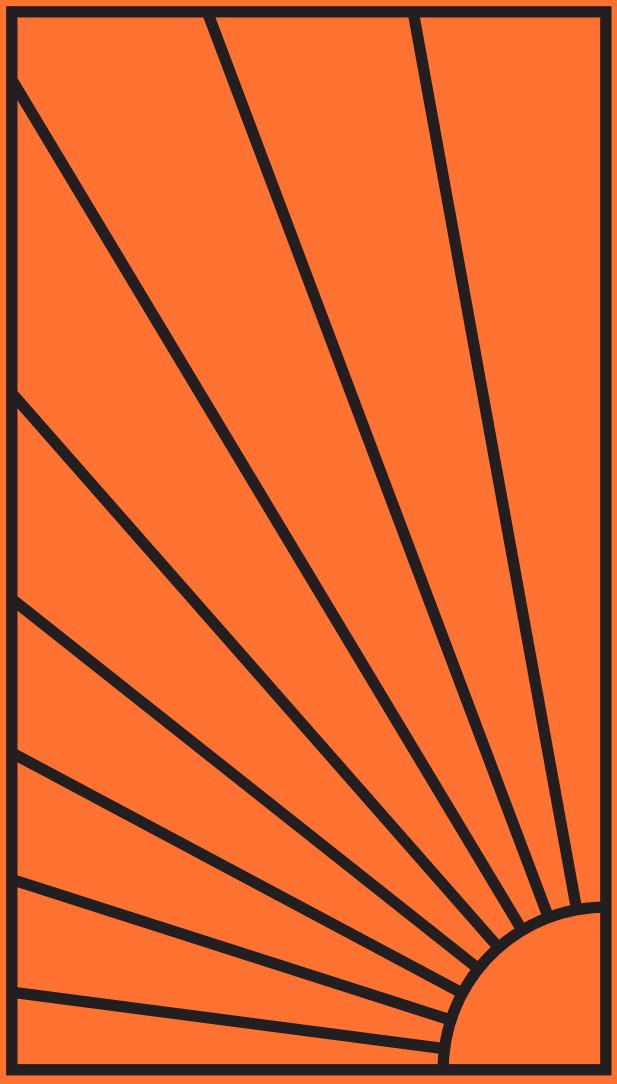
LETONIKA



Humanitāro zinātņu žurnāls

43
Special Issue
2021

Post-socialism/ colonialism

Contents

DOI: 10.35539/LTNC.2021.0043.D.U.T.K.4.6

4

This is a very special issue. After more than two decades of publishing, Letonica no. 43 is the journal's first digitally issued, English-only, and completely Open-Access volume. While scientific excellence has always been a guiding value of Letonica's publishing policy, this triple development—although still experimental—marks a new stage towards broadening the international reach of the journal, addressing wider audiences, and contributing to the latest ongoing scholarly discussions. The same orientation has also guided the choice of the theme of this special issue in the traditional sense of the term: the conjunction of two great fields in social and human sciences, namely, post-socialism and post-colonialism. In our view, post-socialism stands for a critical look at the socialist past of culture and knowledge production in ex-Socialist Bloc countries informed by new sources and theories. Post-colonialism is one of the most promising of those theories, exercising its theoretical apparatus in the post-socialism sphere in recent years. This is our tribute to a rapidly growing post-socialism/colonialism area of scientific inquiry in the Baltics and in the wider region touched by the Soviet colonial history.

The springboard for this undertaking was a combination of intellectual curiosity, overlapping research interests, and shared efforts to highlight new perspectives in the disciplinary history of Latvian folkloristics by scholars and students working in two ongoing research projects at the University of Latvia Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art (ILFA). *New Approaches to the History of Latvian Folkloristics* represents 13-months of teamwork funded by the Latvian Council of Science (LCS), while *ETNO-GRAPHICA* is a longer postdoctoral grant sponsored by the European Regional Development Fund (please see details on the cover). In their own right, both projects continue a decade of the Institute's dedication to mapping the twentieth-century disciplinary history of folkloristics in Latvia and beyond. But, more directly, we continue the research trajectory of *Latvian folkloristics* (1945–1985), another LCS-supported research project. The latter was concluded in 2020 with the international conference, "Socialist Folkloristics: A Disciplinary Heritage", where some authors featured in this issue presented. We kindly invite you to watch the whole conference on our digital archive garamantas.lv *YouTube* channel.

The current issue opens with an article striking at the heart of the subject matter—it is an inquiry into the benefits and risks of applying post-colonial thinking to the post-socialist disciplinary history of folkloristics. Toms Ķencis examines various components of the post-colonial theory, especially its most recent strain—Baltic post-colonialism—in contrast with Sadhana Naithani's pioneering project of global colonial folkloristics of the British Empire. Ending with an open discussion on contradictions, the article holds nine theses upon which the research of disciplinary history in ex-Socialist Bloc could be built from a contemporary post-colonial perspective.

Pavlo Artymyshyn and Roman Holyk look at the history of socialist folkloristics and ethnography in Soviet Ukraine, which shares notable similarities with the Baltic states. However, a large part of Ukraine was under Soviet rule already in the 1920s, while the Baltic states enjoyed two decades of independence between the world wars. As that was a formative period of folkloristics as an academic discipline, further developments and disciplinary legacies

diverge too. Since the 1920s, Ukrainian folklorists had been tasked with researching and spreading new Soviet folklore, while the discipline was oriented towards preserving national peasant cultural heritage. This contradiction made the disciplinary endeavours confined between a sharp opposition of "one's own" and "foreign" categories and texts.

The following two articles give intriguing insights into the everyday life of two research institutions. In the Soviet sciences, the discipline of ethnology operated under the label of ethnography. Anete Karlsone and Ilze Boldāne-Zeļenkova explore the development of the discipline of ethnography in Soviet Latvia. Authors have analyzed the process of carrying out fieldwork expeditions, with a particular focus on fieldwork diaries, which were compulsory to the participants of fieldwork until 1960. The diaries represent a unique look at source materials showing the ideological pressure on the discipline as well as revealing the difficulties of the everyday reality of Soviet life—such practical problems as lack of transportation, inaccessibility of accommodation, shortage of decent meals—and also give insights into the wounded landscape of the countryside with traumatized social relations after the Soviet repressions, deportations, and forced immigration.

Rita Grīnvalde, in her contribution, explores the history of Latvian folkloristics in the Brezhnev era with a focus on the Institute of Language and Literature at the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, the host of Archives of Latvian Folklore and the leading research hub of the discipline. Following the method of workplace ethnography, the article is built upon a close examination of an internal do-it-yourself magazine, *Vārds un Darbs* (*Word and Work*), published by the employees of the Institute.

In addition to functioning as a lived experience as well as the object of an academic discipline, folklore pierces through different layers of the social fabric and triggers imagination in broad realms of society, including applied arts. The concluding article by Rita Legčiļina-Broka explores folklore motifs in textile art during the period of Late Socialism. This was the time when a global folklore revival coincided with the flourishing of Latvian textile art. While exploring the examples of folk songs, fairy tales, mythological concepts and annual customs visualized in tapestries, the article pays special attention to Rūdolfs Heimrāts, who was the leader of Latvian textile art at that time and inspired much of this creative direction.

DOI: 10.35539/LTNC.2021.0043.T.K.8.29

Baltic Postcolonialism: A Prospect for Disciplinary History of Folkloristics

"I work in folkloristics and I'm not involved in politics." (Bērzkalne 1948)

"It is unnecessary to state that such and similar 'theoretical screeds' by Anna Bērzkalne not just stand far from any science, but they are also flat-out hostile to Soviet people. Recognising politics as interests of just one part of the people's collective, whereas commanding others to remain apolitical means to subvert the very foundation of the Soviet life." (Niedre 1948b)

Toms Ķencis

This article was funded by ERDF through project *ETNO-GRAPHICA: Visual Interpretations of Baltic Intangible Cultural Heritage* (no. 1.1.1.2/VIAA/4/20/628)

Keywords: Baltic postcolonialism, disciplinary history of folkloristics, colonialism, postsocialism, Soviet Latvia

Introduction

The application of postcolonial theory to the cultural histories of post-socialist countries holds many promises. In the last decade, it has been proven by a continuous flow of articles, conferences, special issues of academic journals, and an increasing number of high-level research monographs. Researchers of various countries and disciplines use this approach "to translate the ideological and cultural specificity of communist life experiences into the theoretical and critical languages with most currency in today's humanistic studies" (Şandru 2012: 1). Moreover, intersections of postcolonial and postsocialist research are mutually beneficial, as the latter extends the former and provides, for example, "interesting comparative material for subaltern studies, for resistance culture, for hybrid forms of ideological identification with and against socialism, for theorizing the antinomies of public and private space alongside the political and the sacred, and social inequality in the classless society" (Kołodziejczyk and Şandru 2012: 113–14).

The single basic premise that unlocks this potential is an assumption that there is some similarity, maybe a structural kinship, between the Soviet Union (1922–1991) and other colonial empires. Suppose this thesis is at least accepted for scrutiny. In that case, the postcolonial theoretical apparatus can be directed towards the specificity of communist hegemony, methods used for attaining and maintaining domination, discourses and strategies of subordination, shaping of the individual, group and national identities, their mutual relations and representations in culture, language, collective memory and arts of the colonizer and the colonized (see Korek 2009). Although explanations of the exact relationship between the postcolonial and the postsocialist are almost as many as the number of researchers explaining it, for this article, I will use an umbrella term 'postsocialist postcolonialism', denoting the common intention to apply the postcolonial approach to postsocialist histories.

In Eastern Europe, postsocialist postcolonialism so far most broadly has been explored in literary and drama studies (e.g. Albrecht 2020; Davoliūtė 2016; Kalnačs 2016a; Kelertas 2006a; Şandru 2012; Shkandrij 2014 and many others), slowly expanding to other fields. The current article aims to examine how the approach primarily devised to analyse creative representations such as literature or art can be applied to the history of knowledge production and the disciplinary history of folkloristics in the Baltic States after World War II. It would be a history of an academic field where 'everything was political'. To approach this aim, I examine the advantages and

principal components of postsocialist postcolonialism and its application in the Baltic States, introducing a particular project of colonial folkloristics. Furthermore, the main differences between (post)socialism and (post)colonialism and the strategies to overcome those are highlighted to arrive at nine theoretical implications of the Baltic postsocialist postcolonial folkloristics. To start a discussion if and whether this approach is feasible in practice, four central challenges of the postsocialist postcolonial theory are presented in the article's conclusion. A more general aim of this article is a contribution to the ongoing discussion about the application of postcolonial theory and methodologies to studies of countries previously incorporated in the Soviet Union in Eastern and Central Europe. Consequently, that would contribute to the liberation of postcolonial thought from the "ghetto of Third World and colonial studies" (Chari and Verdery 2009: 29; cf. Moore 2006: 29).

Locating postsocialist postcolonialism

For almost two decades, virtually anyone who has applied postcolonial thinking to postsocialist subject matters has started the argument with a justification for why and how the Soviet regime was colonial.[1] The adjacent question concerns similarities between "two posts"—postcolonialism and postsocialism as historical conditions, theoretical stances, or "places of enunciation" allowing a certain kind of reflection (on the latter, see Bhabha 2004). This scrutiny has led to a similarly significant diversification and fragmentation of the postsocialist postcolonial studies. This field represents multiple theoretical and historical genealogies, but a relatively small number of scholars tracing them. As a result, Eastern and Central European cultures have been analysed through concepts of semi-colonialism, global and intra-continental colonialism (Kalnačs 2020a: 255), reverse-cultural colonization (Moore 2006: 26), at least two types of internal colonialism (Etkind 2011; for historical variations see Balockaite 2016: 78), continental colonialism (Balockaite 2016: 78). Neil Lazarus defines this area as "postcommunist postcolonial" scholarship (Lazarus 2011; 2012), while Sharad Chari and Katherine Verdery propose "post-Cold War studies" as alternative thinking between both "posts" (Chari and Verdery 2009). Similarly, Bogdan Ștefănescu invents a handy metaphor of postcommunism and postcolonialism as siblings of subalternity: "A degree of relatedness and family resemblance between two separate individuals rather than a perfect

1 See further on structural similarities; a solid example of a wide-ranging historical argument is provided in the seminal article by David Chioni Moore: "Those who would argue that the Soviets were simply differently configured colonists could point, again inter alia, to the mass and arbitrary relocation of entire non-Russian peoples; the ironic Soviet national 'fixing' of countless formerly less defined identities, and the related tortured intertwining of the Uzbek-Kyrgyz-Tajik border to guarantee an ethnic strife; the genocidal settling of the Kazakh nomad millions from 1929 to 1934; the forced monoculture across Central Asia and the consequent ecological disaster of the Aral Sea; the Soviet reconquest of the once independent Baltic States in 1941; the invariable Russian ethnicity of the number-two man in each republic who was actually number-one; the inevitable direction of Russia's Third World policy from its Moscow center; and tanks in 1956 in Budapest and 1968 in Prague." (Moore 2006, 27–28)

identity between them" (Ștefănescu 2012: 52). It is impossible to speak about one leading postcolonial postsocialist theory or even understanding at this stage of development.

Moreover, the historical configuration of post-World War II power relationships and the lives of subaltern subjects greatly varied across the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence in Eastern and Central Europe. As Moore puts it: "The Chuvash and the Estonians hardly had the same experience (Moore 2006: 28). That has led to a geographical variation of postcolonial theory when applied to postsocialist territories. A particular case here is the Baltic postcolonialism, founded upon unique layering of formative experiences that simultaneously unites the three Baltic countries and differentiates them from the rest of the region. Late integration and special status within the Russian Empire (Thaden and Thaden 1984), the experience of national independence between both world wars, consecutive Soviet, Nazi and again Soviet occupations generating guerrilla warfare and mass repressions, and, again, somewhat special status within the Soviet Union (Annus 2018) are core components there. Baltic postcolonialism started with a collection of articles by scholars simply applying some postcolonial concepts to Baltic literature (Kelertas 2006a). However, a comparative analysis was soon conceptualised as a distinct trend, spearheaded by Benedikts Kalnačs (Kalnačs 2011; 2016a; 2016b; 2020b; 2020a) and Epp Annus (Annus 2012; 2016; 2018). Similarly, applying postcolonial theories to Baltic culture from the initially dominant field of literature studies spreads to other cultural domains such as art history (e.g. Kangilaski 2016) or folk dance (Kapper 2016).

Whatever strain of postcolonial theory is constructed according to the authors' field of study, the geography of inquiry, and understanding of coloniality, there are and will be multiple points of disjuncture between studies of the West European overseas colonies (from the advent of modern times to the mid-20th century) and studies of post-war Eastern Europe. For example, Cristina Şandru distinguishes such general categories of difference as "differential inflections in terms of historical and geographical coordinates; divergent types of imperial occupation; asynchronous advents of modernity; different practices of othering; and, finally, post-Cold War ideological emphases" (Şandru 2012: 5–6). Other researchers most commonly follow the same path, highlighting one or another point of divergence.

However, parallels between the two "post(s)" scattered across different strains of the postsocialist postcolonial theory should also be addressed. As I will argue further, those can be reassembled as a methodological foundation of disciplinary historiography, leaving to other venues the discussion on whether the modifier "post" in postsocialism is the same "post" as in postcolonialism. First of all, it is levelling the ground of inquiry by "scholarly use and critique of the state-produced historical record, which follows and continues to reflect on a period of heightened political change" (Chari and Verdery 2009: 11). Second, it is a set of what might be called colonial practices, organized through structures of exclusion and inclusion, metropolitan centre and periphery, modes of othering and representations of differences, the experience of trauma and related configurations of collective memory, resistance as a complex of cultural practices (Şandru 2012: 8), and concepts such as ambivalence, mimicry, hybridity, alterity, minority and subaltern cultures,

and orientalization (Kołodziejczyk and Şandru 2012: 113). Third, it resembles forms and historical realizations of anti-colonial and de-colonizing efforts, most usually resulting in formations of nationalism. And last, it is the following neo-colonial aftermath. However, none of the practices and concepts mentioned above is exclusively colonial. According to Stefănescu, they become such when there "is a sense of the intruder culture being significantly different and the process of change is felt as alienation, an estrangement from the local tradition" (Ștefănescu 2012: 70). In the Baltic case, it is the fact that the Soviet regime was "forced from the outside and brought with it, in addition to economic imbalance and long-distance political supervision, also specific ethnic and cultural tensions, related to the effort to privilege a non-local cultural tradition" (Annus 2016: 3; cf. Kalnačs 2016b: 17). In other words, the military occupation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union during World War II was followed by governance that can be consistently characterized in terms of coloniality.

The Second World problem

Even though the research of Soviet colonial legacies promises valuable theoretical and historical opportunities for postcolonial thinking, it "mostly remain[s] on the research sidelines, not encountering real interest of postcolonial studies more generally" (Kalnačs 2016b: 25). Uneasy relationships between postcolonial and postsocialist studies, slowing down the advancement of both fields, can be traced to the Cold War dispositif and its tripartite world organization.

First of all, it is the historical and theoretical legacy of the mid-20th century anti-colonial struggles that leads to the first identity crisis of postcolonial studies thirty years later:

> The period of so-called 'Third World euphoria'—a brief moment in which it seemed that First World leftists and Third World guerrillas would walk arm in arm toward global revolution—has given way to the collapse of the Soviet Communist model, the crisis of existing socialisms, the frustration of the hoped-for tricontinental revolution (with Ho Chi Minh, Frantz Fanon, and Che Guevara as talismanic figures), the realization that the wretched of the earth are not unanimously revolutionary (nor necessarily allies to one another), and the recognition that international geo-politics and the global economic system have obliged even socialist regimes to make some kind of peace with transnational capitalism. (Shohat 1992: 100)

The metaphorical division of the globe into three worlds—capitalist, communist, and the rest or non-aligned world, lost any meaning but historical since the demise of the Soviet Union. Conceptualization and institutionalization of the postcolonial studies took place around the same time—in the 1980s and 1990s. Postcolonialism was a replacement for problematic notions like "non-Western", "Third World", "minority", and "emergent"

(Moore 2006: 14). It emerged as a historical, not analytical category, and was bound to the same three world division, more precisely, the relationship between the oppressing capitalist First World and the subjugated Third World. Being neither one nor another, the ex-Communist bloc simply did not fit the theory (Moore 2006; Chari and Verdery 2009; Kołodziejczyk and Şandru 2012; Ștefănescu 2012; Dzenovska 2013; Lazarus 2012). Moreover, most of the researchers concerned with this issue point out another closely related problem: the echoes of the USSR self-styled policy as a global anti-colonial force. It was both an imperial stratagem confronting the West through proxy sites and a camouflage for the actual colonial matrix of power that dictated order within the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence (Connor 1984). On the international arena, its legal facade was made by the USSR constitution (1936, 1977) with its bogus claims of republic sovereignty and the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (1955), commonly known as the Warsaw Pact. As a result, the colonial nature of Soviet policies has been more than often unnoticed or dismissed by postcolonial thinkers (Kangilaski 2016: 37; Račevskis 2006: 171; Kelertas 2006a: 1; Korek 2009; Ștefănescu 2012: 31). Moreover, the postcolonial thinkers themselves often might be adherents to some strain of Marxist theory while the Soviet Union claimed to be a Marxist practice (points out Moore 2006; Korek 2009; Ștefănescu 2012; Račevskis 2006).

Particular historical experience has led western scholars also towards a curious fixation with overseas as an exclusive model of coloniality (Lazarus 2012: 118), epitomized by such classic as Edward Said's *Orientalism* (Said 2003). Among others, recently, Alexander Etkind went to some lengths to prove that is no ground to dismiss the Russo-Soviet case as non-colonial (Etkind 2011). Indeed, the Levant by the sea was much closer to London in the nineteenth century than Tashkent by ground to St. Petersburg. More complex and also directly related to the three world model is a problem of capitalism. Like the sea travel component, the overwhelming evidence of historical colonialism is related to the "integration into a capitalist world-system" (Lazarus 2012: 120). Speaking about communist colonialism, this difference is usually negotiated by demonstrating similarities between various accounts of domination, subject formation, and resistance. In this regard, Katherine Verdery has developed an interesting analogy of redistributive (or allocative) power as a replacement of (accumulated) capital in the socialist system: "This involved accumulating means of production that would enable party-states to control the production of goods for (re)distribution to the populace—a prime legitimating ideology for the Soviet system—and thereby to shore up the power of the Communist Party" (Chari and Verdery 2009: 15). Similar to the opposition of Communism and Capitalism, one more Cold War dichotomy is that of West and East, also related with the over-identification of Europe as Western Europe. Baltic and other Eastern European countries from this point of view disappear within the undifferentiated Soviet whole (Hirsch 2005: 2), and thirty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall they return as denied European sub-consciousness, almost the colonial double:

> While not entirely outside the Western sphere of knowledge, the postcolonial subject nevertheless has access to a space of otherness, which can be a location of critical enunciations. European postsocialist spaces and subjects are not quite legible from

> within this framework, because they are neither one nor the other. They are not quite the West, as it is continuously illustrated in both scholarly and public discourse. And they are also not quite the Rest, for, while they are subjected to similar techniques of government as postcolonial spaces and subjects, the critical space of radical otherness, so familiar from postcolonial contexts, seems elusive, if not entirely absent, in European postsocialism. (Dzenovska 2013: 400)

The missing place of enunciation designates the void subject position of a postsocialist postcolonial thinker. It is marked by a postsocialist/colonial paradox: decolonization from subalternity within one set of relationships (Soviet) leads to identifying with the colonial force of another set (Europe as West). Thus, the denial of colonial subjectivity forms one more often mentioned obstacle in the advancement of postsocialist postcolonial discourse (Račevskis 2006: 166; Moore 2006: 21; Kalnačs 2016b: 17; Ştefănescu 2012: 34).

A racialized theory for a national discipline

Next to capitalist extraction of value and geopolitical position overseas, the racial difference between colonizers and the colonized has been among the major factors shaping the general understanding of colonialism (Rangan and Chow 2013; Ashcroft et al. 2013). The power relationships of coloniality are both racialized and racializing (Dzenovska 2013). Postsocialist postcolonialists researching Eastern and Central European past use varied strategies to overcome this historical stigmatization, and those mostly fit into two categories: either race is dismissed and (other) structural similarities between communist and capitalist coloniality are highlighted, or race is replaced with another relevant category of othering, for example, class or nationality.

Authors who claim that racial differences are neither necessary nor sufficient to define the colonial relationship (e.g. Annus 2018; Kalnačs 2016a; Kangilaski 2016; Ştefănescu 2012) usually refer to the theorization of colonialism as a system of domination by Jürgen Osterhammel (Osterhammel 2009). In this structural view, significant is the as such—in whatever ethno-cultural categories it is defined—not the particular difference of skin colour. One possible differentiation and discrimination mechanism here is national chauvinism, implemented through the ethnographic knowledge and overly important category of nationalism (Hirsch 2005; Korek 2009). Regarding the Post-war USSR, Benedikts Kalnačs characterizes an international chauvinism based on a "national pseudo-unit". While new nominally national socialist republics were created in the occupied territories, new settlers of various origins created a new group of society—the "Russian-speaking community." "Using their knowledge of the Russian language as a marker, this group was ideologically opposed to the local population" (Kalnačs 2020a, 259). In the following years, the Russification of national minorities was a side effect of Soviet nationality policies, increasing the same community.

Social class was another mechanism of discrimination and differentiation, often expressed in metaphors of sub-humanity. In the Soviet regime, class categories "clung to their targets like skin" (Chari and Verdery 2009: 27), thus ensuring that one's status is unavoidable, inheritable and immutable. Replacement of race with the class met with the Socialist never-ending quest for the enemy, grouping certain humans into a category of "class enemy" and thus condemning to discrimination, repressions and extermination. The indexes of the 20th-century bureaucracy efficiently replaced primitive "visual identification" of previous colonial regimes. After all, the Soviet experiment was an essentially modern project: promoting Enlightenment ideas of progress in secularized, technology and science-driven world.[2] When the superiority of colonizer was defined as a superiority of the socialist working class,[3] the colonial *Mission civilisatrice* was either "to proletarize" the new subalterns or "to liberate" them from real or imagined fascism, bourgeois nationalism and capitalism (Balockaite 2016; Ştefănescu 2012). Thus, class and nationality acted as determining factors in various combinations throughout the existence of the Soviet Union. Moreover, the current racialization of coloniality and corresponding dissociation with it has been pointed out as a compensatory behaviour by the subject peoples in Eastern and Central Europe, resulting from the extended subjugation. (Moore 2006: 20)

A related significant disjunction between postsocialism and postcolonialism stems from the relationship with nationalism. During the late 1980s, nationalism became the driving ideology behind decolonization movements in the Baltic countries, while the postcolonial studies were consolidated and institutionalized at Western universities.

> By that time the hopeful period of anti-colonial Third-World nationalism had come to the end and largely to a dictatorial and violent one. [...] So in the works of leading postcolonial scholars nationalism mostly appears as a failed historical project, exclusionary and inherently dominating, and/or as a form of make-believe, a false consciousness. (Peiker 2016: 116; See also Şandru 2012: 2)

When the Prague Spring (1968) brought general disillusionment towards the possibility of the so-called socialism with a human face in the Warsaw Pact countries, nationalism became a strategic direction consolidating and articulating anti-colonial sentiments in the Soviet bloc. It differed from politically right "essentialist" nationalisms of post-colonial countries as inclusive and somewhat apolitical ideology. In the meantime, colonialism was used as a designation of the Soviet system by leading politicians of the Baltic popular fronts and newly independent nation-states such as Lithuanian Vytautas Landsberģis (b. 1932) (Kelertas 2006b: 3) or Latvian Anatolijs Gorbunovs (b. 1942), addressing the United Nations' General Assembly in 1992 (Gorbunovs 1992). Nationalists used anti-colonial rhetoric, while postcolonialists—anti-national. What could, then, this theory do with such a nationally-oriented discipline as folkloristics?

2 A comprehensive overview of various interpretations of Soviet modernity is provided by Michael David-Fox (David-Fox 2016) ; see also modernity and material culture (Reid and Crowley 2000), and historiography (Feindt 2018).

3 Socialist working class by definition possesses the "class consciousness" and thus is aligned with the class vanguard—the Communist party.

Colonial folkloristics

The Story-Time of the British Empire: Colonial and Postcolonial Folkloristics (Naithani 2010) is by far one-of-a-kind disciplinary history that focuses on the interaction between folkloristic knowledge and colonial power production. Simultaneous investigation into multiple domains of the British Empire provides excellent material for well-founded generalizations on centre-peripheries relations, race, translation, and ideology. But, of course, the largest global empire at the peak of its power is an exception too; therefore, the task I have been given to myself is kind of deconstruction: to take out "the British" component, the unique historical configurations of a particular empire from this treatise on disciplinary history.

First of all, the author's model of colonial folkloristics is based on deprovincialization of the discipline:

> I will argue that "colonial folkloristics" should be accepted as the term that takes the transnational identity of the phenomena into consideration, and can be applicable across the epistemic and empirical boundaries between the colonizer and the colonized. Colonial folkloristics can only be studied and analyzed beyond national boundaries, because it was not created within a nation. It was also not created between two countries, but in a global context (Naithani 2010: 4).

Importantly, it involves a different genealogy (cf. Briggs and Naithani 2012) that cannot be directly traced back to some metropolitan/European origins. Originating in the early 19th century, this model is a contemporary of early European folkloristics. However, it is neither their offshoot nor essentially similar to it (Naithani 2010: 120). Most important here is the context of emerging European nation-states and ideologies providing a particular agenda for collecting, preserving, and studying folklore and traditions. Of course, nationalist ideologies were primarily formed within empires, including the Russian and Austro-Hungarian, which divided most of Eastern and Central Europe lands between them. Adding a layer of complexity, that still allows speaking of a different genealogy. Colonial power relationships were present in both projects,[4] but the nationality component, as I will demonstrate later, played a crucial role in organization of folkloric knowledge in the Soviet empire. Moreover, in the 19th century, "the individual motivations of colonial collectors do not precede the establishment of the colonial state in a particular country but follow it. This differs from the case of nationalist folklorists within Europe, whose work preceded the establishment of the nation-state" (Naithani 2010: 18). Again, this historical particularity is reversed in the second half of the 20th century Eastern Europe, when the framework is similarly international, but the independent nation-state is instead a memory of the past rather than a future project. Folklore collection in the British Empire was shaped by power, race and violence as historical determinants of coloniality (Naithani 2010: 23). As the race requires particular scrutiny and

4 For example, the first academic publication of Latvian verbal charms (Brīvzemnieks (Treiland), 1881) was bilingual, edited by a prominent nationally-minded Latvian intellectual, and commissioned and published in Moscow by the Imperial Society of Devotees of Natural Sciences, Anthropology and Ethnography.

was addressed in previous pages, now let's take a look at the theoretical implications of colonial folkloristics proposed by Naithani (2010: 112-13). Shortly summarized for the purposes of further discussion, those are the following:

1. Translators and the process of translation mediate colonial folklore;

2. Folklorists' academic identity and social capital is built upon the circulation and research of translated folklore texts;

3. Representations of the colonized folk are exotic and orientalised, amoral and immoral in order to amuse and shock the reader;

4. Some factors are constantly missing in the colonial writing, e.g. distress of the colonized or certain narratives about colonizers;

5. There is an apparent disdain for the religious beliefs of the narrators;

6. Carelessness towards time and place of collection, mentioning those in very general terms;

7. Ignorance towards classification systems and interpretations of the narrators;

8. Instead, (ideologically saturated) interpretation becomes the most crucial task of the folklorist.

At least to some extent or from a particular angle, all of those implications have found their expressions in Soviet Baltic folkloristics, too. Still, one should ask whether this is one-size-fits-all theoretical model or different socio-political configuration of the colonial matrix of power directly corresponds to a different configuration of folkloristics. In that case, the discipline's relationship with nationalism is especially important: how the different genealogies (European and colonial) correspond to Bolshevik's extraordinary relationships with nationality and its representations. The author of *The Storytime,* together with Charles Briggs, also warns that "Nevertheless, colonialism often gets contained within particular spaces (particularly India), periods and characters—British colonial officials and missionaries—thereby drawing attention away from how colonialism is connected with other spaces, subjects and times, such as our own" (Briggs and Naithani 2012: 243). The gaze of postcolonial thinking might be similarly directed to the former Second World as well as the so-called Fourth World, i.e. most marginalized and "pre-modern" regions of the globe.

Baltic postcolonial folkloristics

Postcolonial disciplinary histories are reflexive, post-structural investigations, which put a premium on the embeddedness of asymmetric power relations and ambivalent subject positions within them. That leads to three types of historiographic incentives: mapping the colonial matrix of power, re-constructing the horizon of possibilities for agents in the matrix, and recognizing the agency of subjects acting within the matrix. Now let us ask how the postcolonial theory-building bricks discussed previously can extend and reinforce the project of colonial folkloristics suggested by Naithani to generate research questions and inspire methodologies for disciplinary histories of the Baltic States in the second half of the twentieth century?

(1) First of all, translation is still central to the circulation of folkloric knowledge and power. However, its direction and locus are different. As Soviet (Latvian, Estonian, and Lithuanian) folklorists are mainly of the same nationality as their narrators, there is no language difference during the folklore collection fieldwork. The difference is on the administrative, representative, and interpretative levels. Theoretical treatises, legislation and guidelines for folklorists are initially published by the Moscow centre in Russian and then translated to other languages.

Similarly, local institutional documents like research plans and reports are translated into Russian to be revised and approved in Moscow (Ķencis 2019b; Kulasalu 2017). Translated and non-translated sources map the channels of power. Nevertheless, folklore materials are translated, but not as a source of research but as a representation of ideological consensus. For example, if the Communist Party states that folklore reflects the building of socialism in Soviet republics, the material that reflects the building of socialism is translated and circulated. Moreover, due to the ethnofederal composition of the USSR, translations are multidirectional to both Russian and other languages of the Union. Broadening translation patterns represent changes in Soviet policies and the economy. If we take Latvian folklore as an example: the 1940s-1960s are characterized by translations and editions of Latvian folklore in Russian, the advent of "the friendship of people" policy brings more translation in other Union languages in the second half of the 1960s and foreign languages in of the Socialist bloc in the 1970s (e.g. Bulgarian in 1971, Persian in 1974, Hungarian 1977, including combined editions of Baltic folklore). The late 1970s set a new milestone of first academic publications in English: "International and national in Latvian proverbs and sayings" (Kokare 1978) and Latvian folk-tale type index according to international Aarne-Thompson system (Medne and Arājs 1977). Administrative (documents) and representative (predominately non-academic folklore editions) types of translations are channelling primarily political and symbolic power. Translations of academic research (i.e. interpretations) is channelling (or embedding in power) the academic knowledge. Hereby doctoral dissertations, in the Soviet system called candidate, are written or translated into Russian to be defended at central institutions.

(2) This leads to the second tenet, confirming that folklorists' academic identity and social capital are built upon the translated texts' circulation and research. However, those are not

primarily folklore texts (which circulate on another—representative level), but the interpretations of folklore and traditions. Apart from doctoral dissertations, articles in journals and collections and monographs and conference presentations are also translated. Translation provides transparency to power and required exposure to censorship, in return providing access to status and rewards.

(3) The third, principle of othering, largely covered by the metaphor of orientalization, is equally valid, but again in different directions. The orientalised (eroticized, amoral, immoral) subjects are not all colonial subalterns but the so-called class enemies and political adversaries. The Soviet folklorist is called to collect oral histories of aristocratic and clerical oppression, bourgeois exploitation, and liberation from Nazis. Orientalization is a part of the class struggle and socialist history master narrative. Similarly essential is the same principle in reverse: the conspicuous demonstration of sameness realized through the doctrine of the Socialist Realism. The latter extends its innate hybridity (Boym 1994: 103) to folklore materials, blurring boundaries between research and propaganda. It was taken to extreme in the early 1950s Estonia, where historical folklore collections where censored with a purpose to remove any immoral obscenities from creations of the working people (Kulasalu 2013). The trend of New Soviet Folklore—representations of contemporary life and politics in traditional folklore genres—takes up in post-1934 Soviet Russia and, after ten years, is adapted in the Soviet post-war territories to decline after the death of Joseph Stalin's in 1953. Examples of folksongs praising Stalin and collective farms were invented, collected and published all across the Baltic countries (Kulasalu 2017; Ķencis 2019a). Later on, popular folklore collections were shaped and edited according to the principles of Socialist Realism: emphasizing class struggle, but downplaying religious connotations and obscene references. Collections of folktales about pastors served purposes of anti-religious propaganda, but folksongs praised the role of labour in human society. Similarly to and extended by representative translation, demonstration of sameness served to consolidate the symbolic power of the Soviet regime across national borders. National differences of "working people" were normalized and standardized, imbued with moral and patriotic characteristics, and retold variations of the same master narrative.

(4) "What is a good joke worth?—25 years in a prison camp!"—testifies a popular joke of Soviet times. Indeed, political folklore was a deadly serious matter under the totalitarian rule. As a matter of fact, not only jokes but also every other kind of folklore material unsuitable for the regime was (self-) censored: avoided during folklore collections, if collected—not included in the accounts of the folklore archive, if included—not referred in research and popular publications. Representations of the dark side of Soviet reality are missing from the Soviet writing, with some carefully controlled exceptions, for example, didactic jokes about lazy workers. Similarly, too positive representations of non-Soviet reality were avoided, such as Baltic independence's interwar period history. Desirable folklore content, events and attitudes were characterized in collection plans and official guidelines for folklore collectors.

(5) Fifth, when colonial folklorists manifest apparent disdain for the religious beliefs of the narrators, the Soviet agenda reads from the same page. The difference here is in content: the

opposition Christian vs heathen is replaced by materialist-atheist vs Christian. Notably, the same is a sense of moral superiority and zeal "to enlighten the backward natives". This intolerance can be also extended to other belief systems beyond religion, such as mythology and magic. Both are avoided subject matters in Soviet folkloristics. The Moscow-Tartu School of Semiotics from the late 1960s onwards is an exception that proves the rule (Ķencis 2012). In Soviet Lithuania, anti-colonial agenda was strongly represented by the neo-pagan Ramuva movement that was established at State University of Vilnius in 1970 (Savoniakaitė 2019). Among other sources, the movement exploited academic knowledge of folkloristics, and involved many actors of the discipline

(6) Representative translations and popular editions demonstrate carelessness towards place and narrator. The texts or "folklore units" here serve to represent a whole, not a part—the working people of this or that nationality, the socialist nation, workers of a particular industry or collective. However, it is not the case in academic editions of folklore, as there are other conventions in place reflecting a century of the discipline's development. Interestingly, sometimes the same anonymity of folklore materials collected during the Soviet period stems not from ignorance but caution of collectors. Rules of the game marking allowed or dangerous themes were rapidly changing, especially during the first post-war decade. So, if there is a folklore material that might raise suspicions towards particular narrators, a folklore collector might label it as "overheard on the train" or "told by some man in the buffet no. 6" (Ķencis 2019b; see also Langer 2021).

(7) Ignorance towards the classification systems of the narrators is hard to assess as a particularly colonial feature in the Soviet Baltic. First, soviet classification systems are native to European folkloristics that has also grown from European folklore. Even if by approximation, those are closer to "native systems". Moreover, the latter is already influenced by the onset of modernity, for example, a high level of literacy, exposition to various folklore editions, and discourse on folklore for over a century. Some "primaeval authenticity" to be ignored there is doubtful. How far it is ignorance towards the context of performance reflects just the state-of-the-art of the discipline: performance theory is still in the making. At the end of the day, the very division between the collector and the narrator presumes some kind of epistemic violence in any circumstances.

(8) Ignorance towards narrators' interpretations is another kind of subject matter as it is much more directly related to power. That leads to the eighth implication of colonial folkloristics: that interpretation becomes the most critical task of the folklorist. Indeed, it is also for the Soviet Baltic folklorist, but, more importantly—interpretation strictly within the constraints of Marxist-Leninist theory. According to the latter, folklore reflects the working people's class struggle and creative expression (Niedre 1948a). Correspondence with this definition was the true measure of authenticity of every folklore material. Therefore, to authenticate folklore, it was first interpreted according to particular, content-oriented theory. The necessity of interpretation arises from the pressure of control (the publication of "inappropriate" folklore materials or their interpretation can result in redundancy and other problems) and the pressure of planning (for example, if a plan states that in five years

500 revolutionary songs will be collected, it means that 500 songs are to be interpreted as revolutionary). Ignorance is bliss when it comes to overlooking the irony of certain narrators or the role of individual authorship when collective authorship is required

At the centre of colonial power, interpretation is also a locus of mimicry. Attribution of any meaning opens the possibility of other meanings, undermining the intended regime of truth and hierarchy of authority within it. Similarities of mimicry, mockery, and parody inspire writers following Bhabha to assume that mimicry is essentially anti-colonial: "Mimicry therefore locates a crack in the certainty of colonial dominance, an uncertainty in its control of the behaviour of the colonized" (Ashcroft et al. 2013: 155). To borrow a metaphor both from Jacques Lacan (Lacan 1998: 99) and the Brothers Grimm: mimicry is the camouflage that covers the king's nakedness. The king is important: mimicry still strengthens the established hegemonic position. Compliance with ideological demands is the reproduction of ideological power (cf. Verdery 1995; Grill 2015: 621). The mimetic nature of this reproduction arises from subaltern subject positions of Baltic folklorists, subordinated to the Moscow centre. Their place in the periphery undermines an authentic expression of power even if it is intended. Mimicry was practised by "speaking the right way" when participating in public discourse (Annus 2016: 3) and by interpretations of field data: emphasizing beneficial Russian influence on cultural history, class divide in folklore material, revolutionary passion in songs etc. However, as a theoretical tool, mimicry is an essential notion negating political resistance/collaboration duality, which reproduces the Cold War dispositif. The notion of mimicry creates additional capacities of agency under colonial rule.

So, with the help of postcolonial thought, theoretical implications of Naithani's British colonial folkloristics can be successfully applied to another colonial situation, namely, the Soviet Baltic. Similarly, transposition of racial to national or class categorizations and imperial to ethnofederal structures might productively reconstruct the claim that colonial folkloristics establishes a different disciplinary genealogy from European histories, where origins of folkloristics are closely tied to National Romanticism and cultural nationalism (Briggs and Naithani 2012; cf. Leerssen 2010). In the Baltic case, Soviet coloniality facilitates national scholarship in an international framework, not the other way around. Research institutions, dealing with local and national subjects in each country, were subordinated to Moscow through the network of Academies of Science, and regularly synchronized at All-Union congresses of soviet folklorists. Nationalist genealogies efficiently contributed to radical ambivalence of the folklore subject matter: it was simultaneously part of Soviet scholarship and propaganda and a sign of anti-colonial resistance, the resilience of independent national identity (Annus 2018; Herzog 2010; Kapper 2016; Kuutma 2016).

Folkloristics as a predominantly national discipline must be viewed in the context of Soviet nationality policies. While Soviet power relentlessly suppressed political nationalism, national identity was a fundamental organizational principle sustained until the bitter end to which it contributed (Chari and Verdery 2009: 17; Beissinger 2009; Slezkine 1994; Moore 2006; Hirsch 2005). In the Baltic case, the end of the Soviet project was at least partially brought by the so-called folklore movement, which rapidly politicized the discourse of folklore and

traditions sustained within the state-sponsored framework of amateur art, folk culture, and folklore research. Interest in folklore performance in Latvia and Estonia and initiatives for cultural revival like regional studies in Lithuania went hand in hand with anti-Soviet ideology since the 1970s, reaching the maximum in the late 1980s. An essential device of the folklore movement was a discourse on authenticity, juxtaposing a particular type of folklore performance to established standards of Soviet folk culture. The latter, in this light, reveals as a highly hybrid set of expressions.

