Институт этнологии и антропологии
им. Н.Н. Миклухо-Маклая
РОССИЙСКОЙ АКАДЕМИИ НАУК

ВЕСТНИК АНТРОПОЛОГИИ

HERALD OF ANTHROPOLOGY

2025 № 1

Журнал «Вестник Антропологии» учрежден решением Ученого совета Института этнологии и антропологии РАН 20 марта 2014 г.
Министерство цифрового развития, связи и массовых коммуникаций Российской Федерации
Регистрационный номер ПИ № ФС77–61734

Журнал входит в систему Russian Science Citation Index (RSCI)

12 февраля 2019 г. приказом Минобрнауки России № 21-р «Вестник Антропологии» включен в Перечень рецензируемых научных изданий, в которых должны быть опубликованы научные результаты диссертаций на соискание ученых степеней кандидата и доктора наук

Адрес редакции:

119991 Москва, Ленинский проспект, 32-А
Институт этнологии и антропологии РАН

Контакты:

Мартынова Марина Юрьевна
martynova@iea.ras.ru
journal_of_anthropology@mail.ru

По вопросам физической антропологии
Васильев Сергей Владимирович
vasbor1@yandex.ru

Интернет-сайт: https://journals.iea.ras.ru

ISSN (print) 2311–0546
ISSN (online) 2782–1552

The journal "Herald of Anthropology" was established by the RAS Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology Academic Council decision of 20/03/2014
The journal is registered with the Ministry of Digital Development, Communications and Mass Media of the Russian Federation. Registration number PI No. FS77–61734

The Journal is indexed in the Russian Science Citation Index (RSCI)

By the order No.21-p of The Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation of 12/02/2019 "Herald of Anthropology" is included in the list of peer-reviewed scientific journals recommended for publishing scientific results of theses for Candidate and Doctoral scientific degrees

Web of Science Group | A Clarivate Analytics company
RUSSIAN SCIENCE CITATION INDEX

Address:

119991 Moscow, Leninskiy prospect, 32A
RAS Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology

Contacts:

Marina Yurievna Martynova
martynova@iea.ras.ru
journal_of_anthropology@mail.ru

Physical Anthropology
Sergei Vladimirovich Vasilyev
vasbor1@yandex.ru

Web: https://journals.iea.ras.ru

ISSN (print) 2311–0546
ISSN (online) 2782–1552

СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

UDC 39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/7-21
Original Article

85 YEARS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ETHNOLOGY OF MOSCOW UNIVERSITY: INSTITUTIONALIZATION, GROWTH AND PROFESSIONAL MATURITY (1939–1986)

The article examines the history of the University Department of Ethnology in the Soviet period in disciplinary and general historical contexts. These contexts allow us to understand the logic of the formation and development of this academic discipline at the university. Of the 85 years of ethnology's existence at Moscow University, almost 60 years have fallen in the Soviet era. It was during the Soviet period that fundamental science in our country, including ethnography, flourished. But along with achievements, advantages, and preferences, it also underwent losses, embarrassing restrictions, and strict control. Nevertheless, in the post-war period, ethnography was institutionalized within the university walls, acquired the stable status of an independent discipline incorporated into the structure of the Faculty of History, and developed a basic concept of professional education. In the "middle" and "late" Soviet periods, the state and science relations followed a paternalistic pattern. Still, the influence of the state's paternalistic policy on the development of university ethnography was clearly positive. The institutionalization of ethnography as an academic discipline, which began in 1939 at Moscow University, acquired a nationwide scope in the 1960s and 1970s: ethnography as a compulsory subject became an integral part of historical education in the largest universities of the Soviet Union. The department acquired the status of a leading department in the system of professional education, had significant personnel potential, carried out educational training on an ever-increasing scale, and demonstrated considerable research activity. The indicators of the department's maturity were a clear corporate identity, fundamental research approaches, thoroughness of academic training, robust conservatism and, at the same time, openness to the challenges of the time, the stable transmission of tradition, and the dominant scientific ethos of the department with its humanistic approach.

Keywords: *Moscow University, School of History, Department of Ethnology, institutionalization of ethnography as a university discipline*

Authors Info: Solovei, Tatyana D. — Doctor of History, Professor, Department of Ethnology, Faculty of History, Lomonosov Moscow State University (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: tsolovei19@yandex.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7453-297X

Kazmina, Olga E. — Doctor of History, Head of the Department of Ethnology, Deputy Dean of the Faculty of History, Lomonosov Moscow State University (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: okazmina@inbox.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.

id/0000-0002-1708-2933

For citation: Solovei, T. D., and O. E. Kazmina. 2025. 85 Years of the Department of Ethnology of Moscow University: Institutionalization, Growth and Professional Maturity (1939–1986). *Herald of Anthropology* (*Vestnik Antropologii*) 1: 7–21.

References

Andrianov, B. V., A. A. Zubov, and M. V. Kriukov. 1980. Nikolai Nikolaevich Cheboksarov (1907–1980) [Nikolai Nikolaevich Cheboksarov (1907–1980)]. *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 4: 185–188.

Anikin, N. V., and T. D. Solovei. 2023. Gennadii Evgen'evich Markov: portret uchenogo v kontekste ego vremeni. [G.E. Markov: Portrait of a Scientist in the Context of His Time]. In *Zhit' v epohu peremen: sud'ba uchenogo i traektorii nauki. K stoletiiu so dnia rozhdeniia professora G.E. Markova: kollektivnaia monografiia* [Living in an Era of Change: The Destiny of a Scientist and the Trajectory of Science. On the Centenary of the Birth of Professor G. E. Markov: A Collective Monography], ed. by M. N. Bakhmatova, O. E. Kazmina and T. D. Solovei. Saint Petersburg: Aleteia. 14–29.

Anikin, N. V., T. D. Solovei, and D. A. Funk. 2018. Bol'shoi stil' v nauke. Pamiati d.i.n., professora G. E. Markova [Great Style in Science. In Memory of Professor G. E. Markov]. In *Revoliutsii svetskie, religioznye, nauchnye. Dinamika gumanitarnogo diskursa. Sbornik nauchnykh statei* [The Revolutions: Secular, Religious and Scientific. The Dynamics of Humanitarian Discourse. Collection of Articles], ed. by T. D. Solovei. Saint Petersburg: Aleteia. 8–18.

Bagramov, E. A. 2003. Nacionalnaia problematika prezhde i teper' (sub"ektivnye zametki). [National Issues in Past and Present (Subjective Notes)]. In *Akademik Yu.V. Bromlei i otechestvennaia etnologiia. 1960–1990-e gody.* [Academician Y. V. Bromley and Russian Ethnology. 1960–1990s], ed. by S. Ya. Kozlov. Moscow: Nauka. 47–86.

Basilov, V. N. 1995. S. A. Tokarev kak predstavitel' russkoi kul'tury. [S. A. Tokarev as a Representative of Russian Culture]. In *Blagodarim sud'bu za vstrechu s nim. (O Sergee Aleksandroviche Tokareve —uchenom i cheloveke).* [We Thank the Fortune for Meeting Him (About Sergey Aleksandrovich Tokarev — the Scientist and the Person)], ed. by S. Ya. Kozlov and P. I. Puchkov. Moscow: IEA RAN. 31–40.

Bromley, Yu. V., and G. E. Markov (eds.). 1982. *Etnografiia*. *Uchebnik* [Ethnography. Textbook]. Moscow: Vyschaia Schkola. 320 p.

Chesnov, Ya. V. 1997. N. N. Cheboksarov v nauke i v zhizni [N. N. Cheboksarov in Science and in Life]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 3: 116–127.

Kazmina, O. E., and T. D. Solovei. 2023. Genealogiia universitetskoi etnografii: kafedra, lichnosti, transliatsiia traditsii (k 100-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia professora G. E. Markova) [Genealogy of University Ethnography: Department, Personalities, Broadcasting Traditions (Dedicated to the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Professor G. E. Markov)]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta* 3: 97–121.

Kozlov, S. Ya., and P. I. Puchkov (eds.). 1995. *Blagodarim sud'bu za vstrechu s nim. O Sergee Aleksandroviche Tokareve — uchenom i cheloveke* [We Thank the Fortune for Meeting Him. About Sergey Aleksandrovich Tokarev — A Scholar and a Man]. 314 p.

