

[17] The Nekrasovites' Shrovetide ritual dance procession *krylo* 'a wing' was performed specifically for the audience back in 1963, when director Vagram Kevorkov was shooting a film about the return of the Nekrasovites to their homeland, titled "The Cossacks Have Returned" (USSR, Piatigorsk Television Studio, with Fedor Tumilevich as a consultant). Later, when the folkloric ensemble The Nekrasov Cossacks was formed, *krylo* became one of its permanent performances.

PRIMARY SOURCES (INTERVIEWS)

Banderovskiy 2010 = Nina Vlaskina's interview with Nikon Banderovskiy, born in 1940, recorded in Malosadovyi village, Stavropol Krai.

Belikova 2010 = Nina Vlaskina and Natalia Arkhipenko's interview with Irina Belikova, born in 1941, recorded in Novikumskiy village, Stavropol Krai.

Elisiutikov 2010 = Nina Vlaskina's interview with Nifantiy Elisiutikov, born in 1929, recorded in Novikumskiy village, Stavropol Krai.

Gulina 2010 = Tatiana Vlaskina and Anton Zudin's interview with Elena Gulina, born in 1950, recorded in Novikumskiy village, Stavropol Krai.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Novokumskiy Archive = The archive of the Novokumskiy branch of the Stavropol Regional Museum of Fine Arts. 1. Rodil'no-krestil'nyi obriad. 2. Kalendarno-khoziaistvennaia obriadnost'. [1. Birth and Baptism Rituals. 2. Calendrical and Agricultural Rituals]. Notebooks.

Tumilevich Archive 1 = Collection of documents belonging to the Tumilevich family. Federal Research Centre The Southern Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences. *Letopisnye zametki (pisaniia) kazakov-nekrasovtsev (rukopisnaia kniga).* [Chronicle Notes (Writings) of the Nekrasov Cossacks (Manuscript Book).] Notebook 1.

Tumilevich Archive 2 = Collection of documents belonging to the Tumilevich family. Federal Research Centre The Southern Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences. *Letopisnye zametki (pisaniia) kazakov-nekrasovtsev (rukopisnaia kniga).* [Chronicle Notes (Writings) of the Nekrasov Cossacks (Manuscript Book).] Notebook 2.

Tumilevich Archive 3 = Collection of documents belonging to the Tumilevich family. Federal Research Centre The Southern Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences. *Khutor Novonekrasovskii, 1959*. [Novonekrasovskiy Village, 1959.] Notebook.

REFERENCES

Agapkina, Tatiana 1999. Dmitriia sviatogo den'. [Saint Demetrius' Day.] In: Nikita Tolstoi (ed.) *Slavianskie drevnosti: Etnolingvisticheskii slovar': v 5 t*. Vol. 2. Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, pp. 93–94. Available at https://www.klex.ru/182h, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Andrianov, Boris & Cheboksarov, Nikolai 1972. Khoziaistvenno-kul'turnye tipy i problemy ikh kartografirovaniia. [Economic-Cultural Types and Problems of Mapping Them.] *Sovetskaia etnografiia*, No. 2, pp. 3–16. Available at https://eo.iea.ras.ru/archive/1970s/1972/Andrianov_1972_2.pdf, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Cederström, B. Marcus 2012. Swedish Space in Upper Midwestern Churches. *American Studies in Scandinavia*, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 29–48. https://doi.org/10.22439/asca.v44i1.4637.