(9) Adopting the postcolonial view, hybridity (together with the accompanying discourse of purity) might be the ninth theoretical implication of the Baltic Soviet colonial folkloristics. While in a broad context, the term commonly denotes "the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization" (Ashcroft et al. 2013: 135), for this discussion, I would prefer Nestor García Canclini's concise definition of hybridization as "a sociocultural process in which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in a separate form, are combined to generate new structures, objects, and practices" (García Canclini 2005: xxv). Postcolonial sensitivity requires distinguishing between various modalities of hybridization, for example, rising from forced assimilation, political co-option, social conformism, cultural mimicry, creative transcendence, critical appropriation, deconstruction and inversion (Shohat 1992: 110; Kalnačs 2016b: 23). Modalities transform over time, coexist, and gradually become the new normal—a discrete structure or practice forming the subsequent hybridization. The power asymmetry is significant here: a hegemony of one, more authoritative culture transforming the cultural signs of another. However, a concept of hybridity poses a significant challenge too: sometimes it may be problematic if not impossible to distinguish between hybridization arising from colonial hegemony and simply a process of modernization, especially if colonizers in the quest for progress are lagging behind their new subalterns. Technological progress constantly breeds new hybrids: each new media requires new forms of representation; new habits of society create new forms of production, etc. And if, infamously, the state owns the means of production, are any changes rising from the production development are state-produced too? Such changes may and do arise under a different political and economic regime as well. Or maybe it does not matter because each historical situation is concrete and finite? Often problematized relationship between socialism and modernity (or modernities) is too complex and broad for the discussion here, but definitely must be kept in mind.

In conclusion, the postcolonial view towards colonial folkloristics in the Baltic States, and, possibly, wider European postsocialist areal, offers heterogeneous yet strong fundaments. Moreover, it promises two productive openings for further research. First, the adaptation of the post/colonial framework allows acknowledging deeper layers of coloniality, approaching the actual complexity of a living culture. In the Baltics, it is an experience of both (intermingled) Russian tsarist and Baltic German colonialism, preceded by the role of ideas of *Volksaufklärung* as a modernizing Enlightenment driver, and further complicated by the controversial roles of hegemonic yet subaltern Polish culture in Lithuania and Eastern Latvia (on layers of coloniality see Annus 2016; Kalnačs 2016b; Kangilaski 2016). The treatment of most recent history as postcolonial adds to the complexity, introducing a displaced hegemon

(Chari and Verdery 2009; Ștefănescu 2012; Pyzik 2014; Kołodziejczyk and Şandru 2016) and misunderstood appropriation of early modernity through the experience of colonizing Gambia and Tobago by the 17th century Latvian/Lithuanian Duchy of Courland (Dzenovska 2013). All the layers are reflected in the disciplinary history of folkloristics. The second opening forms a critical perspective for investigation beyond anti-colonial nationalist narratives that inscribe foreign colonial power as a single object of critique. Instead, postcolonial sensibility requires a conceptual mapping of various de-centred multiplicities of power relations, for example, between colonized women and men, queer and normative, minority and titular subaltern, or holders of various forms of symbolic capital.

A challenging conclusion

A postcolonial approach to the Soviet-era Baltic folkloristics looks beneficial in many ways. It provides a toolkit for deep analysis of the disciplinary field, a solid theoretical foundation via adaptation and update of colonial folkloristics, and a vocabulary that allows capturing ambivalent, multivocal echoes of the past in today's scholarship. It is a model that simultaneously hosts different meanings of the research object and thus represents it closer to the actual historical complexity. It also promises to liberate the scholarship from outdated distinctions and oppositions native to the Cold War and its tripartite world division.

A third modality can be added to the multi-genealogy approach to the history of folkloristics—a hybrid socialist model next to historical romantic nationalist and colonial models. According to the authors of the multigeneological model, it has numerous benefits too:

> By articulating multiple roots for key concepts and practices, folklorists can expose their assumptions and expand possibilities for altering them, thereby opening up alternative meanings and potentialities and increasing the power and creativity of the analytical frameworks on which they rely. By locating genealogies beyond narrowly-defined disciplinary histories, folklorists can challenge the boundary-work that limits their ability to draw productively on other frameworks and genealogies and show scholars, policy-makers and other constituencies that the implications of their work extend in important ways beyond the boundaries of the discipline. (Briggs and Naithani 2012: 268)

However, to fully exploit and capitalize on the benefits mentioned above, the postsocialist postcolonial approach must overcome several serious challenges. Recalling discussion in this article, I will highlight four main challenges: design, clarity, timing, and positioning.

The design challenge is indirectly reflected in the postsocialist scholars' need to start every article and monograph on the subject matter with analysis or at least a disclaimer on how postsocialist condition is postcolonial. The implicated lack of legitimacy results in too many

ad hoc configurations of the theory. As a result, without too much exaggeration, one can say that no two authors are using the same approach. Fragmentation of this magnitude contributes to the slow development of the trend, which still needs consolidation, establishing a "school" to take off in the global academia. Moreover, as Ella Shotat warned in her brilliant deconstruction of the postcolonial theory (1992), somewhat similar fragmentation and fundamental uncertainties are inherent to the nature of this approach, thus making its later adaptation to the postsocialist context twice as difficult.

The lack of clarity (certainly similar to many other post-directions of scholarship like poststructuralism and postmodernism) is closely related to design. However, I would like to distinguish it separately as a problem of practical appropriation and use of the postcolonial postsocialist approach. In this regard, the lack of clarity stems from the excessive complexity of certain fundamental concepts. An excellent example is the awkward positioning of the East European self as explained by Bogdan Ştefănescu, "between *three* instances of the Other, all of which are at the same time adversarial and contaminating: the West, the Soviet Union, and the 'Orient' (the colonial primitive)" (2012: 109). Also, mimicry from a feature of the research subject tends to become a feature of the theory: while colonial folkloristics is structured by clear divisions of race, language, orality and writing, the same divisions are all displaced and blurred in the Soviet disciplinary history. And last but not least, eager equitation of the Soviet Union and other colonial empires may obscure "important differences that pertain not only to political organization and administration but also social ideology, aesthetic taste, and moral intention" (Dzenovska 2013, 398–99; referring to Yurchak 2006; Slezkine 1994). This is just another facet of the clarity problem.

If problems of design and clarity are internal to the postsocialist postcolonial theory, positioning and timing are predominantly external problems related to its global perception. The problematic positioning of the theory unfolds through interrelated facets of location, hegemony, and authenticity. As discussed previously, the location of Eastern and Central Europe (and the Baltic States within it) "does not fit well" the tripartite world division historically fundamental to postcolonial theory and the roles assigned to each of the three worlds in the global order. Eastern Europe is neither West nor Orient. It might be also both of them simultaneously. From a global perspective, everything European is amalgamated into a fictional unity, while in reality the entire continent is fragmented and divided by significant differences and historical experience. Referring to one of the central works of postcolonial theory (i.e. Chakrabarty 2008), Maria Todorova rightly states that our task

> [...] consists not so much of "provincializing Europe" but in "deprovincializing Western Europe". Not only has Western Europe expropriated the category Europe with concrete political and moral consequences. In the academic sphere, this translates as the mandatory necessity on the part of East Europeanists to have a good grasp of the West European fields, and the sanctioned ignorance of West Europeanists about developments in the Eastern half of the continent. (Todorova 2019: 113; see also Ștefănescu 2012: 104)

The latter is a facet of hegemony, implicating asymmetric relationships in knowledge production. Nevertheless, of course, it is not just the problem of Baltic folkloristics or even Eastern European humanities. Knowledge hierarchy similarly distorts social sciences and agricultural studies (Jehlička et al. 2020). Again, last but not least, and strongly inspired by the same knowledge hierarchy, is the facet of authenticity. Neil Lazarus points out that it may easily lead to imitation of postcolonial approaches established in global academic centres, a faithful reproduction rather than challenging and questioning (Lazarus 2012: 118). Definitely, that does not contribute to the health of a theory.

The fourth challenge of postsocialist postcolonialism is related to the timing of its emergence. Again, as discussed previously, the consolidation of postcolonial studies in the late 1980s coincided with the liberation of East and Central Europe from communist oppression. Dorota Kołodziejczyk and Cristina Şandru here concisely summarize missed opportunities and some of the reasons as well:

> For reasons both political (anti-communist or, rather, anti-totalitarian dissidence in east-central Europe was much too often treated in the west as framed within right-wing politics, a largely erroneous attitude) and disciplinary (commitment to post-structuralist culturalism), postcolonial studies missed out on the chance in the 1980s and early 1990s to grasp the moment of insurgency and the ensuing process of change that would have provided interesting comparative material for subaltern studies, for resistance culture, for hybrid forms of ideological identification with and against socialism, for theorizing the antinomies of public and private space alongside the political and the sacred, and social inequality in the classless society. (Kołodziejczyk and Şandru 2012: 113–14)

It has been already thirty years since the postsocialist condition emerged and acquired the shape of postsocialist theory or at least discourse, often trying to join forces but developing in parallel to postcolonialism. Thirty years is about the same time that divided contemporary postcolonial theory from most anti-colonial liberation struggles in the second half of the twentieth century. In the meantime, postcolonialism seems to be increasingly more fragmented and losing its grounds.

Despite these four challenges, I still believe that Baltic postsocialist postcolonialism is a promising approach to disciplinary histories of folkloristics and related disciplines in this region. As such, it is already tested in three research projects at the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art, University of Latvia.

Bibliography

Albrecht, Monika (ed.). (2020). *Postcolonialism Cross-Examined: Multidirectional Perspectives on Imperial and Colonial Pasts and the Neocolonial Present*. London, New York: Routledge.

Annus, Epp (2012). The Problem of Soviet Colonialism in the Baltics. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, No. 43(1), pp. 21–45.

Annus, Epp (2016). Between Arts and Politics: A Postcolonial View on Baltic Cultures of the Soviet Era. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, No. 47(1), pp. 1–13.

Annus, Epp (2018). *Soviet Postcolonial Studies: A View from the Western Borderlands.* London, New York: Routledge.

Ashcroft, Bill, Griffiths, Gareth, Tiffin, Helen (2013). *Postcolonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. Third edition. London, New York: Routledge.

Balockaite, Rasa (2016). Bourgeoisie as Internal Orient in the Soviet Lithuanian Literature: *Roses Are Red* by A. Bieliauskas, 1959. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, No. 47(1), pp. 77–91.

Beissinger, Mark R. (2009). Nationalism and the Collapse of Soviet Communism. *Contemporary European History*, No. 18(3), pp. 331–47.

Bērzkalne, Anna (1948). *Manas agrākās un tagadējās metodes folklorā*. Public lecture. Rīga: Lavijas Valsts Universitāte, Filoloģijas fakultāte.

Bhabha, Homi K. (2004). *The Location of Culture*. London, New York: Routledge.

Boym, Svetlana (1994). *Common Places: Mythologies of Everyday Life in Russia*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Briggs, Charles L., Sadhana, Naithani (2012). The Coloniality of Folklore: Towards a Multi-Genealogical Practice of Folkloristics. S*tudies in History*, No. 28(2), pp. 231–70.

Brīvzemnieks (Treiland), Fricis (1881). Materialy po Jetnografii Latyshskogo Plemeni. Trudy Jetnograficheskogo Otdela 4. Moskva: Imperatorskoe Obshhestvo Ljubitelej Estestvoznanija, Antropologii i Jetnografii.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh (2008). P*rovincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chari, Sharad, Verdery, Katherine (2009). Thinking between the Posts: Postcolonialism, Postsocialism, and Ethnography after the Cold War. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, No. 51(1), pp. 6–34.

Connor, Walker (1984). *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

David-Fox, Michael (2016). Modernost' v Rossii i SSSR: Otsutstvujushhaja, Obshhaja, Al'ternativnaja Ili Perepletennaja? *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie* 140. Available: https://www.nlobooks.ru/magazines/novoe_literaturnoe_obozrenie/140_nlo_4_2016/article/12048/ [Accessed 03.11.2021.].

Davoliūtė, Violeta (2016). The Sovietization of Lithuania after WWII: Modernization, Transculturation, and the Lettered City. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, No. 47(1), pp. 49–63.

Dzenovska, Dace (2013). Historical Agency and the Coloniality of Power in Postsocialist Europe. *Anthropological Theory*, No. 13(4), pp. 394–416.

Etkind, Aleksandr (2011). *Internal Colonization: Russia's Imperial Experience.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Feindt, Gregor (2018). Making and Unmaking Socialist Modernities: Seven Interventions into the Writing of Contemporary History on Central and Eastern Europe. Terhoeven, Petra (ed.). *Victimhood and Acknowledgement*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter. pp. 133–154.

García Canclini, Néstor (2005). *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Gorbunovs, Anatolijs (1992). Padomju koloniālās polītikas Latvijā radītās sekas nevar legalizēt kā likumīgas. *Laiks*, 3.10., 3.lpp

Grill, Jan (2015). Struggles for the Folk. Politics of Culture in Czechoslovak Ethnography, 1940s–1950s. *History and Anthropology*, No. 26(5), pp. 619–638.

Herzog, Philipp (2010). 'National in Form and Socialist in Content' or Rather 'Socialist in Form and National in Content'?: The 'Amateur Art System' and the Cultivation of 'Folk Art' in Soviet Estonia. *Narodna Umjetnost—Hrvatski Časopis Za Etnologiju i Folkloristiku*, No. 47, pp. 115–140.

Hirsch, Francine (2005). *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge & the Making of the Soviet Union*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Jehlička, Petr, Grīviņš, Miķelis, Visser, Oane, and Balázs, Bálint (2020). Thinking Food like an East European: A Critical Reflection on the Framing of Food Systems. *Journal of Rural Studies*, No. 76 (May), pp. 286–295.

Bibliography

Kalnačs, Benedikts (2011). B*altijas postkoloniālā drāma: modernitāte, koloniālisms un postkoloniālisms latviešu, igauņu un lietuviešu dramaturģijā*. Rīga: LU Literatūras, folkloras un mākslas institūts.

Kalnačs, Benedikts (2016a). *20th Century Baltic Drama: Postcolonial Narratives, Decolonial Options*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag.

Kalnačs, Benedikts (2016b). Comparing Colonial Differences: Baltic Literary Cultures as Agencies of Europe's Internal Others. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, No. 47(1), pp. 15–30.

Kalnačs, Benedikts (2020a). Latvian Multiculturalism and Postcolonialism. Albrecht Monika (ed). *Postcolonialism Cross-Examined: Multidirectional Perspectives on Imperial and Colonial Pasts and the Neocolonial Present*. London, New York: Routledge, pp. 255–268.

Kalnačs, Benedikts (2020b). Soviet Colonial Modernity and the Everyday in Twenty-First Century Latvian Literature. *Interlitteraria*, No. 24(2), pp. 408–422.

Kangilaski, Jaak (2016). Postcolonial Theory as a Means to Understand Estonian Art History. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, No. 47(1), pp. 31–47.

Kapper, Sille (2016). Post-Colonial Folk Dancing: Reflections on the Impact of Stage Folk Dance Style on Traditional Folk Dance Variation in Soviet and Post-Soviet Estonia. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, No. 47(1), pp. 93–111.

Kelertas, Violeta (ed.) (2006a). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Kelertas, Violeta (2006b). Introduction: Baltic Postcolonialism and Its Critics. Kelertas, Violeta (ed.) *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 1–10.

Ķencis, Toms (2012). *A Disciplinary History of Latvian Mythology*. Tartu: University of Tartu Press.

Ķencis, Toms (2019a). Radošais pagrieziens latviešu folkloristikā. *Letonica*, Nr. 39, 40.–58. lpp.

Ķencis, Toms (2019b). *Vācot padomju folkloru*. Rīga: LU Literatūras, folkloras un mākslas institūts.

Kokare, Elza (1978). *Internacionālais un nacionālais latviešu sakāmvārdos un parunās*. Rīga: Zinātne.

Kołodziejczyk, Dorota, and Cristina Şandru (2012). Introduction: On Colonialism, Communism and East-Central Europe—Some Reflections. *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, No. 48(2), pp. 113–116.

Kołodziejczyk, Dorota, Şandru, Cristina (eds.) (2016). *Postcolonial Perspectives on Postcommunism in Central and Eastern Europe*. London, New York: Routledge.

Korek, Janusz (2009). Central and Eastern Europe from a Postcolonial Perspective. *Postcolonial Europe*. Available: http://www.postcolonial-europe.eu/index.php/en/essays/60--central-and-eastern-europe-from-a-postcolonial-perspective [Accessed 16.09.2019.].

Kulasalu, Kaisa (2013). Immoral Obscenity: Censorship of Folklore Manuscript Collections in Late Stalinist Estonia. *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, No. 7(1), pp. 65–81.

Kulasalu, Kaisa (2017). From Estonian Folklore Archives to Folklore Department of the State Literary Museum: Sovietization of Folkloristics in Late Stalinist Estonia. Bula, Dace, Laime, Sandis (eds.) *Mapping the History of Folklore Studies: Centres, Borderlands and Shared Spaces*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 132–153.

Kuutma, Kristin (2016). From Folklore to Intangible Heritage. Logan, William, Nic Craith, Miirdad, Kockel, Ullrich (eds.). *A Componion to Heritage Studies*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 41–54.

Lacan, Jacques. 1998. *The Seminar of Jaques Lacan Book XI: The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*. Transl. with notes by Bruce Fink. New York: W. W. Norton.

Langer, Kaisa (2021). Becoming a Folklorist in Early Soviet Estonia: Learning the Rhetoric of the Socialist Research. *Cultural Analysis*, No. 19(2), pp. 6–33.

Lazarus, Neil (2011). *The Postcolonial Unconscious*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lazarus, Neil (2012). Spectres Haunting: Postcommunism and Postcolonialism. *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, No. 48(2), pp. 117–129.

Leerssen, Joep (2010). *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Medne, Alma, Arājs, Kārlis (1977). *Latviešu pasaku tipu rādītājs*. Rīga: Zinātne.

Moore, David Chioni (2006). Is the Post- in Postcolonial the Post- in Post-Soviet? Toward a Global Postcolonial Critique. Kelertas, Violeta (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 11–43.

Bibliography

Naithani, Sadhana (2010). *The Story-Time of the British Empire: Colonial and Postcolonial Folkloristics*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

Niedre, Jānis (1948a). *Latviešu folklora*. Rīga: Latvijas valsts izdevniecība.

Niedre, Jānis (1948b). Docentes Annas Bērzkalnes 'Lieta.' *Literatūra un Māksla*, 16.05., 6. lpp

Osterhammel, Jürgen (2009). *Kolonialismus: Geschichte—Formen—Folgen. 6*., Durchges. Aufl., Orig.-Ausg. Beck'sche Reihe C.-H.-Beck-Wissen 2002. München: Beck.

Peiker, Piret (2016). Estonian Nationalism through the Postcolonial Lens. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, No. 47(1), pp. 113–132.

Pyzik, Agata (2014). *Poor but Sexy: Culture Clashes in Europe East and West*. Winchester: Zero Books.

Račevskis, Kārlis (2006). Toward a Postcolonial Perspective on the Baltic States. Kelertas, Violeta (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 165–186.

Rangan, Pooja, Chow, Rey (2013). Race, Racism, and Postcoloniality. Huggan, Graham (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Postcolonial Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 397–412.

Reid, Susan Emily, Crowley, David (eds.) (2000). Style and Socialism: *Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe*. Oxford, New York: Berg.

Said, Edward W. (2003). *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books.

Şandru, Cristina (2012). *Worlds Apart? A Postcolonial Reading of Post-1945 East-Central European Culture*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Savoniakaitė, Vida (2019). The Regional Studies Movement in Soviet Lithuania. *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, No. 13(2), pp. 71–89 .

Shkandrij, Myroslav (2014). *Russia and Ukraine: Literature and the Discourse of Empire from Napoleonic to Postcolonial Times*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Shohat, Ella (1992). Notes on the 'Post-Colonial.' *Social Text*, No. 31/32, pp. 99–113.

Slezkine, Yuri (1994). The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism. *Slavic Review*, No. 53(2), pp. 414–452.

Ştefănescu, Bogdan (2012). Postcommunism, *Postcolonialism: Siblings of Subalternity*. București: Editura Universității din București.

Thaden, Edward C., Thaden, Marianna Forster (1984). *Russia's Western Borderlands, 1710-1870*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Todorova, Maria (2019). Balkanism and Postcolonialism or On the Beauty of the Airplane View. *Scaling the Balkans: Essays on Eastern European Entanglements*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, pp. 93–114.

Verdery, Katherine (1995). *National Ideology under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceaușescu's Romania*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Yurchak, Alexei (2006). *Everything Was Forever, until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Baltijas postkoloniālisms: Folkloristikas nozares vēstures iespēja

Toms Ķencis

Atslēgvārdi: Baltijas postkoloniālisms, folkloristikas vēsture, koloniālisms, postsociālisms, Padomju Latvija

Postkoloniālisms ir viens no 21. gadsimta sākuma vadošajiem virzieniem humanitārajās zinātnēs. Tomēr bijusī "Otrā pasaule", tai skaitā Baltijas valstis un citas Padomju Savienības okupētās teritorijas, ir vēsturiski problemātisks izaicinājums postkoloniālajai teorijai, kas liek kritiski pārlūkot ar rases reprezentācijām vai konkrētiem vēsturiski ekonomiskiem apstākļiem saistītus pamatprincipus. Tagadējās postsociālisma valstīs postkoloniālā teorija var tikt pieņemta tikai ar virkni atrunu. Postsociālisma postkoloniālā teorija un Baltijas postkoloniālisms kā šīs teorijas jaunākais atzars tomēr liecina, ka tā ir efektīva un daudzsološa pieeja padomju pagātnes analīzei.

Postsociālisma postkoloniālā teorija var kļūt par veidu, kā paskatīties uz folkloristikas kā nozares vēsturi padomju okupācijas laikā. Raksta autors ar šādu nolūku piedāvā pārlūkot astoņus teorētiskos principus, kurus no folkloristikas vēstures Britu Impērijā savulaik ir atvedinājusi pētniece Sadhana Naithani. Baltijas postkoloniālisms ir pieeja, kas ļautu šos principus adaptēt Baltijas un citu postsociālisma valstu folkloristikas vēstures pētniecībai. Tas radītu instrumentu kopumu padziļinātai nozares vēstures analīzei – stingru teorētisko pamatu, ko sniedz pārskatīta postkoloniālā teorija un jēdzieni, kas ļauj precīzi attēlot pagātnes daudznozīmīgās un pretrunīgās atbalsis pētniecībā mūsdienās. Vienlaikus Baltijas postkoloniālisma pieejas plašam lietojumam ir vismaz četri ievērojami šķēršļi: teorijas fragmentārā uzbūve, bieža jēdzieniskā neskaidrība un sarežģītība, problemātisks rašanās un lietojuma laiks un ideoloģiskais tēls mērķa valstīs.

DOI: 10.35539/LTNC.2021.0043.R.G.30.58

Latvian Folklorists in Late Socialism: Within the Workplace

Rita Grīnvalde

This research was funded by the Latvian Council of Science, project "New approaches to the history of Latvian folkloristics", project No. lzp-2020/2-0315.

Keywords: *Vārds un Darbs*, institutional ethnography, Institute of Language and Literature at the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, history of Latvian folkloristics, Brezhnev era

Introduction

In the USSR, a serious share of the late socialism years passed while Leonid Brezhnev performed his duties of General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1964–1982). This period was praised by the regime itself as *developed socialism* (see Evans 1977, Thompson 2019); however, later it was labelled as the "Era of Stagnation".[1] There have been many studies on the fallacies of his leadership, policy-making, foreign policy, stunning bureaucracy, and the senseless centrally-planned economics. The Soviet system's crisis combined with the leader's longevity in the position (seemingly personally demonstrating his idea of "stability of cadres" of Party nomenclature in the State apparatus) has been pictured as *Brezhnev's twilight* (Cherkasov 2005, Tompson 2014: 111).

The Soviet period in Latvian folkloristics started right after World War II ended.[2] It lived with the times of the Soviet leaders: first, Joseph Stalin's totalitarian period (1945–1953), the Thaw and de-Stalinization during Nikita Khrushchev's rule (1953–1964), then two decades under Leonid Brezhnev which were followed by short reigns of Yuri Andropov (1982–1984) and Konstantin Chernenko (1984–1985). Mikhail Gorbachev's time (1985–1991) and his *perestroika* ended the Soviet period. The late socialism period, the years after Stalin and before Gorbachev's restructuring policy, have so far been little studied.

From the perspective of everyday life of people conditioned to be Soviet citizens, the sense of time and geopolitics in late socialism is probably best characterized by Alexei Yurchak in his influential work, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*: "[...] the period that spanned approximately thirty years, between the mid-1950s and the mid-1980s, before the changes of perestroika began, when the system was still being experienced as eternal." (Yurchak 2005: 4) Nonetheless, despite the lack of a reasonable future perspective and the stoppage of time felt by the

1 *Stagnation* is primarily a term of economy, designating the severe socioeconomic downturn of the USSR under Brezhnev. (Bialer 1984: 160–162) The coinage of the term era of stagnation (*zastoi*) is attributed to the critical expressions of Mikhail Gorbachev and his fellows of the "new thinking" towards the previous decades. (Sandle 2002)

2 During the first Soviet occupation (1940–1941), institutional changes did not affect the Archives of Latvian Folklore (1924) yet, neither the ideology of the Soviet regime could be induced in folklore research.

citizens, there is some nostalgia in memories of the past Soviet socialist times and the enjoyed limited personal freedoms. Thus, the Brezhnev period is remembered also "as a time when citizens could lead a secure and predictable life, where living standards were rising every year, and where their children could receive a good education and expect stable careers. [...] Ideology was a deadening presence—but it was alleviated through cynicism and humor" (Rutland, Smolkin-Rothrock 2014: 300).

For scholars and other intellectuals, the Brezhnev era was a complicated and contradictory period. Despite the initial continuation of the Khrushchev Thaw's course and détente between 1969 and 1974 which expanded Soviet-Western ties and eased the tense atmosphere of the Cold War, Leonid Brezhnev quite early, namely, at the crushing of the Prague Spring in 1968, demonstrated that near-term liberalization of the Soviet system would not be tolerated.

> From the outset, ideological controls remained much tighter. The media and culture were never so openly bold or experimental as they had been a decade before. Outwardly, at least, the Party enforced stricter orthodoxy in intellectual life. Dissidence was harshly repressed and periodic conservative attacks kept reformist-Westernizing thought on the defensive. (English 2000: 118)

The brief period of Brezhnev's "flirtation with intellectuals" from 1964–1967 was notable for an increasing role of professional competence instead of political loyalty when selecting intellectuals for scientific work (Shlapentokh 1990: 172). The Prague events in May of 1968 still changed the attitudes towards the intellectual community—they were seen now as a principal threat to power. A long-term ideological campaign against Soviet intellectuals downgrading the image of the intelligentsia was launched, at the same time, and the glorification of the working class was reinforced. Brezhnev's policy intended to eliminate any serious political dissent among intellectuals. The plan included: (1) direct Party control over intellectuals; (2) political criteria applied for possible intellectual careers (even in high schools, political loyalty was checked openly); (3) inclusion of leading intellectuals in the Party; (4) involvement in direct cooperation with the KGB; (5) pressure for active participation of intellectuals in the ideological work and ideological education of academics. (Shlapentokh 1990: 173–180). Along with all of that, there was also financial pressure on to people with higher education as intellectual work was markedly less well paid than that of the workers in industry (Baras 1974: 174, BR_3). There are studies concluding that these suppressive mechanisms led to a demoralization and mediocratization of Soviet intellectuals and also facilitated their pessimistic self-view during Brezhnev's time (Shlapentokh 1990: 183–184).

In this study, I would like to demonstrate the opportunities of a close-up examination of one particular workplace of the so-called Soviet intelligentsia during late socialism, respectively, its various modes and connections, as presented by their internal do-it-yourself magazine, *Vārds un Darbs* (Word and Work) (VuD). In terms of time, the focus of the study is mainly on Brezhnev's era. The organization examined is the Folklore Sector (since 1980, "Folklore Department") of the Institute of Language and Literature at the Latvian SSR Academy of

Sciences.[3] This magazine is both exciting to read and a valuable source for the disciplinary history of Latvian folkloristics as well as other branches of humanities, such as literary studies, linguistics, and art, that were developed at the Institute during the late socialist period. The basic research question of my study is: how was the everyday life of Latvian folklorists arranged in late Soviet socialism? Some supplementary questions are: how was the power of the State manifested through the institutional practices? What hierarchies did folklorists form or were involved in at their workplace? What were the junction points between work life and leisure time?

To answer these questions, the methodology of institutional ethnography seems reasonably applicable. Having started in the late 20th century within the theoretical field of feminist sociology (Smith 1987), it is ever thriving and evolving. By exploring the textually-mediated social relations within a duty-centred organization ("ruling relations", power relations), the institutional ethnography always illuminates work experiences in a broader context, respectively, it strives to bring the observations done at microlevel, typically, the level of an individual, to meso- and macrolevels (Devault 2006: 294–296, Holstein 2006: 293, Lundberg, Sataøen 2019, Russell 2018: xiii–xv). In other words, it studies "an issue that might be felt or experienced by an individual but the focus is not on the individual's experience of an issue. The focus is on explicating the social relations shaping the issue as experienced by multiple stakeholders and observers of the issue" (Wright et al. 2018: 116). Keeping in mind the importance of "zooming out a camera lens" (Miley 2017: 104), consequently, in this article, I will dissect daily work routines of the socialist era folklorists from the perspectives of multiple players. Although many names and microhistories will be given, my intention is to give an overall picture how it was to be a folklore researcher or, more broadly, a performer of the intellectual work, during the long Brezhnev era and beyond the end of his rule.

The textual units produced and circulated within the organizations, may they be public announcements, minutes of meetings, e-mails, academic works, or, as in this case, an internal magazine of an academic institution, are seen by the researchers of institutional ethnography as crucial sources to be investigated:

> Texts are critical sources of information in IE research because they reveal how power, in its many forms, is embedded within social institutions and structures. [...] Symbolically, texts function to organize and dictate social and cultural space for individuals and groups because they rely on shared beliefs and ways of expressing those beliefs. Texts transport power in ideologies and practices across sites and among people. (Wright et al. 2018: 120)

In addition to textual studies of *Vārds un Darbs*, semi-structured quality interviews with the employees of the Institute will be analysed and integrated into the interpretation. These

3 For a more concise expression, further in this article, I will use just 'Institute' when referring to the whole research institution and, in many cases, just 'Department' when referring to the Department of Folklore in particular.

interviews were conducted over the past few years and form a collection of oral history of Latvian folkloristics (LFK [2250]). They reveal a variety of personal experience stories related to the workplace; however, memories on the Institute's magazine *Vārds un Darbs* appear only in some of them.[4]

The aspects of Soviet ideology will be analysed with the help of Soviet postcolonial studies (Annus 2014, 2018, et al.). Understanding scholars' professional lives in certain political conditionality is one of my far-reaching intentions. An additional objective is to introduce a new and specific source, magazine *Vārds un Darbs*, to the historiography of Latvian folkloristics.

I will first introduce to the institution under study, its structure, prime functional mechanisms and premises. Thereafter, *Vārds un Darbs*, the internal magazine of the Institute of Language and Literature, will be viewed from in terms of form and trends in content. Next, colonial layers of Soviet ideology, as manifested in the magazine, will be detected and analysed. Finally, I will focus on the particular workplace, the Folklore Department. Interrelationships of folklorists, highlights of their collective work, and other activities, noticed by the magazine or underscored in the interviews with contemporaries, will be explored.

The Institute of Language and Literature at the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences: The Workplace and its Communities

The Institute of Language and Literature was established in 1946 at the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences which was founded in the same year. It started as a research institution for linguistic and literature studies, and the basis for the Latvian Language Sector was the former Archives of Latvian Language (1935; previously developed under the auspices of the Archives of Latvian Folklore). In 1956, the Folklore Sector was added to the Institute. It was a successor of the Archives of Latvian Folklore (1924) which had already undergone several institutional changes after World War II. In 1945, renamed as the Institute of Folklore, it came under the authority of the Latvian State University. In 1946, the Institute of Folklore was included into the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences. In 1950, it became a part of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences which split in 1956.[5]

4 The collection LFK [2250] consists mainly of life story interviews with folklorists. The topics cover family histories, personal developments in education and research, experiences in the working life at the Institute of Language and Literature at the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences.

5 In 1992, the Institute was reorganized into the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia. That was also the year when the historical name of the Archives of Latvian Folklore (Latviešu folkloras krātuve) was retrieved back.

From 1971 to 1990, the Institute of Language and Literature was named after its first Director (1946–1951), literary scholar, critic, and a renowned writer of socialist realism, Andrejs Upīts. Directors who took office after him were: Ēvalds Sokols (1951–1962), Jānis Kalniņš (1962–1983), and Viktors Hausmanis (1983–1999). The long-term Head of the Folklore Sector was Elza Kokare (1953–1985) whose role was later handed to Jadviga Darbiniece (1985–1993). The Institute constantly evolved, increasing the number of the research areas and creating new institutional units, respectively, departments. Shortly before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the structure of the Institute comprised several specialized departments of around 200 employees altogether: history of literature; theory of literature; folklore studies; dialectology and Latvian literary language; scientific dictionaries; fine arts; theatrical and musical arts, and the art of the cinema. The Department of Mathematical Linguistics was also a structural unit for many years. Alongside the directorate, administration and departments, the crucial functional structures were the academic council, the council for hearing the defense of doctoral and candidate dissertations, several task groups (on speech culture, terminology, musical art, etc.), committees of the Trade Union, and, at the late stage of the socialism period, also a group of young scholars (See Martirosyan et al. 2019).

The Institute's scientific development, its methodological and research organizational work, was supervised by the Department of Social Sciences of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences. This department of the Academy was responsible for approving Institute's research directions, the five-year plans, and the main tasks for each year (LVA 2370. f., 1. apr., 508.a l., 1. lp.). The Statutes, even approved as late as in 1988, on the eve of Latvia's independence, summed up the research and ideological practice of the Institute during the long period of socialism:

> The main tasks of the Institute are: to concentrate its efforts on the research of priority directions, to carry out fundamental research, which is of particular importance in ideological work and the development of Latvian culture; to work actively to put research results into practice; to follow the achievements of world science in the fields of philology and arts; to promote their use in building of communism in the USSR; to set the basic directions of the development of philology and arts for a longer period of time; to prepare the research cadres of the highest qualification; to improve the forms of research work. A. Upīts' Institute of Language and Literature is responsible for the high quality of research as well as for creating conditions for the maximum use of the creative abilities of the researchers' collective. (LVA 2370. f., 1. apr., 508.a l., 1. lp.)

There were several practical mechanisms introduced to maintain and raise the set research quality standards. The staff was encouraged to engage in the Institute's methodological seminars. The ones focusing on folkloristics were chaired by Elza Kokare and sometimes by Jadviga Darbiniece. These seminars provided insight into methodological history and actualities in the discipline, including Finno-Ugric comparative folklore studies, Freud's psychoanalysis, current research trends in American folkloristics, and novelties in Soviet scholarship. Lectures were given not only by the chairs, but also by other folklorists, like Kārlis Arājs, Alma Ancelāne, Ojārs Ambainis, Rita Drīzule, Elga Melne, Māra Vīksna (VuD

1970/3: 19–21; 1976/2: 71–73; 1978/2: 2–7; 1980/2: 2–5). The manuscripts prepared by the researchers were very carefully discussed among the colleagues at the departments—page by page. "After the work was discussed, the author was very confident because he had received all the possible criticism he could" (JD). Another training mechanism provided by the Institute to the achievers was the opportunity to go on academic trips to other republics of the Soviet Union to do research in libraries or archives. Moscow, with its rich collections of books at the scientific libraries, was a particularly popular destination. (AR, JD)

The Internal Work Regulations of the Institute followed a "communist attitude towards work" recognizing, as necessary, strict daily discipline and careful supervision of employees' individual work done as well as the execution of institutional overall plans. The work ethic necessitated full-time on-site presence on the Institute's premises and well-defined working hours. Employees had to arrive at work no later than 8:15 in the morning and leave no earlier than 17:15 in the afternoon. There was a half-hour break at noon (at 13:00–13:30). Staff arrivals and departures from the office were accounted in a special journal. The administration, heads of departments and sometimes the director himself were involved in monitoring the discipline of attendance (LVA 2370. f., 1. apr., 486. l., cf. AR, EO, JD).

Sharing all the working days, seeing one's colleagues on daily basis, having an opportunity of communication, exchanging intellectual views and recent cultural experiences were remembered by the Institute's employees of that time as a factor contributing to a sense of community and belonging (AR, VH, EM). The exclusively intellectual atmosphere has been described as very tempting and, to some degree, even as elitist:

> If you were lucky enough to work at the Institute, it was like big bingo. [...] It was almost a dream level. Not the status that he will be a scientist. If a person wanted to work in science, then it was almost the only option. The University was somewhat less likely to do so, because there were still lectures to be given there. [...] Its elitist tone. If you have been accepted at that Institute, you have been admitted, you are willing to work really as it was used on board in the old days, from a boy rubbing a deck, then a sailor, then a boatman, maybe, and so on. [...] You have wanted to work in science, and you are willing to work in science, from the first degree upwards, as far as your head will allow. (AR)

However, the elitism was, for the most part, intellectual. The researchers had some privileges, like access to so-called "special funds" in libraries. These were allowed only within the scope of their study topic though (AR). The special funds were secret and inaccessible to the general audience. They were formed by almost entirely printed matter from interwar period and the time of Nazi occupation, also by unwanted works of Latvian and foreign authors who had expressed criticism towards Soviet rule. Private libraries of many intellectuals, like university staff, who emigrated to the West, were also included into special funds. So were books and newspapers printed by the exile Latvian communities (confiscated by the censorship from citizens' private correspondences). The lists of the "harmful" literature were made by the Latvian SSR Glavlit office (Laukgale 2002: 189–190, Strods 2007: 434–438, Treide 2007: 124–125, 149–152). Representing the intelligentsia stratum, the staff of the Institute did not experience many

practical life privileges (BR_3, AR, VH). In the Soviet Union, the privileged life-style and special elite benefits covering a whole series of goods and services were made available to very few occupational groups (see Matthews 2011). Among Soviet scholars, only some scientists could enjoy the super-elite privileges, such as preferential access to housing and shopping at special stores unavailable to the ordinary consumer (Baras 1974: 174).

The location of the Institute of Language and Literature during the most part of Soviet socialism period was quite significant. Previously residing at various addresses in Riga, in 1963, the Institute eventually was deployed in the newly built (1958) skyscraper, the building of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, which is located near the city center, at *Turgeņeva iela* 19.[6] Planned as a Collective Farm House (*Kolhoznieku nams*), after the construction work was fully completed, the skyscraper was put at the Latvian SSR scientific bodies' disposal and was even referred to as "the Palace of Science".

The building embodied not only the leading architectural style in the Soviet Union (Socialist Classicism, Stalinist Empire style), but also ideological currents. The project itself was an act of Stalinist propaganda. The building was a Soviet version of early American skyscrapers. The architects were Osvalds Tīlmanis, Vaidelotis Apsītis, and Kārlis Plūksne. Without criticism, obeying the demands of totalitarian power, they adapted the prototype of Soviet architecture created in Moscow.[7] In the interior decoration, Latvian national ornaments were twisted together with symbols of Soviet ideology. The peak of the building was decorated with a five-pointed star (Apsītis 1997, Stradiņš 2009: 109–112). This Stalinist architecture high-rise was uncharacteristic for Riga skyline. In popular use, it received names like "Stalin's Cake", "Stalin's Tooth", and "Kremlin".

The Institute inhabited the 3rd, 9th, 13th, 14th, and 15th floors of this ideologically marked building, the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences. The premises of the Folklore Sector were on the 3rd floor where archival holdings were stored and on the 15th floor where the offices of researchers and typewriters were located. The site was convenient for the research institutes inhabiting the Academy for several reasons. First, they were close to the representatives of Soviet science policy in the Latvian SSR, namely, management and administration of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences. Second, the building housed a variety of support structures, like the branch of the Fundamental Library and the science publishing house *Zinātne*. The environment provided not only scheduled but also accidental meetings and conversations with people from other departments and institutions. Often small talk took place while on daily routines, like taking the elevator or standing in line at the canteen during the lunch break.

Part of the occupants of the building represented directly the ruling Soviet regime and its oppressive policies. Still in the 1960s, all the supervisors and administrators of the building

6 Present day, Akadēmijas laukums 1.

7 The architectural prototype in Moscow was the group of skyscrapers, Seven Sisters, its main building being the Moscow State University. Similar high-rise buildings were built in Warsaw, Prague and Bucharest as a gift from the Soviet government. (Stradiņš 2009: 109)

were veterans of the so-called Great Patriotic War (World War II, according the Soviet ideological designation). However, the ideological flashpoint was the Second Department located on the 2nd floor. "This Department II cabinet was closely linked to the KGB and executed the instructions given from above. Vigilant people were in all editorial offices to prevent anything unauthorized from reaching the public" (Vīksna 2021).

The presence of the representatives of the Committee for State Security of the Latvian SSR, or the KGB (from Russian *Komitet gosudarstvennoj bezopasnosti*, in Latvian colloquially, *čeka*), in the building of the Academy of Sciences was a well-known fact. The Institute of Language and Literature and other institutes, too, were under the supervision of its cadres. Certain issues, such as contacts with foreign scientists and trips abroad, definitely had to be agreed with the Second Department. However, the Department's mechanisms and purposes of action were cryptic both to the Director of the Institute and the staff. The Second Department acted discreetly and secretly. Thus, for example, when they had to collect information about an employee of the institute, they took ten personal files instead of one file, so that the secretary or the Director, or anybody else would not know in which individual the KGB was interested this time (VH).