Kozlov, S. Ya. 1999. I dol'she veka dlitsia zhizn': Zametki yubileinye — i ne ochen' [And Life Has Been Going on for More than a Century: Anniversary Notes — and Not So Much]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 5: 3–15.

Kozlov, S. Ya. 2004. Sergei Aleksandrovich Tokarev: «etnograficheskii universitet» [Sergey Alexandrovich Tokarev: "Ethnographic University"]. In *Vydaiushchiesia otechestvennye etnologi i antropologi XX veka* [The Outstanding Russian Ethnologists and Anthropologists of the 20th Century], ed. by V. A. Tishkov and D. D. Tumarkin. Moscow: Nauka. 397–449.

Kozlova, K. I. 1978. *Ocherki etnicheskoi istorii mariiskogo Naroda.* [Essays on the Ethnic History of the Mari People]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 345 p.

Kozlova, K. I., and N. N. Cheboksarov. 1955. Etnografiia v Moskovskom universitete [Ethnography

at Moscow University]. *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 2: 100–111.

Lashuk, L. P. 1972. *Formirovanie narodnosti Komi* [Formation of the Komi Nationality]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 292 p.

Lashuk, L. P., and G. E. Markov. 1984. Kafedra etnografii [Department of Ethnography]. In *Istoricheskaia nauka v Moskovskom universitete: 1934–1984* [Historical Science at Moscow University: 1934–1984]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 286–301.

Markov, G. E. 1976. *Kochevniki Azii. Struktura khozyaistva i obshchestvennoi organizatsii* [Nomads of Asia. The Structure of the Economy and Social Organization]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 316 p.

Markov, G. E., and V. V. Pimenov (eds.). 1994. *Etnologiia*. *Uchebnik dlia vysshikh uchebnykh zavedenii* [Ethnology. Textbook for Higher Education Institutions]. Moscow: Nauka. 384 p.

Markov, G. E., V. V. Pimenov, and T. D. Solovei. 1999. 60-letie kafedry etnografii–etnologii istoricheskogo fakul'teta MGU [60th Anniversary of the Department of Ethnography / Ethnology of the Moscow State University Faculty of History]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*: 6: 119–129.

Markov, G. E. and T. D. Solovei. 1990. Etnograficheskoe obrazovanie v Moskovskom universitete (k 50-letiyu kafedry etnografii istoricheskogo fakul'teta MGU) [Ethnographic Education at Moscow University (Dedicated to the 50th Anniversary of the Department of Ethnography, Faculty of History, Moscow State University)]. *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 6: 79–91.

Nikishenkov, A. A. 1986. *Iz istorii angliiskoi etnografii: Kritika funktsionalizma* [From the History of English Ethnography: Criticism of Functionalism]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 215 p.

Pimenov, V. V. 1994. Kafedra etnografii istfaka MGU v nachale 1950-kh godov — N. N. Cheboksarov [Department of Ethnography of the Moscow State University Faculty of History in the Early 1950s — N. N. Cheboksarov]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 2: 146–152.

Pimenov, V. V. (ed.). 2007. *Osnovy etnologii*. *Uchebnoe posobie* [Fundamentals of Ethnology. Training manual]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 688 p.

Polyakov, S. P. 1973. *Etnicheskaia istoriia Severo-Zapadnoi Turkmenii v srednie veka* [The Ethnic History of Northwest Turkmenistan in the Middle Ages]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 197 p.

Rapoport, Yu. A. and Yu. I. Semenov. 2004. Sergej Pavlovich Tolstov: vy`dayushhijsya e`tnograf, arxeolog, organizator nauki [Sergei Pavlovich Tolstov: an Outstanding Ethnographer, Archaeologist, and Organizer of Science]. In *Vydaiushchiesia otechestvennye etnologi i antropologi XX veka* [The Outstanding Russian Ethnologists and Anthropologists of the 20th Century], ed. by V. A. Tishkov and D. D. Tumarkin. Moscow: Nauka. 184–232.

Reshetov, A. M. 2004. Nikolai Nikolaevich Cheboksarov: portret uchenogo v kontekste ego vremeni [Nikolai Nikolaevich Cheboksarov: Portrait of a Scientist in the Context of his Time]. In *Vydaiushchiesia otechestvennye etnologi i antropologi XX veka* [The Outstanding Russian Ethnologists and Anthropologists of the 20th Century], ed. by V. A. Tishkov and D. D. Tumarkin. Moscow: Nauka. 358–396.

Semenov, Yu. I. O moem «puti v pervobytnost'» [About My "Path to Pre-History"]. In *Akademik Yu. V. Bromlei i otechestvennaia etnologiia. 1960–1990-e gody* [Academician Y. V. Bromley and Russian Ethnology. 1960–1990s], ed. by S. Ya. Kozlov. Moscow: Nauka. 164–211.

Solovei, T. D. 1999. Yarkaia stranitsa istorii otechestvennoi etnologii. (K 60-letiiu kafedry etnologii istoricheskogo fakul'teta MGU) [A Bright Page in the History of Russian Ethnology. (Dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of the Department of Ethnology, Faculty of History, Moscow State University)]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta* 5: 3–10.

Solovei, T. D. 2004a. *Vlast' i nauka v Rossii. Ocherki universitetskoi etnografii v distsiplinarnom kontekste (XIX — nachalo XXI v.)* [Power and Science in Russia. Essays on University Ethnography in a Disciplinary Context (19th–early21thcentury)]. Moscow: Prometei. 498 p.

Solovei, T. D. 2004b. Etnologiia [Ethnology]. In *Istoricheskaya nauka v Moskovskom universitete. 1755–2004* [Historical Science at Moscow University. 1755–2004], ed. by S. P. Karpov. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 512–549.

Solovei, T. D. 2022. *Istoriia rossiiskoi etnologii v ocherkakh. XVIII — nachalo XXI veka* [The History of Russian Ethnology in Essays. 18th — the Beginning of the 21th Century]. Moscow:

Etnosfera. 612 p.
Tishkov, V. A. 2008. Interv'iu s T. A. Zhdanko [Interview with T. A. Zhdanko]. In Tishkov, V. A. *Nauka i zhizn'. Razgovory s etnografami* [Science and Life. Conversations with Ethnographers]. Saint Petersburg: Aleteia. 22–41.
Tokarev, S. A. 1957. *Religioznye verovaniia vostochnoslavianskikh narodov XIX — nachala XX v.* [Religious Beliefs of the East Slavic Peoples of the 19th — Early 20th Centuries]. Moscow; Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR. 164 p.
Tokarev, S. A. 1958. *Etnografiia narodov SSSR. Istoricheskie osnovy byta i kul'tury* [Ethnography of the USSR Peoples. Historical Foundations of Everyday Life and Culture]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 615 p.
Tokarev, S. A. 1964a. *Rannie formy religii i ikh razvitie* [Early Forms of Religion and Their Development]. Moscow: Nauka. 399 p.
Tokarev, S. A. 1964b. *Religiia v istorii narodov mira* [Religion in the History of the Peoples of the World]. Moscow: Politizdat. 559 p.
Tokarev, S. A. 1966. *Istoriia russkoi etnografii (Dooktiabr'skii period)* [The History of Russian Ethnography. (Pre-October Period)]. Moscow: Nauka. 454 p.
Tokarev, S. A. 1978a. *Istoki etnograficheskoi nauki (Do serediny XIX v.)* [The Origins of Ethnographic Science (Until the Middle of the 19th Century)]. Moscow: Nauka. 168 p.
Tokarev, S. A. 1978b. *Istoriia zarubezhnoi etnografii* [The History of Foreign Ethnography]. Moscow: Nauka. 352 p.
Tokarev, S. A. 2005. *Religiia v istorii narodov mira* [Religion in the History of the Peoples of the World]. Moscow: Respublika. 543 p.
Tokarev, S. A. 2020. *Religioznye verovaniia vostochnoslavyanskikh narodov XIX — nachala XX v.* [Religious Beliefs of the East Slavic Peoples of the 19th — early 20th Centuries]. Moscow: Akademiia Fundamental'nykh Issledovanii. 164 p.
Tokarev, S. A. 2021. *Rannie formy religiii ikh razvitie* [Early Forms of Religion and their Development]. Moscow: Akademia Fundamental'nych Issledovaniy. 400 p.
Tokarev, S. A. (ed.). 1968. *Osnovy etnografii*. *Uchebnoe posobie* [Fundamentals of Ethnography. A Manual]. Moscow: Vysshaia Shkola. 359 p.
Zasedateleva, L. B. 1974. *Terskie kazaki (seredina XVI — nachalo XX v.). Istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherki.* [The Terek Cossacks (mid-16th — early 20th century). Historic and Ethnographic Essays]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 423 p.
Zhdanko, T. A., and Yu. A. Rapoport. 1995. Gody voiny v zhizni S. P. Tolstova [The War Years in the Life of S. P. Tolstov]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 2: 62–75.