Demina, Vera & Rudichenko, Tatiana 2012. Slavlenie Khrista v traditsiiakh kazakov-nekrasovtsev i lipovan. [Glorification of Christ in the Traditions of the Nekrasov Cossacks and Lipovans.] In: Gennadii Matishov (ed.) *Kazaki-nekrasovtsy: iazyk, istoriia, kul'tura: sbornik nauchnykh statei.* Rostov-on-Don: Izdatel'stvo IuNTs RAN, pp. 397–407. Available at http://www.ssc-ras.ru/ckfinder/userfiles/files/Kazaki-nekrasovtsy%202012%20(i%20vklejka).pdf, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Efimov & Bakhrevskiy 2017 = Efimov, Aleksandr & Bakhrevskii, Leonid 2017. Dokumenty XVIII – nachala XX veka o kazakakh-nekrasovtsakh v fondakh Osmanskogo arkhiva. [Documents of the 18th – Early 20th Centuries from the Ottoman Archive about Nekrasov Cossacks.] In: Valentina Sapunova & Ol'ga Bendiuk & Zoia Belaia (eds.) *Problemy samoidentifikatsii etnokonfessional'nykh grupp v sovremennom mire. Ikh rol' v sokhranenii unikal'nykh i ischezaiushchikh kul'tur: materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii, prokhodivshei pri podderzhke Rossiiskogo fonda fundamental'nykh issledovanii (15–19 noiabria 2017 goda).* Stavropol: Dizain-studiia B.

Forde, C. Daryll 1934. *Habitat, Economy and Society. A Geographical Introduction to Ethnology*. London: Methuen. Available at https://archive.org/details/habitateconomyso0000ford/mode/2up, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Holy Bible 2002 = *Holy Bible. New Testament 2002*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zonderman. Available at https://archive.org/details/holybiblenewtest0000unse/mode/2up, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Levin, Maksim & Cheboksarov, Nikolai 1955. Khoziaistvenno-kul'turnye tipy i istoriko-etnograficheskie oblasti (k postanovke voprosa). [Economic-Cultural Types and Historical and Ethnographic Areas (To the Formulation of the Issue).] *Sovetskaia etnografiia*, No. 4. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, pp. 3–17. Available at https://www.booksite.ru/etnogr/1955/1955_4.pdf, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Mihaylova, Katya 2017. The Parish Abroad – Characteristics and Functions. In: Nikolai Vukov & Lina Gergova & Tanya Matanova & Yana Gergova (eds.) *Cultural Heritage in Migration*. Sofia: Paradigma, pp. 240–265. Available at https://www.migrantheritage.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/sbornik-Cultural-Heritage-in-Migration-2017.pdf, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Mininkov, Nikolai 2021. "Neverno postavlennaia problema" i vnutrennie smysly istochnikov po istorii donskogo kazachestva XVII v. i ego samosoznaniia. ["Incorrectly Posed Problem" and Internal Meanings of Sources on the History of the Don Cossacks of the 17th Century and Its Self-awareness.] *Paleorosiia. Drevniaia Rus': vo vremeni, v lichnostiakh, v ideiakh*, No. 3 (15), pp. 215–226. https://doi.org/10.47132/2618-9674_2021_3_215.

Mironova, Agafia 2012. Iz nabliudenii nad kalendarno-khoziaistvennoi obriadnost'iu kazakov-nekrasovtsev. [From Observations on the Calendar and Household Rituals of the Nekrasov Cossacks.] In: Gennadii Matishov (ed.) *Kazaki-nekrasovtsy: iazyk, istoriia, kul'tura: sbornik nauchnykh statei*. Rostov-on-Don: Izdatel'stvo IuNTs RAN, pp. 390–396. Available at http://www.ssc-ras.ru/ckfinder/userfiles/files/Kazaki-nekrasovtsy%202012%20(i%20vklejka).pdf, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Moran, Emilio F. 1982 [1979]. *Human Adaptability: An Introduction to Ecological Anthropology*. North Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury Press. Available at https://archive.org/details/humanadaptabilit0000mora/mode/2up, last accessed 11 October 2022.