Awareness of being watched created background of constant precautionary and an atmosphere of suspicion. It was general knowledge that, in the Soviet Union, there were the KGB informants from within every organization. As later confirmed also in personal memories, the KGB made offers to the staff of the institute to cooperate by informing from within (Eversone 2019: 303). People had to live in suspicion: "Which of our colleagues is the informant?" A psychological habit developed of silencing one's own expressions, especially on ideological sensitivities, because one could never be certain that these statements would not be referred to the KGB (VH, MV).

There were some cases when folklorists came into confrontation with the KGB and had to reckon with the consequences. In 1972, an "unauthorized amateur activity" ("Midsummer case", as designated by folklorists themselves) was found among the employees of the Institute. The reason was the celebration of unauthorized summer and winter solstice celebrations, also thematic educational evenings together with Lithuanian colleagues, respectively, potentially national gatherings which took place in Riga, Lielvircava, Garkalne and Vecpiebalga. As an anti-Soviet initiative it was denounced as was the learning of old choreographies and songs "of nationalistic contents" in the premises of the Academy of Sciences. Punishment and consequences were especially felt by Beatrise Reidzāne whose employment at the Folklore Department was terminated. In her home, the KGB conducted a search for the storage of prohibited literature. Another consequence of the incident was the cancellation of a planned academic trip to Helsinki by the Head of the Department, Elza Kokare. She was invited to give a lecture course in comparative proverb research at the University of Helsinki in the academic year 1973/1974, to which she already was seriously preparing (BR_1, BR_2, MV, Reidzāne 2011: 133–136). Musicologist Vilis Bendorfs, in his turn, was interrogated by the KGB due to the activities of the folklore movement in Latvia. (VB)

Vārds un Darbs: Community Communications

A communication platform which unified Institute structures and employees of the various departments for several decades was the institution's internal magazine, *Vārds un Darbs*. Its title (Word and Work), most probably, manifested the ethos of keeping promises, one's words being followed by according works. It could also imply the floor given to express oneself and to address the audience (word) as well as present the collective work.[8] The first issue of the magazine came out at the end of 1965. The magazine published 81 issues altogether, the last coming out in 1988. The plan was to prepare and print the magazine quarterly. However, it did not always succeed and the magazine's frequency was variable. There was only one issue at the very beginning (1965), none in 1987 and one in the last year (1988). The circulation of the Institute's internal magazine was 10 total copies. The typewritten mimeographed copies were distributed among the departments, respectively, different offices of the employees. "Then the magazine wandered from room to room in each sector. Some articles were discussed, some were ignored" (Vīksna 2021). These days, there are two entire collections of the magazine saved by the former neighbour departments of the Institute, namely, by folklorists and linguists.[9] Due to relatively low availability, it has not been much integrated into research.[10]

As indicated on the title pages, it was a publication of the Institute's directorate and public organizations. The organizations which operated under the institutional umbrella gradually branched out. By the end of 1980s, there were the following organizations indicated in the magazine (VuD 1988/1: 24–25): the Primary Party Organization, which was the lowest level in the hierarchy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Party's "eyes and ears" at the grass-roots level within any collective (Smith 1988: 65); the Trade Union, which consisted of several committees with specific functional areas represented, like culture, production, mass organization, social security, and benefits; the paramilitary sport organization, Volunteer Society for Cooperation with the Army, Aviation, and Navy (DOSAAF); the Veterans' Council; the Society for Protecting Nature and Monuments in the Latvian SSR; the Primary Young Communist Organization; and the Council for young Scholars.

8 Anita Rožkalne (b. 1956), literary historian and the editor of the last issue of *Vārds un Darbs*, offered a different and creative interpretation of the title's semantics: "Maybe *Word and Work* means our written and spoken word turning into our joint cultural work?" (VuD 1988/1: 2)

9 The saved sets of the magazine *Vārds un Darbs* are stored accordingly in the holdings of the Archives of Latvian Folklore, Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia (since 2014, located at Mūkusalas iela 3, Riga) and at the Latvian Language Institute of the University of Latvia (since 2021, at Kalpaka bulvāris 4, Riga). Additionally, there are several issues of the magazine available at the Academic Library of the University of Latvia, at its Misiņš Library. Later academic journals of both institutes, *Letonica* (from 1998 to this day) and *Linguistica Lettica* (from 1997 to this day), in their beginnings, somewhat reflected the traditions of the magazine, *Vārds un Darbs*. This was observed in the presence of sections such as "Congratulations", "Academic Life", and the chronicles of the institutional history.

10 Just a couple of cases the magazine has been used as a historical or linguistic reference source in research publications (see Baltiņa 1976: 126; Vīksna 2006: 102, 108; Bušs, Ernstsone 2006). The most recent study of *Vārds un Darbs* is demonstrated in the written-source-based memoirs by former Director of the Institute, Viktors Hausmanis (b. 1931, in office 1983–1999; Hausmanis 2020).

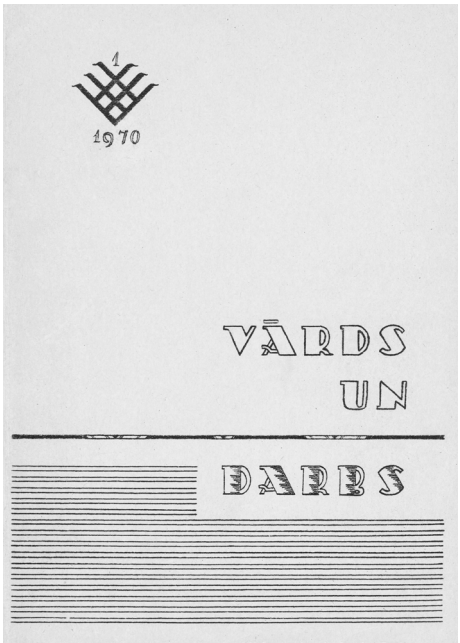


Fig. 1. The first issue of *Vārds un Darbs* (1965)

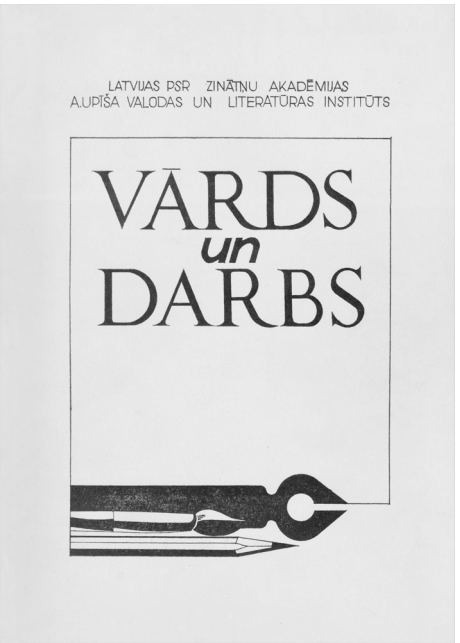


Fig. 2. The last issue of *Vārds un Darbs* (1988)

The editorial board of *Vārds un Darbs* changed occasionally. There were up to ten people representing the diverse departments of the Institute. From the Folklore Department, the editorial posts were taken by Jāzeps Rudzītis, Kārlis Arājs, Marija Banga, Maija Ligere, Iveta Politere. Among authors, one can see quite a variety; however, some were more prone to perform the duties of local journalists. The editors in charge addressed their colleagues to prepare chronicles of academic events and write on certain topics, such as anniversaries of life and work of other fellows, annual fieldworks, research conferences, trips abroad, defended dissertations, reviews of publications, obituaries, and so on. The authors' responsiveness and involvement could be regarded as acts of collegiate solidarity. "It was not a formal event; it was like this: let's put together what everyone has done now!" (AR).

The magazine *Vārds un Darbs* was a successor to the wall newspaper of the same name displayed somewhere on the Institute's premises (VuD 1965/1: 1). The historical artifacts or secondary evidence which would provide more information on the Institute's wall newspaper have yet to be found. However, it is most likely that the display of information and official political views in form of a wall newspaper (in Russian, *stengazeta*) was created updated between

1945 when the Institute was established and 1965 when its functions were taken over by the new magazine. The placard newspaper was a very typical means of communication in many Soviet workplaces, from factories to universities. Being one of the distribution mechanisms for institution's internal affairs, which included praise to the achievements of the collective work and criticism towards the labour shortcomings, it was also an addition to the State-issued periodicals in expressing Soviet propaganda statements. The hand-written genre of wall newspapers begun developing in the 1920s in Soviet Russia with the task of influencing the masses. In the initial phase, it was "a key instrument in the campaign to bring 'culturedness' to the factory floor" (Kelly 2002: 575). As early as in 1924, when the 13th Congress of the Russian Communist Party took place in Moscow, the potential of wall newspapers as a vehicle for Soviet propaganda was emphasized. The contents of these newspapers were not supposed to give the floor to mass opinions. Public expressions were subordinated to the editorial office and, surely, also to the mechanisms of Soviet censorship (Kelly 2002: 579–581).

Wall newspapers were a combination of short articles, hand-drawn slogans, images and, later, photographs (Oushakine 2019: 14). The appeal for the do-it-yourself approach which was present in the poster-like bulletins, these Soviet wall newspapers can be seen also in the page design of *Vārds un Darbs*. The letter-sized paperback edition contained occasional illustrations. These were photographs, tourist postcards, and holiday cards glued to the pages and even some handmade drawings (VuD 1967/4, 1968/1). The covers were sometimes hand-decorated too. The magazine's amateur graphical visuality and the typed pages of which further copies were already quite pale (Vīksna 2021) bears some resemblance to *samizdat*, an underground publication circulated in the Eastern Bloc countries (see Kind-Kovács, Labov 2013, Komaromi 2004, Wciślik 2021, Zitzewitz 2020). Nonetheless, these associations could be caused by surface observations alone and not the content of the magazine. The binding, however, was professional and it was done at the binding workshop of the Academy of Sciences. That, among other things, guaranteed that no ideologically unsuitable materials would appear between the covers.

Content wise, the magazine *Vārds un Darbs* did not continue every tradition of an earlier Soviet workplace newspaper. Thus, for instance, there was no place for formerly known oppressive behavioural control mechanisms like public shaming of certain comrades or groups of researchers. The atmosphere of the academe and the Institute's internal culture had changed already during the Khrushchev period. Reprimands from the management had become business-like, proportionate, and generally discreet. There was no more public mockery from positions of power and ideological correctness, no more forced contempt for colleagues and ideological self-criticism which were present in the harsh years of Stalin (see Ķencis 2019: 21–22; Ozoliņš 2017: 208; Pakalns 2017: 228–229; Treija 2009).[11] In the

11 Although the time of denunciations and public accusations were left behind, the leadership of each institution in their own manner had to ensure that the organization complied with Soviet ideology. At the Academy of Sciences, there were some other research institutes, namely, the Institute of History, whose leaders still passionately perceived the work of ideological upbringing by raising voice and "occasionally inviting someone to swear at" (BR3).

magazine, some criticism appeared, still, it was never manipulative, *ad hominem* or directed from the top-down. These were overall polite critical reflections on certain problems of work processes, such as slow and counterproductive manuscript discussion procedures (VuD 1965/1: 18–19). Benevolent animadversions and some teasing on topics like delays and wasteful use of working hours were included in comic observations. For instance, an anonymous person with the pseudonym "Lover of a nice everyday life" published a feuilleton-type essay, "A Comprehensive Guide on how to Spend an Interesting Day or Exchange of Experiences". Based on one's local observations, she probably illuminated routines of a typical Soviet white-collar workplace. Through exaggeration, a working day was described as an endless series of conversations, via the office phone or in person, on topics concerning household, leisure time and difficulties of late socialism consumerism due to the shortage and unpredictability of goods. The following ironic advice was given to the morning rituals at the Institute:

> In the morning, arrive on time, because it is not profitable to lose the reputation of a proper employee. After all the room and self-care and decoration works have been completed, the flowers have been watered and rearranged in a more advantageous position, you can put an open manuscript on the table, just in case [...] Then call your acquaintances, because the phone is not busy yet. After informing them about your past and future routes, you can also talk about events that have happened to relatives and common acquaintances, about what's new in stores, where you can get Palanga vodka, nylon shirts, etc., etc. (VuD 1965/1: 47)

By launching the magazine *Vārds un Darbs*, the Institute of Language and Literature set significantly higher standards for mutual communication among the departments as well as the circulation of inside institutional information. In the introductory essay, literary historian and Director of the Institute Jānis Kalniņš (1922–2000) who recently had taken the office (1963–1983) stressed that more depth and meaningful content now could be expected in regular reading than that which was manifested in the wall newspaper (VuD 1965/1: 1). Kalniņš also wrote his programmatic vision for the new magazine outlining its main tasks:

> The magazine has the opportunity to become a peculiar chronicle of the Institute's life and work. It will give a chance to regularly reflect on what has been done, it will need to talk about what remains to be done, come up with new initiatives. Including those that go beyond the scope of the Institute's direct work, but which are important in Latvian literary science, linguistics, folklore studies in general. (VuD 1965/1: 1)

Indeed, reports on the annual activities of each department and their intentions in the five-year planning context made permanent content of the magazine. Being in the imperial situation or, *Vārds un Darbs* was not able to be a professional magazine alone distributed at the institutional level in the Latvian SSR. In the years of late socialism, people in the Baltics were not dealing anymore with colonialism in camouflage (Annus 2018: 13–16), but straight-forward Soviet ideology. The directorate of the Institute and the editorial board of the magazine had to accommodate their needs for team-building of their human resources

to the agendas of the colonial centre, Moscow. In other words, the magazine had to emit ideological reliability by completing the Soviet ideological assignments what any institution and its leadership received.

The Ideological Framing of *Vārds un Darbs*

From today's perspective, hence, with the distance of time, in the magazine *Vārds un Darbs*, one can easily detect the presence of Soviet rule layer, the most recent one of colonial layers in the Baltic experience (see Annus 2014, cf. Kangilaski 2018: 38–39). The framing of Soviet ideology shows in the very structure of every issue as well the overall magazine layout. There are textual and also visual features that in the popular language are called "levies" to the official authority; thus, being reminiscent of earlier colonial layers, those dating back to the serfdom times.

An opening line to the Soviet colonialism embodiment in *Vārds un Darbs* is the magazine's motto, "Proletarians of all countries, unite!". The source of this political slogan was, of course, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The cover slogan and the concluding phrase of the influential proclamation[12] was taken over as a motto in the official emblem of the Soviet Union and accordingly in many Soviet periodicals (in the Latvian SSR, those were *Cīņa*, *Padomju Jaunatne*, *Rīgas Balss*, and many more). The conventional motto was typed on the title page of *Vārds un Darbs* up until 1980. For some reason, it was abandoned in later issues, even before the *perestroika* movement in the USSR increased in force.

Relating to the composition of *Vārds un Darbs*, it must be noted that, in most cases, every magazine issue was introduced by an essay or other form of written praise to some event of socialistic history. The beginning of the magazine, unlike the later pages, was an instant marker of ideological reliability and belonging to the socialist ideals. There was an abundant offer of occasions which to celebrate or look forward celebrating: over and over, anniversaries of the so-called October Revolution in 1917 (VuD 1967/4; 1969/4; 1972/4; 1973/4; 1976/4; 1977/4) and the Soviet Army (VuD 1968/2), Vladimir Lenin's birthday, (VuD 1969/1; 1970/2), the beginning of Soviet power in Latvia (VuD 1969/1), end of World War II (VuD 1975/2), etc. Flipping through issue after issue, echoing the official calendar of major events of the Soviet Union can be noticed considered by the publishers both the introductory essays and the glued postcards with well-known Soviet personalities, like Lenin (VuD 1970/2), and symbols, like flags of the USSR and the Latvian SSR (VuD 1968/3; 1968/4), red carnations with highlighted year of the Russian Revolution, 1917 (VuD 1972/4; 1974/4; 1975/3; 1977/3), et al.).

12 In German: *Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!* For the digitized source, see https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10859626?page=1

Communist Party members from among the employees of the Institute, among them only two folklorists, Elza Kokare and Jadviga Darbiniece, composed these essays. In some cases, a relevant folklorist also gave a helping hand in writing the ideological meditations. The Head of the Department, Elza Kokare wrote two contemplative essays. One was called "Anxiety of October Flag" (VuD 1970/4: 2–3), and it was saturated with conventional Soviet pathos and didactics, addressed to her peers:

> This year, the red flags also signal the end of another five years, when one has to evaluate the daily work of each collective, compare what is intended, planned with what has been done, look for the reasons for delays and failures. And then there is an unusual question—is blush on our faces just a reflection of the flag, a joy at a job well done? Isn't it coloured by a good few easily lost hours, unjustifiable self-pity, putting your personal interests first? (VuD 1970/4: 3)

Another of Kokare's essay was dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the USSR (VuD 1972/2: 3–5). In a similar manner, it was fuelled by appeal to work cult and common goals: "As we drive the development of science in our Republic, we will put our own, albeit small, brick in the science building of the entire Soviet Union" (VuD 1972/2: 5). Boosting the pace of work for the common good as well as engaging in collective service were regular topics also in other propagandic publications which appeared in *Vārds un Darbs* (see, for example, VuD 1966/3: 1–2). The accuracy of the execution of one's tasks, in other words, "communist attitude towards work" was emphasized as well (VuD 1977/1: 4).

Socialist festivals and customs gave rhythm to the Institute's magazine. From an ideological point of view, the New Year, International Women's Day on March 8, and the Workers Day of International Solidarity on May 1 were less emphasized in *Vārds un Darbs*. Yet these relatively lightweight Soviet calendric dates could also serve as an occasion for some ideological and political reminders. Thus, linguist Aina Blinkena, in her the greeting for New Year 1977 reminded colleagues of the upcoming 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which should be celebrated with new success (VuD 1976/4: 3). In 1974, Cold War tension was manifested in the May 1 greeting. The holiday card was supplemented by a quote from a call from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "A glowing greeting to the peoples of the colonial and dependent lands who are fighting against imperialism and racism, for freedom and national independence!" (VuD 1974/2: 2). The 8th of March was generally an easy, joyful holiday. "March 8 was such a nice holiday, when flowers appeared, there could be a festive atmosphere in the work rooms" (BR_3).[13] Both the administration staff and the men of the departments tried to prepare creative and humorous congratulations to their female colleagues. In the Institute's internal magazine, these greetings appeared both in the form of prose and funny rhymes from Latvian literature heritage or self-composed poems. Among other male colleagues, men of the Folklore Sector saluted their female counterparts (VuD 1967/2: 41; 1968/2: 62; 1969/2: 41).

13 The sustainable popularity of this holiday is confirmed by the fact that, despite the de-Sovietization and de-colonization attempts, the 8th of March is still a part of the Baltic ritual year (see Bula 2021).

Fig. 3. Photo illustrations of Elza Knope's report on Institute's clean-up at the Riga Big Cemetery (VuD 1980/2: 55–56)

Talcinieki

Lielajos kapos(Krišjāņa Valdemāra,
Krišjāņa Dīnsberga, Friča Brīvzemnieka,
Krišjāņa Barona kapu vietas.

56

An annual event which received a lot of attention in the magazine, was the All-Union Communist Saturday clean-up (*subbotnik*) organized around Lenin's birthday in April. This socialistic tradition of collective spring cleaning was, in its implementation, a team-building activity for the Institute employees and was reported in *Vārds un Darbs* with excitement and pride. The work took place in the properties supervised by the Academy of Sciences in Lielupe, in Salaspils, at the Fundamental Library in Riga, the Riga Big Cemetery where monuments for significant figures in Latvian cultural history were abandoned, and even on the Institute's own premises devoting work to arranging materials of scientific dictionaries and folk-song collections (VuD 1970/2: 25–28; 1971/3: 4; 1972/3: 13–16; 1973/3: 64–65; 1975/2: 71–74; 1980/2: 55–56; 1984/2: 26–27). In autumn, groups of researchers were sent to collective farms to fulfil the duties of manual labour at harvesting (VuD 1973/1: 49–53).

Along with the annual socialist rituals depicted in the magazine *Vārds un Darbs*, there were omnipresent references to five-year planning (VuD 1971/1: 3–8; 1972/1: 5–8; 1976/3: 2–5, et al.). The Five-Year Plan was a rolling motive in most of publications sharing the Institute departments' work. Ever since the very first Five-Year Plan for industrialization (1928–1932), the Soviet Union kept cultivating the myth of its success (Lyons 1967: 125–139; Jones 2013: 233). Generations of labour, even in late socialism, in their day-to-day work, had to live through this questionable big scale time management and productivity concepts for the USSR economy which was applied to any institution as the main tool in setting and measuring work progress. "Back then, we operated in the so-called Five-Year Kingdom," commented Institute's former Director, Viktors Hausmanis (Hausmanis 2020: 171).

In a Soviet workplace, the pace of work could be accelerated by institutional participation in socialist competition. This work-related competition, which was forced across all areas of Soviet society, encouraged employees to strive for even higher achievements and increase levels of productivity by setting the norms to be achieved (Sarasmo 2014). Although the magazine *Vārds un Darbs* does not reveal the particular techniques as to how the success was measured at the Institute, neither who were the imagined rival organizations, the idea of the socialist competition was adopted or at least in the air (VuD 1971/4: 3–4). Probably close to the spirit of competition was that one of the "elevated socialist commitments" undertaken by the Institute. These commitments included meeting deadlines set for completion of research manuscripts and professional development and were reported as successfully completed (1976/3: VuD 6–7).

In general, a lot of attention was paid to the dissemination of Soviet propaganda at the Institute. Based on the programmatic resolutions of the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the responsible persons sought the ideological upbringing of the staff of the Institute. That included the promotion of Marxist-Leninist methodology in research, targeted seminars and lectures, developing complex action plans, and, among other things, utilizing the Institute's magazine, *Vārds un Darbs*, for ideological upbringing needs (VuD 1979/2: 6–7). A special structure of the Institute's collective, the Primary Organization of the Knowledge Society, was responsible for propaganda implementation in their workplace. Folklorists received commendations for participating in joint propaganda work. For instance, in 1967, a list of Institute researchers gave propagandic lectures within the work package of

activities dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the *Great October*, namely, the 1917 Revolution. Among the lecturers, there were Jēkabs Vītoliņš who gave a lecture, "Latvian Music Culture during the Soviet Era", and Harijs Sūna whose lecture was "Tasks of Folk-Dance Groups Regarding the Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of October" (VuD 1967/4: 24).

Researchers who devoted their efforts to propaganda work, including publications spreading Soviet ideology in *Vārds un Darbs*, were not seen as collaborators by other colleagues. On the contrary, their "sacrifice" was respected and viewed with gratitude (BR_3). Creating these texts was a part of socialism dynamics and a consequent guarantee of other things to be published too. Even an institution's internal magazine of only 10 copies had to follow the official standards of the ruling ideology. Besides, there was a background caution, at least in the 1960s and 1970s, that a "vigilant eye" might be watching you (BR_3, cf. AR); therefore, it was safer for even this tiny magazine not to challenge Soviet ideological views, nor provoke the supervisory authorities.

Within and Beyond the Folklore Department

The sense of community within the Folklore Department has been confirmed both in retrospective interviews and in the magazine *Vārds un Darbs*. The interactions between different generations were often described as "familial". These links were strengthened beyond typical employment relationships, thus, for example, colleagues' children were given gifts and the ill colleagues were visited at hospital (EM, GP, MV).

What was not revealed in the Institute's internal magazine were the daily rituals of the Department, such as the joint coffee breaks, a strict tradition, always at noon (JD). There were insiders' jokes going around, with their special linguistic codes and even "folklorists' folklore", sometimes with a reference to the archival number (AP).[14] The workspace of folklorists and thus, the micro teams of the collective were very much structured around the room principle, which means they were closely linked to colleagues based on the room in which they worked on the 15th floor of the Academy of Sciences building. For example, Room No. 2 was the "superiors'" room where the Head of the Department had her desk (JD, GP, EM, EO, AP, BR_1).

Likewise, the magazine would not reveal the Department's internal tensions and conflicts, such as objections towards the authoritarian leadership style of Elza Kokare or dislikes between some colleagues. These uncomfortable feelings and stories were shared and transmitted to others orally. Some workplace dramas, over the years, turned into institutional oral

14 Popular, in various situational contexts, was the proverb from the Soviet folklore documentations: "A Soviet man can do anything." (LFK 1850, 7707) Its use started from a comic situation at work and was constantly reproduced (see AP).

history narratives. For instance, there is a legend that folklorist Jānis Rozenbergs, being uncompromising in character, due to some disagreement, for several years, did not discuss any word with folklorist Alma Ancelāne, even though they shared one room. If it was necessary to pass on any information, they left a handwritten note on a colleague's desk (EM, JD, VB).

Vārds un Darbs illuminated the joint achievements of the Folklore Department. The events proudly brought to the surface were the ones which belonged to the work plans and were successfully implemented.[15] Each year, the Heads of the Department, Elza Kokare, reported on the progress of the team. In the magazine, there were concise updates on recently published books by folklorists. In very few cases, the publications were discussed in more detail (apparently reviews and discussions were meant to be written by outsiders in public media). Some books of prospective long-term significance and also recognized by official prizes were highlighted, such as Vilma Greble's bibliography of Latvian narrative folklore (VuD 1971/3: 14–16), Kārlis Arājs' and Alma Medne's "Type Index of Latvian Fairy Tales" (VuD 1978/1: 11–13), Elza Kokare's study on Latvian proverbs (VuD 1979/1: 51–52). Among the teamwork publications, there were entries for the "Little Encyclopedia of the Latvian SSR" (VuD 1970/4: 25–28) and the academic edition of Latvian folk songs, *Latviešu tautasdziesmas*. The human resources of Folklore Department almost entirely were mobilized to organize, edit and typewrite the folksong texts, regardless of the individual research interests (GP, EO, EM, JD).[16] Under Elza Kokare, there was strong subordination and daily work discipline. She made sure that researchers did not spend working hours on their own studies, those could be done only on their free time, such as annual vacation (JD). It was only during the leadership of Jadviga Darbiniece when folklorists were given more freedom to develop their own research and prepare dissertations (BR_2). When the first volume of *Latviešu tautasdziesmas* was published (in late 1979), Elza Kokare gave an interview to the magazine's reporter expressing dissatisfaction with the graphic designer Dainis Rožkalns' style of illustrations (VuD 1980/1: 5–8).

Regular reports were given on annual folklore expeditions, also the following events after the fieldwork, the so-called folklore sessions which consisted of few papers given by the researchers of Department and folk music presentation. The folk music concert on the 14th of October in 1978 at the Daile Theatre brought together several "authentic" folk music singers from various places in Latvia. It was described by Zaiga Sneibe as "sensational" (VuD 1978/3/4: 22–25). Indeed, later this event was considered as the beginning of folklore movement in Latvia, which caused a lot of intellectual discussion on the authenticity versus staged folklore issues. Also, findings on individual fieldworks were sometimes

15 Despite the rigorous discipline, not all of the Department's intended work was implemented. The project of the collective monograph, "Latvian Folklore", had to be accomplished in the 1980s. (VuD 1988/1: 65, LVA 2370. f., 1. apr., 440. l., 41. lp.) However, only the chapter on the history of Latvian folkloristics by Ojārs Ambainis was published in a separate book (Ambainis 1989).

16 Darbiniece herself stressed that it was important for her to address the Department issues through democratic agreement (JD).

Fig. 4. Folklorists Māra Vīksna (from the left) and Helēna Erdmane greeting their colleague Ojārs Ambainis on his 60th birthday in 1986. LFK 19860185. Photo by Vaira Strautniece

shared by folklorists themselves. For example, Vilis Bendorfs described his visits to Kurzeme where he recorded folk singers from his family (VuD 1978/3/4: 26–27).

Another event of social and scholarly significance which was organized by the Folklore Department in cooperation with the Writer's Union other institutions was the ambitious celebration of folklorist and folksong publisher Krišjānis Barons' 150th anniversary (1985). Actually, it was a series of various activities, including publications, exhibitions, and scholarly conferences, over a period of five years, from 1981 to 1985. Baron's anniversary raised folklorists to unprecedented heights of popularity among society. The first Afternoon of Folklore was organized in 1981:

> It had gathered a large community of listeners. Among the visitors, we saw not only researchers, artists, pedagogues and representatives of other public groups from Riga and the surrounding areas, but also many visitors from the province. Guests from neighbouring republics, Lithuania and Estonia also arrived (VuD 1981/4: 30).

Folklore Afternoons and Conferences took place also in the following years around Barons' birthday in the end of October. That developed into the annual and still ongoing Krišjānis Barons' Conference tradition.

A vivid feature of *Vārds un Darbs* was highlighting the individual professional achievements. That was a form of public acknowledgement provided by the Institute's directorate and colleagues. Folklorists who defended dissertations and obtained scientific degrees were congratulated in special essays (Elza Kokare, Harijs Sūna, Jadviga Darbiniece, Beatrise Reidzāne). Prizes, money bonuses, official recognitions and other individual victories were always celebrated in the pages of the magazine. Both by brief mentions in the chronicles and longer reflections in essays, the magazine kept the track how Elza Kokare's, Jadviga Darbiniece's, Harijs Sūna's and, to a slightly lesser degree, also other colleagues' careers unfolded. The names of new employees were given and also a platform for publishing at *Vārds un Darbs* provided to them. Thus, one can see new generations joining the community of folklorists. In 1980s, those were Guntis Pakalns, Dace Bula, Elfrīda (Edīte) Olupe, and Aldis Pūtelis.

The magazine was a place to celebrate significant anniversaries of colleagues. Every folklorist, reaching 50, 60, 70 and other respectable years, was greeted both in presence and through the pages of *Vārds un Darbs*. Those were sincere and often humorous portrait essays of the birthday person. The authors' approaches to writing these articles were creative. For instance, Harijs Sūna for Elza Kokare's 50th birthday had interviewed her schoolmate who gave evidence that Elza at school was a sharp mathematician (VuD 1970/4: 75). On his 50th birthday, Jānis Rozenbergs was greeted as "a man in his best years", with a reference to then popular Raimonds Pauls song (VuD 1977/4: 61).

Commemorative articles to deceased colleagues, in their turn, were heartfelt and informative about their professional lives and human qualities. In 1977, when music folklorist Jēkabs Vītoliņš passed away, a whole set of essays, also in the epistolary genre, were written in his memory (VuD 1977/3: 49–64).

The magazine *Vārds un Darbs* played an obvious role in shaping the collective memory of the people of the Institute. Now and then, approaching a significant anniversary of the Institute of Language and Literature or its magazine *Vārds un Darbs*, historical reflections appeared in the issues of the magazine (VuD 1966/1, 1971/2, 1976/1, 1976/2, 1981/1, 1980/4, 1986/2 et al.). The Folklore Department's institutional memory went further than other departments', finding the beginnings back in 1920s. In 1966, Vilma Greble wrote her "Folklorist's Memories" on the first post-war years at the Institute of Folklore (VuD 1966/1: 11–15). She highlighted the genealogical connection of her Soviet workplace to the Archives of Latvian Folklore. With deep respect, she portrayed her early-career colleagues, already interwar period folklorists Alma Medne-Romane, Pēteris Birkerts, and Anna Bērzkalne. The last two, under Stalinism, got banned as "bourgeois" scholars. Still, in the internal magazine of late socialism their memory could be maintained. In 1986, Austra Infantjeva published an essay "My First Years at the Institute of Folklore" (VuD

1986/1: 13–18) with very explicit tribute to Alma Medne-Romane and Anna Bērzkalne. That was before the Third Latvian National Awakening when Bērzkalne and other interwar intellectuals were rehabilitated (see Treija 2018: 32–33).

Being the only folklorist institution in the Latvian SSR, the Folklore Department of the Institute of Language and Literature maintained contacts and felt brotherly fellowship with Lithuanian and Estonian colleagues. The former folklore archives of the Baltics shared quite similar histories, starting from interwar period and through the subsequent occupation regime which subjected them to institutional restructuring.[17] Their communication included individual correspondences (see Grigienė 2006: 262–278), mutual collective visits between Riga, Vilnius, and Tartu and, in several areas, coordinated work.

In the mid-1960s, cooperation with the Lithuanian colleagues took place in the coordinated fieldwork tasks during the collective expeditions (VuD 1965/1: 29–31). On April 12–17, 1967, the Lithuanian Language and Literature Institute at the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences organized a conference on the issues of Lithuanian and Latvian folklore interactions. A delegation of researchers from Riga made their way to Vilnius to participate in the academic even. (VuD 1967/3: 64).

Among the research staff of the Institute, there was the urge to look beyond the Iron Curtain, or at least beyond the borders of their own Republic (VH). Within the USSR, they willingly went to other Republics, to study in libraries and archives, to meet with other Soviet scholars, also to discuss upcoming dissertations and publications, to share the experience of folklore expeditions, to give at symposiums, conferences and work seminars. Often, Latvian folklorists returned to the same cities and institutions, like N. N. Miklukho-Maklai Institute of Ethnography in Leningrad, to continue working or take on new tasks.

Based on the chronicles and overviews, published in *Vārds un Darbs*, folklorists who most often went on business trips in the period from 1961 to 1988 were: Elza Kokare (Gorky, Kyiv, Leningrad, Moscow, Sverdlovsk, Vilnius, Kishinev, Tallinn, Chernivtsi, Stockholm), Jadviga Darbiniece (Moscow, Leningrad, Vilnius, Kyiv, Tbilisi, Kishinev, Stockholm, Grozny), Jēkabs Vītoliņš (Moscow, Kyiv, Tallinn, Vilnius, Leningrad, Kazan, Alma-Ata), Jāzeps Rudzītis (Tallinn, Tartu, Moscow, Vilnius, Dushanbe, Minsk, Viru), Ojārs Ambainis (Vilnius, Tbilisi, Moscow, Rostock, Berlin, Suzdal), Alma Ancelāne (Tallinn, Tartu, Moscow, Vilnius, Leningrad), Harijs Sūna (Moscow, Vilnius, Tallinn, Leningrad, Dushanbe), Vilma Greble (Tartu, Moscow, Sverdlovsk, Vilnius), Vilis Bendorfs (Leningrad, Kuybyshev, Tallinn,

17 The Lithuanian Folklore Archives was established in 1935 in Kaunas. In 1941, the collections of the Lithuanian Folklore Archives were incorporated into the Lithuanian Language and Literature Institute at the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences in Vilnius. Prior the second Soviet occupation of the Baltic States, its founder Jonas Balys (1909–2011), went into exile. So did also Latvian folklorist Kārlis Straubergs (1890–1962) who was Head of the Archives of Latvian Folklore from 1929 to 1944 and Estonian folklorist Oskar Loorits (1900–1961), founder and Head of the Estonian Folklore Archives (1927) in Tartu. The Estonian archives was reorganised in 1940 as the Folklore Department of the State Literary Museum. Balys found his permanent residency in the United States of America, whereas Straubergs and Loorits lived in Sweden.

Tbilisi), and Beatrise Reidzāne (Vilnius, Moscow, Ulyanovsk). The list of the travel destinations, to a large extent, marks the centres for folklore research in the USSR. The most visited city was Moscow—folklorists travelled to this colonial flash point constantly. In 1985, Jānis Rozenbergs and Vilis Bendorfs took part in the collective fieldwork at Latvian settlements in the Bashkir ASSR (VuD 1986/2: 19–22).

In the geography of academic trips, places outside the USSR were available only in a few cases. Folklorists later shared their impressions of these rather exotic journeys for a Soviet citizen, highlighting various specificities, however, not without humour. Thus, Ojārs Ambainis described *Unter den Linden* in Berlin which he had chance to observe during his East Germany visit in 1978: "Those lindens are smaller than our trimmed ones on our Lenin Street" (VuD 1978/2: 39). Elza Kokare expressed uncomfortable feelings about attending a conference in Stockholm in 1981 due to the politically tense situation: Latvians in exile, led by Bruno Kalniņš, were going to protest against cooperation with Soviet science. However, she was pleasantly surprised that the conference was attended by young Latvian people who expressed a lively interest in folklore, folklore ensembles and their activities in Latvia (VuD 1981/2: 16–20).

Travel certainly gave dynamism to otherwise rather static weekdays. The annual group trip for folklorists was a scientific expedition. Individual domestic business trips outside Riga were also carried out, for example, by visiting and recording repertoire of folklore narrators (eg. Jāzeps Rudzītis to the village of Malta in 1965), doing preparatory work before collective folklore expeditions in the respective districts (eg. Jānis Rozenbergs to Valmiera in 1967), giving lectures and other presentations (e.g. in 1968, Harijs Sūna demonstrated to the local people of Madona previously filmed materials), consulting ethnographic ensembles (throughout the years, Jānis Rozenbergs did it), and so on. Besides, the Institute occasionally organized cultural and educational tourism trips. Two of them, to Lithuania and to Krustkalni Nature Reserve in Latvia, were later described in the magazine *Vārds un Darbs* by folklorist Māra Vīksna (VuD 1980/3: 51–60; 1984/3: 32–34).

People of the Institute were very fascinated about culture not only in research but also in their free time. At the workplace, they reflected on cultural experiences and, on regular basis, shared new impressions (AR, VH). Small groups of colleagues attended concerts, ballet and theatre performances. For folklorists, tickets or invitations were often provided by choreographer Harijs Sūna (JD). A vivid example of one's seemingly insatiable lust for culture was given by Jadviga Darbiniece when she remembered her late colleague, Helēna Erdmane:

> She always told me that a person needed to educate themself. She took part in all kinds of events, after work she went to various exhibitions, conferences, various events—on cinema, on theatre, she also listened [to lectures] on folklore at Ethnographers. (JD)

Travelling within the limited freedoms as well as cultural consumption allowed people of late socialism to "escape" the comprehensive ideological settings without leaving them. Breaks from the working day routines were often turned into "socialist escapes" (Giustino et al. 2013) which, among other things, strengthened people's individual agency under socialism.

Conclusion

The analysis of the workplace of Latvian folklorists in the late socialism period, the Institute of Language and Literature at the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, exposed by the institutional magazine, *Vārds un Darbs*, has led me to some ontological understanding. The everyday life of folklore researchers and everyone else at the Institute was strictly subject to Soviet ideology, which pervaded through various channels, the internal magazine unavoidably being one of them. The ideological layers of *Vārds un Darbs*, however, were not internalized, rather seen as a necessary evil within the colonial situation. The visual and textual elements of Soviet ideology, including propaganda essays, were easily distinguishable from the rest of the content. Likewise, the conditionality of ideologically loaded work-life rhythms and rituals, such as five-year planning, socialist competition, and living with the socialist calendric festivities, was considered. Elza Kokare, the long-term Head of the Folklore Department and a member of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was seemingly a true believer in communism which matched ideological expectations towards professionals who held leading positions in the late socialist period.

Among Institute staff, there was an awareness of the Committee for State Security (KGB) stationed permanently nearby. The Stalinist architecture and the spatial settings of the Academy of Sciences, with the secret Second Department of the KGB, only added to the Orwellian atmosphere. In my reading of the magazine *Vārds un Darbs*, I observed no signs of resistance against the Soviet regime. However, based on the knowledge derived from the life story interviews, it could be noticed beyond the dry facts, respectively, records of some employees dismissed from work (e.g. Beatrise Reidzāne).

Folklorists formed their own family-like community within the Institute. Their collective memory linked them back to the predecessors of the Institute, the Archives of Latvian Folklore (1924) and their former colleagues, interwar folklorists. Under socialism, Latvian folklorists resided in the colonial borderlands of the USSR. To maintain a high level of professionalism, they often travelled to the colonial centre, Moscow, as well as other places in the Soviet Union. One particularly close cooperation Latvian folklorists had with colleagues was with the Lithuanian Language and Literature Institute at the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, the institution with whom they shared a similar colonial history.

During the years of late socialism, the Folklore Department, strictly monitored by Elza Kokare, committed to joint projects, the most grandiose and time-consuming being the academic edition of Latvian folk songs, *Latviešu tautasdziesmas* (from 1979 to this day). The internal magazine *Vārds un Darbs* was a platform to reflect the achievements of the Department. It also celebrated employees' individual highlights, like doctoral promotions, and significant life anniversaries. Being a teambuilding instrument, the magazine also provided an insight into the cultural adventures of employees, such as travels. Both travelling and intensive cultural consumption could be viewed as two of the many "socialist escapes" which provided relative individual freedoms under late socialism.

When it comes to the magazine *Vārds un Darbs* as a historiographical source for Latvian folkloristics, I find it of an outstanding value. It is a rich testimony of the work life of intelligentsia during the *twilight* of Brezhnev era. The magazine manifests a fusion of Soviet ideology, professional contents, and humane communication. It discloses the institutional logics and, to some extent, relations between the individual players at the Institute. Understanding the latter, however, would not be fully possible without additional sources, such as subjective experiences retrieved from autobiographical narratives (I used the qualitative interviews, but memoirs, correspondence, and other written sources could be just as useful).

I see this magazine used as an additional source for further studies of disciplinary history of Latvian folkloristics. I see also the potential for comparative studies of institutional polyphony. Such would focus on certain topics, by bringing together, along with the magazine *Vārds un Darbs*, other texts issued by the Institute (protocols, orders, reports, notes, press publications, etc.).

Finally, I would like to say that carrying out this study gave me a better understanding of the past and still ongoing traditions at my own workplace. When I first entered the Archives of Latvian Folklore in the early 2000s, I was amazed by the abundance of collective memory stories and humorous codes of folklorists which were refreshed from time to time. Some of them originated in the late socialism period which I now had an opportunity get to know better. Although the magazine *Vārds un Darbs* ended in 1988, I have noticed that its contents have echoed throughout the years among conversations of folklore researchers. This shows our propensity in the workplace toward oral history. This may also show the power of printed texts, no matter how local and how few, in creating a collective memory.