UDC 39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/22-37
Original Article

85 YEARS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ETHNOLOGY OF MOSCOW UNIVERSITY: THE ERA OF CHANGE, THE SEARCH FOR A NEW IDENTITY AND THE EXPERIENCE OF PROFESSIONAL CONTINUITY (1986–2024)

The article covers the history of the University Department of Ethnology over the last four decades. It has been a time of radical transformations in both the socio-political and academic life of the country. The stability and healthy conservatism of the university science allowed the Department of Ethnology not only to successfully pass the period of sociopolitical, cultural, and ideological turbulence but also to significantly expand and update the concept of ethnological education, turning it towards modernity. At the turn of the first and second decades of the 21st century, the Department faced new challenges related to the "anthropologization" of ethnology, the blurring of its subject definition, and the transformation of professional identity. The current situation at the department gives grounds for professional optimism. The department's imperatives are not to oppose, but to combine traditional ethnographic (ethnological) approaches with the conceptualizations and tools of sociocultural anthropology, interdisciplinarity, the preservation of intergenerational continuity, and the successful transmission of tradition. The traditions of the department include maintaining interest in the history of the discipline, careful preservation of the memory of teachers and predecessors, and openness to the new. Collective memory, collective experience, and collective ethos — these are the components of the 85-year collective academic biography of the University Department of Ethnography (Ethnology) and, at the same time, the source of social and intellectual optimism for its members.

Keywords: *Moscow University, School of History, Department of Ethnology, ethnology, anthropology, interdisciplinarity*

Authors Info: Kazmina, Olga E. — Doctor of History, Head of the Department of Ethnology, Deputy Dean of the Faculty of History, Lomonosov Moscow State University (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: okazmina@inbox.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.id/0000-0002-1708-2933

Solovei, Tatyana D. — Doctor of History, Professor, Department of Ethnology, Faculty of History, Lomonosov Moscow State University (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: tsolovei19@yandex.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7453-297X

For citation: Kazmina, O. E., and T. D. Solovei. 2025. 85 Years of the Department of Ethnology of Moscow University: the Era of Change, the Search for a New Identity and the Experience of Professional Continuity (1986–2024). *Herald of Anthropology* (*Vestnik Antropologii*) 1: 22–37.

References

Bakhmatova, M. 2016. *Tra Moscae Verona. Un dialogo contro corrente*. Trento. 280 p.

Bakhmatova, M. N., O. E. Kazmina, and T. D. Solovei. 2023. *Zhit' v epokhu peremen: sud'ba uchenogo i traektorii nauki. K stoletiiu so dnia rozhdeniia professora Gennadiia Evgen'evicha Markova: kollektivnaia monografiia* [Living in an Era of Change: the Destiny of a Scientist and the Trajectory of Science. On the Centenary of the Birth of Professor Gennady Evgenievich Markov: A Collective Monograph]. Saint Petersburg: Aleteia, 238 p.

Karlov, V. V. 1990, 1992. *Vvedenie v etnografiiu narodov SSSR. (Stadial'nye zakonomernosti i lokal'no-istoricheskie osobennosti etnokul'turnykh processov v XIX–XX vv.). Uchebnoe posobie* [Introduction to the Ethnography of the USSR Peoples. (Stadium Patterns and Local-Historical Features of Ethnocultural Processes in the 19th–20th Centuries). Textbook]. In 2 parts Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. Vol. I. 157 p.; Vol. II. 174 p.

Karlov, V. V. 1995. *Etnokul'turnye processy noveishego vremeni* [Ethnocultural Processes of Contemporary Times]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 219 p.

Karlov, V. V. 1997. *Obychnoe pravo narodov Sibiri. (Buryaty, yakuty, evenki, altaitsy, shortsy.)* [The Customary Law of the Peoples of Siberia (Buryats, Yakuts, Evenks, Altaians, Shorians)], ed. by Yu. I. Semenov. Moscow: Staryi Sad. 396 p.

Karlov, V. V. 2010. *Narody severo-vostochnoi Evrazii v XIX i XX vv.* [The Peoples of Northeast Eurasia in the 19th and 20th Centuries]. Moscow: Knizhnyi dom "Universitet". 476 p.

Karlov, V. V., and T. S. Guzenkova (eds.). 2015. *Bol'she chem etnograf. Sbornik nauchnyh statej, posvyashchennykh pamyati professora V. V. Pimenova* [More Than an Ethnographer. Collection of Articles in Memory of Professor V. V. Pimenov]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 301 p.

Kazmina, O. E. 2009. *Russkaia Pravoslavnaia Tserkov' i novaia religioznaia situatsiia v Rossii: etnokonfessional'naia sostavliaiushchaia problemy* [The Russian Orthodox Church and the New Religious Situation in Russia: Ethno-Religious Component of the Problem]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 304 p.

Kazmina, O. E. 2013. *Khristianstvo v sovremennom mire. Uchebnoe posobie* [Christianity in the Contemporary World. A Manual] Moscow: INFRA-M. 2013, 2014, 2016, 2020, 2021, 2022. 240 p.

Kazmina, O. E. 2024. *Khristianstvo v sovremennom mire. Uchebnoe posobie. 2-e izdanie, pererabotannoe i dopolnennoe* [Christianity in the Contemporary World. A Manual. 2nd edition, revised and expanded]. Moscow: INFRA-M. 256 p.

Kazmina, O. E., and P. I. Puchkov. 1994. *Osnovy etnodemografii. Uchebnoe posobie.* [Fundamentals of Ethnodemography. A Manual]. Moscow: Nauka. 253 p.

Kazmina, O. E., and P. I. Puchkov. 1998. *Religii sovremennogo mira. Uchebnoe posobie dlya vuzov* [Religions of the Contemporary World. Study Guide for Universities]. Moscow: URAO. 296 p.

Kazmina, O. E., and P. I. Puchkov. 2010. *Religioznye organizatsii sovremennogo mira. Uchebnoe posobie.* [Religious Organizations of the Contemporary World. Study Guide]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta. 368 p.

Kazmina, O. E., V. V. Karlov, and G. Yu. Ustyancev (eds.). 2022. *Nauchnye miry professora K. I. Kozlovoi — k stoletiiu so dnia rozhdeniia* [The Scientific Worlds of Professor K. I. Kozlova — on the Centenary of her Birth]. Saint Petersburg: Aleteia. 262 p.

Larina, E. I. (ed.). 2014. *Vostokovedcheskie issledovaniia na postsovetskom prostranstve. Sbornik nauchnykh statei, posviashchennyi pamiati professora S. P. Poliakova* [Oriental Studies in the Post-Soviet Space. Collection of Articles in Memory of professor S. P. Polyakov]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 315 p.

Markov, G. E. 1993a. *Ocherki istorii nauki o narodakh. Nemetskaia etnologiia* [Essays on the History of the Science of Nations. German Ethnology]. Moscow: IEA RAN. 391 p.

Markov, G. E. 1993b. *Ocherki istorii nauki o narodakh. Nemetskoe narodovedenie* [Essays on the History of the Science of Nations. German Folk Studies]. Moscow: IEA RAN. 136 p.

Markov, G. E. 2004. *Nemetskaia etnologiia. Uchebnoe posobie dlia vuzov* [German Ethnology. Study Guide for Universities]. Moscow: Academicheskii Proect; Gaudemaus. 575 p.

Markov, G. E. 2010. *Kochevniki Azii. Struktura khoziaistva i obshchestvennoi organizatsii* [Nomads of Asia. The Structure of the Economy and Social Organization]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo

MGU. 2nd edition. 318 p.

Markov, G. E., and V. V. Pimenov. 1994. *Etnologiia. Uchebnik dlia vysshikh uchebnykh zavedenii* [Ethnology. Textbook for Higher Education Institutions]. Moscow: Nauka. 384 p.