Pismennaia, Tatiana 2007. Prestol'nyi prazdnik u nekrasovskikh kazakov-staroobriadtsev poselka Novokumskogo. [Patronal Feast of the Nekrasov Cossacks – Old Believers of the Novokumskiy Village.] In: Nikolai Bondar' & Oleg Matveev (eds.) *Sberezhenie naroda: traditsionnaia narodnaia kul'tura. Materialy nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, 8–9 iiunia 2007 g., g. Krasnodar*. Krasnodar: Mir Kubani, pp. 159–163. Available at https://vk.com/doc-192440253_566789910, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Pronshtein, Aleksandr 1961. *Zemlia Donskaia v XVIII veke*. [Don Land in the 18th Century.] Rostov-on-Don: Izdatel'stvo Rostovskogo universiteta. Available at https://www.phantastike.com/history/don_land_xviii/pdf/, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Rigelman, Aleksandr 1846. *Istoriia ili povestvovanie o donskikh kazakakh*. [History or Narrative on the Don Cossacks.] Moscow: Universitetskaia tipografiia. Available at https://runivers.ru/lib/book4493/53814/, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Rudichenko, Tatiana 2004. *Donskaia kazach'ia pesnia v istoricheskom razvitii.* [Don Cossack Song in Its Historical Development.] Rostov-on-Don: Izdatel'stvo Rostovskoi gosudarstvennoi konservatorii im. S.V. Rakhmaninova. Available at https://vk.com/wall-35831937_5106, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Rudichenko, Tatiana 2017. Elementy voinskoi kul'tury v pravoslavnykh prazdnikakh na Donu. [Elements of the Martial Culture in Orthodox Holidays on the Don.] In: Svetlana Khvatova (ed.) *Bogosluzhebnye praktiki i kul'tovye iskusstva v sovremennom mire: sbornik materialov mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii*. Maikop: Izdatel'stvo Magarin Oleg Grigor'evich, pp. 249–263. Available at https://elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=30555482, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Rudichenko, Tatiana & Demina, Vera 2012. K interpretatsii pis'mennykh istochnikov ob istorii i kul'ture kazakov-nekrasovtsev. [On the Interpretation of Written Sources About the History and Culture of Cossacks-Nekrasovites.] *Gumanitarnye i sotsial'no-ekonomicheskie nauki*, No. 2 (63), pp. 69–75. Available at https://www.elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=17898986, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Sen', Dmitriy 2001. *"Voisko Kubanskoe Ignatovo Kavkazskoe": Istoricheskie puti kazakov-nekrasovtsev (1708 g. – konets 1920-kh gg.).* ["Ignat's Kuban Caucasian Army": The Historical Paths of the Nekrasov Cossacks (1708 – End of the 1920s).] Krasnodar: Izdatel'stvo KubGU. Available at https://www.academia.edu/35853969, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Serdiukova, Olga 2005. *Slovar' govora kazakov-nekrasovtsev.* [Dictionary of the Dialect of the Nekrasov Cossacks.] Rostov-on-Don: Izdatel'stvo Rostovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Available at http://library.kazachiy-hutor.ru/uploads/2016/04/serdjukova_slovar_kazakov_nekras.pdf, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Shanafelt, Robert 2008. The Nature of Flag Power: How Flags Entail Dominance, Subordination, and Social Solidarity. *Politics and the Life Sciences*, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 13–27. https://doi.org/10.2990/27_2_13.

Speranskiy 1830 = Speranskii, Mikhail (ed.). *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii, s 1649 goda. Tom VI: 1720–1722.* [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire. Volume VI: 1720–1722.] St. Petersburg: Tipografiia II Otdeleniia Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Kantseliarii. Available at https://runivers.ru/bookreader/book9814/#page/369/mode/1up, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Sutton, Mark Q. & Anderson, Eugene N. 2004. *Introduction to Cultural Ecology.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press. Available at https://archive.org/details/introductiontocu0000sutt/mode/2up, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Tolstaia, Svetlana 1999. Kalendar' narodnyi. [Folk Calendar.] In: Nikita Tolstoi (ed.) *Slavianskie drevnosti: Etnolingvisticheskii slovar': v 5 t.* Vol. 2. Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, pp. 442–446. Available at https://archive.org/details/slavyanskiedrevnostikn141993g/page/n927/mode/2up?view=theater, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Tolstaia, Svetlana 2005. *Polesskii narodnyi kalendar'.* [Polissian Folk Calendar.] Moscow: Indrik. Available at https://inslav.ru/sites/default/files/editions/2005_tolstaja.pdf, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Tolstoi, Nikita 1995a. Georgii. [Saint George.] In: Nikita Tolstoi (ed.) *Slavianskie drevnosti: Etnolingvisticheskii slovar': v 5 t.* Vol. 1. Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, pp. 496–498.