Bibliography

Archival Sources

Archives of Latvian Folklore, Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia

VuD = *Vārds un Darbs*. 1965–1988.

LFK [1850], 3rd Scientific Expedition of the Institute of Folklore to the Ogre District, 1949

LFK [2250], interviews with the employees of the Institute of Language and Literature at the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences

Interviewed by Rita Grīnvalde (Treija):

AP = Aldis Pūtelis, folklorist, May 13, 2021

AR = Anita Rožkalne, literary historian, editor of VuD, June 8, 2021

BR_1 = Beatrise Reidzāne, folklorist, Head of the Archives of Latvian Folklore (1993–1999), May 17, 2019

BR_2 = Beatrise Reidzāne, May 20, 2019 (interviewed together with Digne Ūdre)

BR_3 = Beatrise Reidzāne, July 16, 2021

EM = Elga Melne, folklorist, May 27, 2019 (interviewed together with Digne Ūdre and Baiba Krogzeme-Mosgorda)

GP = Guntis Pakalns, folklorist, June 10, 2021

JD = Jadviga Darbiniece, folklorist, Head of Department of Folklore (1985–1993), September 8, 2016

MV = Māra Vīksna, folklorist, May 28, 2019 (interviewed together with Digne Ūdre)

VB = Vilis Bendorfs, folklorist, musicologist, June 6, 2019 (interviewed together with Digne Ūdre)

VH = Viktors Hausmanis, literary historian, Director of the Institute of Language and Literature (1983–1999), July 28, 2021 (a phone conversation)

Interviewed by Aigars Lielbārdis:

EO = Edīte Olupe, folklorist, April 12, 2021

State Archives of Latvia, LVA, 2370. f. (fund "Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of Language and Literature")

LVA 2370. f., 1. apr., 440. l.—Minutes of the Institute's Scientific Council, Lists of Members of the Institute's Scientific Council, 1981

LVA 2370. f., 1. apr., 486. l.—Internal Work Regulations of A. Upīts' Institute of Language and Literature at the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, January 24, 1985

LVA 2370. f., 1. apr., 508.a l.—Statutes of A. Upīts' Institute of Language and Literature at the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, June 9, 1988

Author's Correspondence

Vīksna 2021—Māra Vīksna's email letters to Rita Grīnvalde, April 15, 2021 and July 30, 2021

Literature

Ambainis, Ojārs (1989). *Latviešu folkloristikas vēsture*. Rīga: Zinātne.

Annus, Epp (2014). Layers of Colonial Rule in the Baltics: Nation-Building, the Soviet rule and the Affectivity of a Nation. Goettsche, Dirk, Dunker, Axel (eds.). *(Post-) Colonialism Across Europe*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag, pp. 359–384.

Annus, Epp (2018). *Soviet Postcolonial Studies: A View from the Western Borderlands*. London, New York: Routledge.

Apsītis, Vaidelotis (1997). Pirmā Rīgā. Par Latvijas Zinātņu akadēmijas augstceltnes būvvēsturi. *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis. A*, 51. sēj., Nr. 3/4, 153.–146. lpp.

Baltiņa, Maija (1976). Vēlreiz par izskaņām *-ums* un *-ība*. Porīte, Tamāra (sast.). *Latviešu valodas kultūras jautājumi*. Rīga: Liesma. 12. laid. 120.–126. lpp.

Baras, Victor (1974). Contemporary Soviet Society. *Current History*, No. 67(398): The Soviet Union, pp. 173–176, 182–183.

Bialer, Seweryn (1984). Socialist Stagnation and Communist Encirclement. *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, No. 35(3): The Soviet Union in the 1980s, pp. 160–176.

Bula, Dace (2021). Celebrating March 8: a failed attempt at de-Sovietization. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, No. 52(1), pp. 43–59.

Bušs, Ojārs, Ernstsone, Vineta (2006). *Latviešu valodas slenga vārdnīca*. Rīga: Norden AB.

Cherkasov, Petr (2005). The Twilight of the Brezhnev Era. *Russian Politics & Law*, No. 43(6), pp. 76–95.

Devault, Marjorie L. (2006). What is Institutional Ethnography? *Social Problems*, No. 53(3), pp. 294–298.

Bibliography

English, Robert D. (2000). *Russia and the Idea of the West: Gorbachev, Intellectuals, and the End of the Cold War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Evans Jr., Alfred B. (1977). Developed Socialism in Soviet Ideology. *Soviet Studies*, No. 29(3), pp. 409–428.

Eversone, Madara (2019). *Laiku nospiedumi: Ilgoņa Bērsona dzīve dienasgrāmatās, vēstulēs, atmiņās un attēlos 1947–1990*. Rīga: Zinātne.

Giustino, Cathleen M., Plum, Catherine J., Vari, Alexander (eds.) (2013). *Socialist Escapes: Breaking Away from Ideology and Everyday Routine in Eastern Europe, 1945–1989*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Grigienė, Judita (par.) (2006). *Kazio Grigo pokalbiai laiškais*. Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas.

Hausmanis, Viktors (2020). *Mans institūts*. Rīga: Zinātne.

Holstein, James A. (2006). Institutional Ethnography. *Social Problems*, No. 53(3), p. 293.

Jones, Polly (2013). *Myth, Memory, Trauma: Rethinking the Stalinist Past in the Soviet Union, 1953–70*. Eurasia Past and Present. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

Kangilaski, Jaak (2018). Postcolonial theory as a means to understand Estonian art history. Annus, Epp (ed.). *Coloniality, Nationality, Modernity: A Postcolonial View on Baltic Cultures under Soviet Rule*. Abingdon, New York: Routledge, pp. 31–47.

Kelly, Catriona (2002). A Laboratory for the Manufacture of Proletarian Writers': The Stengazeta (Wall Newspaper), Kul'turnost' and the Language of Politics in the Early Soviet Period. *Europe-Asia Studies*, No. 54(4), pp. 573–602.

Ķencis, Toms (2019). *Vācot padomju folkloru*. Rīga: LU Literatūras, folkloras un mākslas institūts.

Kind-Kovács, Friederike, Labov, Jessie (eds.) (2013). *Samizdat, Tamizdat, and Beyond: Transnational Media During and After Socialism*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Komaromi, Ann (2004). The Material Existence of Soviet Samizdat. *Slavic Review*, No. 63(3), pp. 597–618.

Laukgale, Milda (2002). Daži atminu mirkļi par specfondu. *Svēts mantojums Rīgai: J. Misiņš un viņa bibliotēka*. Rīga: Latvijas Akadēmiskā bibliotēka, 189.–191. lpp.

Lundberg, Kjetil G., Sataøen, Hogne Lerøy (2019). From translation of ideas to translocal relations. Shifting heuristics from Scandinavian Neo-Institutional Theory to Institutional Ethnography. Lund, Rebecca W. B., Nilsen, Ann Christin (eds.). *Institutional Ethnography in the Nordic Region*. Routledge Advances in Research Methods. London, New York: Routledge. Available: https://www.perlego.com/book/1376082/institutional-ethnography-in-the-nordic-region-pdf [Accessed: 16.03.2021.]

Lyons, Eugene (1967). *Workers' Paradise Lost. Fifty Years of Soviet Communism: A Balance Sheet*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Martirosyan, Tigran, Maretti, Silvia, Starr, Frederick (2019). *Scholars' Guide to Humanities and Social Sciences in the Soviet Union and the Baltic States: The Academies of Sciences of Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia*. 2nd ed. London, New York: Routledge. Available: https://www.perlego.com/book/1567481/scholars-guide-to-humanities-and-social-sciences-in-the-soviet-union-and-the-baltic-states-pdf [Accessed: 20.04.2021.]

Matthews, Mervyn (2011). *Privilege in the Soviet Union: A Study of Elite Life-Styles under Communism*. Routledge Revivals. Abingdon, New York: Routledge.

Miley, Michelle (2017). Looking Up: Mapping Writing Center Work through Institutional Ethnography. *The Writing Center Journal*, No. 36(1), pp. 103–129.

Oushakine, Serguei Alex (2019). Realism with Gaze-Appeal: Lenin, Children, and Photomontage. *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Bd. 67, H. 1: Children on Display. Children's History, Socialism, and Photography, S. 11–64.

Ozoliņš, Gatis (2017). Jānis Alberts Jansons (1892–1971). Bula, Dace (ed). *Latvian Folkloristics in the Interwar Period*. Folklore Fellows' Communications 313. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, pp. 207–215.

Pakalns, Guntis (2017). Pēteris Birkerts (1881–1956). Bula, Dace (ed). *Latvian Folkloristics in the Interwar Period*. Folklore Fellows' Communications 313. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, pp. 224–235.

Reidzāne, Beatrise (2011). Zinātniece laikmeta ainā (personīgās pieredzes stāsts): Elzai Kokarei—90. *Letonica*, Nr. 21, 130.–138. lpp.

Bibliography

Russell, Lisa (2018). Introduction. Reid, James, Russell, Lisa (eds.). *Perspectives on and from Institutional Ethnography*. Studies in Qualitative Methodology. Vol. 15. Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited, pp. xiii–xix.

Rutland, Peter, Smolkin-Rothrock, Victoria (2014). Introduction: Looking Back at Brezhnev. *Russian History*, No. 41(3), pp. 299–306.

Sandle, Mark (2002). Brezhnev and Developed Socialism: The Ideology of Zastoi? Bacon, Edwin, Sandle, Mark (eds.). *Brezhnev Reconsidered. Studies in Russian and East European History and Society*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 165–187.

Sarasmo, Antti (2014). The Kirov fishing kolkhoz. A socialist success story. Miklóssy, Katalin, Ilic, Melanie (eds.). *Competition in Socialist Society*. Abingdon, New York: Routledge. Available: https://www.perlego.com/book/1665450/competition-in-socialist-society-pdf [Accessed 12.04. 2021.]

Shlapentokh, Vladimir (1990). *Soviet Intellectuals and Political Power: The Post-Stalin Era*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Smith, Dorothy E. (1987). *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Smith, Gordon B. (1988). *Soviet Politics: Continuity and Contradiction*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Stradiņš, Jānis (2009). Latvijas Zinātņu akadēmijas augstceltnes 50 gadi. *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis. A*, 63. sēj., Nr. 1/2, 109.–117. lpp.

Strods, Heinrihs (2007). Trimdas izdevumu cenzūra Latvijas PSR (1958–1990). *Latvijas vēsture 20. gadsimta 40.–90. gados: Latvijas Vēsturnieku komisijas 2006. gada pētījumi*. Latvijas Vēsturnieku komisijas raksti, 21. sēj. Rīga: Latvijas vēstures institūta apgāds, 425.–451. lpp.

Thompson, Terry L. (2019). Developed Socialism: Brezhnev's Contribution to Soviet Ideology. Thompson, Terry L., Sheldon, Richard (eds). *Soviet Society and Culture. Essays in Honor of Vera S. Dunham*. Abingdon, New York: Routledge. Available: https://www.perlego.com/book/1481107/soviet-society-and-culture-pdf [Accessed 12.04. 2021.]

Tompson, William J. (2014). *The Soviet Union under Brezhnev*. Seminar Studies in History. London, New York: Routledge.

Treide, Gita (2007). Latvijas Universitātes bibliotēka no 1944. līdz 1962. gadam. Saviča, Mārīte (sast.). *Latvijas Universitātes bibliotēka laikmetu griežos*. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 123.–159. lpp.

Treija, Rita (2018). *Anna Bērzkalne*. Folkloristikas bibliotēka. Rīga: Zinātne.

Treija, Rita (2019). A Folklorist in the Soviet Spotlight. *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, No. 13(2), pp. 16–32.

Vīksna, Māra (2006). Simtgadnieki no Latviešu folkloras krātuves. Kipere, Zaiga (atb. red. un sast.). *Daba un Vēsture 2007*. Rīga: Zinātne. 96.–108. lpp.

Wciślik, Piotr (2021). *Dissident Legacies of Samizdat Social Media Activism. Unlicensed Print Culture in Poland 1976–1990*. London, New York: Routledge.

Wright, Ursula T., Rocco, Tonette S., McGill Craig M. (2018). Exposing Oppressive Systems: Institutional Ethnography as a Research Method in Adult and Workforce Education. Wang, Victor C. X., Reio Jr., Thomas G. (eds.). *Handbook of Research on Innovative Techniques, Trends, and Analysis for Optimized Research Methods*. Hershey PA: IGI Global, pp. 115–131.

Yurchak, Alexei (2005). *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Zitzewitz, Josephine von (2020). *The Culture of Samizdat: Literature and Underground Networks in the Late Soviet Union*. Library of modern Russia. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Summary

Latviešu folkloristi vēlīnajā sociālismā: darbavietā

Rita Grīnvalde

Atslēgvārdi: *Vārds un Darbs*, institucionālā etnogrāfija, Latvijas PSR Zinātņu akadēmijas Valodas un literatūras institūts, latviešu folkloristikas vēsture, Brežņeva laiks

Raksts veltīts latviešu folkloristikas vēsturei padomju perioda stagnācijas gados – Latvijas PSR Zinātņu akadēmijas Valodas un literatūras institūta Folkloras sektora (daļas) darbībai. Pētījuma pamata avots ir institūta iekšējais žurnāls *Vārds un Darbs*, kas iznāca no 1965. līdz 1988. gadam. Šai nelielās tirāžas izdevumā viņpus padomju ideoloģijas slāņiem ir daudz vērtīgas historiogrāfiskas informācijas – par folkloras pētnieku kopīgajām un individuālajām gaitām, profesionālajām virsotnēm. Papildu avots interpretācijai ir dzīvesstāstu intervijas ar kādreizējā institūta darbiniekiem. Analīze veikta, izmantojot institucionālās etnogrāfijas metodi un padomju postkoloniālo studiju instrumentāriju.

Rakstā iztirzāta folkloristu darba vides dinamika, savstarpējās saiknes un padomju ideoloģijas klātbūtne institūtā. Lūkots rast atbildes uz šādiem pētnieciskajiem jautājumiem: kāda bija latviešu folkloristu ikdiena vēlīnajā padomju sociālismā? Kā institūcijā izpaudās valsts varas manifestācijas? Kādas bija hierarhiskās attiecības? Kādi bija darba un brīvā laika saskares punkti?

DOI: 10.35539/LTNC.2021.0043.A.K.I.B.Z.59.90

Outlines of Soviet Latvian Ethnography: Fieldwork in the Post-War Period

Anete Karlsone,
Ilze Boldāne-Zeļenkova

This study was supported by the State Research Programme "Latvian Heritage and Future Challenges for the Country's Sustainability" project titled "Interaction between the individual, the society and the state in process of the history of Latvia: conflicting values and formation of shared values during historical turning points", No. VPP-IZM-2018/1-0018.

Our gratitude goes to English text editors Eva Eihmane and Amanda Zaeska.

Keywords: ethnographic fieldwork, fieldwork diaries, kolkhozes, Repository of Ethnographic Materials, Soviet ethnography

As they study the material and intangible culture of Latvians and other ethnicities living in Latvia, researchers in humanities, social sciences and the arts look for sources in the Repository of Ethnographic Materials at the Institute of Latvian History, University of Latvia (*Etnogrāfisko materiālu krātuve*, hereinafter—REM). The REM stores historical evidence about traditional buildings, crafts, traditions and the consolidation of the Soviet system in the everyday life and holidays of the rural and urban population of Latvia, visualised in descriptions, photographs, drawings, plans and textile samples. The repository's collections include more than 173 500 documentary and material units, covering the period from the end of the 19th century to the present day, more widely representing the 20th century.[1] Most of the collections are a result of the work of Soviet ethnographers, who gathered materials during annual ethnographic expeditions (Vanaga 2011: 134).[2] They created a unique set of sources for current and future researchers, but the work of the ethnographers themselves in collecting evidence about the material and intangible culture during the Soviet occupation is still awaiting assessment. With the awareness that this is a subject for a special monograph, the article aims to explore the objective and subjective work conditions faced by Soviet ethnographers during their field research, which also affected the content of the REM collections.

The relevance of the collections for contemporary research is not the only consideration that urged the authors to undertake this study. An important aspect here is the awareness that, in contrast to the history of Latvian folklore (Bula 2011, Ķencis 2019) and relevant studies conducted in the neighbouring countries (Annus 2017; Čepaitienė 2013; Johansen 1996; Jääts 2019; Kapper 2016; Savoniakaitė 2008, 2019; Viires 1991), the history of Latvian ethnography, including that of the period of Soviet Latvian ethnography, has not yet been written. Latvian historiography contains an overview of and research into certain areas of ethnographic research (Boldāne-Zeļenkova 2017, 2019a, 2019b; Karlsone 2019a, 2019b, 2019c) as well as personalities and events related to it (Bērziņš 2014; Cimermanis 1995, 1999; Jansone 2015; Vanaga 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2006, 2011). The latest summarising work published on the topic, apart from entries in encyclopaedias, is

1 Etnogrāfisko materiālu krātuves fondu saraksts. 2016. Etnogrāfisko materiālu krātuve. LU Latvijas Vēstures institūta mājaslapa. Available at: https://www.lvi.lu.lv/lv/etnokratuve.htm#fondu_saraksts, [accessed: 24.09.2021.]

2 REM stores materials from the expedition held in 1947, although the Soviet ethnographers conducted their first fieldwork in 1946. Report on the work of the Institute of History and Material Culture in 1946. LNA- LVA 2371-1-3: 26.

the collective monograph *Latviešu etnogrāfija* [Latvian Ethnography] (Strods 1969) elaborated under the editorship of Heinrihs Strods (1925–2012). It also contains information about the process, methods and results of the work of the ethnographers of the early Soviet period, the collective monograph itself being one of the latest works from that period.

In the early period of Soviet Latvia, Soviet Latvian ethnography, like one of its research objects—everyday life and culture in the socialist state—was in constant development, caught in the crossfire of the decisions adopted by the General Assembly of the Communist Party and the orders issued by "higher-level authorities" regarding criticism and self-criticism.[3] Before the country's incorporation into the USSR, the field of ethnology in Latvia, unlike that of folklore, archaeology or history, did not have a strong research tradition or institutional background.[4] In 1946, with the foundation of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR (hereinafter—LSSR AS) and the institutes under its authority, this discipline, entitled "ethnography", was given a place within the Institute of History and Material Culture. It was called "ethnography" and not "ethnology" because it was under the former title that the discipline was recognised in the science ecosystem of the USSR. In the Soviet system of science, ethnology was considered a "bourgeois" discipline, a term that had a negative connotation.

Like science in the USSR in general, Soviet ethnography was based on the Marxist-Leninist idea of dialectical (historical) materialism (Lenin's works on national issues, social relations, a non-capitalist path of development, national culture and its link to social strata).[5] In the Leninist version of Marxism, this acquired the model of five socio-economic formations: primeval society, slave society, feudal society, capitalist society and communist society (which in turn consists of two stages, namely, socialist and communist society) (Bleiere 2021). The 1929 session of Soviet ethnographers and the 1932 joint session of ethnographers and archaeologists "chose" (there being no other option available) this approach as the basis for further research in the field of ethnography. At the time of the emergence of Soviet Latvian ethnography, ethnographers in the USSR were addressing the following issues: research of the history of primitive societies, historical-ethnographic exploration of different peoples (including the Latvians) and the study of the new ethnographic community referred to as the Soviet people (LPE 1983: 234).

3 Higher-level authorities, or *vishestoiashie organizacii*, is a commonly used notion in Soviet terminology for institutions at the top of the administrative pyramid.

4 Ethnology as an independent field of science began to develop only at the very end of the 1930s under the leadership of Swedish ethnologist Dag Trotzig (1914–1944). He was an assistant professor at the University of Latvia and, from 1939 until the Soviet occupation, in cooperation with the Board of Monuments (1923–1944) and the Latvian Chamber of Literature and Art (1938–1940), organised expeditions to collect expressions of the spirit and will of the people (Trocigs 1940: 174–175; Boldāne-Zeļenkova 2019b: 37).

5 The concept of historical materialism developed by Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) is based on the idea that human societies successively go through several stages of socio-economic development, in which a certain type of production (level of development of means of production and economic relations) determines a certain political and social structure and ideology. The progress of society takes a leap forward in a revolutionary way. Revolutions take place when a new type of production and production relations have developed in the depths of the previous system, but the social and ideological body of society has remained the same (Bleiere 2021).

The N. N. Miklukho-Maklai Institute of Ethnography under the USSR Academy of Sciences (hereinafter—the Institute of Ethnography), which qualified as a "higher-level authority", served as the centre of Soviet ethnography both in ideological and administrative terms.[6] Its task was, among other things, to provide methodological support to the periphery and to monitor the activities of ethnographers in the socialist republics. The Institute of Ethnography provided recommendations and opinions on the annual and five-year plans of the ethnographers from the Soviet republics and also commented on their reports. The Moscow ethnographers organised complex expeditions with the participation of ethnographers from different Soviet republics and representatives of other research disciplines, mainly folklorists, linguists, architects and artists. They conducted methodological seminars and conferences, and the USSR Academy of Sciences provided an opportunity for Latvian SSR ethnographers to conduct post-graduate studies in ethnography at the doctoral level and receive a Candidate of Science degree. The scholarly activities of Latvian SSR ethnographers were supervised by the leading staff of the USSR Institute of Ethnography, notable researchers and leading members of the Communist Party, professors Nikolaj Nikolaevich Cheboksarov (1907–1980) and Pavel Ivanovich Kushner (1889–1968), as well as Lyudmila Nikolaevna Terenteva (1910–1982), who was a specialist in the ethnography of the Baltic peoples. They provided similar consultation to ethnographers of the Estonian SSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

In addition to being subjected to instructions and assistance from the Institute of Ethnography, the research institutes[7] where a group of Soviet Latvian ethnographers worked also had dual subordination in the Latvian SSR. On the one hand, the institutes were subordinate institutions of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR; on the other hand, they, as structural units of the LSSR AS, depended on the decisions of the Presidium and the Department of Social Sciences of the LSSR AS. The work of Soviet Latvian ethnographers—countering criticism and engaging in self-criticism, planning, reporting, and re-planning under the impact of the mutually contradictory instructions issued by various "higher-level authorities"—is reflected in the minutes of the meetings of the Scientific Councils of the institutes and of the Ethnography Department.[8] The results of the ethnographers' work, which in the early Soviet period in Latvia lagged behind the plan, can be seen in monographs and publications issued in the Latvian SSR and in scholarly journals published in the USSR,[9] as well as in recommendations that they provided to government commissions, industrial

6 In the Stalinist era, this was also a centre for folklore. For details, see the monograph by Toms Ķencis (Ķencis 2019: 42).

7 The Institute of History and Material Culture at the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences (1946–1950), the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore at the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences (1951–1955), the Institute of History and Material Culture at the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences (1956–1958), the Institute of History at the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences (1959–1990).

8 Minutes of the meetings of the Scientific Councils (SC) of the Institute of History and the Institute of Folklore and Ethnography at the LSSR AS are held in the National Archives of Latvia – the State Archives of Latvia (Riga, hereinafter – LNA–LVA), funds 2371 and 2372.

9 *LPSR Zinātņu akadēmijas Vēstis*, since 1947; *Arheoloģija un etnogrāfija*, since 1957.

enterprises, museums, etc. and in the collections of ethnographic materials included in the REM. Information on the first results of field research can be found in the diaries of ethnographic expeditions[10] and in the annual collections of abstracts of the scientific report sessions of archaeologists and ethnographers.[11]

The goal of Soviet Latvian ethnography was to study the process of origin and formation of the Latvian people (*ethnogenesis*), the areas of habitation of ethnic and ethnographic groups (*ethnic geography*) and the Latvians' material and intangible culture at all stages of their historical development (Strods 1969: 7). Based on the approach of historical materialism and the dialectical method, Soviet Latvian ethnographers studied all relevant phenomena throughout the process of their origin, existence and disappearance. The chronological perspective to the set of explored issues was also dictated by the fact that in the Soviet Union ethnography was a sub-discipline of historical science. Another principle applied by Soviet Latvian ethnographers, and one that made their research more comprehensive, was a complex thematic approach. It prescribed the involvement of representatives of several disciplines—linguists, folklorists, geographers—or the application of their research findings in addressing a specific research issue. Materials obtained during ethnographic expeditions, sources of history and archaeology, anthropology, folklore and linguistics, as well as data from sociological surveys and material cultural objects, formed the base of ethnographic research sources.

The focus of this article is on ethnographic expeditions as a method of collecting ethnographic primary sources, and on the external and internal conditions under which the expeditions took place.

The expeditions and the preparations for them did not differ much in any phase of Soviet Latvian ethnography, either in terms of time-space or in comparison with the relevant activities of other humanitarian sciences, which at that time were termed "border disciplines". After the expedition was made part of the work plan and approved by the "higher-level authorities", the director of the institute sent a letter to the executive committee and the Communist Party unit of the respective district informing them about the purpose of the planned expedition and asking them to support it by providing information and other forms of support. Such letters were also sent to the managers of the collective farms, village councils and schools in the planned research areas.

Before the whole team of researchers embarked on the fieldwork, the expedition leader made a pilot trip. As part of this, he or she became acquainted with the representatives of the local administrative apparatus (managers of collective farms, party secretaries, school principals and museum management) and reached agreements with them on cooperation,

10 The diaries of ethnographers written during fieldwork are kept at the REM: E 1, 1–17, 158, 160–185; E 2, 450, 849, 909, E 3, 360; E 13, 634, 1075, 1385, 1554, 3689; E 17, 2956, 3734; E 33, 3673.

11 Zinātniskās atskaites sesijas materiāli par arheologu un etnogrāfu ... gada pētījumu rezultātiem], 1958–1990.

accommodation, etc. Within the first days of the expedition, an article written by a participant of the expedition would appear in the local press describing the aim of the field research trip and urging the local residents to cooperate with the researchers.

Until the second half of the 1950s, the institute followed the practice of holding a research session on the expedition site. These were extensive one-day events that included an exhibition of folk applied art, scholarly readings and a concert by local amateur artists. Materials for the exhibition were provided and the exhibition itself was prepared by the participants of the expedition. The expedition leader was also responsible for preparing at least one report outlining the results of the expedition that was delivered during the scholarly part of the event. Shortly after this event, when the materials of the exhibition were returned to their owners and the business trip certificates were stamped, the participants of the expedition returned to Riga.

Beginning in 1958, the results of ethnographic and archaeological expeditions were made public at an event entitled the Archaeologists' and Ethnographers' Scholarly Reports Session held in Riga. Naturally, the administration of the host municipality and the respondents were also invited. These events were widely attended. The audience comprised specialists working in the LSSR AS system, government and party representatives, colleagues from other institutes and museums, and other interested parties.

Soviet Latvian Ethnographers in the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR

The Institute of History and Material Culture: the Beginning

Between 1946, when the Institute of History and Material Culture was founded, and 1951, when the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore was established, only a few ethnographers worked in the system of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR; their number did not exceed five employees. The ethnographers were headed by Daina Zemzare (1911–1971), a philologist who had earned a doctoral degree at the University of Latvia before the Soviet occupation. She developed instructions for collecting ethnographic materials[12] and organised ethnographic expeditions to districts of Latvia where no collection of relevant materials had

12 The instructions were approved at the meeting of the Department of Material Culture at the Institute of History and Material Culture, LSSR AS, held on June 27, 1949 (Minutes No. 40), with the participation of Lyudmila Terenteva from the Institute of Ethnography.

taken place yet: Straupe (Raiskums, Lielstraupe) and Jaunpiebalga (1946),[13] Ilūkste (1947), Jēkabpils (1948, 1949, 1950), Ludza (1947, 1948, 1949), Piebalga (1947, 1950), Straupe again (1947), Viļaka (1949) and Vecpiebalga (1949). The ethnographers from the Institute of History and Material Culture (Z. Birzniece, A. Ruņģe, R. Zarembo and Anna Zariņa[14]) conducted the fieldwork in close cooperation with specialists from the LSSR History Museum and the State History Cathedral Museum (in Riga) as well with representatives from the Riga School of Arts and Crafts and the Agricultural Academy. Jēkabs Strazdiņš (1905–1958), an assistant professor at the Academy of Arts, participated in the expeditions as a draftsman.

Along with the annual replanning of the ethnographers' work, the tasks set for fieldwork also changed. For example, in 1948, the emphasis of the field research was on obtaining information "that is still stored in the memory of the elderly", including village "constitution" in Latgale, old traditions, etc. However, starting from 1949, the focus had to rest on current developments, such as collectivisation and the construction of collective farm (kolkhoz) villages in the countryside. It should be added that the deportations carried out by the occupying authorities of the USSR on March 25, 1949, targeted Latvia's rural population with the aim of accelerating the process of collectivisation and reducing popular support for the members of the national resistance movement still hiding in the forests.

The bulk of the ethnographic collection, gathered during the fieldwork conducted in this period, is included in fund No. 20 of the REM (E 20). The E 20 collection contains materials from the period 1948–1950 that were collected in several districts of the Vidzeme (Madona, Cēsis, Valka) and Zemgale-Sēlija regions (Bauska, Ilūkste, Jēkabpils) as well as the then-largest administrative units of Latgale (Abrene, Daugavpils, Ludza and Rēzekne). These materials comprise 9% of all the materials held at the REM from Latgale, 3% of the materials from Vidzeme and 22% of the materials from Zemgale and Sēlija.[15] This collection covers a great variety of themes, including data on the activities of the local residents, tools and other ethnographic objects, buildings, food and traditions. The "collective farm" and "Soviet culture" thematic groups contain statistical data and various narratives and photos documenting life and work on collective farms.

The years 1949 and 1950 saw an increase in the number of materials dedicated to this latter topic, namely, collective farms and Soviet culture. This might be explained by the instructions received from the Institute of Ethnography. In the spring of 1950, a research conference was held in Moscow with the participation of Soviet Latvian ethnographers. At the meeting of the Department of Material Culture it was reported that this conference had set research on ethnogenesis and collective farms as the main work directions for Soviet ethnographers and also

13 The REM collections do not contain materials gathered in this fieldwork. Evidence of this expedition can be found in the minutes of the scientific meeting of the institute, LNA–LVA 2371–1–3–3.

14 Anna Zariņa (1921–2015) was later a well-known archaeologist and researcher of the history of clothing.

15 The calculation is based on figures provided on the website of the Institute of Latvian History, University of Latvia. Available at: https://www.lvi.lu.lv/lv/etnokratuve.htm#fondu_saraksts [accessed: 24.09.2021.].

prescribed the relevant research methodology. At the conclusion of the meeting, the department adopted a decision that materials pertaining to the construction of collective farms would be collected more intensively, especially from the best collective farms of the Latvian SSR.[16]

In 1950, the regular meeting of the Coordination Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the joint meeting of the Presidiums of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR took place in Moscow. Among other things, the meetings analysed the work of the institutes of the Latvian SSR AS. The following major shortcomings were found in the work of the institutes, including that of the Institute of History and Material Culture: (1) insufficient attention given to Stalin's work on linguistic issues; (2) a lack of focus on comprehensive topics, the research of which would involve several institutes, and (3) a shortage of qualified staff and an absence of creative discussions. In an effort to address these shortcomings, it was decided to establish an Institute of Ethnography and Folklore at the LSSR AS. This institute was founded on January 27, 1951, by decision No. 84 of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR. Consequently, the study of Soviet Latvian ethnography was transferred from under the authority of the Institute of History and Material Culture and for the subsequent five years was carried out under the auspices of the newly established Institute of Ethnography and Folklore.

The Institute of Ethnography and Folklore: the Formation of a Core

At the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, the Department of Ethnography was headed by writer Jānis Niedre (1909–1987), although functions of the head of the department were also performed by Anna Krastiņa (1919–?) and Elza Lase. Mirdza Slava (1924–2001) and Antonina Zavarina (1928–2015) worked there from the very foundation of the institute. They were joined by Lidija Jefremova (1929–2000) in 1952, Ingrīda Leinasare (1929–2004) in 1953, and Aina Alsupe (1926–2015) and Saulvedis Cimermanis (born 1929) in 1954. All of these people, after receiving the relevant education and accumulating fieldwork experience, formed the core of Soviet Latvian ethnographers, and their professional contribution to Latvian ethnography is still topical and highly valued.

Following the recommendations of the "higher-level authorities", the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore began its work by rearranging the research topics and plans of ethnographers' work in accordance with the guidelines set out in Joseph Stalin's (1878–1953) work *Marxism and Linguistic Issues*. But the plans and selection of research themes had to be modified again already in 1952, this time under the influence of the resolution of the 19th USSR Communist Party Congress (1952) and another work by Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*. It commanded Soviet ethnographers to focus on the following topics: national forms of socialist

16 The meeting of the Department of Material Culture at the Institute of History and Material Culture, LSSR AS, held on April 15, 1950 (Minutes No. 4). LNA–LVA 2371–1–3–3.

culture and the lifestyles of the peoples incorporated into the USSR; the favourable influence of the Russians on the other peoples of the USSR; types of development in socialist production; socialist agriculture under the conditions of the development of mechanisation; the gradual elimination of the gap between urban and rural areas; the rapid achievement of material well-being and meeting the cultural needs of the people (LNA–LVA 2372–1–84–2). References to these tasks can also be found in the diaries of expedition participants. For example, based on personal observations made at a social event organised by the Straupe collective farm, Jefremova made the following diary entry dated June 5, 1953: "The cultural difference between the countryside and the city is being erased" (Jefremova 1953: 9). She drew this conclusion from the following three observations: 1) the high number of personal-use vehicles (cars and motorcycles) used by the collective farm workers to get to the event; 2) the reluctance of women to wear national costume as festive dress for the dance party (limiting the use of the national costume to the stage); 3) polite behaviour even from the drunk participants at the event.

The meetings of the Department of Ethnography at the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore were inevitably attended by representatives of the Department of Social Sciences of the Latvian SSR AS and of the Communist Party. Among the participants were also specialists from the institutes dedicated to related research disciplines (history, language) and ethnographers from the museums that collaborated in the development of the department's plans and the outlines for upcoming fieldwork.[17] At the beginning of the joint expeditions, Niedre, in cooperation with Krastiņa, reminded the participants of the instructions for fieldwork, covering the collection of both ethnographic and folklore material. These instructions had been elaborated at a seminar organised by the Folklore Sector of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore on May 14, 1952 (LNA–LVA 2372–1–82–32–35).

While working at the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore (1951–1955), Soviet Latvian ethnographers felt special care from their Moscow colleagues in regard to the development of the discipline in the Latvian SSR. At the time, institute specialists Slava and Zavarina launched their studies at the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The experience of Moscow ethnographers was also taken over during joint expeditions conducted with the active participation of Cheboksarov and Terenteva. The ethnographic and folklore expeditions taking place in Latvia between 1952 and 1955 were formally part of the complex Baltic fieldwork organised by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under the leadership of Cheboksarov. However, most of the expeditions were organised and run by local researchers.

Under the leadership of Niedre, Krastiņa and Slava, the expeditions covered the following districts of Latvia: Bauska, Baldone and Jaunjelgava (1951); Nereta, Aknīste, Ilūkste (1952); Rūjiena (1953); Cēsis (1953, 1954); Alūksne (1953, 1954); Krustpils and Madona (1954); Viļāni, Preiļi and Varakļāni (1955) and others. The expeditions aimed to document the processes taking place in the lifestyle and culture of the workers of the Latvian SSR, to record the consolidation of the

17 The work of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore (structure, tasks, expeditions, etc.) is described well in the monograph written by Toms Ķencis (see Ķencis 2019).

Latvian socialist nation in ethnically mixed areas, and to note the agricultural and craftsmanship tools used as well as their development. Specialists from the Central State History Museum and the Architecture Department of the Latvian Open-Air Museum, as well as students from the Latvian State University and the Conservatory, also took part in the expeditions. The relevant material was jointly collected by ethnographers, folklorists, anthropologists and architects.

Toponyms, the typology of ethnographic objects and sets of statistical data collected during the fieldwork allowed ethnographers to address issues of ethnogenesis and study contacts and cultural influences between neighbouring nations and regions. In addition, materials pertaining to the development of collective farms and industrial enterprises were collected in the form of sets of internal- and external-use documents of the enterprises as well as observations by the ethnographers involved in the expedition. The materials gathered during these expeditions make up 1% of the material held at the REM in the Latgale region collection, 9% of the material in the Vidzeme collection, 5% of the material in the Kurzeme collection and 12% of the material in the Zemgale and Sēlija collection.[18]

The Institute of Ethnography and Folklore and the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR were unable to provide for all the material needs of the expeditions; many issues, including catering, had to be "addressed on site". As we shall see later, the issue of supply presented a problem in subsequent years.

The Institute of History: Steady Development

According to decision No. 20/351–1 adopted at the November 3, 1955, meeting of the Presidium of the LSSR AS, in 1956 ethnographers were transferred back under the authority of the Institute of History and Material Culture, which in 1959 was renamed the Institute of History at the LSSR AS. Soviet Latvian ethnography continued to be studied in this research institution throughout the subsequent years of the Latvian SSR, despite changes in its name and structural units (Department of Material Culture, Department of Ethnography and Archaeology, Department of Ethnography). From 1956 to 1961, the work of ethnographers at the Institute of History was led by historian Marģers Stepermanis (1898–1968), for the next ten years the work was led by historian Heinrihs Strods (1925–2012), and from 1971 to 1991 it was led by ethnographer Saulvedis Cimermanis.

While at the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, the number of ethnographers did not exceed ten. By the early 1980s, the staff of the Ethnography Department of the Institute of

18 The materials are aggregated under the following collection numbers: 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8. The materials from this stage of work by Soviet Latvian ethnographers can also be found in the collections allocated to individual researchers, e.g., collection No. 6 holds Anna Krastiņa's materials, collection No. 9 holds those of Elza Lase, and collection No. 15 holds those of Mirdza Slava.

History had at least doubled. Looking back at the period before the ethnographers' return to the Institute of History and Material Culture, Cimermanis wrote: "Until 1956, the most important task was to staff the Department of Ethnography with graduates from Soviet universities" (Cimermanis 1976: 115). This task was successfully carried out, and among the ethnographers working at the institute were Mirdza Slava (1955),[19] Antonina Zavarina (1956),[20] Ingrīda Leinasare (1958)[21] and Linda Dumpe (1965),[22] who defended their theses at the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Saulvedis Cimermanis (1958),[23] Anna Krastiņa (1959),[24] Lidija Jefremova (1960)[25] and Aina Alsupe (1964)[26] defended their dissertations in the LSSR AS system. The Soviet Latvian ethnographers continued to pursue the same research directions as before: the material culture and lifestyle of Latvians, changes in the lifestyle and culture of the Latvian socialist nation, and Latvian ethnic history.

On April 20, 1956, at the meeting of the Scientific Council of the Institute of History, historian Teodors Zeids (1912–1994) expressively described the existing model of cooperation with the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The situation is very uncomfortable, because the departments of archaeology and ethnography of the institutes of the Baltic republics have become branches of the institutes of material culture and ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR" (LNA–LVA 2371–1–202–23). Henceforth, the Institute of History pursued the following principle in its relations with the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR: the cooperation should continue, but Latvian ethnographers must not forget their work plan, which has been approved by the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR.

From 1959 to 1965, ethnographers of the Latvian SSR participated on a regular basis in complex Baltic-scale expeditions to destinations in Latvia and other republics. While taking part in fieldwork organised by the Institute of Ethnography, and the Museum of Ethnography of the Estonian SSR as well as that organised by the Institute of History of of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, Soviet Latvian ethnographers also collected materials in the Russian FSSR, Belorussian SSR, Estonian SSR and Lithuanian SSR. In 1966, ethnographers of the Latvian SSR became involved in three major projects: the compilation of

19 Thesis *Latvian Women's Clothing and Its Ornamentation in the 18th-20th Century.*

20 Thesis *The Old Believers' Families and Daily Life in Latgale in the 19th Century and the First Half of the 20th Century.*

21 Thesis *Latvian Agricultural Tools in the 18th Century and the First Half of the 19th Century.*

22 Thesis *Development of Harvesting Tools in Latvia from Ancient Times to the Beginning of the 20th Century.*

23 Thesis *Lifestyle of Agricultural Workers in Kurzeme and Zemgale in the Second Half of the 19th Century.*

24 Thesis *Farmers' Dwellings in Vidzeme during the Period of Capitalism's Strengthening.*

25 Thesis *Latgale's Peasant Family and Family Lifestyle in the Second Half of the 19th Century and the First Half of the 20th Century.*

26 Thesis *Textile Production in Vidzeme in the 19th Century and the First Half of the 20th Century.*

historical-ethnographic atlases of the Baltic nations' agricultural tools, traditional architecture and peasant clothing. In 1968 and 1973, expeditions of the Ethnography Department were organised to the Vitebsk region of the Belarusian SSR and in 1975 to the Pskov region of the USSR. Researchers from other republics also participated in expeditions organised by Latvian SSR ethnographers within the borders of Latvia. Then, as before, along with the ethnographers from the Institute of History, the expeditions involved specialists from museums in the Latvian SSR, university students, students from secondary schools specialising in applied arts, and individuals interested in ethnography.