Miskova, E. V., N. L. Mekhedov, and V. V. Pimenov (eds.). 2005. *Etnologiia. Uchebnoe posobie dlia studentov vuzov, kolledzhei i litseev* [Ethnology. Textbook for Students of Universities, Colleges and Lyceums]. Moscow: Akademicheskii Proekt; Kultura. 624 p.

Miskova, E. V., and A. V. Tutorskii (eds.). 2017. *Aleksei Alekseevich Nikishenkov. «Izobretaia traditsiiu» i sozdavaia «voobrazhaemoe soobshchestvo»* [A. A. Nikishenkov. "Inventing Tradition" and Creating an "Imagined Community". Collection of Articles in Memory of A. A. Nikishenkov]. Moscow: Novyi khronograf. 272 p.

Nikishenkov, A. A. 1986. *Iz istorii anglijskoi etnografii: Kritika funktsionalizma* [From the History of English Ethnography: Criticism of Functionalism]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 215 p.

Nikishenkov, A. A. 1998. *Obychnoe pravo narodov Rossii. Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'. 1890–1998* [Customary Law of the Peoples of Russia. Bibliographic index. 1890–1998]. Moscow: Stary Sad. 252 p.

Nikishenkov, A. A. 1999. *Traditsionnyi etiket narodov Rossii. XIX — nachalo XX v.* [The Traditional Etiquette of the Peoples of Russia in the 19th — early 20th Centuries]. Moscow: Stary Sad. 137 p.

Nikishenkov, A. A. 2000. *Stepnoi zakon. Obychnoe pravo kazakhov, kirgizov i turkmen* [Steppe Law. Customary Law of Kazakhs, Kirghizs, and Turkmens]. Moscow: Stary Sad. 289 p.

Nikishenkov, A. A. 2003. *Krest'ianskoe pravosudie. Obychnoe pravo rossiiskogo krest'ianstva v XIX veke — nachale XX veka* [Peasant Justice. Customary Law of the Russian Peasantry in the 19th — early 20th century]. Moscow: Stary Sad. 402 p.

Nikishenkov, A. A. 2008. *Istoriia britanskoi sotsial'noi antropologii* [The History of British Social Anthropology]. Saint Petersburg: Tsentr gumanitarnykh initsiativ. 496 p.

Nikishenkov, A. A. (ed.). 2012. *Etnokul'turnye protsessy v proshlom i nastoiashchem. K yubileiu doktora istoricheskikh nauk, professora Klavdii Ivanovny Kozlovoi* [Ethnocultural Processes in Past and Present. On the Anniversary of the Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor Claudia Ivanovna Kozlova]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 346 p.

Nikishenkov, A. A. (ed.). 2010. *Kafedre etnologii istoricheskogo fakul'teta MGU — 70 let. Sbornik nauchnykh statei* [The Department of Ethnology of the Historical Faculty of Moscow State University is 70 years Old. Collection of Scientific Articles]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 300 p.

Nikishenkov, A. A. (ed.). 2011. *Proshloe i nastoiashchee etnologicheskikh issledovanii. Sb. nauchnykh statei, posviashchennyi 300-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia M. V. Lomonosova* [The Past and Present of Ethnological Research. Collection of Scientific Articles Dedicated to the 300th Anniversary of the Birth of M. V. Lomonosov]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 261 p.

Pimenov, V. V. 2015. *Moia professiia — etnograf. Ochen' lichnye zametki o ne slishkom davnem proshlom, nastoiashchem i budushchem otechestvennoi etnograficheskoi nauki* [My Profession is Ethnographer. Very Personal Notes about the Recent Past, Present, and Future of Russian Ethnographic Science]. Saint Petersburg: Avrora. 320 p.

Pimenov, V. V. (ed.). 2002. *Narodovedenie. Uchebnoe posobie dlia 9–11 klassov srednei shkoly* [Ethnology. Textbook for Grades 9–10 of Secondary School]. In 2 volumes. Moscow: Etnosphera. Vol. I. 352 p.; Vol. II. 264 p.

Pimenov, V. V. (ed.). 2007. *Osnovy etnologii*. Uchebnoe posobie [Fundamentals of Ethnology. A Manual]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 688 p.

Pimenov, V. V., and V. R. Filippov. 1995. *Massovye etnologicheskie issledovaniia. Metody i tekhnika* [Mass Ethnological Research. Methods and Techniques]. Moscow: IEA RAN. 250 p.

Poliakov, S. P. 1989. *Traditsionalizm v sovremennom sredneaziatskom obshchestve* [Traditionalism in Contemporary Central Asian Society]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU. 112 p.

Solovei, T. D. 1998. *Ot «burzhuaznoi» etnologii k «sovetskoi» etnografii. Istoriia otechestvennoi etnologii pervoi treti XX veka* [From "Bourgeois" Ethnology to "Soviet" Ethnography. The His-

tory of Russian Ethnology in the First Third of the 20th Century]. Moscow: IEA RAN. 258 p.

Solovei, T. D. 2004. *Vlast' i nauka v Rossii. Ocherki universitetskoi etnografii v distsiplinarnom kontekste (XIX — nachalo XXI v.)* [Power and Science in Russia. Essays on University Ethnography in a Disciplinary Context (19th — early21th century)]. Moscow: Prometei. 498 p.

Solovei, T. D. 2016a. *Lusus Naturae. Narody v kontekste estestvennonauchnogo znaniia. Uchebno-metodicheskoe posobie* [Lusus Naturae. Peoples in the Context of Natural Science Knowledge. Educational and Methodical Manual]. Moscow: Pero. 165 p.

Solovei, T. D. 2016b. *Ot intuitsii k ratsio. Diskurs o narodnosti v XIX veke. Uchebno-metodicheskoe posobie* [From Intuition to Rationality. The Discourse on Nationality in the 19th Century. Educational and Methodical Manual]. Moscow: Pero. 308 p.

Solovei, T. D. 2022. *Istoriia rossiiskoi etnologii v ocherkakh. XVIII — nachalo XXI veka* [The History of Russian Ethnology in Essays. 18th — the Beginning of the 21th Century]. Moscow: Etnosfera. 612 p.

Solovei, T. D. (ed.). 2018. *Revoliutsii svetskie, religioznye, nauchnye. Dinamika gumanitarnogo diskursa: sbornik nauchnykh statei* [Revolutions: Secular, Religious, and Scientific. The Dynamics of Humanitarian Discourse. Collection of Scientific Articles]. Saint Petersburg: Aleteia. 276 p.

ANTHROPOLOGY OF ARTISTIC COMMUNITIES

UDC 39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/38-52
Original Article

ARTISTIC COMMUNITIES TODAY: IDENTITY, UNCERTAINTY, HOPE FOR FUTURE

This article analyses the ethnographic profile of the several traditional artistic communities, who performed for the public in the specific ethno-cultural spaces and made this their main profession. Traditional performing and visual arts, a matter of national pride in many countries today, until recently were the jobs of grossly socially marginal communities and groups. Often a socially inherited profession, integrated in a system of exchange, art was often a highly uncertain source of income. For a long time, the social status of many traditional artistic communities all over the world was very low. But between the 1900s and 1950s, music, dance, and theater went through a crucial transformation: from being predominantly dependent they got the status of high art worldwide. The ideas of the "national", "classic", and "modern", "contemporary", were attached to the various art forms. While certain segments of art practice were codified and even frozen, creating somewhat like a "museum of art", or cultural heritage (which leads to the so-called phenomena of "heritagesation" and "exotisation", wiping out the traditional cultural and social contexts of art and alienating it), other practices continue to develop and still find themselves under perpetual transformation. Today the situation in different communities, social strata, and ethnic groups, whose traditional job is connected to art and performance, varies significantly. While some communities of musicians, dancers, various drama players, storytellers, puppeteers, martial artists are successful and engaged in national and international festivals, others decline or even vanish. While using the data of her ethnographic fieldwork, as well as the material of the discussion that happened during the Panel "Artistic Communities Today: Identity, Uncertainty, Hope for Future", organized by her within the World Anthropological Congress, 2023 (New Delhi, India), Svetlana Ryzhakova analyzes the common places and similarities in the identity of the artistic communities, the problems they face nowadays, as well as prospects for the future. The article also contains the fieldwork material collected by the author in Gujarat and related to the Targala community, artists who perform the folk theater Bhavai.