Tolstoi, Nikita 1995b. *Iazyk i narodnaia kul'tura. Ocherki po slavianskoi mifologii i etnolingvistike.* [Language and Folk Culture. Essays on Slavic Mythology and Ethnolinguistics.] Moscow: Indrik. Available at https://inslav.ru/publication/tolstoy-n-i-yazyk-i-narodnaya-kultura-ocherki-po-slavyanskoy-mifologii-i-etnolingvistike, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Tumilevich, Fedor (comp.) 1958. *Russkie narodnye skazki kazakov-nekrasovtsev.* [Russian Folk Tales of the Nekrasov Cossacks.] Rostov-on-Don: Rostovskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo.

Tumilevich, Fedor 1961. *Skazki i predaniia kazakov-nekrasovtsev.* [Fairy Tales and Legends of the Nekrasov Cossacks.] Rostov-on-Don: Rostovskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo.

Vlaskina, Tatiana 2011. K voprosu o sovremennom sostoianii traditsionnoi kul'tury kazakov-nekrasovtsev, prozhivaiushchikh na Stavropol'e: itogi kompleksnoi ekspeditsii IuNTs RAN – IuFU 2010 g. [On the Issue of the Current State of the Traditional Culture of the Nekrasov Cossacks Living in the Stavropol Region: The Results of the Complex Expedition of the SSC RAS – SFU 2010.] In: Oleg Matveev (ed.) *Mir slavian Severnogo Kavkaza.* Is. 6. Krasnodar: Ekoinvest, pp. 111–119. Available at https://vk.com/s/v1/doc/SCbkeUKc3eXRytnhhrKNBnGvX8_LjpRUc9QnTfyylPfZGH_iSQc, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Vlaskina, Tatiana 2022. Traditional Cuisine of the Nekrasov Cossacks. *Journal of Frontier Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 206–218. https://doi.org/10.46539/jfs.v7i3.313.

Vlaskina, Tatiana & Arkhipenko, Natalia & Kalinicheva, Natalia 2004. Narodnye znaniia donskikh kazakov. [Folk Knowledge of the Don Cossacks.] *Traditsionnaia kul'tura*, No. 4 (16), pp. 54–66. Available at http://www.trad-culture.ru/article/narodnye-znaniya-donskikh-kazakov, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Wissler, Clark 1923. *Man and Culture.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company Publishers. Available at https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.5924/mode/2up, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Yamskov 2017 = Iamskov, Anatolii 2017. Sistemy zhizneobespecheniia i khoziaistvenno-kul'turnye tipy. [Subsistence Systems and Economic and Cultural Types.] In: Nadezhda Dubova (ed.) *Etnos i sreda obitaniia: Sbornik statei po etnicheskoi ekologii. Vyp. 5. Issledovaniia sistem zhizneobespecheniia*. Moscow: Staryi sad, pp. 36–46. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3228966.

Yarovoy 2021 = Iarovoi, Andrei 2021. Traditsionnye voennye igry donskikh kazakov: problema autentichnosti. [Traditional War Games of the Don Cossacks: The Issue of Authenticity.] *Kul'turnoe nasledie Rossii*, No. 1 (32), pp. 3–9. https://doi.org/10.34685/HI.2021.32.1.001.

Zudin, Anton 2013. Etiologicheskie legendy kazakov-nekrasovtsev. [Etiological Legends of the Nekrasov Cossacks.] *Zhivaia starina*, No. 3 (79), pp. 39–42. Available at https://inslav.ru/sites/default/files/zhs-2013-3scan.pdf, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Zudin, Anton & Vlaskina, Nina 2016. *Russkaia sviaz': istoriia i kul'tura staroobriadchestva iuga Rossii i zarubezh'ia.* [The Russian Connection: History and Culture of the Old Believers of the South of Russia and Foreign Countries.] Primorsko-Akhtarsk: [s.n.]. Available at https://vk.com/doc-192440253_558181512, last accessed on 11 October 2022.

Nina Vlaskina (PhD) is Senior Researcher at the Federal Research Centre The Southern Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Her research interests primarily concern the traditional culture of the Don Cossacks and Old Believers of southern Russia.

nvlaskina@gmail.com