This phase in the work of Soviet Latvian ethnographers was highly productive, thanks to growing financial allocations and long-term planning (for example, plans were no longer chaotically revised multiple times, sometimes even within a single year, as had been the case during the Stalinist era). The focus fell on the historical-ethnographic regions of Latvia as the primary objects of ethnographic research: first Vidzeme (1956–1961), then Latgale (1962–1968), followed by Sēlija (1969–1970), and finally Zemgale and Kurzeme (1971–1982). The main method applied in the collection of materials remained the same: ethnographic fieldwork and observation (Fig. 1, 2). The expeditions organised at that time were large-scale[27] (Cimermanis 1959a, 1959b, 1960, 1962, 1970, 1971, 1982a, 1982b, 1983, 1987; Krastiņa 1961, 1967, 1969; Kronis 1986; Leinasare 1965; Slava 1960a, 1960b, 1960c, 1963; Strods 1962; Zavarina 1964). The materials collected between 1956 and 1990 comprise 86% of all the materials stored in the REM pertaining to Latgale, 87% of those pertaining to Vidzeme, 64% to Zemgale/Sēlija and 87% to Kurzeme. In fact, they constitute the largest part of the REM's collections.

Representation of Fieldwork in the Ethnographers' Diaries

In addition to collecting materials to be recorded on forms and in reports or to be handed over to museums, participants in fieldwork were obliged to also keep notes and write expedition diaries. After the 1960s, however, writing (and preserving) expedition diaries was no longer a binding practice for researchers. Obviously, this is why only 15 diaries have been registered in the Repository of Ethnographic Materials at the Institute of Latvian History, University of Latvia. The diaries held in the REM were written by the following researchers: Gundega Ivanova, Jānis Niedre and Aina Klaviņa during an expedition to Bauska district in 1951 (Fig. 3); Anna Krastiņa and Antoņina Zavarina during an expedition to Aknīste

27 The materials collected during this time are held in the REM collections under the following numbers: 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 49, 53, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63 and 65. The materials gathered during expeditions in this period can also be found in the collections of individual researchers, e.g., the materials gathered by Jefremova are kept in collection No. 14 (E 14) and those by Cimermanis in collection No. 30 (E 30).

Fig. 1. Participants of the ethnographic expedition at work. Gulbene district, Beļava village, farmstead Krūmiņi, 1956. Photo: A. Krastiņa. E 11, f 301-9.

Fig. 2. Participants of the ethnographic expedition at work. Gulbene district, Čipati village, farmstead Podnieki, 1956. Photo: M. Slava. E 11, f 248-1.

and Nereta districts in 1952; Lidija Jefremova during an expedition in Cēsis district in 1953; Aina Alsupe, Maija Mazulāne, Rasma Svārpstone, Olga Zamore and Biruta Zunde during an expedition to Valka, Valmiera and Rūjiena districts in 1958; Aleksandrs Jansons and Ilga Madre during an expedition to Madona and Krustpils districts in 1959; and Anna Krastiņa during her pilot trip to Ilūkste district in 1967. The ethnographers wrote their diary entries late at night, rewriting and systematising the observations made in the field during the day. An example of a diary entry:

> In the evening I made a poster for the scholarly meeting in Aknīste (in the Russian language). I made an entry in the diary. Now, at 23.30, I am going to bed. (Krastiņa 1952a: 58)

In terms of style, the diaries registered in the repository of ethnographic materials are very different. Some participants of expeditions only registered the houses and narrators visited and the amount of materials collected on the respective day, adding only a few personal notes, such as "cloth, home-woven in good taste" or "I'm sick", as in the diaries of Alsupe, Madre and Jansons (Fig. 4). Later, Alsupe repeatedly emphasised that she deliberately kept her notes in the expedition diary laconic so as not to incur any harm to the respondents and her colleagues. However, other participants of expeditions recorded even practical aspects of daily life, narratives on topics disapproved of by the Soviet regime, and personal observations. In this respect, the remarks by ethnographer Krastiņa and those participants of expeditions not employed by the institute are especially valuable.

Transportation, Accommodation and Catering

Almost all of the diaries begin with an entry made on the date and time when the expedition group left Riga and reached the destination of the fieldwork. The expedition participants mainly travelled by bus or trucks that had been adapted to the transportation of people, sometimes also by train. The expedition diaries also mention rides in the truck owned by the Latvian Open-Air Museum (Krastiņa 1952a: 1) and the truck allocated to them by the LSSR AS (Krastiņa, Čivkule 1967: 1). Moving around within the area chosen for the fieldwork also took place in trucks provided to the expedition by the local collective farm, by bicycle or by horse-drawn cart. But mostly the ethnographers moved around on foot, testing the durability of their shoes (Fig. 5):

> Today was a nice morning—neither cold nor hot. Suitable for walking. We took our belongings, which, in spite of our utmost frugality, are quite heavy, and went to the collective farm named after Vilis Lācis. We walked along the road in the hope of hitching a ride, because it is quite difficult to conquer nine kilometres while carrying our belongings on our shoulders. (Jefremova 1953: 36)

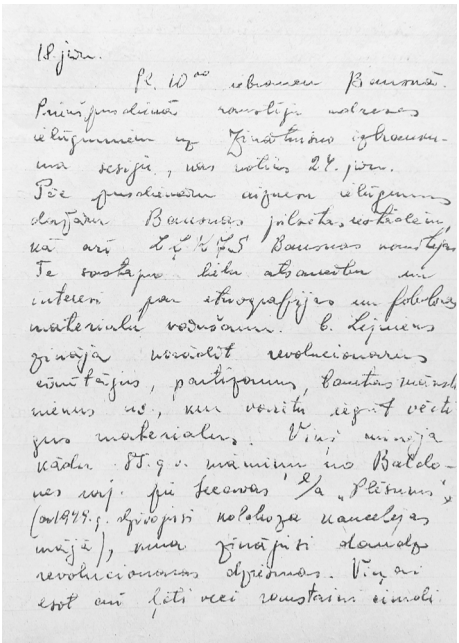


Fig. 3. G. Ivanova's diary from expedition in Bauska district in 1951. E1, 1.

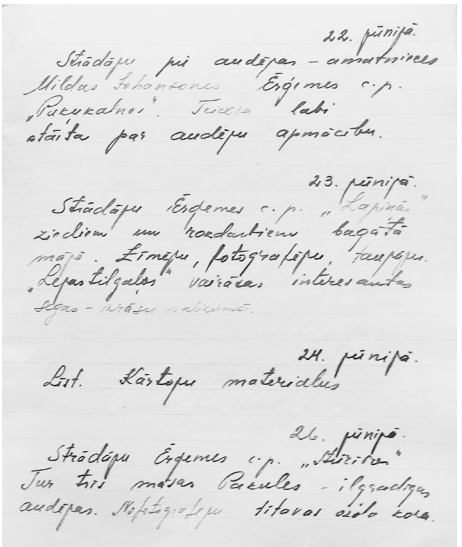


Fig. 4. A.Alsupe's diary from expedition in Valka district in 1958. E13, 1554.

In the late 1950s and in the following years, a vehicle was allocated to the expedition, which was a great relief and made it easier for the ethnographers to get to their research destinations as well as to collect materials for the exhibition and later return them to their owners. Schools and school dormitories, which in summer, when the fieldwork took place, were vacant due to school holidays, were the most frequent accommodation choice for expedition participants.

Already in spring, the administration of the institute wrote and sent letters to the respective education boards, school principals, village councils, executive committees, etc., asking them to cooperate with the participants of the upcoming expedition, including providing them with accommodation in schools. During his or her pilot trip to the expedition's destination, the expedition leader signed a cooperation agreement with the local municipality. However, the members of the expedition did not always feel comfortable in their accommodation. For example, Jefremova did not enjoy staying in the medieval castle that housed the Straupe School. She described it as gloomy and cold (Jefremova 1953: 1). Mazulāne, in turn, mentioned in her diary that, due to the renovation of the local school building,

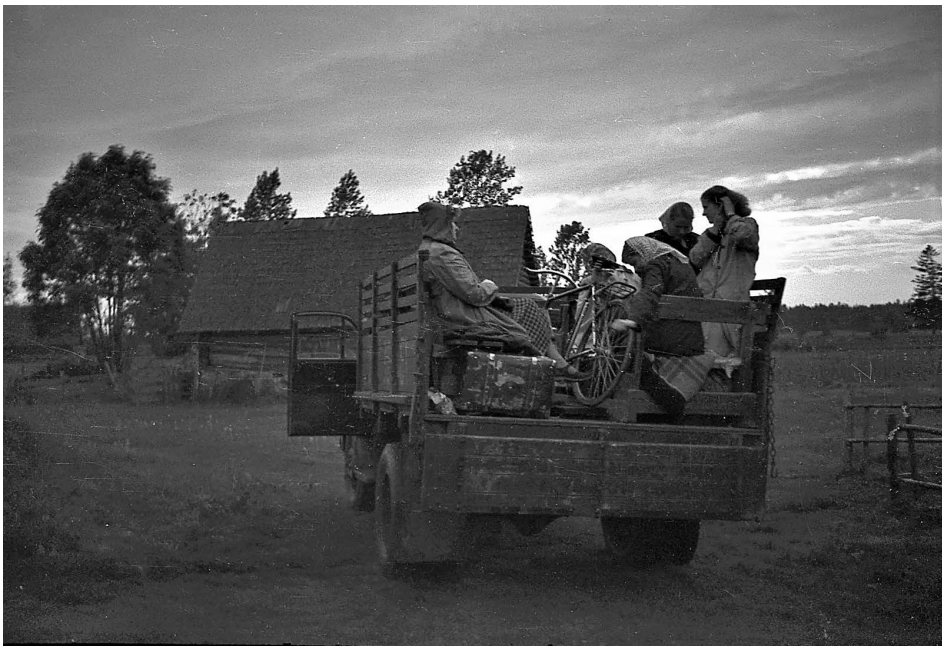


Fig. 5. Transportation of the ethnographic expedition in 1956. Photo: M. Slava. E 11, f240-1.

the members of the expedition were allocated four rooms in the building of the Jērcēni village council. She specially stressed the fact that two of the rooms had earlier been used as prison cells (Mazulāne 1958: 10). Zamore, for her part, described the Trikāta school as inhospitable, as the expedition team had to sleep on the floor there, because "all the beds had been taken to the town of Valka for athletes to sleep in" (Zamore 1958: 14). But none of these inconveniences can compare with the experience of sleeping in a hay barn or hayloft, where the sleep of expedition participants was disturbed by great numbers of rats (Jefremova 1953: 35). Those researchers studying the daily life of workers on collective farms had the most difficult time in this regard. Their basic research method was observation, which, among other things, required staying with the respective family. Sleeping under one roof with the research object was not always possible due to several reasons: 1) not all families were willing to provide accommodation to complete strangers (and this was not always expressed in a polite form), and 2) not all families were able provide accommodation due to the very small size of their living quarters (moreover, some homesteads had been converted into communal apartments). In such cases, the only alternative for the ethnographers was to stay in the barn or the hayloft.

Fig. 6. Expedition participants 'swimming in a mud bath' on the way to Paušķene village. Gulbene district, Paukšķene vilage, 1956. Photo: A. Krastiņa E 11, f300-13.

By the following decade, the situation had already changed. The team of the preparatory trip for the 1967 expedition, consisting of Krastiņa, Čivkule, Zavarina and Jefremova, stayed at the *Hotel Leningrad* in the city of Daugavpils. However, an incident arose even in this case. Despite the fact that well ahead of the trip a telegram had been sent to the hotel, asking for a reservation, no rooms were available when the ethnographers arrived. As a result, the four ladies had to share a five-bed room, while the driver slept in the vehicle (Krastiņa 1967: 1).

Matters of personal hygiene are mentioned very little in the diaries. Only two of them contain notes about bathing in a river (Zunde 1958: 32) and in a bath-house (Krastiņa 1952b: 10) (Fig. 6).

As part of the preparations for an expedition, the director of the institute sent a request to the Supply Department of the Latvian SSR AS, listing the items necessary for the expedition, including not only technical supplies such as millimetre paper, pencils, notebooks, cameras and transportation but also the matter of catering. The issue of food was often left to be

addressed "on site". It was not easy to find solutions, especially in the 1950s, when the rural population, collective farmers included, suffered grave deprivation. Matters of providing food were often mentioned in the notes of expedition leader Krastiņa, who recorded both the purchase of products (milk, eggs) from collective farmers and the hospitality extended by local residents who shared their meals with the team:

> [A place to stay for the night was found]. Just one thing left to worry about: there is nothing to eat for dinner. People in this area are very poor. They themselves have to buy bread, but it is not always available in the store. There are no potatoes on the *Pilītes* homestead, either. We went to the neighbouring homesteads. We got potatoes at *Veseļi*, we bought eggs at *Jēči*. (Krastiņa 1952b: 25)

The meals consumed by expedition participants, especially in the early 1950s, lacked diversity: potatoes, eggs, cottage cheese, milk, sandwiches, porridge, honey. The Midsummer Eve meal provided by the hosts in 1952 was highlighted in the diaries of several members of the expedition:

> We, the participants of the expedition, were also treated to a dinner. [The hosts] set the table with a variety of "Midsummer evening snacks": Midsummer cheese, white bread, dried ham, homemade tea cookies, fresh salad and homemade beer. We ate together with the hosts. We also sang *Līgo* songs and folk songs. Later in the night, the hosts received guests from the neighbourhood and went together with them to other homesteads to continue the celebrations. We [ethnographers] were tired, we all stayed [in our accommodations] and went to bed. (Krastiņa 1952a: 15)

Expedition participants also bought food at the local markets and shops. Thus, by describing the ethnographers' personal experience, which revealed sharing the same everyday problems that the locals faced, the diaries showed the true Soviet reality. This differed very much from the simulacrum that the Soviet regime was creating with the ethnographers' assistance (Fig. 7).

> In the morning we hurried to the Rubene store for bread. The store opens at 9:00, but already at 8:00 there was a long line [of people waiting outside]. One person is allowed to buy only one brick-shaped loaf of rye bread. However, there is not enough bread for everyone. We did not get any bread either, because we were standing at the end of the line. (Krastiņa 1952a: 33-34)

During her pilot trip in 1967, ethnographer Krastiņa tried to reach an agreement with the local canteens on catering for the expedition participants. This required another set of agreements with the "higher-level authorities" of the canteens. Recalling a conversation she had had in the canteen on the Subate collective farm, Krastiņa wrote: "I have to talk to comrade Geidāns, the head of the Subate consumer association, about additional [food] deliveries if we want to have meals for the participants of the expedition" (Krastiņa, Čivkule 1967: 13).

Fig. 7. A meal during fieldwork. Gulbene district, Beļava village, 1956. Photo: A. Krastiņa. E 11, f301-23.

The diaries show the true meaning of the phrase "expedition supplies to be handled on site" mentioned by officials in the Institute's minutes. In the first decades of its existence, the LSSR Academy of Sciences system was unable to provide much practical support to all the scientific institutions, including the necessary equipment for field research. Although official letters requesting support for ethnographic expeditions were sent to the responsible officials in the area of the expeditions at least a few months before their launch, this support was often merely formal. There were both subjective and objective reasons for this. In the first post-war years, the collective farms as well as the rural population lived in great deprivation and hardship, and even if they wanted to, they could not provide the ethnographers with the necessary material support. The few pieces of machinery or carts and horses that the collective farms had at their disposal were at the time being used for summer agricultural work. In addition, until the mid-1950s, the political situation also played an important role. Whether out of personal conviction or a fear of national partisans, some kolkhoz employees refused to accommodate or share food with participants of ethnographic expeditions, who were regarded as representatives of the Soviet regime. This explains the great enthusiasm with which the diaries describe those respondents whose hospitality and humanity stood above the squalid conditions in which they lived.

By the late 1950s, sleeping in hay barns with rats was a thing of the past, and the ethnographers had a car from the Academy of Sciences at their disposal to take them to the sites in the morning and to pick them up in the evening and return them to their accommodation. Food supply issues also became less and less of a concern as the financial situation of the LSSR AS and the infrastructure on collective farms improved.

Respondents, Interviews and Rain

According to the examined diaries, each expedition began with a visit to the offices of the local collective farm, the village council, and the local units of the Communist Party and the so-called "cells" of the Young Communist League. These were not just courtesy visits with the purpose of getting the business trip papers stamped. Depending on their research interests, this was where the ethnographers received recommendations on which houses to visit and whom to interview. Families affected by the deportations organised by the regime were often excluded from the list of respondents:

> 2:00 pm—a conversation with the secretary of the party unit. Some families are [recognised as being] unsuitable for research—from one family a brother was deported in 1940 for anti-Soviet activities. The situation with the other families is similar. (Jefremova 1953: 20)

Schools and local history museums (e.g., in Bauska and Valka) were also an important source of information for compiling lists of potential respondents. During the preparations for an expedition, the ethnographers tried to involve employees from these institutions in the expeditions, but they unfortunately did not always succeed. A second method of getting respondents was to "make a blind selection" (Mazulāne 1958: 14, Zamore 1958: 6). The success rate was similar in both cases. For example, sometimes an interview could not take place due to the absence of the selected respondents. Also, recommended respondents, who were usually among the best workers on the respective collective farm, were not always able to provide information about the homesteads they lived on because they were newcomers there. On the other hand, people chosen by blind selection who happened to have returned from deportation in Siberia did not correspond to the prototype of the ideal collective farmer.

Respondents' attitudes and, consequently, their degree of openness when talking with ethnographers varied, especially in the immediate post-war decade. In his 1952 expedition report, Niedre wrote: "In their communication with ethnographers, the people maintain a pointedly official 'neutral stance', always keeping an eye on every step we make and remembering every word we say. Watching to see if something bad happens to those who talk to us. It seems that the collective farmers are excessively intimidated" (from Vanaga 2004: 149).

People living in the expedition area were under double pressure. On the one hand, the management of the collective farm called on them or ordered them to tell the ethnographers only positive things about collective farms; on the other hand, the instinct of self-preservation (the countryside had been hit hard by the deportations of 1949) made people aloof, distrustful and prone to avoiding others. Such situations are recorded in Krastiņa's notes, for example: "The hostess looks very distrustfully at the participants of the expedition; she is not very talkative" (Krastiņa 1952: 9). Svārpstone reported something similar in her diary: "Together with Dzidra [Feldmane] we arrived at the *Skujas* farmstead. This is the first house [among those visited] where the hostess only said 'There is nothing [here]!' and turned her back on us. Nothing doing, we are on our way to the next house" (Svārpstone 1958: 6). Jefremova and Milda Kazeka (1906–1985), who studied the families of collective farmers, experienced many unpleasant moments during expeditions:

> First we had to find a place to sleep. The family of the vice-chairman of the collective farm was recommended. We visited them and reached an agreement with the hostess [wife, woman of the house]. When we came back with our bags, we were made to stand in the yard for a long time until the hostess finished working in the garden. Then we were left sitting in a dark room—neither the hostess nor the host paid any attention to us. The next morning, we decided to move to a different place. (Jefremova 1953: 33)

But the diaries also contain testimonies about people who talked with the ethnographers very willingly and at great length. Some such respondents lived at Omuļi House for Disabled Persons, where "the old ladies like to speak about anything and everything, often talking too much" (Mazulāne 1958: 1). Many entries mention the respondents' hospitality, which, under the conditions of general deprivation in the first post-war years, the ethnographers found admirable:

> The hosts treated us to fresh honey, jelly and berry pie, neatly served on plates. We protested in vain, saying that each of us had a sandwich with us. The hostess said that it was a rule in their house that no one ever walked away without having eaten something. Her mother had always adhered to the rule before the time of the collective farm. Now, she said, it was not always possible to do so, because there was not always something to treat her guests to. (..) Now, all the days are just the same. There are no ingredients available with which to cook special Sunday dishes. (Zunde 1958: 44)

An ethnographer's day could be ruined not only by unkind respondents but also by rain. When it rained, the participants of expeditions "did not make the rounds of houses", because this activity definitely required good weather conditions (Jefremova 1953: 19). On such days, ethnographers sorted the acquired materials, made entries in their diaries or extracted data from documents held in the collective farm office or at the village council:

> It's raining today. My shoes are torn. We decided to stay in the school, to clean our shoes and clothing, and more or less sort out the material that we have collected. (Krastiņa 1952a: 42).

Sometimes, however, rain could act as a saviour, especially on the morning after a well-celebrated Midsummer night, allowing the celebrants to sleep longer and cure their headaches:

> It's raining. I am sorting out the materials. Some of the celebrants who were the last to stay up are still having sweet dreams until lunchtime. (Zunde 1958: 19)

The minutes of the meetings of the Ethnographic Division, the justifications of work plans and the reports show that the choice of location for ethnographic expeditions in the first post-war decades was determined by the level of ethnographic research that had been done in the area. Information about objects and persons in the area of the ethnographic expedition was provided by the administrative staff of the kolkhoz in question or by representatives from the local department of the Communist Party according to their understanding and competence, which to some extent also influenced the cooperation between ethnographers and the local population. Relations between a respondent and ethnographer were determined by various situations, which are reflected in the expedition diaries. For example, a respondent's reserved attitude may have resulted from the fact that the ethnographer, who entered the kolkhoz farmer's home with a mandate of power, was wasting the farmer's time that he needed to spend on completing other tasks delegated by the kolkhoz management. Ethnographers, in turn, sometimes became frustrated when needing to surrender their expectations of obtaining rich ethnographic material and information due to a complete lack of information or the offering of what they considered to be "worthless" objects of material culture. Fatigue also had an effect on the cooperation between respondent and ethnographer. In the first post-war decades, ethnographers often walked several kilometres from site to site. Good weather and decent footwear were their allies, but sometimes both failed them.

Exhibitions and Scholarly Sessions

Until the late 1950s, each ethnographic expedition culminated with the institute's scholarly session and exhibition of crafts, which took place in the expedition area (Fig. 8). The scholarly session included several reports (some of them had been previously discussed at the Scientific Council of the Institute), one of them focusing on the results of the current expedition and written by the expedition leader in the late evenings after filling out the expedition forms and making entries in his or her diary. Sometimes respondents also took part in the session, sharing their knowledge and experience with a broader audience: "The session opened at 18:00. I liked the speech of respondent Ēksis" (Zamore 1958: 12).

Fig. 8. Folk art exhibition organised during ethnographic expedition in Valka, 1958. Author of the photo unknown. E13, 4422.

In the evenings before the upcoming session, the expedition participants themselves drew and wrote invitations and posters. Gathering materials for the exhibition was a very labour-intensive and stressful process. Fearing thieves, respondents sometimes changed their minds and refused to lend their handicrafts to the exhibition (Krastiņa 1952a: 59). Transportation problems regarding the collection of exhibits and then returning them to their owners had to be addressed. The layout of the exhibition itself (Zamore 1958: 11), as well as the drawing of the exhibits before and after it, was also a laborious and demanding task. In the context of the preparation of exhibitions, a striking episode is mentioned in the 1952 diary of expedition leader Krastiņa. She wrote: "Feldmane, the specialist from the Open-Air Museum, helped us to set up the exhibition. We stayed in the exhibition rooms at the Aknīste cultural centre all night, because the building cannot be locked and we must not leave the collected items unattended" (Krastiņa 1952a: 60). However, Krastiņa had to deliver a lecture at the research session the very next day.

Information about the objects on display and the issues discussed in the scholarly sessions were reported on in the local and national press (Alksnīte 1953; Cimermanis 1955, 1956, 1957, 1959b, 1962; Krastiņa 1958; Līdums 1958; Urtāns 1959).

Soviet Politics and What Remained Only in the Pages of the Diaries

Fieldwork diaries were part of the set of materials collected during an expedition that had to be submitted to the institute at the end of the expedition. Compared with the number of expedition participants, the number of diaries in the REM collection is disproportionately small. There may be two reasons for this. First, perhaps the ethnographers deliberately did not submit their diaries. Second, the diaries may not have been added to the collections because of the information contained in them. Considering the strict censorship and self-censorship in science and research that existed under Soviet occupation, one must sometimes wonder about the information that does appear in the diaries held in the REM. They contain the ethnographers' attitudes towards political measures, honest and unembellished descriptions of everyday life on collective farms, and the use of terms considered undesirable in Soviet historiography.

During field research, even if acting only as observers, the expedition members had to participate in political meetings together with the members of the local community. They had to listen to reports on relevant topics at collective farm meetings and events organised by propaganda units (Kļaviņa 1951: 6). The diaries show that this was not always met with enthusiasm:

> We heard about the Beria [Lavrentiy Beria, 1899–1953] case on the radio in the office of the [collective farm] administration. I was in a terrible mood from all this. (..) At 21:00 we went to a meeting at the collective farm centre dedicated to the Beria case. (Jefremova 1953: 37-38)

These were formal, public events where privately expressed thoughts and emotions were not welcome. In the first post-war decades, there were many topics that were not supposed to be spoken out about. There were also aspects of Soviet reality about which it was not clear whether they could or could not be discussed. If they could be spoken about, what terms applied? In the expedition diaries, the institute's ethnographers very carefully chose the terms they used to refer to the interwar period of the independent state of Latvia. The most common "translation" of the term *Latvijas laiks* ('the time/era of Latvia', meaning the country's period of independence) used by expedition participants was 'pre-collective-farm era'. However, some members of expeditions did not keep to this rule:

> In "the time/era of Latvia", agriculture was well developed here. [...] At present, all the deported families have come back, but the collective farm does not allow them to return to their farms. They're leaving. One goes to Valka, another to a different place. (Zunde 1958: 11)

The persons subjected to Stalin's repressions and the restriction of their rights after returning from Siberia presented another inconvenient topic, as testified by expedition diaries. Actually, it was the former homes of such people that revealed their stories and raised accusations. The ethnographers' notes record what happened to farms that had been in a very good condition

in the interwar period—in the post-war years, they were turned into collective farm offices or village councils, converted into communal apartments or used as cattle sheds (Krastiņa 1952a: 6). The diaries also contain information about the moving of apple trees from deportees' farms to collective farm gardens; the apple trees were dug up with their roots and taken away. Likewise, the diaries contain stories about half-demolished houses. For example, the bricks from a residential house on one farm were used to construct a barn for a new collective farm. Another house was planned to be moved to the new collective farm's centre; it was partially demolished but then left standing, because "the concentration of houses in the centre is no longer on the collective farm's agenda" (Zunde 1958:43). Some collective farmers also revealed their life stories to ethnographers, not withholding facts about how working on the collective farm had ruined their health or about the poverty and deprivation they faced:

> The farm is in poor condition. The roof of the barn is leaking, so the sheep have been moved to one room of the house. There's a crippled 49-year-old woman, whose spine has been deformed by work, as well as two schoolgirls living here. The woman is now a shepherd, because she can no longer do any hard work. Her husband died four years ago. The room is clean and tidy, albeit poor. She is unable to put a new roof on the barn; the collective farm provides no help. (Zunde 1958: 2–3).

The diaries record many examples of incompetent management, including leaking roofs and half-collapsed barns that led to cattle diseases (cows on collective farms contracting tuberculosis, etc.) and death:

> The bath-house on the *Kapūni* farmstead is being converted into a chicken shed for 120 fowl. (..) The little chicks have already been brought from the hatchery and are housed in the finished part of the fowl-shed. It is obvious that they do not feel well here. The floor is wet and dirty. The little chicks are wet and seem cold. [They are] Squeezed into a pile on top of each other and looking for a spot where the sun shines on the floor through the window. The new heating stoves have not yet been built. The chickens cannot be released outside yet, because there is no fowl enclosure, no fence here. (Krastiņa 1952b: 18)

This was the reality that in the public discourse had been replaced by the positive idea of the rapid construction of collective farms, and the ethnographers participated in the formation of this idea. At the same time, this was a reality in which the safety of ethnographers, as members of a profession supported by the authorities, was threatened by members of the national resistance movement hiding in the forests of Latvia and Lithuania. It seems that it was not wolves or wild boars that prevented Krastiņa from travelling eight kilometres by bicycle at night when returning to the town of Aknīste after working at a collective farm house in a rural area:

> We found out that next to the *Pilītes* farmstead is the Lithuanian village of Virškupāni. A few days ago, bandits shot the chairman of a collective farm there. (Krastiņa 1952b: 25)

The above examples of diary entries did not fit into the simulacrum of Soviet reality existing in the public space at that time, which ethnographers themselves had to participate in creating. Today, however, they serve as an important source for the study of the establishment and history of collective farms.

Some Final Remarks

Soviet Latvian ethnography, although founded with the intensive participation of the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and having been directly assigned by the occupying regime to study and propagate the Soviet way of life and culture, became a strong branch of science. Ethnographers studied many areas of Latvian tangible and intangible culture and collected very important sources for contemporary researchers of Latvian culture and history.

At this stage of research on Latvian ethnography, the authors believe that there are three phases in the development of Soviet Latvian ethnography that can be linked to the institutional affiliation of the field. Within the system of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR, ethnographic research was carried out in three (actually two) institutes. In 1946, ethnographers began working in the Department of Material Culture of the Institute of History and Material Culture. Following the criticism of the fields of ethnography and folklore in the late 1940s, they were merged by a decision of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Latvian SSR to form the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore. During this phase of the development of Latvian Soviet ethnography, a core group of researchers was formed that influenced the future direction of the field. From the late 1950s onwards, the financial situation of the scientific system improved for ethnographers conducting research within the Institute of History; in addition, external pressure and unpredictability in the approval of research topics decreased. This was the most productive period in ethnography, both in terms of publications and primary sources collected on expeditions.

In the context of fieldwork, several problems were common to all three stages of the development of Soviet Latvian ethnography. In the first post-war years, as well as in the early 1950s, the respondents (especially from rural populations) did not trust the ethnographers, seeing them as representatives of the occupying regime. In the immediate post-war years, the organisation of expeditions and the working conditions of expedition participants corresponded well with the description given by a female respondent working on a collective farm regarding her working relationship with the collective farm: “The collective farm does not care about your livelihood or your living conditions, it only cares about your work.” Also, at the beginning of the third stage, as can be seen from ethnographers’ notes in the expedition diaries, there were problems with supplies as well as with gaining the trust of respondents. Only in the diaries of some ethnographers does can find uncensored descriptions of living conditions, observations and narratives as well as the ethnographers’

personal attitudes towards the reality they witnessed. It should be noted that the diaries submitted to the REM are self-censored transcripts. As a result, the entries in some have been reduced to dry facts in order to protect the respondents and also the authors of the notes from the reactions of the occupying regime. However, the situation gradually changed and the range of information obtained during expeditions increased significantly, although the expedition diaries written in that period were no longer submitted to the REM. The general population gradually developed a greater appreciation for the work of ethnographers both through ethnographers' direct conversations with respondents on farms and through the scientific reporting sessions.

Ethnographic expeditions organised on a regular basis during the Soviet era provided an opportunity to not only collect significant research material, including material on the reality of Soviet life, but also advance ethnography as a field of science. The activities of ethnographers helped to draw public attention to our cultural heritage, its preservation and research.

Bibliography

Alksnīte, A. (1953). Zinātniskā izbraukuma sesija Cēsīs. *Cīņa*, 07.03., 6. lpp.

Annus, Epp (2018). *Soviet Postcolonial Studies: A View from the Western Borderlands*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bērziņš, Jānis (2014). *Etnogrāfs un kultūras vēsturnieks Saulvedis Cimermanis*. Kocere, Venta (red.). Biobibliogrāfija. Rīga: Zinātne. 7.–30. lpp.

Boldāne-Zeļenkova, Ilze (2017). The Invented Traditions: The Calendar of Festive Days and Family Customs in the Latvian SSR. *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*. Nr. 3(104), 122.–150. lpp.

Boldāne-Zeļenkova, Ilze (2019a). Lauku kultūrainava LPSR: etnogrāfu skatpunkts. Medveckis, Arturs (red.). *Sabiedrība un kultūra. Rakstu krājums*. Nr. 21, 30.–36. lpp.

Boldāne-Zeļenkova, Ilze. (2019b). The Role of Ethnographers in the Invention of Socialist Traditions in the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, No. 2(13), pp. 33–47.

Bleiere, Daina (2021). Vēstures zinātne. *Latvijas Nacionālā enciklopēdija*. 29.10. Pieejams: https://enciklopedija.lv/skirklis/91006-v%C4%93stures-zin%C4%81tne. [sk. 29.10.2021.]

Bula, Dace (2011). *Mūsdienu folkloristika. Paradigmas maiņa*. Rīga: Zinātne.

Etnogrāfisko materiālu krātuves fondu saraksts (2016). *Etnogrāfisko materiālu krātuve*. Pieejams: https://www.lvi.lu.lv/lv/etnokratuve.htm#fondu_saraksts. [sk. 29.10.2021.]

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1955). Etnogrāfu un folkloristu zinātniskā ekspedīcija Latgalē. *Cīņa*, 07.09., 3. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1956). Etnogrāfiskā ekspedīcija mūsu rajonā. *Sarkanais Stars*, 21.06., 3. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1957). Etnogrāfu ekspedīcija Limbažu rajonā. *Literatūra un Māksla*, 05.10., 3. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1959a). Vāksim materiālus latviešu etnogrāfijai! *Padomju Jaunatne*, 29.05., 3. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1959b). Etnogrāfu ekspedīcija Madonas rajonā. *Stars*, 16.07., 4. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1960). Etnogrāfu ekspedīcija Jēkabpils rajonā. *Cīņa*, 08.07., 4. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1962). Etnogrāfu ekspedīcija Latgalē. *Literatūra un Māksla*, 24.11., 4. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1970). Etnogrāfu ekspedīcija Stučkas rajonā. *Komunisma Uzvara*, 25. 06., 2. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1971). Etnogrāfu ekspedīcija Jelgavas rajonā. *Darba Uzvara*, 13.07., 3. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1982a). Etnogrāfi pētīs Ventspils rajonu. *Padomju Venta*, 18.06., 3. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1982b). Etnogrāfu ekspedīcija sāk darbu. *Padomju Venta*, 06.07., 3.–4. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1983). Etnogrāfi Ventspils rajonā. *Padomju Venta*, 11.06., 3. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1987). Darbu sākuši etnogrāfi. *Padomju Karogs*, 14.07., 3. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1976). Latvijas PSR ZA Vēstures institūta etnogrāfijas sektora darbs. *Zinātniskās atskaites sesijas materiāli par arheologu un etnogrāfu 1975. gada pētījumu rezultātiem*. Rīga: Zinātne, 115.–122. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1995). Latvijas vēstures insitūts un etnogrāfija. *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*, Nr. 4(17), 103.–134. lpp.

Cimermanis, Saulvedis (1999). Marģers Stepermanis un Vēstures institūta Etnogrāfijas nodaļa, *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*, Nr. 2(31), 85.–108. lpp.

Čepaitienė, Auksuolė, ed. (2013). *Gyvenimo etnografija: vietos, struktūros ir laikas. Besikeičianti Lietuva XX amžiuje*. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla.

Jääts, Indrek (2019). Favourite Research Topics of Estonian Ethnographers under Soviet Rule. *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, No. 13(2), pp. 1–15.

Jansone, Aija (2015). Etnogrāfe Antoņina Zavarina (15.03.1928.-07.10.2015.). *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*, Nr. 3(96), 206.–207. lpp.

Jefremova, Lidija (1953). *Dnevnik VII ekspedicii instituta Etnografii i fol'klora AN LSSR, 05.06.–15.07*. E 3, 360.

Johansen, Ulla (1996). Die Ethnologen und die Ideologien. Das Beispiel der estnischen Ethnographen in der Sowjetzeit. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, No. 121, pp. 181-202.

Kapper, Sille (2016). Post-colonial folk

dancing: reflections on the impact of stage folk dance style on traditional folk dance variation in Soviet and post-Soviet Estonia. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, No. 47(1), pp. 93–111.

Karlsone, Anete (2019a). Etnogrāfijas nozare padomju Latvijā: Ainas Alsupes pētnieciskā darbība. *Sabiedrība un kultūra*. Rakstu krājums, Nr. 21, 63.–69. lpp.

Karlsone, Anete (2019b). Ethnographic Research in Soviet Latvia—The Source of a Stronger National Identity. *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, No. 13(2), pp. 48–70.

Karlsone, Anete (2019c) Tautastērpa lietojuma divejādā daba Padomju Latvijā. *Letonica*, Nr. 39, 59.–76. lpp.

Kļaviņa, Aija (1951). *Ekspedīcijas dienasgrāmata. Bauskas raj., 15.06.–10.07.* E 1, 158.

Krastiņa, Anna (1952a). *Ekspedīcijas dienasgrāmata. Aknīstes un Neretas rajons. 21.–25.06., 09.07.–04.08*. E 2, 849.

Krastiņa, Anna (1952b). *Ekspedīcijas dienasgrāmata. Neretas rajons. 26.06.–08.07.* E 2, 450.

Krastiņa, Anna (1958). Etnogrāfu ekspedīcija Valkas rajonā. *Latvijas Zinātnieks*, 13.08., 1, 4. lpp.

Krastiņa, Anna (1961). Etnogrāfu pētījumi. *Brīvā Daugava*, 06.07., 2. lpp.

Krastiņa, Anna, Čivkule, Elga (1967). *Dienasgrāmata. Apbrauciens sagatavojot ekspedīciju pa Daugavpils raj. dienvidaustrumu daļu (bij. Ilūkstes apriņķa ter.), 29.05.–04.07.* E 33, 3673.

Krastiņa, Anna (1967). Pētīsim tautas dzīves veidu un kultūru. *Avangards*, 08.07., 4. lpp.

Krastiņa, Anna (1969). Tautas dzīves pētnieki Saldus rajonā. *Padomju Zeme*, 05.08., 1. lpp.

Kronis, Valdis (1986). Par mērnieku laiku un mūsdienu talkām. *Padomju Druva*, 05.07., 3. lpp.

Ķencis, Toms (2019). *Vācot padomju folkloru*. Rīga: LU Literatūras, folkloras un mākslas institūts.

Leinasare, Ingrida (1965). Etnogrāfi uzsākuši darbu. *Znamja Truda*, 27.06., 2. lpp.

Līdums, V. (1958). Etnogrāfu zinātniskā sesija. *Darba Karogs*, 17.07., 2. lpp.

LNA–LVA–2371. The National Archives of Latvia—the State Archives of Latvia. Materials of the Institute of Latvian History of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences.
LNA–LVA–2372. The National Archives of Latvia—the State Archives of Latvia. Materials of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences.

LPE (1983) *Latvijas Padomju enciklopēdija*. Vol. 3. Rīga: Galvenā enciklopēdiju redakcija.

Mazulāne, Maija (1958). *Ekspedīcijas dienasgrāmata. Valkas raj. 19.06.–05.07.* E 13, 634.

Savoniakaitė, Vida (2008). Apie Lietuvos etnologijos istoriją. *Lituanistica*, No. 3(3), pp. 59–66.

Savoniakaitė, Vida (2019). The Regional Studies Movement in Soviet Lithuania. *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, No. 2(13), pp. 271–289.

Slava, Mirdza (1960a). Atbalstīsim etnogrāfu ekspedīciju. *Brīvā Daugava*, 21.06., 4. lpp.

Slava, Mirdza (1960b). Etnogrāfu ekspedīcija Jēkabpils rajonā. *Latvijas Zinātnieks*, 07.09., 3. lpp.

Slava, Mirdza (1960c). Apvienotā Baltijas kompleksā etnogrāfu ekspedīcija. *Latvijas Zinātnieks*, 19.10., 3. lpp.

Slava, Mirdza (1963). Etnogrāfu ekspedīcija Balvu rajonā. *Vaduguns*, 04.07., 4. lpp.

Strods, Heinrihs (sast.) (1969). *Latviešu etnogrāfija*. Rīga: Zinātne.

Strods, Heinrihs (1962). Etnogrāfu ekspedīcijā, Daugavpils un Preiļu rajonā. *Avangards*, 24.05., 4. lpp.

Svārpstone, Rasma (1958). *Ekspedīcijas dienasgrāmata. Valkas raj., 19.06.–22.07.* E 13, 1075.

Trocigs, Dags (1940). Latviešu tautas gara mantu vākšana un pētīšana Latvijā. *Māksla*, Nr. 2, 172.–178. lpp.

Urtāns, Vladislavs (1959). Etnogrāfu zinātniskā sesija Madonā. *Stars*, 01.08., 2.–3.lpp.

Vanaga, Lilita (1999). Etnogrāfei Annai Krastiņai—80. *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*, Nr. 2(31), 184. lpp.

Vanaga, Lilita (2000a). Etnogrāfei Dr.habil.hist. profesorei Lindai Dumpei—70. *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*, Nr. 1(34), 186.–190. lpp.

Vanaga, Lilita (2000b). Etnogrāfe Lidija Jefremova (15.11.1929.–10.03.2000.). *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*, Nr. 2.(35), 190. lpp.

Vanaga, Lilita (2002). Etnogrāfe Dr.hist. Mirdza Slava (*20.02.1924–†25.12.2001.). *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*,

Bibliography

Nr. 1.(42), 196. –197. lpp.

Vanaga, Lilita (2004). Neretas un Aknīstes rajona kolhozi 1952. gadā. *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls,* Nr. 4(53), 147.–164. lpp.

Vanaga, Lilita (2006). Etnogrāfei Ainai Alsup*ei—80*. *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*, Nr. 4(61), 214. lpp.

Vanaga, Lilita (2011). LU Latvijas vēstures institūtam—75. Institūta etnogrāfi ekspedīcijās. *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurn*āls, Nr. 4(81), 134.–142. lpp.

Viires, Ants (1991). The Development of Estonian Ethnography during the 20th Century. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, No. 22, pp. 123–132.

Zamore, Olga (1958). *Ekspedīcijas dienasgrāmata. Valkas raj.* 19.06.–23.07. E 13, 1385.

Zavarina, Antoņina (1952). *Dnevnik VI Ekspedicija instituta Etnografii i fol'klora AN LSSR*, 21.06.–07.07. E 2, 909.

Zavarina, Antoņina (1964). Uz Ludzu dodas etnogrāfi. *Za Pobedu Kommunizma*, 25.06., 4. lpp.

Zunde, Biruta (1958). *Ekspedīcijas dienasgrāmata. Valkas raj., 19.06.–23.07*. E 13 3689.