Keywords: *artistic communities, performance, ethnography, social changes, traditions, transformation*

Author Info: Ryzhakova, Svetlana I. — Dr. in History, Leading Research, the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Moscow, Russian Federation), Member of Indian Anthropological Society, Member of European Association of Social Anthropologists. E-mail: SRyzhakova@gmail.com ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8707-3231

For citation: Ryzhakova, S. I. 2025. Artistic Communities Today: Identity, Uncertainty, Hope for Future. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 38–52.
Funding: The study was carried out as a part of the research plan of the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology.

This article emerged as a result of my longitude ethnographic study, which lasted for more than 20 years (while my practical involvement in the dance world has continued for more than 30 years). It aims at a complex analysis of the ethnographic profile of several traditional artistic communities, who perform for the public in specific ethno-cultural spaces, making this their main profession and source of income. During the last decade, I explored this topic mostly on the diverse and highly exciting Indian material, and discussed it profoundly at many conferences, including the annual conference of the Indian Society for Theater Studies, since 2012. I gained a lot of insights from the long talks with my dear colleagues engaged in theater, music, and dance studies — Ravi Chaturvedi, Vibha Sharma, Urmimala Sarkar Munshi, Rustom Bharucha, Purushottam Bilimale, Prabodh Jhingan, and many other scholars. Apart from that, being a disciple of Kathak dancer and teacher, Guru Rajendra Gangani, I got a lot of support and knowledge from him and his extended family, engaged in performing art for ages. Apart from that, I have observed the artistic scene and situation in India from the ethnographic point of view for more than three decades, visiting festivals, talking with the artists, and analyzing all published materials available on this wide topic.

Let me first elaborate on the subject of the research. Traditional performing and visual arts, a matter of national pride in many countries today, until recently were jobs of grossly socially marginal communities and groups (for example *Soneji* 2012). Often a socially inherited profession, integrated in a system of exchange, art was often a highly uncertain source of income. For a long time, the social status of many traditional artistic communities all over the world was very low. But between the 1900s and 1950s, music, dance, and theater went through a crucial transformation: from being predominantly dependent they got the status of high art worldwide *(O'Shea 2005;* Gaston 1996). Due to vital changes in patronage and the emergence of the government institutions as main patrons, traditional artistic families were replaced by other forms of social organization of art (see *Kramrisch* 1956). The ideas of the "national", "classic", and "modern", "contemporary", were attached to the various art forms and developed (*Vatsyayan* 1998; *Kothari* 1989; *Chakravorty, Gupta* 2010; *Walker* 2014). While certain segments of art practice were codified and even frozen, creating somewhat like a "museum of art", or cultural heritage, other practices continue to develop and still find themselves under perpetual transformation. This leads to the so-called phenomena of "heritagesation" and "exotisation", wiping out the traditional cultural and social contexts of art and alienating it. Since the mid-20th century, theatre, folklore, and anthropological studies have opened up new ways of engagement with the world for practitioners (*Schechner* 1985; *Sarkar Munshi, Burridge* 2011; *Chakravorty, Gupta* 2018). A very valuable series of books on the topic called "Dance and Performance Studies" has been published by Berghahn Books publishing house (New York and Oxford) since 2007.

Today the situation in various communities, social strata, and ethnic groups, whose traditional job is connected to art and performance, varies a lot. While some communities of musicians, dancers, drama players, storytellers, puppeteers, martial artists, etc. show

some success and social mobility, engaged in national and international festivals, others decline or even vanish. One example of an artistic community still surviving in today's India is the so-called Targala caste of Gujarat, the main object of my longitude fieldwork study in 2015–2023. I analyzed the current socio-cultural outlook of Nayak, Vyas, and Bhojak groups, jointly known as the Targala caste, whose traditional profession was a performance of Bhavai, the traditional theater of northern Gujarat and Saurashtra. This study resulted in a paper titled "Targala Community and Bhavai of Gujarat: Hereditary Performers of a Traditional Indian Theatre. Cultural Context and Social Functions", delivered on the Panel at the World Anthropological Congress, 2023 (New Delhi, India).

Targala community: traditional performers of Bhavai folk theater of Gujarat

Understanding the social status and relationships of specific communities in India is an exciting yet uneasy task. Indian society is dotted with many forms of identity, among which is the socially hierarchical principle, which includes the functional principle of *varnas* and which turns out to be hereditarily fixed, and *castes*, usually coming from belonging to a *jati*, mostly endogamous, but in everyday life interdependent groups.

Many communities do not fit neatly into one cell or another and may have double, triple, or intermediate forms of identity. Particularly dynamic are both the statuses and relationships of groups or communities engaged in art and worship: storytellers, musicians, actors, dancers, and various ritual specialists. The social function of mediators they perform puts them in a kind of intermediate position between "high" and "low", "pure" and "impure" groups, positions, and situations.

A notable case of the conflicting conjugation of *varna* and *jati* statuses and the formation of a specific identity is the tradition of Bhavai folk theater performed by traditional troupes settled in the central and northern regions of Gujarat. These are representatives of the castes (or subcastes) called Nayak, Vyas, and Bhojak, united under the umbrella name of Targala or Taragala, which is often interpreted by my informants as a "three-folds community", or *tra-ghara*, "three-houses [community]" (FM 2016–2018, Gujarat. Informants: A. Nayak, B. Vyas)[1].

There are, however, other explanations of this word, for example, "thirteen <communities>" who have the right to eat together. The differences between the Nayaks, Vyas, and Bhojaks appear to be partly regional: while the Nayaks and Bhojaks are settled in North Gujarat, well aware of each other, the Vyas are residents of the more remote areas of Saurashtra. The second difference turned out to be confessional: Bhojaks serve Jain families and in a few cases could be Jains themselves. They are fewer in number than the Nayaks and Vyas. Like the other performers in India, their social status is supposed to be quite "low". John Emigh writes of the performing Bhavai as traveling troupes (*Emigh* 2003: 63), which indicates the low or marginal status of these communities from the Brahmanic point of view. However, in the cultural memory of the Targalas themselves there is a legend about their mixed origin, which traces the formation of Bhavai in their modern form to a specific creator, a Brahmin named Asaita Thakkar, who lived in the 14th century.

The legend of the origin of the Bhavai theater takes us to the era of medieval Gujarat and speaks about the complex relationships between different communities — the Audi-

[1] FM (here and below) — Fieldwork material collected by author; fieldwork data (observations, talks and interviews) are fixed in the dairies.

Fig. 1. Baldev Dhalsuk Nayak, Bhavai performer. Kalol village, Gujarat.
Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, 2018

chhya Brahmins and Kanbi landowners, who, from the Brahmanical perspective, are of the much "lower" status, as well as Koli employees and some acting communities, whose caste names we do not know.

The Audichhya Brahmins trace their origins back to the 12th century, the "golden era" in the history of the future Gujarat, the reign of King Jayasimha Siddharaja, the fourth of the Solanki Rajput dynasty (he ruled approximately in 1094–1143). According to the legend, it was he who invited 1001 Brahmins from Varanasi to Gujarat for regular cult service to Shiva in the form of a *lingam* with a thousand faces, *sahasralingam*, near the sacred lake. The descendants of those Brahmin priests settled here and became known as the Gujarati Audichhya Brahmins.

Kanbi is a vast community of peasants, formally classified as Shudras but differing in class: there are both the village poor and wealthy people and even dominant castes and rulers of small areas. Over time, the Kanbis adopted the titles Patidar and Patel, which have become much more common today, while the name Kanbi is now perceived as somewhat offensive. Kanbi were economically independent, they had a widespread collective property system of *mahalvari*. They worshipped Mother-Goddesses, were not vegetarians, and had a tradition of bride price.

The legend of the origin of the Bhavai, transmitted orally (FM), states that Ganga, the daughter of Hemal Patel, a Kanbi ruler in the small princely state of Unjha, was abducted by the Muslim governor (*subedar*) Jahan Roz of the Khilji clan. Patel's family priest Asaita Thakar, an Audichhya Brahmin known for his communication skills and artistry, was sent to rescue the girl from captivity. He went to the kidnapper, sang for him, gained his trust, and finally declared that Ganga was his daughter and demanded her back. Then the cunning *subedar*, being well informed of the local caste norms, said: "Alright, I'll return her to you, just sit down and eat with her." Asaita Thakar sat down and ate, and the girl was returned, but he was expelled from his caste because he had "defiled" himself by eating with a girl who formally belonged to the Shudra class. Forced to look for a new home and a new in-

come source, Asaita began to create plays for the actors, *kathakars*, and tellers of epic stories and undertook a reform of their theater. According to the legend, Asaita himself wrote 360 plays, *vesha* (which, apparently means "scenarios, plays"), of which 60 have reached our days (*Desai* 1972). The troupes he reformed formed the basis of Bhavai as a special theater; the performers became known as Bhavaiya, "those who represent the Bhavai". According to the legend, Hemal Patel granted him land, provided financial support, and arranged his marriage with Hemal Patel's daughter, Ganga. Either the three sons of Ganga and Asaita and their descendants or all the artists he mentored, who consider themselves his spiritual "children", became the Targala caste. They say they are Brahmins, but their daily habits are of an intermediate caste. Many of them are illiterate, which is hardly possible for Brahmins. According to statistics from 1901, there were 12,889 Bhavaiyas in the Bombay Presidency, which included a large area of modern Gujarat (*Kirparam* 1988: 222). There are also Brahmins of the Thakkar caste in Gujarat, who are different from the Targalas and are not engaged in artistic life.

Bhavai theater is an important cultural institution in Gujarat. It fulfills several functions, both ritual and secular, such as information, entertainment, ceremonial, and didactic; it is a tool for social integration and criticism. The collective patrons of the Bhavai theater are people of two castes (*Kirparam* 1988: 223): the Kanbi, better known today as the Patidar or Patel, Thakur, Rajpurs, and the Koli, who are believed to have sheltered the exiled Asaita Thakkar (*Jhala* 2009: 69–71).

Bhavai troupes, in addition to performing *veshas*, can also engage in other professions — agriculture, small business, and trade. An important feature of these troupes is mobility. If they are artists, they are busy with their artistic job for about six or eight months of the year: during the monsoon, there are no performances and actors stay at home.

At present there is a gradual, although not complete, disappearance of both the traditional space for the per-

Fig. 2. Bhavai artist on stage.
Bharate Rang Mahotsav, New Delhi, 2018.
Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova

formance of Bhavai and the activities of troupes. Apparently, at the beginning of the 21st century, there were about three dozen regularly operating troupes (even though in the middle of the twentieth century they numbered in the hundreds), which performed at the invitation of *panchayats* (councils that perform administrative functions) of the village and, less often, cities.

During my fieldwork in 2015–2023, I found out that the tradition of passing on Bhavai as a skill and job within families is gradually disappearing: the younger generation of the Nayaks and Vyas is mostly choosing other areas of activity. It is difficult for traditional artists to compete with the torrents of information and entertainment industry widespread today via many devices. Bhojaks hardly perform nowadays. Nevertheless, there are still people of the middle and elder generation who have excellent skills in this art and can explain the meaning of all artifacts (among which the main one is the Bungal, a kind of trumpet, wind musical instrument), and some progressive theater directors are finding a way to introduce Bhavai into the repertoire of professional troupes. The traditional songs of Bhavai are known by a few professionally trained artists, who perform them on specific occasions.

Today, in 2024, James Brandon's statement continues to be true that "recently there have been no fundamental changes that would pave the way for the revival of Bhavai; the remaining performers continue to struggle for their existence" (*Brandon* 1993: 83). The number of the traditional troupes (*mandalis*) diminished considerably, due to the crucial social and economic changes. Yet, there is a certain interest in Bhavai, expressed by professional theatrical directors and several NGOs. Studying Targala and several other artistic communities in India inspired me to organize a broad discussion on the situation of various performing groups worldwide.

Talking on the artistic communities: Panel's experience

Various aspects of contemporary artistic and performing communities became the subject of the Panel entitled "Artistic Communities Today: Identity, Uncertainty, Hope for Future", organized by me at the World Anthropological Congress in New Delhi, in October 2023. It went very successfully and brought together more than 30 participants and discussants. Here I am going to analyze the common points of the presentations, that contribute to the study of the artistic communities. The references to the papers' materials mentioned below are from the presentation abstracts (unfortunately, only short versions were published in the Collection of Abstracts, which is not easily accessible), and from my notes, made while listening to the presentations and the rich discussion.

Despite the great variety of traditional artistic communities worldwide, several aspects unite most of them. First, it is the **dual social status**, quite often typical for artists of all genres. It is very evident in the case of Targala; although they claim themselves to be Brahmins (they trace their origin to Asaita Thakkar, an Audichya Brahmin of the 14th century, wear *janeo*, a sacred threat, and follow some typical Brahmin customs), there is a certain resistance from the other communities to accept it. The members of some other neighboring Brahmin groups do not consider them to be equal and claim Targala to be of "low" social origin. Yet, the artists believe, they are of Brahmin origin and perform not only the theater but also several ritual duties for the villagers (FM 2016–2018, Gujarat).

Social duality is visible in another institution I studied (*Ryzhakova* 2024: 232–249) — tradi-

Fig. 3. Bhavai artist on stage. 1990-s.
Photo from the personal archive of Bharatbhai Vyas

Fig. 4. Bhavai artists on a trip. 1970-s.
Photo from the personal archive of Bharatbhai Vyas

Fig. 5. Bhavai performance on the outskirts of Ahmedabad. 2015.
Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova

tional ritualistic performers of Tulunadu area (South Karnataka and North Kerala, India) from such castes as Parava, Nalike, Pambada, and others, who identify themselves both as embodiments of the local gods and goddesses worshipped during the ritual and as people from traditionally dispossessed and marginalized castes during the rest of the time. It is different from Targala's duality: performers of Tulu deities' rituals never claim themselves to be Brahmins. They are "vehicles" and speakers of the local gods and goddesses in ritual contexts, but for the rest of the time, they are under strict caste norms and sometimes suffer from the unfriendly attitudes of the upper castes. Their speeches given at the ritual contain certain social criticism. Interestingly, some traditional performers belong to the Communist Party, especially in that part of Tulunadu area, which belongs to Kerala, where this party is very active.

Dual social status, although of a different nature, is typical for the Kalavant community in several parts of India. Ms. Sneha Ghadi (University of Goa) in her paper "The Kalavant Community of Goa: Past and Present" focused on the ritual activities of Kalavantas and the certain social stigma associated with them in the Goan society and religion. The community had a special place in the rituals and festivities of the temple they were attached to. The women from artistic families became *devadasis*, girls dedicated to the various gods and goddesses, and the men became Kalavants, artists who played musical instruments and accompanied the *devadasis* in their performances. The Portuguese colonial rule of Goa banished the practice of dedication of girls to *devadasis* (to prevent the social evils related to the usage of those girls as prostitutes), and this led to the outmigration of the Kalavant families. These artists later moved to various cities, mostly to Bombay, where they received patronage and gained fame for the art they produced. Some became singers in various musical schools, and some gained fame in acting. The social circumstances of

the Kalavant community also changed by this time, and the practice of *devadasi* declined. The community willingly gave up the traditional art forms as Goa's liberation opened new employment pathways. Just like Targala in Gujarat, the community of Kalavants in Goa today is no longer exclusively a community of artists but its members are employed in various fields. The reasons may lie in the ever-changing lifestyle, education, and social stigma attached to the community. Both the Kalavant community and the practice of *devadasi*, banned by the government since long ago, are vanishing. Interestingly, another stock of Kalavant community, based in Rajasthan, is socially different: they were not related much to *devadasis*, but engaged in the music playing in various princely courts. Their status was the highest among various artistic communities, and sometimes more "lower status" musicians Mirasis tried to adopt their identity and become Kalavants; see the historical background here (*Butler Schofield* 2023).