Padomju Latvijas etnogrāfijas aprises: ekspedīciju darbs pēckara periodā

Anete Karlsone,
Ilze Boldāne-Zeļenkova

Atslēgvārdi: ekspedīciju dienasgrāmatas, etnogrāfiskās ekspedīcijas, Etnogrāfisko materiālu krātuve, kolhozi, padomju etnogrāfija

Padomju okupācijas varas periodā uzkrātais bagātais etnogrāfiskais materiāls (ekspedīciju pieraksti, fotoattēli, zīmējumi, tekstiliju paraugi u.tml.), kas glabājas Latvijas Universitātes Latvijas vēstures institūta Etnogrāfisko materiālu krātuvē (LU LVI EMK), mūsdienās tiek izmantots dažādu humanitāro, sociālo un mākslas zinātņu jomu pētījumos. Raksta uzdevums ir sniegt padziļinātu ieskatu kolekcijas izveidē – par etnogrāfiskajām ekspedīcijām padomju okupācijas apstākļos, to organizēšanas sistēmu, tēmu noteikšanu un reālo pētniecības darbu, kā arī par ekspedīciju ietvaros (vai pēc to beigām) veikto komunikāciju ar sabiedrību.

Kā avots šim pētījumam izmantoti gan nepublicētie administratīvie dokumenti – sapulču protokoli, darba plāni, atskaites, rīkojumi u.tml., gan – jo īpaši – etnogrāfisko ekspedīciju dalībnieku dienasgrāmatas, kuras glabājas LU LVI EMK, kā arī padomju etnogrāfu publikācijas. Diemžēl ne visas kādreiz rakstītās dienasgrāmatas tika nodotas kopā ar citiem ekspedīciju pierakstiem un mūsdienās pētnieku rīcībā ir tikai 15 no tām. Līdz šim pētījumos tās nav tikušas izmantotas, lai gan sniedz vērtīgu materiālu par ekspedīciju darba ikdienu, pētnieciskā darba apjomu, padomju dzīves realitāti u.tml. aspektiem.

Padomju Savienībā, tai skaitā arī Latvijas PSR, etnogrāfijas nozares attīstība bija iespējama, tikai esot PSRS Zinātņu akadēmijas Etnogrāfijas institūta, kā arī citu valsts iestāžu pārraudzībā gan idejiski, gan administratīvi. Lai gan padomju okupācijas vara no etnogrāfiem gaidīja, lai tie pētītu un propagandētu padomju dzīvesveidu un kultūru, Latvijas etnogrāfija spēja veidoties par spēcīgu zinātnes nozari. Etnogrāfi nosedza daudzu latviešu materiālās un nemateriālās kultūras jomu izpēti, apkopoja mūsdienu pētniekiem ļoti nozīmīgus avotus Latvijas kultūrā un vēsturē.

Summary

Padomju okupācijas varas laikā regulāri organizētās etnogrāfiskās ekspedīcijas deva iespēju ne tikai savākt ievērojamu pētniecisko materiālu, tai skaitā arī par padomju dzīves īstenību, bet arī popularizēt etnogrāfiju kā zinātņu nozari. Etnogrāfu veiktās aktivitātes palīdzēja pievērst sabiedrības uzmanību mūsu kultūras mantojumam, tā saglabāšanai un izpētei. Pētījumi etnogrāfijas jomas vēsturē vēl jāturpina, jo šajā rakstā bijusi iespēja pievērsties tikai nelielam fragmentam no kopumā pētāmo tēmu loka.

DOI: 10.35539/LTNC.2021.0043.P.A.R.H.91.112

From "One's Own" to Foreign: Categories and Texts of Soviet Folkloristics and Ethnography

Pavlo Artymyshyn
Roman Holyk

Keywords: Soviet folkloristics, Soviet ethnography, mythology, ideology, Soviet Union, Ukranian SSR.

The history of socialist folkloristics and ethnography had much in common with the history of the myth and fairy tales that these folkloristics and ethnography explored. Metaphorically speaking, they were born of the "spectre of communism" spoken of by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848). The utopias of the Manifesto have become a worldview tradition for almost seventy years, first for the former territories of the Russian Empire, which became the Soviet Union, and after the Second World War for some of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe united in the Socialist Bloc. With the help of the mythologists of Soviet socialism/communism, its creators sought to form not only the collective image of the new man, homo sovieticus, but also his "picture of the world" and folklore, "elementary structures of everyday life" and semiotics of thinking. New Soviet science, folkloristics, and ethnography, in particular, were part of a new reality. At the same time, the same principles applied here as in the world science of the 20th century: competition of research programs mentioned by Imre Lakatos; the "anarchist" research directed against the method by Paul Feyerabend; change of scientific paradigms, which Thomas Kuhn spoke about; scientific evolution, postulated by Stephen Toulmin (cf. Feyerabend 1975; Kuhn 1962).

Scholars often perceive Soviet folkloristics and ethnography[1] as a self-sufficient system that has separated itself from Western European and American science and was limited by the political doctrines of the Soviet Union and the Iron Curtain. In our study, we tried to answer the question: how closed/open to external ideas and concepts was

1 Soviet studies of folklore (oral folk art/oral tradition) developed in the context of two main scientific disciplines or research areas. One of them, which corresponded to Friedrich Ratzel's *Völkerkunde*, was called both ethnography and ethnology. These terms (unlike the American and Western European traditions) were used as synonyms for the science of culture and life of national and ethnic communities (peoples), or the science of folk/popular culture. At the same time, in the USSR the term "ethnography" was preferred, meaning not a method of research and a theoretical discipline that studies ethnosocial groups from the subjective point of view of these groups, but a science that Western scholars called the objective study of ethnic groups, nations and civilizations—ethnology or anthropology. Instead, anthropology, which was also known in Western science in the form of cultural and social anthropology (which were partly synonymous with Soviet ethnography), was interpreted in the USSR primarily as biological anthropology, the science of the physical parameters of the development of ethnic groups and nations. At the same time, philosophical anthropology (the study of the phenomenon of man in general) was not associated with ethnography/ethnology in Soviet discourse. Soviet folkloristics also developed alongside dialectology: it was interpreted as a branch of linguistics that studied territorial variants of languages related to regional folk culture and oral tradition.

Soviet ethnology/ethnography and folkloristics? In Soviet ideology, the emphasis was often on the opposition of the Soviet as "one's own" and the non-Soviet as "foreign". This opposition was important for Soviet scholars: they had to trust "their own" ideas first and foremost and separate them from "foreign" as a priori "suspicious". Fundamental to folklore and folk culture itself, the opposition "one's own" and "foreign" partially or completely generated other oppositions (friendly and hostile, allowed and taboo), and influenced the perception of popular and elite culture also in Soviet science of folklore and folk art. This is also its value for our study.

Let us try to trace the genesis of scientific concepts and dichotomies of "one's own" and "foreign", "friendly" and "hostile", "popular" and "elite", "permitted" and "taboo" in pre- and postwar Soviet folkloristics and ethnology. We are interested in how these concepts and ideas looked in the small (Soviet Ukraine) and large (Soviet Union) socialist space, and how they were transmitted and changed with the help or under the pressure of "one's own" and "foreign" texts/books/publications.

From the Mythological Element to the Ideological System: Pre-war Folkloristics and Ethnography

Ukrainian socialist folkloristics and ethnography as well as Soviet in general were the result of the revolution and civil war of 1917–1921. Soviet historical memory and literary imagination (for example, Yuri Yanovsky's *Vershnyky The Horsemen*, 1935, in Ukrainian) folklorized and romanticized these events as an example of an epic "class struggle", where "political elements" converged: from "Makhnovtchina" (which was romanticized by the folklore of the anarchists) to the Bolsheviks with their "Red Army folklore".

During the formation of the Bolshevik regime, the transition from military communism to the NEP, the struggle of ideas continued in folklore and folk culture, and in the sciences that studied them. In Soviet ideology and neo-folklore,[2] this time was depicted as a "heroic period of the great Russian revolution" (statement by Lev Kritzman). The policy of "eliminating illiteracy" (Rus.: *likbez*) and "union of workers and peasants" (Rus.: *smychka*) theoretically provided a link between the "proletarian intelligentsia", urban culture, the peasants, and the rural proletariat (Rus.: *kombedy*). But its downside was aggressive Sovietization, collectivization, and proletarianization. The period of conceptual "scientific anarchism" in Soviet

2 The phenomenon that Ukrainian Soviet science called neo- or Soviet folklore was mainly artificial pseudo- or fakelore, created by representatives of literary circles or even by folklorists themselves. Such texts were cited and studied as examples of a new oral tradition. At the same time, a "real" new folklore functioned in parallel, which was a reaction to the Soviet reality within the framework of the oral tradition, but outside the socialist ideology. However, this folklore was not popularized or well known. Part of the chronologically new folklore in the USSR was generally anti-Soviet, so it could be published only in emigration environments.

Ukraine (Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and then Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic with its capital first in Kharkiv and later in Kyiv) lasted approximately until the beginning—mid-1930s. The policy of indigenization/Ukrainization proclaimed in the 1920s contributed to the ethnicization of the humanities, while the ideology of internationalism, a new Soviet nation, and "communist humanity" denied this.[3] The discourse of the early UkrSSR still allowed a kind of national communism, and at the same time contacts with non-Soviet Western Ukraine. At the same time, the general discourse of the USSR, newly formed in 1922, contrasted the hostile, capitalist/bourgeois world of oppressed nations and nationalities with the "free USSR"—"the space of (inter-)national unity, freedom, and progressive ideas" (as claimed in the Soviet propaganda).

In the early Soviet context, folklorists, ethnographers, and dialectologists became (in socialist lexicon) "workers in socialist construction", subject to new cultural attitudes. Folkloristics, ethnology, and linguistics found themselves between the urban "Proletcult", the Russian-speaking proletarian culture, the workers' "clubs", and the Ukrainian culture of "reading houses", whose task was ambivalent: to preserve the popular peasant culture and displace it by the "culture of the proletariat". The mediator between these spheres was (ideally) a bilingual cultural worker—a communist activist, disseminator of socialist ideas among the masses.[4] The cultural worker had to be a situational folklorist/ethnographer/dialectologist, and record both relics of an ancient oral tradition and new, Soviet folklore. In Soviet popular science culture, "one's own" (communist) was sharply opposed to "foreign" (bourgeois), and "old" (obsolete, archaic) to the new.

However, at the same time there were formed institutions and publications of professional Ukrainian folklorists in the UkrSSR.[5] Here "one's own" and "foreign", "old" and "new" were classified differently. Ukrainian scholars did not try to "completely invent" new Ukrainian folklore, ethnography, dialectology. It was designed on the model of pre-revolutionary Russian publications[6] and works of Ukrainian and Russian folklorists, ethnographers and dialectologists—"collectors of oral tradition until 1917".[7]

3 For the internationalist discourse, "one's own" included everything "communist" and "socialist" in contrast to the "foreign"—"capitalist" and "bourgeois", and the discourse of indigenization contrasted the Ukrainian ("one's own") with the non-Ukrainian ("foreign").

4 It is no coincidence that in 1925 the Kharkiv magazine *Shljah do komunizmu* (*Way to Communism*, in Ukrainian) was divided into the magazines *Seljans'kyj budynok* (*Peasant House*, in Ukrainian) and *Rabochij klub* (*Workers' Club*, in Russian), which later became a bilingual magazine called *Kultrobitnik/Kultrabotnik* (*Cultural Worker*, in Ukrainain-Russian).

5 *Etnografichnyj visnyk* (*Ethnographic Bulleti*n, in Ukrainian) (1925–1932) of the Ethnographic Commission of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN) edited by Acad. Andriy Loboda and Viktor Petrov and scientific yearbook of the cultural-historical section *Pervisne gromadjanstvo i jogo perezhytky v Ukraini* (*Primitive citizenship and its remnants in Ukraine*, in Ukrainian) (1926–1929) edited by Kateryna Hrushevska.

6 As a four-volume *Etnografija* (*Ethnography*, in Russian) by Nikolai Kharuzin, published in 1901–1905.

7 From Mykhailo Maksymovych (1804–1873), Yakiv Holovatskyi (1814–1888) to Mytrofan Dykarev (1854–1899), Ivan Franko (1856–1916) or Kost' Mykhalchuk (1840–1914).

Ukrainian authors of the early 1920s and first half of the 1930s partially continued the pre-revolutionary (so-called pre-October) traditions.[8] This meant that for some folklorists and ethnologists of this period, the non-Soviet pre-revolutionary paradigm was "their own", and they had to master the "foreign" cultural reality. On the other hand, the culture and science of the Russian Empire were no less actively sought to be replaced by Marxist folkloristics (Howell 1992).

However, the opposition between socialist and non-socialist (in Soviet discourse it was defined as "bourgeois") science was still unstable. In the 1920s, folklorists and ethnographers from the UkrSSR focused on their colleagues from Western Ukraine, which was part of the Republic of Poland (Volodymyr Hnatiuk (1871–1926), Filaret Kolessa (1871–1947), Ilarion Sventsitskyi (1876–1956)) including the publication of the T. Shevchenko Lviv Scientific Society.[9] This distinguished them from other folklorists and ethnographers of other republics of the then USSR. Soviet folklorists still used the Western Ukrainian translation of *The Handbook of Folklore* by George Laurence Gomme (1853–1916) (Gomme 1890), or compared, like Kateryna Hrushevska, the plots of epics with the collection *The English and Scotish Popular Ballads*, compiled by Francis James Child (1825–1896).

At the same time, the concept of Kateryna Hrushevska (1900–1943) was based on the synthesis of sociological and historical-anthropological schools. This was evidenced by her conceptual apparatus: "primitive citizenship", "primitive culture", social history, "folk art in the sociological light". In 1926, Hrushevska and her colleagues believed that research in the UkrSSR could be conducted on the model of North American institutions (in particular Smithsonian Institution).[10] They did not yet feel the line between the Soviet "own" and the Western "foreign" paradigms of science, which Soviet researchers already had to adhere to in the mid-1930s.

The folklore and ethnographic institutions of the UkrSSR of that time acted in this way: the Cultural and Historical Commission (or the Commission for the Study of Primitive Culture

8 An example is Mykola Sumtsov from Kharkiv (1854–1922), author of the textbook for teachers *Narodna slovesnist'* (*Folk Literature*, in Ukrainian) (Sumcov 1919), known for his publications on Ukrainian folklore since the 1880s. The same was true of Andriy Loboda (1871–1931), who has been involved in East Slavic folklore since the 1890s. They represented the traditional for the 19th and 20th centuries views of cultural-historical, migratory, mythological or comparative-mythological schools of folkloristics, which in Russian science developed, for example, Alexander Veselovsky (1838–1906). His works were actively published in the USSR in the 1930s.

9 *Etnografichnyj zbirnyk* (*Ethnographic collection*), *Materialy do ukrains'ko-rus'koji etnologii* (*Materials on Ukrainian-Ruthenian ethnology*), *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Shevchenka* (*Notes of the Shevchenko Scientific Society*); all in Ukrainian.

10 On the basis of the magic theory, expressed in *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* by James George Frazer (Frazer 1900), concepts of prelogical thinking by Lucien Lévy-Bruhl from his book *La mentalité primitive* (*Primitive Mentality* (Lévy-Bruhl 1922) and concepts of *L'Année Sociologique* (*The Sociological Yearbook*), published by Émile Durkheim in 1898–1913. The commitment to prelogical thinking, prehistory and primitive culture among this group of researchers was a consequence of reading the classical *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom* by Edward Burnett Tylor (Tylor 1871), a new Soviet Russian translation of which was published in the late 1930s.

and Its Remnants in Ukrainian Life and Folklore), the Commission of Historical Song and the Cabinet of Primitive Culture at the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Studies of folk culture, folklore and dialects were partially combined into one paradigm, as in the texts of dialectologist and folklorist Olena Kurylo (1890–1946) with her *Materialy do ukrains'koi dijalektologii i fol'kloristyky* (*Materials on Ukrainian dialectology and folkloristics*, in Ukrainian) (Kurylo 1928).

However, ethnographers and folklorists, such as Victor Petrov (Domonotovich, Ber) (1894–1969) had to defend their discipline against accusations of irrelevance. As a "shield", they used the concept of oral tradition and folk culture as a labor/collective product of the "productive forces of a given district", which had practical significance and which needed to be supported (Petrov 1925). Thus they tried to prove that folkloristics and ethnography are not closed, elitist, "foreign", but open, popular, "one's own" for the new proletarian culture. Accordingly, such studies should be guided by "own" Marxist methodology.

In general, those who tried to interpret folklore and folk culture in a Marxist way tried to rely on three levels of authority in the early Soviet reality: the figures of the world communist movement (from Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels to Karl Liebknecht), ideologues of the USSR (from Vladimir Ulianov (Lenin) to Lev Trotskyi, Nikolai Bukharin or Karl Radek, and later Joseph Stalin), republican party leaders (from Mykola Skrypnyk, Vlas Chubar and Andriy Shumsky to Lazar Kaganovych and Pavlo Postyshev).[11]

At the same time, Soviet folklorists and ethnographers tried to rediscover the works of pre-revolutionary but "their own" and "progressive" scientists, such as folklorist and psycholinguist Oleksandr Potebnja (1831–1891).[12] Theoretically, this made it possible to transfer the "ethnocentric" model to dialectological, folklore, ethnographic research.[13]

11 Also Marxist essays by Paul Lafargue on the history of culture as well as his *La langue française avant et après la Révolution. Etudes sur les origines de la bourgeoisie moderne* (*The French Language Before and After the Revolution. Studies on the Origins of the Modern Bourgeoisie*), Russian translation of which was made in 1930 (Lafargue 1930) were used to interpret folklore, folk culture, and language in the USSR and Soviet Ukraine in 1920–1930 and works of ethnographer-evolutionist Julius Lippert *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit in ihrem organischen Aufbau* (*Cultural History of the Communities in their Organic Construction*) (Ukrainian translation in 1922) (Lippert 1922). Franz Boas was also an important foreign author for early Soviet folklore and ethnology. His *The Mind of Primitive Man* also was translated in the USSR in 1926 (Boas 1926).

12 In Odesa, his students wanted to publish a bilingual, Ukrainian-Russian edition of a complete collection of his works, of which only *Dumka j mova* (in Ukrainian)/*Mysl' i yazyk* (in Russian) (*Thought and Language*) was published in 1922. This was no accident. Humboldtian theory of folk symbols and "internal form of the word" in O. Potebnja's works (Fizer 1986) resonated with the ideas of linguistic relativity or complementarity of Edward Sapir, whose one of the main works—*Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech* (1921) was translated into Russian and published in the Soviet Union in 1934 (Sapir 1934).

13 On the other hand, the interwar concept of children's syncretic thinking by psychologist Lev Vygotsky to some extent resonated with the concepts of primitive, pre-logical thought or complemented it (van der Veer and Valsiner 1994). At the same time, the Marxist critique of Freudianism, which was then presented by Valentyn Voloshinov (Voloshinov 1976) also actually signaled not only criticism, but also the interest in psychoanalytic methods and motives in literature and folklore, folk culture.

There were also signs of "sociologization" of interwar folklore, ethnology, and dialectology.[14] Russian formalism or prestructuralism also emerged, in particular in the form of Vladimir Propp's work *Morfologija skazki* (*Morphology of the Folktale*, in Russian) (Propp 1928). It in a unique way complemented the classification system of Aarne motifs: identified 31 functions of heroes, helpers, and villains (Rus.: *vrediteli*—in the sense of enemy) from the plots of fairy tales, their morphological genera and species. Publication of the A. Aarne's system in the interpretation of Nikolai Andreev (Andreev 1929) as well as works by Petr Bogatyrev on the history of Russian, Czech, Slovak and Ukrainian folk cultures (Popovič, 1970) left field for similar research at the level of the entire Soviet Union.

In 1920–1930, all-Union publishing houses, such as *Academia*, published texts of oral folklore of the peoples of the world, including the union republics.[15] This led to the idea that world folklore as a product of folk (collective) culture is "own" phenomenon for Soviet science and culture, the center of which became the "popular masses" (Rus.: *narodnyie massy*, Ukr.: *narodni masy)* and groups.

Attractive in Soviet folklore and ethnology of 1920–1930 was the "discovery" or "invention" of the life, oral tradition and language of the "culturally backward" (*kulturno otstalyie* from the Rus. *kulturnaia otstalost'* 'cultural backwardness') "Peoples of the (Far) North" (Rus.: *narody (Krainiego) Sievera*) or "Peoples of the Syberia", which were represented in the publications of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (*Kunstkamera*) (Anderson, Arzyutov 2016: 187–200). In this area Vladimir Bogoraz (Natan Bogoraz, N. A. Tan) (1865–1936), who became one of the popularizers of ethnogeography and a researcher of folklore and ethnography of Koryaks, Eskimos, Evenks and Chukchi, was an iconic figure, who partially represented the territory of Ukraine. His work *The Chukchee* in 1934 became "one's own foreign" for Soviet ethnology: the text of the Soviet scientist, who returned from the United States, was translated from English, in which the book was first published in America (Bogoraz 1934). All this created the illusion of "the flowering of the cultures of the peoples of the USSR" against the background of the gradual aggravation of the Stalin's dictatorship.

On the scale of the entire USSR in 1920–1930, it seemed that folkloristics and ethnography were rapidly modernizing in the same way as the whole country was industrializing.

14 Joseph Vendryes' book *Le language : introduction linguistique à l'histoire* (*Language: A Linguistic Introduction to History*), which was translated in Russian in 1937 (Vendryes 1937); sociolinguistics of Rozalia Shor *Jazyk i obshhestvo* (*Language and Society*) (Shor 1926); Valentin Voloshinov's *Marksizm i filosofiya yazyka* (*Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*) (Voloshinov 1930); *Sociological poetics* of Pavel Sakulin. On the other hand, Antoine Meillet's *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes* (*Introduction to the Comparative Study of Indo-European languages*) translated in Russian in 1938, opened the theoretical possibility of research and folklore sources in the spirit of Indo-European studies (Politics and the theory of language 2010).

15 Russian, Armenian, Ossetian, and Azerbaijani texts, Finnish *Kalevala*, *Latvian fairy tales* (*Latyshskie skazki*, 1933), Serbian epic, *Legends of Genghis Khan* etc. Instead, the state publishing house of the then Crimean Autonomous Republic published Crimean Tatar *Anekdoty o Hodzhe Nasreddine i Ahmet Ahae* (*Jokes about Khoja Nasreddin and Akhmet Akhay*, in Russian) (*Anekdoty o Hodzhe Nasreddine i Ahmet Ahae* 1937).

However, the opinion of scientists in the Soviet center and the periphery of the union republics was not synchronous. For example, in the Ukrainian literature of the 1920s, modernism/futurism/panfuturism penetrated with expressive experiments on the verbal form and content. However, philologists, folklorists and dialectologists, ethnographers of the UkrSSR in the 1920s and early 1930s used the methods of Russian formalists to a very limited extent, following the traditional for the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries comparative-historical interpretation of plots (with Marxist accents). At the same time, the so-called Red Renaissance in the UkrSSR in 1920s was a time of methodological and conceptual diversity of so called "spontaneous materialism"/Marxism.

Some folklorists and ethnographers emphasized the collective and oral nature of folk art as opposed to individualism and the elitism of professional culture and literature. For example, Oleksander Doroshkevych (1889–1946) argued that "before the invention of writing and the division of the masses into socially hostile classes, oral poetry belonged to the whole people" (Doroshkevych 1924). Instead, Ahapij Shamraj, who was interested in P. Sakulin's method and criticized the formalists, considered the notion of collective creativity undefined, and Ukrainian folklore an "oral tradition of book literature" (Shamraj 1928). Volodymyr Koriak (Volko Blumstein) (1889–1937), who was later called a "vulgar Marxist", tried to combine the theory of economic basis and superstructure with the concepts of the labor nature of folk art, the concepts of animism, fetishism and the evolution of myth and fairy tale in the works by Wilhelm Maximilian Wundt, Edward Tylor, James George Frazer, Kateryna Hrushevska, Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, as well as a Marxist and researcher of the history of eroticism Eduard Fuchs (Koriak 1927).

A characteristic segment of interwar folkloristics and ethnography in Soviet Ukraine was the study of Jewish culture and oral tradition, which at that time was partly developed within the framework of Ukrainian "proletarian culture". The drivers of such studies were the collection of works of the Jewish Historical and Archaeological Commission (1928–1929), the activities of the Institute of Jewish Proletarian Culture (1929–1936) and the Cabinet of Jewish Language, Literature and Folklore at the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences (primarily of folklorist and ethnomusicologist Moisei Beregovskyi (Moshe Beregowski) (1892–1961). The result was a large phonoarchive of Jewish folk music and a five-volume work by M. Beregovsky *Evreyskiy muzikalniy folklor* (*Jewish Musical Folklore*, in Russian) from which in 1934 only the first volume was published (Beregovskyi 1934).

At the same time, in the *Etnografichnyj visnyk* (*Ethnographic Bulletin*) of the VUAN as Musiy Beregovskyi, the scientist analyzed the symbiosis of Jewish and Slavic folklore (Beregovskyi Musiy 1930). In fact, at that time the Jewish cultural content was superimposed partly on the Slavic, in particular the Ukrainian language form, and partly on Yiddish.[16]

16 Hasidic songs "Katerina-Moloditsa", which was later performed by Nekhama Lifshitz or Ukrainian-Yiddish "Oy, Mikita, Mikita" performed by Mordecai Hershman (1886–1943). Jewish folklore in interwar Ukraine also tried to combine "Soviet and kosher", proletarian and national, elitist and popular (Shternshis 2006).

However, the methodology of interwar Soviet philology in general, dialectology and folkloristics in particular were influenced by Japhetic theory, the concept of staged language of Nikolai Marr. Marrism, in fact, formed a closed in the Soviet space concept of primitive thinking, ethno- and linguogenesis: the theory of labor challenges, the sound evolution of speech and the four elements ("sal", "ber", "yon", "rosh") of the hypothetical proto- language of the mankind. Marr's works were actively translated and distributed in Ukrainian.[17] Dialectological and folklore studies should also take into account the theory of stadial development of the language and culture. Categorical and at the same time ambivalent concepts of Marrism have long separated Soviet folkloristics and dialectology from European (Gerasimov et al. 2016). By 1950, it had become a canon and model of philology and ethnology, presented as an original, "own" Soviet doctrine, contrasting "foreign" (and "imperfect" from the Soviet point of view) Western theories.

This also applied to ethnographic and folklore studies of folk religious culture and folklore. The books of the *Soyuz vojovnychykh bezbozhnykiv* (*League of Militant Atheist*) (1925–1947)[18] served as examples in this context. The categorical imperative was the displacement of religious folklore from everyday life by the texts of *Antireligioznye rasskazy* (*Anti-religious Tales*, in Russian) (1937) and *Antireligioznaja pojezija i proza* (*Anti-religious Poetry and Prose*, in Russian) (1938). In Soviet Ukraine, this line was represented by *Bezvirnyk magazine* of the League of Militant Atheist (Kharkiv, 1924–1935). However, Ukrainian Soviet scholars also referred to the Russian and Ukrainian translation of Heinrich Cunow's (1862–1936) book *Ursprung der Religion und des Gottesglaubens* (*Origin of Religion and the Faith of God*) (Cunow, 1913). It also strengthened the opposition between "one's own" and "foreign" in scientific thinking, stimulated the growth of intolerance and xenophobia in scientific circles.

In general, researchers tried to adhere to atheistic doctrine, and at the same time to record religious folklore and folk culture as a phenomenon. Typical samples was the reaction of scientists to the "apocalyptic folklore of miracles" and the religious (anti-Bolshevik) pilgrimage movement in the Zhytomyr region in the 1920s, against which the Soviet authorities imposed severe sanctions. Instead, in the *Ethnographic Bulletin* of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, folklorists, although calling the peasant respondents "sectarians", distanced themselves from them, but wrote in detail texts about miracles and the Soviet government (Dyakiv 2008). When the Great Famine of 1932–1933 destroyed entire segments of folklore and folk culture, such tendencies in Ukrainian Soviet folkloristics disappeared.

17 *Narysy z osnov novoho vchennya pro yazyk* (*Essays on the basics of the new doctrine of language*, in Ukrainian) in 1935, and *Vybrani tvory N. Marra* (*Selected works by N. Marr*, in Ukrainian) in 1936), students were taught by these books.

18 In particular works of botanist and ethnographer of Yakutia Yemelyan Yaroslavsky/Minei Gubelman (*Bibliya dlya viruyuchykh i neviruyuchykh* (*The Bible for Believers and Non-Believers*), *Yak narodzhuyutsya, zhyvut' i vmyrayut' Bohy ta Bohyni* (*How Gods and Goddesses Are Born, Live, and Die*), *Selyans'kyj antyrelihijnyj pidruchnyk* (*Peasant Anti-Religious Textbook*)). All these books were Ukrainian translations from Russian originals.

Collectivization, "the elimination of the kulaks" as a class, led to the curtailment of the policy of Ukrainization. Repression against the so-called villains (Rus.: *vrediteli*, Ukr.: *schkidnyky*), enemies of the people (Rus.: *vragi naroda*, Ukr.: *vorohy narodu*), spies (Rus.: *schpiony*, Ukr.: *schpyguny*), and enemy agents (Rus.: *vrazheskie agenty*, Ukr.: *vorozhi ahenty*) became elements of the Stalin's Great Purge (Werth 2007). As a result, carriers of folklore (for example, kobzars, lyre players (Ukr.: *lirnyky*)) and folklore researchers (for example, Kateryna Hrushevska, Olena Kurylo) were executed or under psychological pressure "converted" to a science full of exclusively Soviet ideology. These authors, their publications, and some scientific topics have turned from "one's own", "allowed", to "foreign", "hostile", "forbidden". As of 1937–1939, a significant part of the folklore and ethnographic institutions of Soviet Ukraine created in the 1920s were also liquidated or radically changed. New scientific journals *Ukrayins'kyj fol'klor* (*Ukrainian Folklore*, 1937–1939, in Ukrainian), *Narodna tvorchist'* (*Folk Art*, 1939–1941, in Ukrainian) were sustained in the spirit of the socialist realist canon, focused on artificial pseudo-folklore (construction/imitation of the folklore discourse, presented as a real oral tradition), which was designed by scientists and writers. Thus, almost the entire issue of *Narodna tvorchist'* in 1940 was devoted to the image of Lenin in folklore, and its authors referred mainly to Russian and Ukrainian party figures and "revolutionary democrats". Only rarely was "non-canonical" folklore mentioned here, in particular the so-called "Cries" or "Howls" (*voyi* in Russian) as laments for Lenin, which were recorded in Russia in the 1920s.

In addition, folklore and ethnographic studies have undergone intense politicization. Author of research on kobzars and paremiological studies Fedor Lavrov (1903–1980) in the *Folklore Guide* (*Poradnyk po folkloru*, 1940, in Ukrainian) taught folklorists how not to turn folklore into literature. At the same time, he emphasized the motives for fighting anti-Soviet movements.[19] This approach was in line with the idea of a "Country of the Soviets" (Rus.: *Strana Sovietov*, Ukr.: *Kraina Rad*) being prepared to be attacked by a hostile outside world. And the beginning of the German-Soviet war of 1941 demonstrated this.

In general, in 1920–1930, the opposition of "one's own"/"foreign", "native"/"hostile" in the discourse of Ukrainian Soviet folkloristics and ethnography underwent significant changes, as well as the dichotomy of "elite"/"popular". Revolutions of 1917–1918, the civil war of the early 1920 changed the idea of these categories. What was "own and native" before 1917, in Soviet times (largely) became "alien and hostile". In the 1920s there was still methodological uncertainty. On the one hand, at this time Soviet science and culture very sharply separated themselves from the pre-revolutionary and "bourgeois"/"capitalist". On the other hand, scholars who had previously been educated further used the works published in the Russian Empire and the concepts of Western European scholars alongside the works of canonical

19 However, he relied on the work of Lenin's wife Nadezhda Krupskaya, and noted that (in addition to traditional genres), it is necessary to record stories about the Communist Party, he Red Army and the Navy, the struggle against "the gangs" (in the Soviet parlance—military formations of Symon Petliura or Nestor Makhno) , the battles of Hassan and Khalkhin-Gol, the accession of Western Ukraine and Belarus to the USSR, and "ridicule of hated imperialists and instigators of war" (Lavrov 1940).

Marxists. In the wave of Ukrainization, folklorists and ethnographers from the UkrSSR also used the ideas and materials of their Ukrainian colleagues from outside the USSR (Western Ukraine). The line between "one's own" and "foreign" remained relatively mobile until the mid-1930s. Then Ukrainization was curtailed, some institutions were liquidated, and entire scientific schools of scientists were repressed. In 1939, folkloristics and ethnography were incorporated into the system of the new socialist culture and folklore and separated from Western science, as was the Soviet Union from the Western world.

From Ideological System to Mythological Element: Semiosphere of Folkloristics and Ethnography in the USSR after the Second World War

There were paradoxes in the development of folkloristics and ethnography in the postwar UkrSSR and the USSR. On the one hand, the Ukrainian Soviet humanities, folkloristics and ethnography of the late 1940s through the early 1950s were determined by the socialist canon. The postwar reality further divided the world into two parts: "the prosperous state of developed socialism" or the Soviet socialist state (USSR), its allies (on the one hand) and other countries "suffering under the heel of capital". At the same time, the linguistic discussion of 1950, in which Joseph Stalin himself intervened (*Marksizm i voprosy jazykoznanija* (*Marxism and the Problems of Linguistics*), in Russian), destroyed Marrism and its archaic picture of the world. Thus, Marrism, which was previously completely "own and correct", has now become "alien and erroneous". At the same time, the accession of Western Ukraine to the Ukrainian SSR in 1939 meant both its Sovietization and the diversification of scientific discourse, accompanied by the hidden use of the pre-war non-Soviet experience of Western Ukrainian scientists. Instead, the texts of Western Ukrainian scholars, which until 1939 were non-Soviet, were now Sovietized and "mastered".

The expansion of the socialist space outside the USSR and the emergence of the Socialist Bloc as well as the spread of Soviet influence outside Europe (against the background of competition with the United States), even in the conditions of the Iron Curtain and the Cold War, contributed to the intensification of "political-scientific" interest in the cultures and folklore of the peoples, to which less attention was paid before. This was especially true for Latin America, for the study of which a separate institute (Institute of Latin America in Moscow) was established. This is not surprising: Central and South America was portrayed by Soviet ideology as "almost their" territory, whose peoples sympathize with socialism/communism, but cannot escape from the US protectorate.[20] However, initially interest in Mesoamerica was spurred by external

20 The emergence of socialist Cuba, the activities of communist parties in Chile, Nicaragua and other countries in the region only contributed to the formation of such an image.

impulses—translations of books of Western scholars.[21] Soviet scholars sought to create their own version of Mesoamerican folkloristics and ethnography.

In particular, it concerned a native of Kharkiv region Yuri Knorozov (1922–1999), who in 1950–1970 published as an "ethnographic monument"—a translation of *Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan* (*The Relationship of the Things of the Yucatan*) by Diego de Landa Calderón, in parallel offering his own version of deciphering the Maya script (Knorozov 1955; Knorozov 1963; Knorozov 1975). This theory was immediately retransmitted in Latin America (*La antigua escritura de los pueblos de America Central* (Knorozov 1954)) and presented in Western historiography an alternative to the concepts of American scholars. However, due to the resistance of some Western Mesoamericanists and the incommunicability of Knorozov, his works appeared in English in full only in the 1980s (Knorozov 1982).

At the same time, Knorozov and other Soviet scientists (for example, Rostislav Kinzhalov) published translations of folklore of Quiché Maya, Yucatec Maya (epos *Popol—Vuh*, drama *Rabinal Achí*, books of prophecy Chilam Balam). Other researchers began to study folklore motifs (Yuri Berezkin) and the Folk Theater (Yuri Zubritski) of Ancient Peru, addressing books to Soviet and Latin American readers (Zubritski 1979). It was an attempt to export Soviet scientific paradigms overseas. The theories of Sergei Tokarev's school were actively promoted in the countries of Western Europe.[22] At the same time, in the Soviet texts there was further a division into Soviet ethnography or "Soviet school of ethnography" (in interpretation of Rudolf Its) and "foreign ethnology", which was studied according to the textbook *Istorija zarubezhnoj etnografii* (*The History of Foreign Ethnography*, in Russian) written by the same Tokarev (Tokarev 1978).

In Soviet folkloristics and ethnography, from the late 1950s to the late 1980s, the line between "one's own" and "foreign" became more flexible, and communication between Soviet (socialist) and non-Soviet (capitalist) science increased. More ideas of Western scholars began to be integrated into Soviet literature.[23]

In general, on the one hand, in Soviet folklore they tried to introduce elements of European structuralism and comparative Indo-European studies. This mission was performed by a series *Issledovania po folkloru i mifologii Vostoka* (*Studies in Folklore and Mythology of the East*, in Russian), where were translated many classical works of the semiotic-structuralist

21 Such as History of Mexico (1940) by Henry Parkes, (Russian translation appeared in 1949) and Aztecs of Mexico (1941) by George Clapp Vaillant (Russian translation as History of Aztecs was also made in 1949).

22 For example, his *History of Religion* (Tokarev 1989).

23 Beginning from classical work by Giuseppe Cocchiara *Storia del folklore in Europa* (*The History of Folklore in Europe*, Russian translation in 1960) (Cocchiara 1960) to James Frazer *The Golden Bough* (Russian translations in 1980 (Frazer 1980) and 1983 (Frazer 1983)) and *Folklore in the Old Testament* (Russian translation in 1985) (Frazer 1985).

direction.[24] At the same time, translations of the *Cours de linguistique générale* (*Course in General Linguistics*) by Ferdinand de Saussure and *Grundzüge der Phonologie* (*Fundamentals of Phonology*) by Nikolai Trubetzkoy, allowed to look at folklore in the system of oppositions, dichotomies and identities between signs and meanings, to see in folklore semantics, syntactics, pragmatics. These works were considered (and partly rightly so) as a "response" to the work of Soviet scientists.[25] In addition, thanks to the works by Sebastian Shaumyan in the USSR formed its own structural linguistics, which began to influence philology.

The structuralism was the equivalent of the works of Russian formalists of the 1920s and 1930s, in particular the *Morfologija skazki* (*Morphology of a Fairy Tale*, in Russian) by V. Propp, which now fell into Western discourse. For example, Yuri Lotman (1922–1993)—one of the founders of the Tartu-Moscow semiotic school – conducted his structural research with semiotics of culture and *Struktura khudozhestvennogo teksta* (*The Structure of the Artistic Text*, in Russian). Lotman's works were translated and published in the West in English as early as the 1970s, that again blurred the line between Soviet and non-Soviet (École de Tartu 1976).

This was even more true of the idea of carnival and grassroots culture from the works of Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975), which became known in the West because of *Rabelais and His World* (Bakhtin 1968). Western comparative-historical folkloristics had its equivalent in Soviet works by Viktor Zhirmunsky (1891–1971) on the comparative typology of the epic (Zhirmunsky 1962). Finally, elements of comparative mythology, including the Baltic peoples (Ķencis 2012) were used in the monograph by Tamaz Gamkrelidze (1929–2021) and Viacheslav Ivanov (1929–2017) *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans* (Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995).

On the other hand, in 1960–1980 the activity of the "Soviet mythological school" (school of mythologists) connected with Kharkiv through the figure of Yeleazar Meletinsky (1918–2005)[26]. The mythological paradigm of late Soviet folklore also included older texts of the former Odessa resident Olga Freidenberg (1890–1955) with her works on the myth (Kabanov 2002). The activities of Soviet "mythologists" were summarized in the encyclopedia *Mify narodov mira* (*Myths of the Peoples of the World*, in Russian) edited by Tokarev (Tokarev 1980) and *Mifologicheskij slovar'* (*Mythological Dictionary*, in Russian) edited by Meletinsky (Mifologicheskij slovar' 1991).

24 For example, *Anthropologie structural* (*Structural Anthropology*) by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1958, Russian translation in 1983) (Lévi-Strauss, 1983), semiotic works by Algirdas Greimas and Claude Bremond, monograph *Les Dieux souverains des Indo-Européens* (*The Sovereign Gods of the Indo-Europeans*, 1977, Russian translation appeared in 1986) by Georges Dumézil (Dumézil 1986), and Victor Turner's work on symbol theory and ritual (Russian translation was made in 1983) (Turner 1983).

25 On the other hand, such scientists as emigrants Nikolai Trubetskoy (1890–1938) or Roman Jacobson (1895–1982) were more "their own" than "alien" to Soviet science. In this way, "foreign structuralism" became part of "Soviet structuralism".

26 The author of works on the poetics of myth (Meletinsky 1976) and on *Proiskhozhdenie geroicheskogo éposa. Rannie formy i arkhaicheskie pamiatniki* (*The Origins of the Heroic Epic: Early Forms and Archaic Monuments*, in Russian) (Meletinsky 1963).

In general, by the 1980s, Soviet folkloristics and ethnography partly remained within the Soviet discourse, but partly went beyond it. In particular, this applied to folklore and ethnographic oriental studies.[27] This was facilitated by several different factors: the internal development of the modernized Soviet humanities; contacts with Western science (sometimes direct, sometimes through the countries of the Socialist Bloc), the desire of the Soviet government to extend ideological and political influence beyond the socialist society, to Third World countries as well as to Western scientific circles.

However, most Soviet folklore and ethnographic publications were further dominated by the Soviet socialist theory of ethnos and the formation of a supranational community—the Soviet people, which, in particular, was emphasized by the authoritative ethnographic school of Yulian Bromley in the USSR. Its adherents emphasized the so-called "elimination of economic and socio-cultural inequality of the union republics" and the formation of a common cultural heritage.[28]

Ukrainian Soviet folkloristics and ethnology of the 1950s and 1980s developed "in the shadow" of the All-Union and Russian scientific paradigms. This was forced by the doctrine of "Soviet fraternal peoples", the concept of "three East Slavic fraternal peoples" and their "common cradle"—Kyivan Rus'. In the Soviet historical imagination, these peoples had a clear hierarchy: Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians. The Russian model became dominant in both the All-Union and East Slavic areas. In this paradigm, scientific studies of world or even "Union" folklore and culture were the prerogative of the metropolis, not the province, which in the USSR was the Ukrainian SSR. "Union" and world folklore in Soviet Ukraine were often published in children's books series.[29]

Nevertheless, the main axis remained Ukrainian—Russian folkloristics, ethnography, and dialectology. The policy of memory in the USSR and its stereotypes in Soviet folklore formed the image of an "older" and "younger" brother (Russian and Ukrainian people) or an older and younger sister (Russia and Ukraine). These models were transferred to Ukrainian

27 For example, in the series *Skazki i mify narodov Vostoka* (*Fairy tales and myths of the peoples of the East*, in Russian) from 1964 published texts of Bushmen, Somali, Papuan, Eskimo, Abkhazian folklore. On the other hand, folklore texts were published or republished in the series *Literaturniye pamyatniki* (*Literary Monuments*, all in Russian): *Narodnyye russkiye skazki* (*Russian folk tales*) by Alexander Afanasyev; *Lirika russkoy svadby* (*Russian wedding lyrics*); Russian byliny; collection of Kirsha Danilov; Icelandic sagas; English and Scottish ballads; Ossetian *Narty*; Indian Mahabharata; Mayan *Popol—Vuh*; epic of the peoples of East China, etc.

28 Therefore, folklore publications united, for example, *Geroicheskiy epos narodov SSSR* (*The Heroic Epic of the Peoples of the USSR*), forming a set of Ukrainian Dumas, Kyrgyz *Manasu*, Estonian *Kalevipoeg*, Latvian *Lāčplēsis*, etc. In the end, with the help of the presented folklore and ethnological knowledge, the idea of the Soviet Union as an "Empire of nations" was cemented (Hirsch 2005).

29 In particular, *Fairy Tales of the Peoples of the USSR* (Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Uzbek, Latvian, Lithuanian, Georgian, Armenian, Kyrgyz) and *Fairy Tales of the Peoples of the World* (English, French, German, Indian, Portuguese, Romanian, Cuban, Polish, Czech, *Tales of the Peoples of Yugoslavia*, *Tales of the Peoples of Spain*) by "Veselka" publishing house.

folkloristics. By the end of the 1980s, it sharply distinguished itself from the repressed folklorists and ethnographers of Soviet Ukraine of the 1920s–1930s (such as Kateryna Hrushevska), attributing to them the influence of so called "bourgeois-nationalist" concepts, and proclaimed its own "proletarian" genesis with an emphasis on revolutionary populism. This meant a certain change in optics: part of the Ukrainian pre-war folkloristics and ethnography has now become "foreign",[30] while the idea that Russian science and tradition was "their own" for Ukrainian has intensified.

In this spirit, the popular series *Narodna tvorchist'* (*Folk Art*, in Ukrainian) of the publishing house *Dnipro* (1982–1988) was maintained. The series began with the publication of Russian "byliny of the Kyiv cycle" in Russian, but in general texts of Ukrainian folklore of various genres (from dumas to fairy tales) were published here in Ukrainian. This referred to the idea of unity of the Kyivan/Ancient Rus' people,[31] but at the same time made the Russian epics part of the Ukrainian folklore heritage (the system of different genres of Ukrainian folklore, which reflect different historical stages of development of the Ukrainian oral tradition).

Albeit, in fact, despite such loud statements, both Ukrainian folkloristics and ethnology remained within the national paradigm and continued the scientific traditions of the pre-Soviet era. Thus, the *Ukrainska narodna tvorchist'* (*Ukrainian Folk Art,* in Ukrainian) academic series of the M. T. Rylsky Institute of Art Studies, Folklore and Ethnography of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences in Kyiv (edited by Oleksiy Dey, Head of the Folklore Department) (1921–1986) contained a series of collections of Ukrainian songs with notes and comments: from essentially religious carols to recruiting and soldier songs. At the same time, Ukrainian scholars tried to analyze the folklore memory of blind performers of dumas and psalms, kobzars and lyricists of the 19th through thefirst half of the 20th century (Kyrdan, Omel'chenko 1980).[32]

In the end, some of the problems of Ukrainian folklore were sustained entirely in the spirit of the postwar Soviet socialist canon, which was modeled on Russian studies of songs from the Civil War or the folklore of the Great Patriotic War/the Second World War (Gusev

30 The example of ethnologist and folklorist Viktor Petrov (Domontovych, Ber) was paradoxical. Before the Second World War, he was "own" Soviet scientist. He then left the country, joined the Ukrainian emigration (probably as an agent of the Soviet secret services) and became a "foreigner". However, in 1949 Petrov suddenly re-emigrated to the USSR, was awarded by the Soviet authorities, and again became "one's own".

31 Or "old Russian ethnos" (Rus.: *drevnierusskij narod*) from the discourse of Soviet Russian scientists.

32 *Kobzars and lirnyks* (lyre players) represented the environment of the blind performers in Ukrainian folklore. *Kobzars/bandurist* (kobza/bandura players) performed their recitative texts (including dumas, epic historical songs) on *kobzas* and *banduras* (stringed musical instruments of various shapes). *Lirnyks* played on the so-called *wheel lyres* or *relia/rylia*, close to the German *Leier, Drehleier*, Italian *lyra tedesca* and English *hurdy-gurdy*. They traveled and performed both dance and religious songs, chants and psalms, including apocalyptic ones about the Last Judgment. These texts were reproduced through a well-developed memory of performers and through the oral tradition, which was learned among other *kobzars* and *lirnyks*. Kobzars and lyre players had sighted boys-leaders and formed closed hierarchical fraternities with their own rules, as well as a secret language in which they communicated with each other.

1964).[33] In this sense, the publications of the M. T. Rylsky Institute of Art Studies, Folklore and Ethnography of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences in Kyiv and its then Lviv branch of the Museum of Ethnography were certain equivalents or compensation for those publications published at the all-Union level.[34] For example, *Narodna tvorchist' ta etnografiia* (*Folk Art and Ethnography*, in Ukrainian) in Soviet times focused on traditional, even template themes.[35]

Another niche remained paremiology. In the series *Mudrist' narodna* (*Folk Wisdom*, in Ukrainian), which was published by the *Dnipro* publishing house from 1969 to 1991, Soviet (that is, the folklore of the peoples of the USSR) and world folklore were mixed.[36]

Simultaneously, publications of Western structuralists and popularity of systemic or structural-systemic approach in the 1960s and 1970s also influenced Ukrainian scholars. One of the examples of combining traditional and modern paradigms were the works of ethnomusicologist Volodymyr Goshovskyi/Hoshovskyi (1922–1996). In the works of the early 1960s, he tried to combine folklore with cybernetics[37] and semiotics. Initially, the author represented the regional Western Ukrainian oral tradition in the all-Union discourse (Goshovskyi 1968).

V. Goshovskyi's book on sources of Slavic folk music became symbolic for Soviet folk Slavic studies (Goshovskyi 1971), and was quickly translated into Czech (Hošovskyj 1976). This work clearly operated with the categories of sign, meaning, catalog, type, archetype and prototype, model and function, and in general musical language as a semiotic system of signs, which has its own words, sentences, and territorial differences (dialects). He tried to analyze folklore cybernetically and transfer to it the principles of structural linguistics, referring to the work by Sebastian Shaumyan with his structural linguistics and semiotic theory of

33 At this time, "one's own" Ukrainian Soviet folklore was depicted as an alternative to "foreign" Ukrainian emigrant folklore with its research and archives (such as Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA) at the Peter and Doris Kule Centre for Ukrainian and Canadian Folklore of the University of Alberta Museums).

34 In particular, the collection *Russkij fol'klor* (*Russian Folklore*) of the Institute of Russian Literature, works of the Institute of Slavonic Studies and Balkan Studies, collections of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography.

35 Including artistic features of narrative folklore, "songs of the revolution", descriptions of folklore archives of the Institute, the ritual of workers' and Komsomol weddings, folk technology and dialect terminology. As a model for researchers of this time, an example of Donbas folklore with records of miners' folklore or a study of the life of employees of the Lviv Television Plant was cited. At the same time, the topics of Ukrainian folklore monographs were a nationally marked response to all-Union tendencies (Kolessa 1969; Lavrov 1980).

36 Moldavian, Belarusian, Latvian proverbs and adages were published in the same line not only with Polish, Czech or "proverbs of the Peoples of Yugoslavia", but also along with English, French, Spanish, Irish, Portuguese ones.

37 The cybernetics, developed by Mykhailo Glushkov in Soviet Ukraine, Norbert Wiener, and William Ross Ashby in the United States, meant the science of the general principles of control, storage, and transmission of information in complex systems (from machines/mechanisms to the society, and its sign systems).

language. Goshovskyi's works were largely symmetrical to the works of Piotr Bogatyrev, and his work was "Union" in nature: a native of Ukrainian Transcarpathia Goshovskyi published his papers in Moscow and Yerevan, Armenia, as well as worked in Western Ukraine—in Lviv (Dobrjans'ka 2011).

Western structuralist or structural-systemic approaches were used more often in Ukrainian dialectology for example, in Pavlo Hrycenko's monographs on modeling the system of dialectal vocabulary (Hrycenko 1984) and its areal variation (Hrycenko 1990). The ideological boundaries between "one's own" and "foreign" were not so strict here, because it was about poitically neutral topics: phonemes, morphemes, syntagms, and not about motives or concepts.

A new period of "struggle and synthesis of elements" in Soviet, including Ukrainian, folklorstics and ethnography began only after 1985. At this time there were a return from oblivion of banned or undesirable in the postwar period texts of pre-revolutionary and pre-war repressed folklorists and ethnographers (like Kateryna Hrushevska and her associates in Ukraine) and a new interest in the works of Russian OPOJAZ-members and "mythologists"—from Olga Freidenberg to the native of Kyiv Yakiv Golosovker. At the same time, new Western discourses entered Soviet historiography with the works by Gaston Bachelard, Claude Bremond, Roland Barthes, Roman Jakobson and other Western European researchers of the second half of the 20th century.[38] In fact, the end of the 1980s in the USSR and in the UkrSSR in particular was a repetition of that spontaneous construction of Soviet folkloristics and ethnography of the 1920s and 1930s (under the influence of Gorbachev's logic of Perestroika and New Thinking).

After 1991, Ukraine's independence allegedly separated Ukrainian folklore research from the Soviet heritage: Ukrainian oral tradition and material culture began to be interpreted as part of European folkloristics.[39] However, the general trend of post-Soviet Ukrainian folkloristics and ethnography after 1991 differed. It was about escaping from the Soviet model, simultaneously in several directions: positivist description, "going back" (modification of concepts of pre-Soviet folkloristics and ethnography of the 19th–20th centuries) and "moving forward"

38 The have become part of the scientific paradigm of the countries of the late USSR as well as ideas from *The Singer of Tales* by Albert B. Lord (Russian translation in 1994) (Lord 1994) or *Heroic Poetry* by Cecil Maurice Bowra (Russian translation in 2002) (Bowra 2002).

39 On the other hand, the emergence of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) further meant an active study of the Ukrainian (Carpathians) and Ukrainian-Russian-Belarusian ethnocultural territories (for example, Polisia) and their folklore also in Russia, where it was interpreted as part of the common "East Slavic space". Until the early 2010s, Ukrainian folklore and folk culture were further interpreted in the spirit of postcolonial discourse as an element of "CIS folklore". An example was the multi-volume popular series *Folklor i literaturnyye pamyatniki SNG* (*Folklore and Literary Monuments of the CIS*), which traced various dimensions of hybridity: folklore was mixed with literature, and Ukrainian folklore was again among the folklore of Belarus, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan. At the same time, the Slavic dominant of CIS folklore was emphasized: unlike other countries, two books from this series were devoted to Russia and Ukraine.

modernization using poststructuralist, postmodernist methodologies, gender studies etc. However, the theories of Soviet ethnography and folkloristics remain partly the primary impetus for postmodern concepts.

Thus, we can say that the general development of (Ukrainian) Soviet folkloristics and ethnology/ethnography was somewhat different than previously thought. Soviet science, like the entire Soviet Union, sought to distance itself from Western influences. However, science, culture, society, and even the ideology of the USSR and the UkrSSR were constantly changing. "Own"/socialist/Soviet discourse was not only internally modernized at the same time as "alien"/foreign/non-socialist discourse, but also adopted from outside concepts, ideas, schemes. At the same time, Soviet scholars tried to export their ideas to Western discourse in order to form an image of the scientific (and ideological) leadership of the USSR. On the other hand, in the Soviet Union there was also a confrontation between the center (Moscow, Leningrad), in which access to "foreign" was easier and wider, and the periphery (Union Republics), to which this access was more complex and limited.

In general, despite the periods of (self-)isolation of Soviet science in the 1930s and in the postwar period, the boundary between one's own/Soviet/internal and foreign/non-Soviet/external in these disciplines remained variable, flexible. This was due both to the idea of the combination of Soviet science with the "progressive ideas of mankind" and the general trends in the development of science after the Second World War. The "anarchist" searches of early Soviet folkloristics and ethnology of the 1920s, which began to take shape in the system, were later curtailed within the framework of the normal paradigm of Soviet science, limited by ideological clichés. However, these stencils were also not permanent: Soviet folkloristics and ethnography sought to remain a science and modernize. Socialist science (and socialist folkloristics and ethnography) wanted to be a self-sufficient modeling system. However, they tried to expand their influence in the Western capitalist world, which meant adapting to the rules of Western discourse, borrowing Western concepts that penetrated the language of Soviet folkloristics and ethnography and changed them from within. This meant that even the banished from the Soviet discourse Alien, Other/Foreign was in fact almost always a hidden part of the discourse of socialist folkloristics and ethnology, constantly maneuvering between "one's own" to "foreign", from early Soviet to late Soviet political and scientific mythology and until the Soviet Union ceased to exist, and with it the Soviet discourse of science.

Anderson, David, Arzyutov, Dmitry (2016). The Construction of Soviet Ethnography and "The Peoples of Siberia". *History and Anthropology*, No. 27(2), pp. 183–209.

Andreev, Nikolaj (1929). *Ukazatel' skazochnyh sjuzhetov po sisteme Aarne*. Leningrad: Izdanie Gos. russkogo geograficheskogo o-va.

Anekdoty o Hodzhe Nasreddine i Ahmet Ahae (1937). Ed. S. D. Kocjubinskij. Simferopol': Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo Krymskoj ASSR.

Bakhtin, Mikhail (1968). *Rabelais and His World*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.

Beregovskyi, Moisei (1934). *Evrejskij muzykal'nyj fol'klor.* Moskva: Sovetskij kompozitor.

Beregovskyi, Musiy (1930). Chuzhomovni j riznomovni pisni Jevreyiv Ukrayiny, Bilorusy ta Polshhi. *Etnografichnyj visnyk,* Kyiv 1930. Knyga 9, pp. 37–51.

Boas, Franc (1926). *Um pervobytnogo cheloveka*. Perev. Alekseja Vodena. Moskva; Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo.

Bogoraz, Vladimir (1934). *Chukchi. Chast' pervaja.* Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Instituta narodov Severa CIK SSSR.

Bowra, Cecil Maurice (2002). *Geroicheskaja pojezija*. Perev. Nikolaja Grintsera, Iriny Jershovoj. Moskva: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie.

Brandist, Craig, Chown, Kathya (eds.) (2010). *Politics and the theory of language in the USSR 1917–1938. The birth of sociological linguistics*. London: Anthem Press.

Cocchiara, Giuseppe (1960). *Istorija fol'kloristiki v Evrope.* Perev. Aleksandr Benediktov. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo inostrannoj literatury.

Cunow, Heinrich (1913). *Ursprung der Religion und des Gottesglaubens.* Berlin: Buchhandlung Vorwärts Paul Singer.

Dobrjans'ka, Lina (2011). Ekspedycijna dijal'nist' Volodimira Goshovs'kogo u L'vivs'kij konservatoriji (1961–1968). *Visnyk L'vivs'kogo universitetu. Serija: Mystectvoznavstvo*, No. 10, pp. 44–63.

Doroshkevych, Oleksandr (1924). *Pidruchnyk istoriyi ukrayins'koyi literatury*. Kharkiv; Kyiv: Knyhospilka.

Dumézil, Georges (1986). *Verhovnye bogi indoevropejcev*. Perev. Tatjany Tsivjan. Moskva: Nauka.

Dyakiv, Volodymyr (2008). *"Fol'klor chudes" u pidradyans'kij Ukrayini 1920-kh rokiv*. L'viv: Institut narodoznavstva NAN Ukraïni.

École de Tartu (1976). *Travaux sur les systèmes de signes.* Textes choisis et présentés par Yuri Lotman et Boris Ouspenski, trans. Anne Zouboff. Bruxelles: Complexe.

Feyerabend, Paul (1975). *Against Method: Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge*. London, New York: Humanities Press.

Fizer, John (1986). *Alexander A. Potebnja's Psycholinguistic Theory of Literature: A Metacritical Inquiry*. Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

Frazer, James (1980). *Zolotaja vetv'. Issledovanie magii i religii*. Perev. Mikhaila Ryklina. Moskva: Politizdat.

Frazer, James (1983). *Zolotaja vetv'. Issledovanie magii i religii.* Vtoroe izdanie. Perev. Mikhaila Ryklina. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoj literatury.

Frazer, James (1985). *Fol'klor v Vethom Zavete*. Perev. Davida Volpina-Moskva: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoj literatury.

Frazer, James George (1900). *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. London: Macmillan and Co.

Gamkrelidze, Tamaz, Ivanov, Vjacheslav (1995). *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans: A Reconstruction and Historical Analysis of a Proto-Language and a Proto-Culture.* Parts 1–2. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gerasimov, Ilya, Glebov, Sergey, Mogilner, Marina (2016). Hybridity: Marrism and the Problems of Language of the Imperial Situation. *Ab Imperio*, No. 1, pp. 27–68.

Gomme, George Laurence (1890). *The Handbook of Folklore*. London: Published for the Folklore Society.

Goshovskyi, Vladimir (1968). *Ukrainskie pesni Zakarpat'ja.* Moskva: Sovetskij kompozitor.

Goshovskyi, Vladimir (1971). *U istokov narodnoj muzyki slavjan. Ocherki po muzykal'nomu slavjanovedeniju*. Moskva: Sovetskij kompozitor.

Gusev, Viktor (sost.) (1964). *Russkij fol'klor Velikoj Otechestvennoj vojny*. Leningrad: Nauka.

Hirsch, Francine (2005). *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Hošovskyj, Volodymyr (1976). *U pramenů lidové hudby Slovanů. Studie z*

Bibliography

hudební slavistiky. Praha: Editio Supraphon.

Howell, Dana Prescott (1992). *The Development of Soviet Folkloristics*. New York: Garland Pub.

Hrycenko, Pavlo (1984). *Modelyuvannya systemy dialektnoyi leksyky*. Kyiv: Naukova dumka.

Hrycenko, Pavlo (1990). *Areal'ne variyuvannya leksyky*. Kyiv: Naukova dumka.

Kabanov, Annette (2002). *Ol'ga Michajlovna Frejdenberg (1890–1955). Eine sowjetische Wissenschaftlerin zwischen Kanon und Freiheit*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.

Ķencis, Toms (2012). *A Disciplinary History of Latvian Mythology*. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Knorozov, Jurij (1954). *La antigua escritura de los pueblos de America Central*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Popular.

Knorozov, Jurij (1982). *Maya Hieroglyphic Codices*. Transl. by S. D. Coe. New York: Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, State University of New York at Albany.

Knorozov, Jurij (1955). *Sistema pis'ma drevnih majja: opyt rasshifrovki*. Moskva: Izd-vo AN SSSR.

Knorozov, Jurij (1963). *Pis'mennost' indejcev majja*. Moskva–Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR

Knorozov, Jurij (1975). *Ieroglificheskie rukopisi majja*. Leningrad: Nauka.

Kolessa, Filaret (1969). *Melodiyi ukrayins'kykh narodnykh dum*. Kyiv: Naukova dumka.

Koriak, Volodymyr (1927). *Narys istoriyi ukrayins'koyi literatury. I. Literatura peredburzhuazna*. 2-e vyd. Kharkiv. Derzh. vyd-vo Ukrayiny.

Kuhn, Thomas (1962). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kurylo, Olena (1928). *Materialy do ukrains'koi dijalektologii i fol'klorystyky*. Kyiv: Vseukraïns'ka Akademija Nauk.

Kyrdan, Borys, Omel'chenko, Andrij (1980). *Narodni spivci-muzykanty na Ukrayini*. Kyiv: Muzychna Ukrayina.

Lafargue, Paul (1930). *Jazyk i revoljucija. Francuzskij jazyk do i posle revoljucii (Ocherki proishozhdenija sovremennoj burzhuazii)*. Perev. Tatjany Falkovich, Elizavety Shyshmariovoj. Moskva: Academia.

Latyshskie skazki (Latvju tautas pasakas). Sbornik (1933). Moskva–Leningrad: Academia, 1933.

Lavrov, Fedir (1940). *Poradnyk po fol'kloru*. Kyiv.

Lavrov, Fedir (1980). *Kobzari. Narysy z istoriyi kobzarstva Ukrayiny*. Kyiv, Mystectvo.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1983). *Strukturnaja antropologija*. Perev. Vjacheslava Ivanova. Moskva: GRVL.

Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien (1922). *La mentalité primitive*. Paris: Félix Alcan.

Lippert, Julius (1922). *Istorija kul'tury: v 3 narysakh*. Perekl. Petra Djatlova, Khvedora Mojsy. New York, Vienna, Lviv, Kyiv.

Lord, Albert Bates (1994). *Skazytel'*. Perev. Yurija Kleinera, Georgija Levintona. Moskva: Izdatel'skaia firma "Vostochnaya literatura" RAN.

Meletinsky, Yeleazar (1963). *Proiskhozhdenie geroicheskogo éposa. Rannie formy i arkhaicheskie pamiatniki*. Moskva: Izd-vo vostochnoj literatury.

Meletinsky, Yeleazar (1976). *Pojetika mifa*. Moskva: Nauka.

Mifologicheskij slovar' (1991). Meletinsky, Yeleazar (ed.). Moskva: Sovetskaja jenciklopedija.

Petrov, Viktor (1925). Misce fol'kloru v krajeznavstvi. *Etnografichnij visnyk*. T. 1, c. 11–24.

Popovič, Anton. (1970). *Štrukturalizmus v slovenskej vede: 1931–1949; dejiny, texty, bibliografia*. Bratislava: Matica slovenská.

Propp, Vladimir (1928). *Morfologija skazki*. Leningrad: Academia.

Sapir, Edward (1934). *Jazyk. Vvedenie v izuchenie rechi*. Perev. Alekseja Sukhotina. Moskva; Leningrad: Socjekgiz.

Shamraj, Ahapij. (1928). *Ukrayins'ka literatura: styslyj ohlyad*. Kharkiv: Derzh. vyd-vo Ukrayiny.

Shor, Rozalia (1926). *Jazyk i obshhestvo*. Moskva–Leningrad: Rabotnik prosveshhenija.

Shternshis, Anna (2006). *Soviet and Kosher: Jewish Popular Culture in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Sumcov, Mykola (1919). *Narodna slovesnist'*. Kharkiv: Ruh.

Tokarev, Sergej (1978). *Istorija zarubezhnoj etnografii*. Moscow: Vysshaja shkola.

Tokarev, Sergej (1989). *History Of Religion*. Transl. by Paula Garb. Moscow: Progress.

Bibliography

Tokarev, Sergej (sost.) (1980). *Mify narodov mira. Enciklopedija: V 2-h tomah*. Moskva: Sovetskaja enciklopedija.

Turner, Victor (1983). *Simvol i ritual*. Perev. Viktora Beilisa. Moskva: Nauka.

Tylor, Edward Burnett (1871). *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom*. Vol. 1–2. London: John Murray.

van der Veer, Rene, Valsiner, Jaan (eds.) (1994). *The Vygotsky Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Vendryes, Joseph (1937). *Jazyk: lingvisticheskoe vvedenie v istoriju*. Perev. Rozalii Shor. Moskva: Gos. soc.-jekon. izd-vo.

Voloshinov, Valentyn (1930). *Marksizm i filosofija jazyka*. Leningrad: Priboj.

Voloshinov, Valentyn (1976). *Freudianism: A Marxist Critique*. Transl. by I. R. Titunik. New York: Academic Press.

Werth, Nicolas (2007). *La Terreur et le Désarroi: Staline et son système*. Paris: Perrin.

Zhirmunsky, Viktor (1962). *Narodnij geroicheskiy epos*. Moskva, Leningrad: Gos. izd-vo hudozhestv. lit.

Zubritski, Yuri (1979). *Los incas-quechuas*. Moscú: Progreso.

No “savējiem” līdz ārzemēm: padomju folkloristikas un etnogrāfijas kategorijas un teksti

Pavlo Artimišins, Romans Holiks

Atslēgvārdi: ideoloģija, mitoloģija, Padomju etnogrāfija, Padomju folkloristika, Padomju Savienība, Ukrainas PSR

Rakstā pētītas padomju folkloristikas un etnogrāfijas kategorijas un teksti no 1920. līdz 1991. gadam. Šajā laikā aplūkojamās parādības atšķīrās starp diviem galēji atšķirīgiem zinātniskajiem kontekstiem: padomju jeb sociālistisko un nepadomju jeb kapitālistisko. Autori izseko zinātnisko koncepciju ģenēzi padomju folklorā un etnogrāfijā pirms un pēc Otrā pasaules kara (ieskaitot pretstatus “savs” un “svešs”, “draudzīgs” un “naidīgs”, “populārs” un “elitārs”, “atļauts” un “tabu”). Tiek pētīts, kā šie jēdzieni un idejas izskatījās mazajā (Padomju Ukraina) un lielajā (Padomju Savienība) sociālistiskajā telpā un kā tie tika pārraidīti un mainīti ar “savu” un “svešu” tekstu publikācijām. Neraugoties uz padomju zinātnes (paš)izolācijas periodiem 20. gadsimta 30. gados un pēckara periodā, robeža starp savu jeb padomju, iekšējo un svešo jeb citu, nepadomju jeb ārējo šajās disciplīnās palika mainīga un elastīga. Tas bija saistīts gan ar ideju par “padomju zinātnes starptautisku apvienošanu ar cilvēces progresīvajām idejām”, gan par vispārējām zinātnes attīstības tendencēm pēc Otrā pasaules kara. 20. gadsimta 20. gadu “anarhiskie” agrīnās padomju folkloras un etnoloģijas meklējumi, kas sāka veidoties sistēmā, vēlāk aprobežojās ar padomju zinātnes “normālo” paradigmu, kuru ierobežoja ideoloģiskās klišejas. Tomēr šie trafareti arī nebija pastāvīgi: padomju folklora un etnogrāfija centās modernizēties. Sociālistiskā zinātne (un sociālistiskā folkloristikas un etnogrāfija) vēlējās būt pašpietiekama modelēšanas sistēma. Tomēr tā mēģināja paplašināt savu ietekmi kapitālistiskajā pasaulē, kas nozīmēja pielāgošanos Rietumu diskursa noteikumiem, aizņemoties Rietumu jēdzienus, kas iekļuva padomju folkloristikas un etnogrāfijas valodā un to mainīja. Tas nozīmēja, ka pat no padomju diskursa izraidītās kategorijas gandrīz vienmēr bija slēpta sociālistiskās folkloras un etnogrāfijas diskursa sastāvdaļas.

DOI: 10.35539/LTNC.2021.0043.R.L.B.113.131

Mythological Matter: Folklore Images in the Landscape of Latvian Textile Art in the Second Half of the 20th Century

Rita Legčiļina-Broka

Keywords: national art, tapestry, weaving, ancient folk art, folk song.

Introduction

The presence of folklore in the contribution of textile art in the period between the 1960s and 1980s has been previously noted and described as the observation of natural beauty of peasant life (Sturme 1978) as the poetic vision of the world adopted from folk songs (Kalniete 1989); however, beyond the detection of this fact, the purposeful research of corresponding works has not been continued. The examples pertaining to the theme of folklore in textile art can be identified by the first lines of folk songs included in the artwork titles (Celmiņa-Ķeirāne 2016: 151), although this approach leaves out a considerable part of the weavings containing images of ancient oral poetry and mythological notions in a significantly wider comprehension.

Chronologically, most of the artworks dedicated to folklore in Latvian art relate to the time marked by First National Awakening emerged during the 1850s and independent Latvia (1918–1940) when formulation of the national identity was a topical problem for society in its entirety and for the majority of creative industries. In the period following World War II, when Latvia was incorporated in the USSR as a socialist republic, socialist realism was established as the only creative method in art in Latvia, imposing a hierarchy of themes, and a full typology of images (Kļaviņš 2009: 103), diverse visualization of the folklore-inspired motifs unaffected by the official ideology was discontinued. However, the national character was considered desirable in the internationally oriented socialist community, and this enabled development and continuity of traditional values in applied arts (Sturme 2009). The heritage along with various landscape motifs became a thematically unifying core of Latvian textile art. Since the 1960s, when the first pictorial weavings of Rūdolfs Heimrāts (1926–1992) were exhibited to the public, culminating in a new wave of national romanticism at the end of the 1980s (Kalniete 1983: 4), the imagery proposed by local nature and folklore expanded into a broadly represented, invariably leading theme in the reformed textile art, thus undeniably affecting the public opinion, strengthening national consciousness, self-awareness and the force of resistance to the occupation power.

The article aims to provide a thematic insight into the development of Latvian textile art, highlighting the representation of folklore and mythical notions in the visual content of the artwork. The task is to focus on the interpretation of the weavings, instead of formally evaluating only the features of material and technical performance

according to the general practice prevailing in applied art, but instead by interpreting visual content. The study chronologically encompasses the period of development of Latvian textile art in the 1960s–1980s designated as late socialism (Kristberga 2020: 9), when political and institutional changes fundamentally altered the performance in the field, introducing academical education, state commissions and extended international experience. The article examines the creative work of professional textile artists who acquired education at the Art Academy of Latvia under the leadership of Professor Rūdolfs Heimrāts. The samples of the summarized material highlight a variety of textiles where visualization of folklore-related themes can be identified and interpreted in narrative meaning. Research methodology includes content analysis of written and iconographic sources, biographical data analysis, interviews, case studies, and field notes.

Changes of the visual content. Woven picture

The appearance of folklore-inspired images in Latvian textile art in the period between 1960s and 1980s was determined by several relevant circumstances. The first was the extension of practised weaving techniques. By the beginning of the 1960s, textile artists in Latvia primary used the shuttle weaving techniques obtained from traditional folk-art weaving practice. The favourite approach was the weaving method involving pile rug or knotted weave (Heimrāts 1960), which enabled creation of a rich fabric texture since the main feature was long fringe. However, that had limited possibilities in terms of the presentation of detailed images and sinuous lines. The new visual expression shift was indicated by introducing tapestry or the woven painting, better known in Latvia as the gobelin weaving.

In Europe, a tapestry is commonly known as a hand-produced luxury craft historically developed by the professional communities of French and Belgian weavers. The medium developed in close connection with painting and commissions of nobility and the Church. The plain weaving technique or tapestry allows the complete freedom of compositions and has proven itself to be particularly suitable for the reproduction of realistic monumental compositions (Phillips 2000). After a certain period of decline in the 19th century, by the middle of the 20th century, tapestry experienced a new wave of popularity known as the post-war tapestry revival. The process initiated the larger concept of tapestry as an independent, medium-specific modern art form (Wells 2018). The Lausanne International Tapestry Biennials (1962–1995) became a paramount international event of this movement. Located at the confluence of the western and eastern approaches, these Biennals rapidly evolved as a powerful platform for exchanging artistic experience in the textile medium.

In Latvia, by the beginning of the Khrushchev Thaw in the late 1950s, information on the art phenomena in the West increased to a significant extent (Knāviņa 2019: 62). Although far from being a linear process of liberalisation of culture and politics (Bittner 2008), opening of information channels to a comparatively larger degree brought considerable developments in

the field of textile art. The ideas about new tapestry and its monumental features reached the artistic community in Latvia through increased information from international exhibitions and publications and therefore must be considered as an influencing circumstance. The tapestry weaving technique in Latvia was not a novelty, it was known since the 1930s. The detailed technical description could be found in the weaving manual compiled by Anna Antene (Antene 1931). A broad overview of the history of textile art and types of fabrics was provided in the publication of "Mākslas vēsture" ("History of Art") (Penģerots 1936: 91) Small-scale, intimate tapestries were woven by the older-generation textile artist Milda Klēbaha (1906–1975) (Rinka 2016: 591). However, the first tapestry, which fully revealed the features of the technique in the light of the new approach was executed by Rūdolfs Heimrāts (1926–1992) in 1960. The monumental wall hanging *Uz Dziesmusvētkiem* (*To the Song Festival*) represents a realistically depicted figurative scene demonstrating the principal difference in image formation from the previously used techniques. The smooth tapestry surface with picturesque qualities, the vibrant, active contrast-based colour usage, and mural properties revealed hitherto inexperienced tapestry possibilities. The traditional folk dresses, which were woven and thus rendered in native materiality as a fabric into the fabric, yielded an entirely different impression from that achieved in, for example, painting. These differences could be expressly observed in the comparison of Heimrāts tapestry, for instance, with the painting of Džemma Skulme (1925–2019) of the same period *Svētku deja* (*Festive dance*, 1958). The flowing, supple lines, determined by the weaving structure, bold dyed yarn materialized in plain colour fields introduced a different kind of medium-specific reality.

The other creative explorations of Heimrāts pertain to the period attributable to the founding of the Textile Arts Department at the Art Academy of Latvia. From 1961 to 1992, Heimrāts held the permanent position of the head of the department. The most accentuated professor's requirements in creative work were based on the in-depth exploration of the heritage of Latvian ancient folk art (Bankovičs 2010). The selected approach was not used as a formal examination of published sources but instead was based on personal experience and direct presence. Folk art had to be seen in close-ups, through practical encounters, researching and accepting the original samples in the museum repositories (Eglīte 2019: 39). As a result, the imagery and applied colour usage of young artists developed in a unified, traditional value-oriented way, which, on the one hand, maintained a relationship with tradition, whereas on the other—provided a solid basis of an age-tested initiative that was not mechanically copied but instead had to be creatively developed. The opportunity arranged by Heimrāts to obtain access to the holdings of historical funds could be comparable to the findings of ethnographer, described by Jānis Niedre as overall unfettered interaction that preserves the moral, physical and mental integrity of the people (Niedre 1985: 25). This approach also resulted in a simultaneously physical and spiritual relationship with the human material and intangible heritage, a culture of colours and patterns, familiarity and acceptance of certain forms of visual expression, the understanding of their natural origin, a place in an individual life which, as a consequence, might encourage young artists to focus on a relevant theme in folklore.

Assessing the content of the diplomas created during the 25 years of the Heimrāts-led Department of Textile Art, it should be concluded that the thematic circle remained unchanged

in its essential nature (Heimrāts 1986). In general, it could be described as images inspired by folk art, observation of nature, and Latvian folklore, unified by a particular choice of colours, materiality, and weaving technique. The notional coloured areas rendered in the textures of various wall hangings emerged from ethnographic blankets, ornamental patterns of embroidery, and knits, combined with the principles of narrative representation, created a new but at the same time nationally affiliated material reality.

In the context of the development of folklore motifs, it should be noted that art life was subordinated to a state-defined ideology that determined the themes of the works. In USSR, the folk art as a form of peasant art had been officially praised as an expression of truly popular creativity since the mid-1930s (Karpova 2020: 51). Moreover, demonstration of nationality was one of the principles of socialist realism doctrine, where the art had to be national in form and social in content (Ansone 2009: 10). Simultaneously, the theme chosen by the artist could be consistent with the iconographic typology of socialist realism, while still containing hidden national and political desire for independence, creating a double code (Kļaviņš 2009: 113). In this context, Latvian textile art, where the national theme in tapestries was revealed in a serene self-centred mood, without artificial pathos and the glorification of the worker's life, with an exploratory view of ancient myths and cultural roots, developed intuitively discernible layers of the parallel world supported and protected by properties of the decorative medium. While decoratively interpreted imagery inspired by the folklore world retained a leading position next to poetically portrayed landscape motifs and rural life scenes textile art stored and maintained a latent tradition promoting a sense of belonging to a particular country and culture, dissolving the expected social content in a mentally free national form.

Colour and weaving. Divine origin

The tapestry weaving method enabled academically educated artists to expand creative imagination into a notional reality that in equal measure supported the free arrangement of abstract geometrized structures and nuanced, realistically executed graceful shapes. This direction was unlike painting, where a realistic readable narrative played a crucial role in the textile art as an applied art field, it proved acceptable to use a notional, symbolic image. The conventional way of depiction used in weavings opened the possibility to explore the themes that could not relate to the actual real-life processes. The rich source of imagery permitted by the ruling power was found in the ancient history, folklore, and folk art; thus, it became a lasting, valuable field decisively. The skills involved in the creation process of textile artwork have proved to be essential and linked to the scenery contemplated by folklore, not only in terms of visualization but also in a material-based haptic sense.

The tapestry *Vērpēja, tinēja un audēja* (*Spinner, Winder and Weaver*, 1968) by Ruta Bogustova (1935) is one of the first textiles woven by Heimrāts' students. It clearly marks

an approach which differs from the idea of decorative textiles. The entire plane of the tapestry is occupied by three female figures. Their bodies are profoundly simplified, even generalized, devoid of detail, nevertheless, the order of lines and coloured shapes in their entirety creates a clear notion of the event. Women's clothing and the tools used in folk crafts indicate the background of antiquity. In superficial observation, this scene certainly could be associated with a fairy tale of the same title, where instructive insight into the hard work of processing the fibre emphasizes the role these skills in human life (Arājs 1988). Veronika Kučinska reflects upon this weaving by Bogustova in the following words: "It finds not only a beautiful colour mix close to that used in folk art but also imparts the wisdom contained in the folk song. *Balta nāca tautu meita...*" (Kučinska 1987), indicating the desired female representation in folklore—the lines of the song quoted by Kučinska—"White came the maiden..." indicate whiteness as pureness, virtue. However, the subject matter of particular weaving could also be interpreted in connotation adhering to the mythical context of the event. In the mythological notions preserved in folk heritage, the sun is the day or light weaver, and she weaves the fabric of the universe along with the dominant deity Māra (Kursīte 1996). The day, the light, the sun are inherent participants in the cycle of creation. According to olden notions, the life thread is also spun by the sun or the sun's daughters A deity of destiny, Laima, in addition to weaving also spins and has a mastery of embroidery skills (Kursīte 1996). This division of responsibilities certainly reveals the unique role of textile-handling manual skills in human life, their feminine origins, and their creative nature. In many other cultures of the world, weaving is also understood as a life-generating cosmogony act, reflected in different notions, myths, legends. Typically, the deities responsible for creation of life are portrayed as feminine spinners and weavers (Gordon 2011). Thus, the subject matter of the composition could be interpreted not only as a reference to folklore-related theme but also as a picture of symbols representing a mythical preconception of woven origin of the universe.

Colours have no nationality (Ķencis 2013: 51); however, the attitude to colours in different cultures is not incidental. Over many centuries, it has been formed closely with the populated environment, where natural dyes and fibre were obtained. According to the ethnographer Aina Alsupe, the dyes used by the people are also the witnesses of people's lifestyle. In cultural history, both individual colours and compositions thereof have been used as a source of information to expose the specific features of a particular period, not only in the aesthetic development of individuals but even whole ethnoses (Alsupe 2008). In Latvia, the attitude towards colour was formed by natural sampling (Šmits 1937), which resulted in the most difficult to obtain or expensive colours assigned a particular importance and honour (Karlsone 2018). In folklore, colour has its mythical role; it can express symbolic information and influence the context of perception (Kursīte 2018). In antiquity, the dyeing skills were an essential weaving companion (Alsupe 1982). The meaning of each colour contained in folk songs is related to the colour used in textile art because it was particularly understood as dyed wool yarn or other available natural fibre, thereby associated with specific practical skills of the weaver and local preconditions.

Textile artist Lilita Postaža (1941–2011) in her tapestry *Krāsotājas* (*Dyers*, 1970) depicts the process of dyeing yarns as an important, even crucial part of the textile creating process. Here, the valuable red of the madder, coupled with the intensive indigo blue, forms the

primary expression of the entire image. Indisputably, the author had aimed to highlight the importance of these colours that existed in antiquity, however, obtained through the educational process, the acquired knowledge of ancient folk art samples could be viewed as respect extended to the valuable matter of red. Composition is rendered in heavy, saturated tones, using a highly notional language of images. The absence of specific indications, the highly simplified abstract shapes highlight the generalized nature of the process of obtaining colour. The figures of the four women are standing around the dyeing bowl and patiently awaiting the moment of transformation. The dyer's eyes are focused on the hot depths of the bowl, the heated air reflecting in a red glow on their faces. With a certain peace, they indulge in the flow of time. The composition itself does not demonstrate a particular reference to the folklore motive, although special attention to the dyeing process determines the value of the following weaving is evident.

The yarn dyeing in textile art from the 1960s to the 1980s was an essential stage in producing the textile artwork, which, like all other works, was concentrated in the author's hands. Like in ancient times, creation of fabric had to pass through several phases of fibre preparation. The dyeing process is highlighted as one of the most crucial stages of tapestry creation. The success of the weaving was largely dependent on the results of the dyeing (Oša 1986). However, textile artists used chemical dyes, which provided for a more simplified application procedure than the plant dyes used in the past, the process of treating the fibres—washing, heating, rinsing, and drying—itself included certain ritualized activities which referred to the information on the subject matter of colour extraction stored in folklore.