The second distinctive feature of traditional artistic communities lies in their multiple activities, which is related to the split of identity mentioned above. Very often traditional artists **fulfill several social functions,** and play diverse roles; entertainment is just one among them. The others could be ritual, educational, or related to some craft skills. For example, as my study shows, Bhavai theater itself played several functions, both ritual and secular, such as information, entertainment, ceremonial, and didactic; it was a tool for social integration and social criticism. The performers of Bhavai, men of Nayak and Vyas communities, conduct several village ceremonies and perform domestic rites for their patrons — such as name-giving for the infants. Nalike, impersonators of the local deities of Tulu-speaking area of Karnataka and Kerala and performers of *kola*, who perform rituals dedicated to those deities, according to my studies, are engaged as well in the weaving and construction businesses (FM 2014: Mangaluru = fieldwork in Mangaluru district, Karnataka, India. The informants: Saigeeta, Dayanada G. Kattalsar. FM 2014: Udupi = fieldwork in Udupi district, Karnataka, India. The informants: Ashok Alwa, Sanjeeva Suvarna, B. Nambyar). As I observed in rural Bengal, puppeteers, as well as performers of today's traditions *Raibansi* (which could be roughly identified as a kind of play or sport) were traditionally palanquin bearers (FM 2018: Daulatabad, West Bengal).

The third characteristic of today's transformation of the artistic communities is that the traditional format is vanishing, but performers are **looking for new venues** and **possibilities to perform**. Sometimes these are professional theaters, urban artistic circles, and in other cases rural development projects, conducted by government bodies and other institutions, that express an interest in rural art and/or will to help the practitioners. For example, Bhavai still exists today, although it is one of the vanishing art forms of India. The number of the traditional troupes (often called *mandalis*) diminished considerably, due to the crucial social and economic changes. Yet, there is a certain interest in Bhavai, expressed by professional theater directors in Ahmedabad and Vadodara, and several NGOs are working to improve the lives of rural citizens, including the performers.

Apart from musicians, dancers, and actors, many other people are involved in performances, such as mask makers. Mr. Rajdeep Das (Department of Anthropology, West Bengal State University) in his paper "Mask Makers of Chhau in Purulia, West Bengal: Survival and Revival, An Ethnographic Study" draws attention to the social situation of the artisans, who started making masks as souvenir production, apart from the manufacturing masks for the performers (FM 2016: Purulia, West Bengal. Informant: Sunil Mahato).

One of the best examples of coming traditional singing practice stage is Qawwali: a Sufi

religious vocal genre that originated in the Indian subcontinent. Originally performed in Sufi shrines or tombs throughout South Asia, the Qawwali genre gained widespread popularity and an international audience in the late 20th century. Here the traditional format has not vanished, yet the new venues, professional stage, and various festivals were discovered and actively explored by the practitioners. Ms. Anastasiya Kinyaeva (Centre of Asian and Pacific Studies, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of Russian Academy of Sciences) in her paper "Qawwal Community: Between Tradition and Modernity" explores this shift and studies the ways the community of Qawwali performers deals with the challenges of modernity. The ritual-associated art form of Qawwali is known to have existed on the subcontinent since the 13th century and is associated with the name of Amir Khusrao (1253–1325 AD). Traditional Qawwalis are still performed in Sufi tombs (*dargahs*) across India and Pakistan with the original line of Qawwals residing in the heart of the old Delhi, the tomb of Nizamuddin Auliya. At the same time, in the modern music scene, Qawwali is widely known as one of the flagman genres of the so-called "Muslim spiritual music" or "Sufi music" and is a go-to genre for the Bollywood film-makers, pop artists, and cultural festivals organizers. The rapid social changes and technological development of mass media that took place at that time significantly changed consumption patterns, the religious sphere was no exception. The use of a new generation of media, allowing for diversity in both production and consumption, did nothing but strengthen the aura of sacredness of certain religious practices and popularize them. At the present moment, ritual and so-called secular Qawwali coexist throughout the land of South Asia and in its media, putting the community of Qawwals on the edge of tradition meeting modernity.

The **reconfiguration of the ritualistic performance** and its emancipation from the traditional contexts and venues is very clearly visible in the transformation of the artistic tradition of the celibate monks, *bhakats* of *sattras* in Assam. The *sattras*, a specific religious institution of Shankardeva's reformist tradition of Assam, has a rich history of performing art tradition for more than 500 years. Ms. Sumpee Borah (from Jawaharlal Nehru University) did the study aimed at understanding the perpetuation or mediation of *sattras* with the outside world, the influence of state patronage, and also the dilemma faced by the monks to assert their identity over the changing conditions of *sattras* in Majuli, an island in Brahmaputra river and one of the major sites of *sattras* — residential monasteries with a traditional education system where the preceptor lives with his disciples devoting their lives in the monotheistic tenets of the Neo-Vaishnavism. The monks who belong mostly to Hindu upper castes have been seen to lead a life of bhakti immersed in prayer, the practice of devotional songs, *borgeet*, dance, *sattriya-nrittya*, drama, *ankiya-bhaona* and vocal and instrumental music, *gayan-bayan*, all based on mythological narratives. The physical training process and the ritual performance practices have been continued by the monk community from one generation to another through the oral tradition of knowledge transmission. Sumpee Borah observes the nostalgic narrative accounts of the elderly monks which are cases of reference wherein they lamented about the generational differences they perceive in the performances of the monks of different generations. As their inability to keep the tradition and space sacred keeps culminating into a major crisis in their ritually defined universe, they feel lost and dissatisfied and dissatisfaction while many questions emerge about the ongoing changes within the cultural institution. In this regard, the researcher's effort would be to articulate the monks' perspective in experiencing a dilemma between maintaining their sacred vow to live a life of a celibate monk renouncing worldly desires and earning a living, and creating individual identity where the knowledge and mastery of the performances becomes their capital. Today

we observe the transition of the Sattriya dances from devotion to profession (FM 2014, 2016, 2018, Assam. Informants: L. Das, S. Saikia, M. Kandali, B. Borbayan): the professionalization infused an awareness among the monks of their value of labor in terms of their time and effort they invest in re-enacting the Hindu mythology.

Yet in many cases, artistic skills are **abandoned and forgotten**, due to the social and economic changes. Ms. Renu Chauhan (from Informal Sector and Labour Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University) conducted a study among rural Sapera, a contemporary semi-nomadic community in Haryana state. Sapera do snake charming, cure snake bites, and today they also engage in folk dance for their livelihood. In Rajasthan, the Kalbelia community is the main among the Sapera caste; they have become well-known in the tourist industry. In Haryana state, the Sapera community is much different than that in Rajasthan; they are engaged in other occupations for their survival. In the past time, people relied on the Sapera community for the treatment of snake bites, but nowadays hospital facilities are available in villages, so the demand for the Sapera's help has become quite minimal. Modernization has changed their lives in many ways. They were a community mostly engaged in entertainment, traditionally hired for marriages and fairs. But nowadays the fair's tradition in the village has changed, and the Sapera have lost this source of income. Snake charming is also risky nowadays due to the government law on wildlife protection. It is still not very clear, whether the Sapera of Haryana will be able to maintain their performing traditions, or they will abandon them and focus on other jobs for a living.

In the case of the ritual practitioners, everything depends on the **demand for their services today**. Gita Jayaraj (Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, IIT-Madras/ Chennai) studied Teyyam performers (*teyyakkars*) in North Malabar, who come from families where this art is hereditary and get their right to perform, *avakasam* (hereditary, *cherujenman*, birth rights) as their privilege and duty. Teyyam became famous during the last few decades; this institute is very similar to the performance of daivaradhane of the Tulunadu mentioned above. The majority of men from *teyyakkars* communities today fulfill their caste obligations and perform at specific shrines of the local deities, *kavus*, or in the yards of the patrons' houses, *taravads*. Framed as an exchange system between patrons and clients, strict rules continue to exist about who has the right to perform, in which spaces, and how this performance should be remunerated. This results in Teyyam being a highly uncertain source of income and necessitating other forms of employment for *teyyakkars* and their families to make ends meet. Around the turn of the 20th century, with the decline of the wealth of the *taravads* due to colonial and post-independence legislation, and the rise of socialist and communist politics, Teyyam began to be interpreted both as a form of resistance and protest against caste and as an artistic practice as opposed to ritual worship. Nowadays, with the increasing tourism and globalization, as well as the growth of Malayali diasporas, Teyyam traverses national and transnational borders and is seen as a carrier of local, state, and national culture depending on where it is performed.