A similar emphasis on the importance of colour usage is detectable in the tapestry by Anita Celma (1944) *Darbs dara darītāju* (translated as *The folk song motif*, 1977). The composition is organised around the colour flow of the light spectrum highlighted in the middle of the tapestry, which are surrounded by four female figures. The intensive colour accent emanates from the middle of the woven structure as the heavy weaves of long fringe clearly associate with preciously brightly dyed yarns. The images of women and the surroundings of the composition are pictured in off-white, pale tones, which, on the one hand, draw attention to the vibrating power of the central colour accent; on the other hand, they impart a notion of some irreal act. Such compositions could also be carried out as murals. Yet, the fibre content of the saturated colours of the spectrum, the unambiguously tactile sensing structure of the yarns, and the ritualized nature of the dyeing process gives this scene a different dimension, aligning it with the act of creation in a mythical meaning (Eliade 1995).

The white colour, most frequently present in Latvian folk songs (Greble 1992: 163) appears in a significant proportion of textile art. Overall, the symbolic connotation of white is obtained from the folklore, relating to morality, chastity, but it is also a sign of special intimacy and love. White has also been associated with the feminine creative origin, mother's milk, and the idea of revival (Kursīte 1996). In this context, the considerable example is the artwork authored by Heimrāts, where the presence of white colour is always associated with goodness and spirituality (*Gaidīšana* (*Waiting*, 1978), *Tautasdziesma* (*The Folk Song*, 1978), *Saudzēsim dabu!* (*Let's save Nature!*, 1981)). Furthermore, the applications of white

attributed to symbolical associations obtained from the world of folklore are detectable in the artwork of numerous Heimrāts' students.

It can be concluded that the features of the artistic image, related to the physical structure of fibre materiality, were open to unlimited interpretations of mythical preconceptions. The symbolic meaning of colour as dyed yarn combined with archaic weaving skills created the basis for variable textile visualizations rooted in folklore and mythical thinking. Almost each textile artist who acquired his or her academic education in the period from 1960s to 1980s has authored an artwork linked to local nature, folklore, ornamentation and colour system, national celebrations, and traditional anniversaries. Among these are several individual artists whose oeuvre represents a continuing relevance of these cultural values. In these cases, a close relationship with local nature through the specific site, rural lifestyle, and mythical notions construct the fundamental basis of the imaging system.

The mythical aspects in image system of Aija Baumane

Aija Baumane (1943–2019) entered Latvian textile art as one of the first academically educated artists. Already in her graduation work, Baumane turned to the use of narrative content, creating a large-scale, figurative composition titled *Zelta zivtiņa* (*Golden Fish*, 1967). Handwoven in tapestry technique, this wall hanging depicted the fairy tale of the Latvian folklore, although this nomad fairy tale theme also has variations in other cultures. Art historian Gundega Ivanova, describing this work, concludes that through the colour accents and line movements, the author shows her intimate knowledge of the nature of the fairy tale. The intended narrative has no break, continuously showing four scenes—they are compositionally closely associated with each other (Ivanova 1967: 8). The absence of subsequent interpretation of the weaving content in terms of organization of composition, selection the particular motifs, colour scale or included scenery is an example confirming that the works in the applied arts sphere were not exposed to such a perspective, either in this case or in the following decades. For example, in the context of tapestries by Baumane, the attitude toward folklore, art historian Brigita Sturme only stated "… on the subject of folklore, Aija Baumane had woven the tapestries *Bāleliņi* (*Brothers*), *Pilskalns* (*Hillfort*), *Pūra lades motīvi* (*The motifs of the dowry chest*) (Sturme 1978: 39).

In the late 1960s, Baumane created a series of tapestries dedicated to the subject of land defenders—*Pilskalns* (1968), *Vecā zaldāta dēkainā dzīve* (*The Life of the Old Soldier*, 1969) based on the folk tale and *Bāleliņi* (1970). The tapestry *Pilskalns* depicts a scene of olden times that in general terms can be attributed to folk legend, but equally well—to a historical scene. The static and peaceful organization of composition suggests that the depicted event is a romantic reflection of legendary history. Yet, the author underlines

that the narrative is based on an evocative idea of the nation's resistance to the conqueror, where the river is perceived as a protector of defenders from the evil power (Rozenieks 2004). Another composition of a similar orientation, *Bāleliņi* (1970), is devoted to the sons who are departing to the war. Two images of riders are positioned in the centre of the weaving. Their faces are turned away from the viewer toward the depths of the weaving, heading toward the unknown future. On both sides of the road the viewer can discern those who are left behind. These are the images of women who stare at the inevitable fate in a gesture of farewell. The figures are executed with remarkable simplification, rendering their silhouettes sturdy, their shapes—stiff and solid, as if cut out from the stone. If folklore-based evidence is taken into account, then the stone has been presented as a symbol of soldier's heart, assigning symbolic importance not only to the stone, but also to the soil and the charcoal, where the stone symbolizes the hardness of the vow, while the sod and the charcoal are linked with hearth (Kursīte 2014). Thus, it becomes possible to connect the solution of the brown-grey-red-purple colour combination and the robust forms with the inevitable fate of the soldier's mission. The foreground-placed pole fence could be interpreted as a possible reference to the time when the soldier would return, characterized in folk songs as a point in time when the poles would blossom—in other words, never.

Extensive experiments with the spatial capabilities of the fibre material occurred in Latvian textile art during the 1970s, when classical tapestry weaving had been mastered (Lamberga 1981: 42). The first attempt in this field, titled *Meža māte* (*Mother of the Forest*) (1971), was created by Aija Baumane. The Mother of the Forest appears in Latvian mythical notions as a guardian of the forest. It is a mother of everyone inhabiting the woods, and she can live in a wooden cavity and be a tree herself (Šmits 1926). The hanging large-scale woven and twisted green-shaded fibre structure reminds of the deep forest thicket. A recognizable form of spruce branches affirms the dominance of the natural forces rising above the entrant in their superiority. Unlike the expected idea of the Mother of the Forest as an anthropomorphic figure, in contrast to the entities that are visualized, for instance, by Latvian writer Anna Brigadere (Brigadere 1943), this deity in Baumanes' version is revealed as a fragment extracted from the real forest, and raises associations that more likely recall archaic fears of getting lost in the forest and create a sense of humility in front of indisputably superior natural power.

Along with spatial compositions created in the 1970s, Baumane wove several tapestries dedicated to nature and folklore. In the tapestry *Maziņš biju, ganos gāju* (*When I was young, I herded sheep* (1970), the author in the words of a folk song imparted her own experience as a shepherdess in the days of her childhood. The pasture was located in the grassy solitary woodland, and the existential experience of those early days is recognizable in vague images of the composition. This haunting world of intangible images also appears in the compositions *Līgo nakts* (*MidsummerNight*, 1971) and *Sapnis* (*The Dream*, 1972).

The theme of the Midsummer Night celebration appears in the tapestries of several authors, but never in the same sense as the depiction of this special moment in nature and human life in Baumanes' weaving. In this case, the typical attributes of bonfires and oak leaves, the figures dressed in traditional costumes, are missing, yet there is a clear idea of the substance of

this magical moment. It is obviously the night of the solstice, the transitional state of the sun, when the mythical forces are released and the fern blossoms. The fern's flower was protected, according to the faithful, by various forces associated with the world of the Hereafter: monsters, dragons, wizards, ghosts. (Kursīte 1999). In this context, the folklore depicted the fire as an antidote to the fight against evil forces, because, on the Midsummer Night, the witches and wizards were particularly forceful. For example, beliefs portray the witches, wrapped in white sheets and their hair freely flowing over their shoulders, are wandering around with a bucket for milk in hand, milking the cows of the neighbours, thereby conjuring the milk away from these cows to to their own (Līdeks 1940). Thus, the perceptible movement in Baumane's weaving between intangible forms of life and areas of real matter provides a convincing picture of the magical nature of solstice, paying attention to the mythical fulfilment of the moment rather than another decorative arrangement of traditional festive attributes.

Furthermore, in the tapestry *Sapnis* (1972), a vision filled with disembodied images is revealed in a fragment of the tree's trunk structure. The lurking ghostly faces, materializing from the rugged bark, disappearing and emerging from the surface, give the impression of the emotive experience of a dream or even nightmare, where the mythical dark forces appear as images of old stories and fairy tales pretending to exist in woven fibres. According to people's notions, the human soul leaves the body and travels around different worlds during sleep. A man in a dream sees the places where his soul travels. While her owner is sleeping, the soul wanders around in the form of a bird, a snake, a butterfly, a fly, a frog, a mouse, etc. (Kursīte 1999). In this context, the tapestry is considered as an attempt to interpret a dream not as an imaginary visualization of something wonderfully desirable, but as an uncontrolled world of the human mind, a concentration of unconscious notions, revealed in the form of dynamic creative chaos.

The 1980s was the time of detectable changes in the image system of Baumane's artwork, but the folklore impressions still played an important role. A remarkable work of this period is a 1983 tapestry, *Bērnības zeme* (*The Land of Childhood*). Woven in classical tapestry weaving technique, the wall hanging represents a landscape in which a bird rises above the green hills. The bird's silhouette consumes the entire centre of the composition. Its shape is generalized and does not correspond to a realistic prototype. It is more like the mythical Firebird mentioned in Latvian fairy tale which with his song returns the gift of sight to the blind (Bauga 1974). Rays emitted from the bird intertwine the weaving surface and dissolve in the nuanced green shades of the land, reviling the non-trivial features of fiber expression. The land of childhood is undoubtedly a place of particular significance to the author and is confined to personal experience. In this context, a general reference has been made to the area in the rolling landscape with hills and gentle slopes of the Talsi district. Thus, the mythical bird that rises above the fields could be explained as the materialized indication of the past. The folklore and personal memory stories interweaving create a no longer existing, and therefore a miraculous fragment of the past.

In 1988, Baumane once again turned her attention to the visualization of the Midsummer celebration theme in the tapestry *Rūtoja Saule* (*The Sun sang*). This time, the composition

has been created figuratively, focusing on emphasizing the central attributes of the traditional celebration of the summer solstice. The centre of the tapestry shows a couple dressed in traditional costumes with wreaths of oak leaves. Their slightly curved figures give the impression of rhythmic swing affected by the song. "Līgo" as a part of summer solstice songs is commonly known throughout Latvia, but in Latgale, there is also a variation of "rūto" or "rūtoj" (Šterna 1998: 130). Particular weaving established a tangible link to tradition through woven checkered folk art patterns and connection with the ideological parallel of the folk song refrain "rūtoja", which also could be understood as activities associated with decorating.

Besides the folklore-inspired motifs, Baumane's artworks contain specific place-based symbols attributed to mythical thinking. Particularly notable in this respect is a forest lake in vicinity of Baumanes' family property and associated with mythical stories. This lake belongs to the so-called lakes of the abyss or bottomless lakes. Several of them are situated in Latvia. Such a lake has a bad reputation, coming from the stories that the devil himself was pulling the swimmers in. The name of the small lake is Diemests, which in Latvian language means "dropped by God". These lakes are linked to ancient knowledge (Vīks 2001). The image of Diemests alongside the central, dominant image of the river is depicted on several Baumane's weavings. The field notes and were applied, investigating Baumane's family property to clarify the nature of the place where Baumane grew up and retained a connection to throughout her life. In all probability, the place characterized by absolute solitude and untouched nature, its rural environment, and lifestyle affected the poetic perception of the world similar to that reflected in folklore, the mythical way of thinking which underlies the entire creative output of Baumane.

Annual customs and celestial bodies. Inga Skujiņa

In the period from 1960s to 1980s, among the themes represented in textile art is a considerable amount of artwork dedicated to the observation of natural phenomena and the attitude toward the place. In terms of depicting seasonal changes, Latvian textile art headed by Rūdolfs Heimrāts was a particularly perceptive successor of the textiles of ancient folk art. Similarly to the ancient times, when the seasonal colours, images of the floral world, stars, and surroundings became the inspiration of the weaved blankets (Alsupe 1982), the rhythms of nature and the mythical processes of the universe became important narratives reflected by the numerous contemporary tapestries (Kalniete 1989). In addition to the works inspired by an observation of seasonal changes, the representations of the traditional annual customs occupied an important place in the artists' imagery. In the mythical sense of the world, natural rhythm and annual customs as the most important milestones, are reflected in the calendar, where celebrations essentially mean creating a new time-space. The celebration is associated with time or a part of its formation because the cultural space, just like its time, does not arise naturally but must be created by a special effort (Rubenis 2018).

The traditional annual customs, dedicated to the turning points of the solar year—summer and winter solstices—are the most often rendered representations in the weavings. In terms of numbers, the most widely represented are the celebrations of summer solstice *Jāņi* or Midsummer Night. The summer solstice celebration is most frequently depicted as figurative compositions illustrating the subject matter reflected in folk songs (Heimrāts *Līgo* (*Midsummmer Eve Celebration* 1977, Postaža *Jāņu nakts* (*The Night of Jāņi*, 1982), Pīgozne *Jāņu rītā* (*Morning of Jāņi*, 1985), Rozenbergs *Zāļu vakars* (*The Grass Eve*, 1986), Baumane *Rūtoja saule* (*The Pattern of the Sun*). The works devoted to the theme of winter solstice similarly represent ritual activities of this time (Postaža *Ķekatas* (*Mummery*, 1983), Eltermane *Ķekatas manās bērnu dienās Mummery in My Childhood*, 1982), Žūriņa *Ziemas mēneši* (*Winter Months*, 1980)).

In these depictions of the cyclical rhythms of nature in connection with human life, a notable example is the oeuvre of textile artist Inga Skujiņa (1952). From 1977 to the last works of the 1990s, the thematic line remained unaltered. The dominant theme of all weavings by Skujiņa is rural nature, folklore heritage, and annual traditions interwoven in a personal view of contemporary cultural space. The images revealed in the tapestries are peculiarly dual. They could equally refer to the imagery of antiquity and the perceptions caused by contemporary events, like how a folk song comes alive when it is linked to a particular human voice, sound, and the place. A particular artwork also features the remarkable interpretation of tradition inherent in artwork by Skujiņa, characterized by placing an ancient passage in the scenery of contemporary environments, thereby allowing to perceive the folklore-based narrative closely to natural feelings and similarities.

The tapestry by Skujiņa—*Gaismas vārti* (*Gate of Light*, 1981)—is notable as one of her fundamental works based on national cultural values. The key figure of composition is Latvian folk song collector Krišjānis Barons also known as Father of Dainas (*Dainu tēvs*, *dainas*—Latvian folk songs). The wreath of the oak leaves, the bonfire flame placed in the centre and surrounded by dark background, clearly indicates the event's substance. This tapestry could be easily interpreted as a dedication to the outstanding achievements of Krišjānis Barons. However, despite the accentuated central position of the Barons' figure and symbolical rendering of his image, idealization or targeted ideological weight is not perceptible. The merry-makers located in the shaded second plan of the composition is depicted intimately singing the songs, thinking, and conversing. The figure of Krišjānis Barons in the foreground is marked just as a natural underlying reference of the shared world view based on the retained tradition and folklore.

The gates and doors, in general, are symbols of the borderline, threshold, and appear the folklore of many nations as a division between two worlds, particularly in the songs pertaining to family customs, in the songs of marriage and wedding, as a partition between the life in father's home and the society, in the funeral songs as a dividing line between the secular world and the realm of the dead (Mežale 1992). These parallel worlds are detectable in *Gaismas vārti*, simultaneously distant and unreachable, while at the same time approachable and alive. The contemporary environment and portrait images of the weaving (self-portrait of the author, portraits of Juris Zihmanis, Zigmunds Skujiņš, Imants Ziedonis) and the prevailing manifestation of

natural processes tied up in a single wholeness reveals the freedom of creative spirit, which is Skujiņa's creative signature. The naturally captured vision of Līgo eve, with the actual time references, such as the incorporated portrait of Imants Ziedonis on the television screen, suggests that the depicted events form an integral part of human life, where a successive relationship with folk traditions appears as an intuitive desire to follow and safeguard the once-established forms of culture rather than adherence to certain rules and authentic attributes.

A special place in the imagery system of Inga Skujiņa is dedicated to celestial bodies and the mythological understanding of the universe. In her imagery, the insignificant scene of human life inserted into the endless universe of the night sky transforms into the premature movement of existence. The sun, the moon, and the entire cosmic world create the basic structure of Skujiņa's artwork. The sun, the moon, and the stars were assigned a vital role in antiquity, and human life was organized following them (Rubenis 2018). In Latvian mythology, the expression of the celestial cult pertains to most of the ethnographic material, particularly ornaments, as well as the system of annual customs, whose ritual cyclicality has been formed in close connection with the passage of the sun in the sky and the dependency of land life on it (Kokare 1999). All the nations have their own mythology of celestial bodies, constellations, and cosmic phenomena, and special attention has been designated to the moon. The moon is a spectre that grows, shrinks, and disappears. Real time was always measured through the phases of the moon and this celestial body was considered to be alive (Rubenis 2018). With the help of myths and symbols associated with the moon, a man comes into a mysterious relationship with time, birth, death and resurrection, fertility, the world of the plants, and the rest of the space of the universe (Eliade 1999).

Skujiņa's tapestry *Dzīvā daba ar mēnesnīcu* (*Nature vivre with moonlight*, 1977) reveals a natural destruction and rebirth of time reality, where the words of the folk song can equally succeed in fulfilling the content of the vision, as a thematic frame or as a patterned theme of a decorative accentuation. In the semidarkness of the summer night, under the tranquil light of the moon, evenly arranged, the naturally vivid structure of bodies is placed in front of the viewer. The flickering figures of nude women in the moonlight, who indulge in the cooling glow of summer water, fill the dark-shaded weaving area with the visible warmth of their golden skin. The ancient bathing ritual, the proximity of wildlife symbolized by the passing figure of the elk, and the presence of infinity of the cosmic space refer to folk songs, which, placed around the entire composition in a distinctive frame, interweave the details of the artwork into a complete whole. The folk songs included in the tapestry as a textual frame complement the perception of symbolic meaning. For instance, the reed in folk songs appear as a universal place of pre-birth or rebirth. The reed takes shelter like the sun, its mythical animals, birds, and a man born of the reed. The reed bridge is the interface area that separates and simultaneously connects the sky and the earth realms (Kursīte 1999). White colour in Latvian folklore (later—also in literature) is a sign of morality, chastity, special closeness, sweetness (Kursīte 1996). Rose appears in folk songs as an image of life force, a symbol of fertility. A red rose symbolizes love and fertility, including feminine beauty (Kursīte 2018). Thereby, the symbolic fulfilment, coupled with the corresponding image, introduces a different perception to the composition content, where the presence of the ordinary bathing (Skujiņa 2020) transforms into a ritual action filled with mythical meaning.

In the 1970s and 1980s, several textile artists turned to the theme of swimming and bathing. Sarma Eglīte *Pirts* (*The Bath*, 1970), *Pēc darba* (*After Work*, 1981), Egils Rozenbergs *Peldētājas* (*The Swimmers*, 1978) and Rūdolfs Heimrāts *Sestdienas vakars* (*Saturday Night*, 1980). More likely, the soft, nuanced poetry saturating the tapestry by Heimrāts could be interpreted as an act adopted from a folk song. Still, compared to the mythic subtext-filled, alive and pulsating weaving of Skujiņa, it is more perceptible as a lyrical visualization of a commonplace event.

The cosmic space, natural processes, and human life in Skujiņa's artwork are closely intertwined with the calendar rhythms. The distant flow of seasons and traditional celebrations becomes an important initiative and fulfilment of the expression. In the textile arts of the 1960s to the 1980s, the depiction of seasons invariably remains within the range of topics (Kalniete 1989). In textile art, colour sources observed in nature can be represented almost directly in the fibre material because the base is not distinguishable from the colour material. The dyed yarn is the form and the colour at the same time (Wells 2018). Topics affected by natural seasonal changes can be found in the artwork of all Heimrāts students. Inga Skujiņa is not an exception here. However, the artist's seasonal tapestry cycle (1983) has not been formed as a set of scenes solely based on the landscape observation. The seasons in the interpretation of Skujiņa have obtained the gender expression specific for the Latvian language, where autumn, spring, summer, and winter are depicted as four allegories, thus approaching the worldview of folk songs. Winter and Summer, in this case, are depicted as anthropomorphic images, where Winter puts on her shoes, while a good Summer has fatted a foal (Kursīte 2018). In turn, Autumn and Spring have been identified as male opposites of these female images, creating a fully balanced model of natural creative forces.

In 1984, Skujiņa finished one of the four intended works of the traditional annual customs cycle. A monumental, large-format wall hanging *Laimes liešana* (*Casting of fortunes*) is devoted to the closing stage of a calendar year which was traditionally associated with future divination rituals. On Christmas Eve, also in anticipation of the New Year, until midnight people tried to predict the destiny in a broader sense, endowing this process with a certain drama: how long has a person left to live?; will the next year bring prosperity and faith or misery? (Olupe 1992:29). The overall image of the tapestry is composed as a fabled but simultaneously a familiar scene, where each element refers to what was once seen, felt, pictured, written in literature, and alluded to in folk songs. The warm shades of colour used in human figures combined with the surrounding fields of winter stillness mottled by stars in the blue night sky reliably reconstruct a landscape reminiscent of an ancient ritual. The dynamism of figures arranged throughout the tapestry surface involves New Year's mystery and fascinates the viewer with a sense of possible happiness to be found in divination. The interflow of folklore-based images with contemporary forms links the historical notions and the reality, where by only slightly changing the characteristics of images, for instance, by introducing elements of a folk dress in women's clothing, a reference to the nation's past is created, elevating the idea of the event to the understanding familiar to the viewer. Regarding folklore interpretation, Skujiņa's tapestry demonstrates the modern approach to the adopted archaic settlement, where placing the scene within the existing environmental conditions makes it possible to perceive the image with an intuitive sense of belonging.

In the 1980s, textile artists' interest in reflecting folklore-related themes increased due to the significant event—the 150th anniversary of the birth of Krišjānis Barons (Kalniete 1989). This remarkable period appeared in textile art in numerous visualizations of scenes obtained from folklore, annual customs, and abstractions based on ethnographic heritage research. Textile art had already proved its ability to express itself in imaginative language thanks to the fully mastered tapestry or woven painting technique. Ethnic style as a folk art continuity and textile art affiliation with the field of applied art, where primarily technical qualities were considered brought to life the inner anticipation of the national idea. In this context, textile art eventually became a significant part of national non-violent resistance, strengthening the national consciousness in an intimate spiritual manner through medium-specific visualizations of local landscapes, folklore motifs, and traditional colour selection.

When looking at the situation in neighbouring republics and the Soviet Union as a whole, the links with folklore and traditional crafts were typical for the representatives of all textile schools. Similar to the Latvian situation, mastering of the tapestry weaving method yielded an opportunity to render various realistic images in textile. However, significant differences are detectable in the interpretation of the subject matter and the application of the possibilities offered by woven painting. For instance, Russia saw a different situation in interpreting the subject matter in textile art. It followed the idea proclaimed by socialist realism to portray reality in its revolutionary development (Groys 1992). Russian authors focused on proposed themes such as glorifying construction of the future, worker's life, a friendship of nations with additional involvement of ideological attribution. In this respect, Latvian textile art development led by Professor Rūdolfs Heimrāts, contained no significant deviations in the direction of reintroducing the Soviet attributes. Textile art alongside fine art proves that the referable development processes in the Soviet Union were not homogeneous, and their alignment with the general trend is not acceptable. The Latvian School of Textile Arts was formed as a structure based on the inherited textile culture and national traditions, which never lost an association with its national identity and recognizable disposition. National affiliation was clearly exposed in the specific use of colours and ethnographic patterns, folklore motifs and various interpretations of local landscape. To summarize, if the mythical presence is the bridge that helps an individual or a larger human collective (the nation, the country, etc.) to cross the abyss of the crisis and see the possibility of a revival (Kursīte 1999), Latvian textile art during the late socialism period existed as a mainstay of this noetic bridge.

Conclusions

The flourishing of Latvian textile art refers to the historical period acknowledged as late socialism. The official doctrine did not permit unlimited experiments with the medium or free thematic choices in art. The confined conditions restricting the circulation of information and the available material base affected the development artistic, creative thinking. However, in textile art, from the perspective of local cultural heritage research, this situation

proved to be more conducive than a subversive role, since the interest in local nature, folk art, and ancient knowledge became the basis of disengaged artistic expression. Furthermore, the dominance of available natural fibre materials in conjunction with the artist's handwork, similar to the traditional craft skills used in antiquity, created fertile ground for the extensive exploration of portraying the spiritual world of folklore. The crucial factor for the thematic orientation of the field consisted of the creative interests and aesthetic ideals of Rūdolfs Heimrāts, the undisputable leader of Latvian textile art, the author of the curriculum of the Department of Textile Art of the Art Academy of Latvia. His rendering of woven paintings or tapestry in Latvian textile art supported the introduction of a narrative image in textile artwork. The pictorial features of the tapestry weaving opened up the possibility to develop realistic imagery in the textile medium.

It is possible to interpret woven textiles executed in tapestry technique according to the methodology used in the fine arts. The applied formal, descriptive, and iconographic analysis of folklore-based textile works detects the clusters of artworks representing processes related to weaving and processing of fibres, tapestries visualizing topics influenced by folk songs, fairy tales and notions of mythical worlds, as well as weavings dedicated to annual customs, seasonal cycles, and associated rituals. In this context, the special treatment of material like the dyed yarn, contributes to the iconographic content of the textile image, further supplementing the symbolic meaning determined by the choice of colour. The individual artists gathered in the study as representatives of Heimrāts School reveal the development of various folklore-based textile images reinforced by natural, traditionally used fibres, knowledge of folk art heritage and artist's handweaving. In this respect, an illustrative example is provided by reviewing the creative thinking of textile artist Aija Baumane and her artwork in which belongs to the period from the 1970s to the 1980s. The confluence of personally significant folklore-related theme and the experience of rural lifestyle in ancestral farmstead forms the basis of imagery in numerous Baumane's weavings. Beginning with the literal depiction of fairy tale characters supported by woven picture technique, folklore-inspired images gradually merged with the natural environment of their local origin, constantly transforming into abstract signs of visual language. Another considerable example is the oeuvre of textile artist Inga Skujiņa. The artist's naturally-formed relationship with the rural setting organically constitutes the insight into traditional annual customs and rituals. Mythical notions obtained from the world of folklore developed as a unifying supporting narrative in medium-specific imagery of tapestries. In these works, realistically treated images of handweaving in combination with traditionally used organic fibres and contemporary scenery reveals the inherited myth in a particularly comprehensible sense.

This research indicates the range of folklore themes that have ignited the creative interest of textile artists and calls for further study in this area, significantly enriching the scholarship of folklore depiction in Latvian art.

Alsupe, Aina (1982). *Audēji Vidzemē 19. gs otrajā pusē un 20. gs. sākumā*. Rīga: Zinātne.

Alsupe, Aina (2008). *Audumi Latgalē 20. gadsimtā*. Rīga: V/A Tautas mākslas centrs.

Ansone, Elita (2009). *Padomjzemes mitoloģija*. Rīga: Neputns.

Antens, Anna (1931). *Aušana*. Rīga: Lauksaimniecības pārvalde.

Arājs, Kārlis (1988). *Latviešu tautas pasakas*. Rīga: Liesma.

Bankovičs, Jānis (2010). *Tekstilmākslinieka, profesora, Rūdolfa Heimrāta pedagoģiskais mantojums. Maģistra darbs*. Daugavpils: Daugavpils universitāte.

Bauga, Anna (1974). *Brīnumputns. Latviešu tautas pasaka*. Rīga: Liesma.

Bittner, Stephen V. (2008). *The Many Lives of Khrushchev's Thaw: Experience and Memory in Moscow's Arbat*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Brigadere, Anna (1943). *Pasaku lugas*. Rīga: J. Kadila apgāds.

Celmiņa-Ķeirāne, Austra (2016). Tautasdziesmu poētika vizuālajā mākslā. *Letonica*, Nr. 33, 144.–154. lpp.

Eglīte, Rita (2019). Sākuma gadi. *Aina Muze. Bezgalīgais pavediens*. Rīga: Ainas Muzes fonds, 38.–39. lpp.

Gordon, Beverly (2011). *Textiles. The Whole Story*. New York, N.Y.: Thames&Hudson.

Greble, Vilma (1992). Krāsu izjūta latvju dainās. *Latviešu folklora*. Rīga Zinātne, 159.–172. lpp.

Groys, Boris (1992). *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Heimrāts, Rūdolfs (1960). Garbārkstainā ziemeļnieku tehnika. *Latvju Zeltene*, Nr.39, 16.lpp.

Heimrāts, Rūdolfs (1986). *Teodora Zaļkalna Latvijas PSR Valsts Mākslas akadēmijas tekstilmākslas nodaļas jubilejas diplomdarbu izstāde, 1961–1986*. Rīga: Teodora Zaļkalna Latvijas PSR Valsts Mākslas akadēmija.

Ivanova, Gundega (1967). Optimisms un meklējumi. *Literatūra un Māksla*, 29.07., 8. lpp.

Karpova, Yulia (2020). *Comradely objects. Design and material culture in Soviet Russia, 1960s–80s*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Kalniete, Sandra (1983). Jautājumi un garantijas. *Padomju Jaunatne*, 08.02., 4. lpp.

Kalniete, Sandra (1989). *Latvju tekstilmāksla*. Rīga: Liesma.

Karlsone, Anete (2014). *Rakstainās jostas: kopīgais kultūrslānis*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais kultūras centrs.

Kļaviņš, Eduards (2009). Socreālisma mutācijas: socmodernisms un socpostmodernisms Latvijā. *Sociālistiskā reālisma mākslas interpretācijas problēmas 2008. gada 19. un 20. maijā: rakstu krājums*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais mākslas muzejs, 103.–113. lpp.

Knāviņa, Valda (2019). The Severe Style. Manifestations of Socialist Modernism in Latvia Painting during 1950s-60s. *Ten episodes in Art of the Second Half of the 20th Century in Latvia*. Rīga: Latvian National Museum of Art, 52.–86. lpp

Kokare, Elza (1999). *Latviešu galvenie mitoloģiskie tēli folkloras atveidē*. Rīga: Mācību apgāds NT.

Kristberga, Laine (2020). *Intermedial Appropriation as a Theoretical Framework for the Analysis of Performance Art in Latvia in the Period of Late Socialism (1964–1989). Doctoral dissertation*. Rīga: Art Academy of Latvia.

Kučinska, Veronika (1987). *Ruta Bogustova. Tekstīlijas*. Rīga: Liesma.

Kursīte, Janīna (1996). *Latviešu folklora mītu spogulī*. Rīga: Zinātne.

Kursīte, Janīna (1999). *Mītiskais folklorā, literatūrā, mākslā*. Rīga: Zinātne.

Kursīte, Janīna (2014). *Latvieša māja*. Rīga: Rundas.

Kursīte, Janīna (2018). *Dainu kodekss*. Rīga: Rundas.

Ķencis, Toms (2013). Folklora kā nacionālās mākslas avots. *Letonica*, Nr. 26, 51.–60. lpp.

Lamberga, Dace (1981). Latviešu septiņdesmito gadu dekoratīvās tekstilmākslas raksturīgākās iezīmes. *Latvijas tēlotāja māksla*. Rīga: Liesma, 30.–51. lpp.

Līdeks, Osvalds (1940). *Latviešu svētki*. Rīga: Latviešu folkloras krātuve.

Mežale, Benedikta (1992). Tēlu sistēmas īpatnības gadskārtu ieražu dziesmās. *Latviešu folklora*. Rīga Zinātne, 131.–145. lpp.

Mirče, Eliade (1995). *Mīts par mūžīgo atgriešanos*. Rīga: Minerva.

Mirče, Eliade (1999). *Mīta aspekti*. Rīga: Minerva.

Bibliography

Niedre, Jānis (1985). Ar dziesmiņu rītā gāju, ar dziesmiņu vakarā. *Varavīksne 1985*. Rīga: Liesma, 14.–21. lpp.

Olupe, Edīte (1992). *Latviešu gadskārtu ierašas*. Rīga: Avots.

Oša, Aija (1986). *Intervija ar Rūdolfu Heimrātu*. Rīga: Latvijas Radio arhīvs.

Penģerots, Visvaldis (1936). *Latvijas vēsture. Rīgas pilsētas mākslas muzeja direktora akadēmiķa profesora V. Purvīša vispārējā redakcijā. 3.sējums, Lietājamās mākslas*. Rīga: Grāmatu draugs.

Phillips, Barty (2000). *Tapestry*. London: Phaidon Press. Rinka, Rūta (2016). Tekstilmāksla. *Latvijas Mākslas vēsture 5. sējums*, Rīga: Latvijas Mākslas akadēmijas Mākslas vēstures institūts, 582.– 592. lpp.

Rozenieks, Jānis (2004). Laika upe audumā. *Latvijas Vēstnesis*, 29.07.

Rubenis, Andris (2018). *Mīts—senais un modernais*. Rīga: Al secco.

Sturme, Brigita (1978). Nacionālā specifika mūsdienu lietiķi dekoratīvajā mākslā. *Latviešu tēlotāja māksla*. Rīga: Liesma 29.–45. lpp.

Sturme, Brigita (2009). *Mūs pazina kā "lietišķos"*. Rīga: Neputns.

Šmits, Pēteris (1926). *Latviešu mītoloģija*. Rīga: Valtera un Rapas akc. sab. Apgāds.

Šmits, Pēteris (1937). *Vēsturiski un etnogrāfiski raksti*. Rīga: Valtera un Rapas akc. sab. Apgāds.

Šterna, Māra (1998). *Senā gadskārta*.Rīga: Zinātne.

Vīks, Ivars (2001). *Trejdeviņi Latvijas brīnumi*. Rīga: Geizers.

Wells, Katherine (2018). *Weaving modernism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Mitoloģiskā matērija: folkloras tēlojumi Latvijas tekstilmākslas ainavā 20. gs. otrajā pusē

Rita Legčiļina-Broka

Atslēgvārdi: gobelēns, senā tautas māksla, tautasdziesma, nacionālā māksla, tekstilija

20.gadsimta 60.–80. gados Latvijas tekstilmāksla piedzīvoja uzplaukuma periodu, kas bija saistīts ar politiskām izmaiņām, profesionālās izglītības reformu un jaunu tēlveides paņēmienu apgūšanu. Īpaša loma šī perioda tekstilmākslas attīstībā pieder Latvijas Mākslas akadēmijas profesoram Rūdolfam Heimrātam, kura ieviestā izglītības metode, kā arī personīgie radošie mērķi ietekmēja kopējo nozares virzību vairākas sekojošās desmitgades. Attīstot tekstiliju par pilntiesīgu mākslas darbu, kurā iespējams vizualizēt mākslinieciskо tēlu sižetiski vēstošā nozīmē, izveidojās īpašs laikmetīgajai tekstilmākslai raksturīgs tēmu loks. Tajā nemainīgi aktuālu vietu ieņēma folklorā un tautas mītiskajos priekšstatos balstīti tēlojumi.

Raksta mērķis ir sniegt ieskatu folkloras tematikas atklāsmē Latvijas tekstilmākslā ietverot periodu, kad par vienīgo radošo metodi mākslā tika noteikts sociālistiskais realisms. Pētījumā tiek skaidrots, kādi apstākļi ierosināja un veicināja folkloras tematikas izvērsumu tekstilijās, aprakstīta tēlu atveides tekstiliskā specifika, kā arī ir izveidots pārskats par raksturīgākajiem piemēriem, kuros konstatējama ne tikai nosaukumā minētā atsauce uz folkloras avotu, bet arī plašākā simboliskā nozīmē attiecināms vēstījums. Papildus atsevišķiem piemēriem tiek pētīts, kā interese par folkloru un tautas garīgo mantojumu kopumā ietekmējusi atsevišķu tekstilmākslinieku radošo darbu, īpaši izdalot Heimrāta skolas pārstāvju Aijas Baumanes un Ingas Skujiņas daiļradi. Pētījumā izmantotās metodes ir lietisko un rakstisko avotu analīze, biogrāfisko datu analīze, intervijas un etnogrāfiskā datu ieguves metode. Pētījumā ir secināts, ka folkloras tēma Latvijas profesionālajā tekstilmākslā atklājas īpašā, tekstilmateriāla īpašību ietekmētā veidā, kas ļauj izteikt mākslinieciskо tēlu ne tikai tēlojoša satura veidā, bet arī materiālā kontekstā.

Authors

Pavlo Artymyshyn, PhD. is a Junior Researcher at the Ivan Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Lviv. His scientific interests include Russian studies, the recent history of Ukraine and Russia and developments of their relations, national identity and historical memory, history of the USSR, history of Lviv.

Ilze Boldāne-Zeļenkova, *Dr. hist*., historian, ethnologist, Researcher at the Institute of Latvian History, University of Latvia. Her scientific interests include ethnic identity and stereotypes in Latvia's society, history of minorities in Latvia, heritage and legacy of the Communist regime, shows of "exotic" peoples in Latvia. Scopus: 57199329416; ORCID: 0000-0002-1606-0695. boldane@lu.lv

Rita Grīnvalde, *Dr. philol*., is the Head of the Archives of Latvian Folklore and Senior Researcher at the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia. Her research areas include folklore, the history of folkloristics, intangible cultural heritage, cultural history, archival studies, and cultural policy. See *Google Scholar*.

Roman Holyk, *Dr. hist*., Senior Researcher at the Ivan Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Lviv. His scientific interests include the secular and religious mentality of Ukrainian society, history and culture of Lviv and Galicia, history of Ukrainian literature and oral tradition, history of ideas, literary criticism, methodology and history of the humanities.

Anete Karlsone, *Dr. hist*. is an ethnologist and Senior Researcher at the Institute of Latvian History at the University of Latvia. She specializes in traditional culture, textile and clothing history, the history of ethnography in the Soviet period, as well as the uses of intangible cultural heritage in the formation of contemporary culture and personal identity. Anete Karlsone has published two monographs and more than 80 academic articles. SCOPUS Author ID: 57193158823, ORCID: 0000-0001-7994-9646

Toms Ķencis (editor), PhD. He is a Researcher at the University of Latvia Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art. More than a decade involved in various research projects of disciplinary history. His main research interests revolve around academic knowledge production, cultural nationalism, and Soviet history. See https://lu-lv.academia.edu/TomsKencis

Rita Ļegčiļina-Broka, artist. PhD student at the Art Academy of Latvia. Her research interests include landscape, colour, perception of the place, medium specific imagery in textile art.

Digne Ūdre (editor) is a Researcher at the University of Latvia Institute of Literature Folklore and Art and a PhD student at Tartu University, department of Estonian and comparative folkloristics. She is interested in reflexive knowledge production, the most recent disciplinary history of folkloristics, and the national ornament discourse.

LETONICA

Izdevējs/Publisher
LATVIJAS UNIVERSITĀTES LITERATŪRAS, FOLKLORAS UN MĀKSLAS INSTITŪTS/
THE INSTITUTE OF LITERATURE, FOLKLORE AND ART OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA

Izdevniecības vadītāja/Publishing director
UNA BALODE

Redakcijas kolēģija/Editorial board
DACE BULA, PĪTERS BĒRKS (*PETER BURKE*, Lielbritānija/The United Kingdom), RAIMONDS BRIEDIS, DACE DZENOVSKA (Lielbritānija/The United Kingdom), DIDJĒ FRANKFŪRS (*DIDIER FRANCFOURT*, Francija/France), BENEDIKTS KALNAČS, INTA GĀLE-KĀRPENTERE (*INTA GALE CARPENTER*, ASV/The USA), RITA GRĪNVALDE, DENISS HANOVS, IEVA E. KALNIŅA, JANĪNA KURSĪTE, LALITA MUIŽNIECE (ASV/The USA), JURIS ROZĪTIS (Zviedrija/Sweden), SANITA REINSONE, ANITA ROŽKALNE, PĀVELS ŠTOLLS (*PAVEL ŠTOLL*, Čehija/The Czech Republic), JANA TESARŽOVA (*JANA TESAŘOVÁ*, Slovākija/Slovakia), KĀRLIS VĒRDIŅŠ, GUNA ZELTIŅA

Žurnāls *Letonica* ir iekļauts Scopus, *ERIH* un *EBSCO* datubāzēs/
Journal *Letonica* is included in the *Scopus*, *ERIH* and *EBSCO* databases
Žurnālā ievietotie zinātniskie raksti ir anonīmi recenzēti/
Articles appearing in this journal are peer-reviewed

Redakcijas adrese/Address of the editorial office:
Mūkusalas ielā 3, Rīga, LV-1423, Latvija
Tālrunis/Phone: +371 67229017

Galvenais redaktors/Editor-in-chief
ARTIS OSTUPS
artis.ostups@lulfmi.lv

Redakcijas asistents/Assistant
IVARS ŠTEINBERGS

Numura redaktori/Issue editors
TOMS ĶENCIS, DIGNE ŪDRE

Dizains un makets/Design and layout
ARMANDS ZELČS

Literārā redakcija/Proofreaders
EVELĪNA ZILGALVE, DŽEFRIJS GRĪNVALDS

Labot uz: This special issue was supported by the Latvian Council of Science through FLPP project *New approaches to the history of Latvian folkloristics* (project no. lzp-2020/2-0315) and ERDF through the project ETNOGRAPHICA: *Visual Interpretations of Baltic Intangible Cultural Heritage* (no. 1.1.1.2/VIAA/4/20/628).

ISSN 1407-3110 © LU LFMI, 2021