In the modern context, many traditional arts face an **existential crisis** due to a lack of enthusiasm and economic changes. Mr. Sreehari K.R. (Ph.D. Research Scholar from the Department of Tribal Studies, Art, Culture and Folk Literature, Indira Gandhi National Tribal University, Amarkantak) presented the paper titled "Performance of Koothu: An Ethnographic Account of the Diminishing Art Form of Irulas of South India". He explored the traditional storytelling and drama among the Irulas, indigenous communities, one of the scheduled tribes residing in the Attappadi area of Kerala's Palakkad district, South

India (although the majority of the Irula population lives in Tamil Nadu and they are considered a particularly vulnerable tribal group, PVTG category). Several forms of Koothu are very widespread in Kerala and Tamil Nadu states and are a part of Irula's culture, mostly due to their Tamil heritage. Irulas perform Koothu on important occasions such as temple festivals and rites after death, on the occasion of death anniversary, and the annual feast. Ramarkoothu (existing today), Harischandrakoothu, and Sirithundankoothu (rarely found and almost vanished) are the three main forms of Koothu performed by Irulas. Ramarkoothu is based on the stories from Ramayana. Koothu performance consists of songs, the narration of the oral stories, percussion music, dance, and acting. Today, as Sreehari says, this art form faces an existential crisis: its primary cause is a lack of enthusiasm and interest among the young generation, as well as the extensive set-up necessary to perform this act. Another key cause is the impact of modernization.

The fourth feature is that performing art fulfills the function of an important **device to maintain cultural and social memory.** Especially interesting are the cases of refugees' communities all over the world, where artistic skills, traditionally attached to particular groups, could traverse the social borders and become the common ethnocultural heritage, maintained and practiced by the whole community. One example is the preservation of cultural heritage among the Tibetan diaspora in India. Mrs. Maria Shcherbak (Centre of Asian and Pacific Studies, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of Russian Academy of Sciences) focused on this topic. After the Chinese annexing of Tibet, thousands of Tibetans left their country for India. The Tibetan diaspora in India is the biggest one among other Tibetan refugee communities. Their life was complicated by the need to rebuild the community with its traditional forms of management, religion, traditions, and customs. In these conditions the preservation of Tibetan language and specific Tibetan culture was crucial. For this purpose, The Tibetan Administration in India provides educational programs in traditional arts and crafts. One of the key problems is the lack of teachers, the low interest of young people in the topic, the preference for more modern professions, and the exodus of the population to big cities. Realizing the need to preserve the cultural heritage as the basis of the Tibetan identity, the Tibetan Administration implements a number of programs to preserve traditional dance techniques and sponsor young performers. One of the most famous traditional Tibetan performance arts is dance. Traditional Tibetan dance art includes both folk patterns and stage versions of the temple performances such as the Tsam mystery. To date, there are some programs in the Tibetan diaspora in India aimed at preserving the techniques of classical dance and passing them on to the younger generation. The importance of preserving cultural heritage, including performing arts, is due to the multiple processes in which the Tibetan ethno-cultural identity is being eroded.

Another interesting example of memory and perception studies in performance is a challenge faced by the Muslim dancers of classical Indian dance. Mr. Al Ameen J., a Ph.D. scholar from the Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad, proposed an interesting and innovative approach — he created a choreography based on the life worlds of Muslim classical dancers in South Asia. Being a classical dance practitioner, the author tries to choreograph the life experiences of Muslim classical dancers based on the data collected from various practitioners and institutions through inquiry, in-depth interviews, etc. He says that classical dancers in India, who belong to the Muslim communities, undergo a lot of challenges due to the nature and structure of the classical dance art form as such. Classical dance forms in India are considered to be one of the artistic cultural expressions in performance tradition which are recognized and supported by several official bodies such as Sangeet Na-

tak Akademy and the Ministry of Culture, Government of India. Apart from recognition, classical dance forms become the epitome of cultural expression in India. Dance has become an expressive symbol of deep cultural nationalism and heritage policy. As Al Ameen J. says, historically these forms adapt the Hindu cultural framework in the content, presentation, practice, and performance, thus systematically excluding non-Hindu communities of this art. There are also restrictions for Muslim communities in various locations, where male members are discouraged to study and perform classical dance forms. These complex social realities make the life experience of Muslim classical dancers vulnerable.

Finally, the fifth aspect of the social outlook of the artistic communities is the **flexible border** and **easy emergence of new groups**. A good example is contemporary dance shows, where practitioners gradually form peculiar communities. Ms. Alexandra Glazovskaya (Center for European Studies, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Science) studies the ethnography of the world-known show *Riverdanc*e: she analyzes what happens before and after the shows, after the career of a dancer is over, how their identities are being constructed, and how the dancers earn their money. Glazovskaya's study focuses on a group of professional Irish dancers, who are currently touring (or used to tour) with *Riverdance*. The show itself grew out of a short production at the 1994 Eurovision Song Contest and became a representation of the whole Irish nation seeing overwhelming success overseas and at home. Irish dance through this very show became a trademark of Ireland, stepping into the line of the export goods of the country, thus also creating job opportunities for the dancers. However, one can see the further codification of Irish dance as an art form through this artistic manifestation in the show. The dance form, as well as the individual life strategies of the dancers, are reshaped by the demands of the show. The same trend is being explored by the Chinese researcher Jiang Yan-rong among the community of young entertainers of Wa ethnic group of Yunnan province, and by the dancer-cum-explorer from Argentina, Grit Kirstin Koeltzsch, on female artist-ethnographers in the 20th century. The papers of these scholars we publish in this issue.

The study of the mechanism of emergence of the artistic communities could provide us with anthropological information about the current situation, insights into their social and artistic potential, and a possible scenario of the future of the art forms.

Uncertainty is one of the most common challenges of most traditional artistic communities whose social profile was formed long back, in a different historical epoch. Some of them still exist today in several — however, not all countries of the world, although quite often they belong to the vanishing art forms, even in such a country as India. Yet, hope for future is another important feature of all artists of the world.

Sources

FM — Fieldwork material collected by the author; fieldwork data (observations, talks, and interviews) are fixed in the dairies.

References

Brandon, J. R. 1993. *The Cambridge Guide to Asian Theatre.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 253 p.

Butler Schofield, K. 2023. *Music and Musicians in Late Mughal India. Histories of the Ephemeral*, 1748–1858. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 306 p.

Chakravorty, P., and N. Gupta (eds.). 2010. *Dance Matters. Performing India.* New York; New Delhi: Routledge. 332 p.

Chakravorty, P., and N. Gupta (eds.). 2018. *Dance Matters Too. Markets, Memories, Identities*. London, New York: Routledge. 338 p.

Desai, S. R. 1972. *Bhavāī. A Medieval Form of Ancient Indian Dramatic Art (Natya) as Prevalent in Gujarat.* Ahmedabad: Gujarat Vidyapith. 648 p.

Emigh, J. 2003. *Bhavāi. South Asian Folklore: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by M. A. Mills, P. J. Claus, S. Diamond. New York, London. 740 p.

Gaston, A.-M. 1996. *Bharata Natyam: From Temple to Theatre*. New Delhi: Manohar. 403 p.

Jhala, J. 2009. The Taragada Bhavaiya Contribution to the Making of Hindu Identity in Saurashtra. In *Popular Culture in a Globalised India*, ed. by M. Gokulsing, W. Dissanayake. London: Routledge. 69–81.

Kirparam, B. (1901) 1988. *Hindu Castes and Tribes of Gujarat.* Vol. I. Ed. by J. Campbell (Originally published in 1901 as: Gazette of the Bombay Presidency. Vol. IX. Part I: Gujarat population: Hindus). Gurgaon. 594 p.

Kothari, S. 1989. *Kathak. Indian Classical Dance Art.* New Delhi: Abhinav Publication. 234 p.

Kramrisch, S. 1956. Artist, Patron and Public in India. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 15(3): 335–342.

O'Shea, J. 2005. Rukmini Devi: Rethinking the Classical. In *Rukmini Devi Arundale: A Visionary Architect of Indian Culture and the Performing Arts*, ed by A. Meduri. New Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas. 225–245.

Ryzhakova, S. 2024. Trance and Spirit-Possession: Reflections on the daivārādhanā Tradition of Tuḷunādu, India. In *Ideas of Possession. Interdisciplinary and Transcultural Perspectives,* ed. by N. M. Bauer, J. A. Doole. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 232–249.

Sarkar Munshi, U., and S. Burridge (eds.). 2011. *Traversing Tradition. Celebrating Dance in India*. London, New York, New Delhi: Routledge. 348 p.

Schechner, R. 1985. *Between Theatre and Anthropology.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 342 p.

Soneji, D. 2012. *Unfinished Gestures. Devadasis, Memory, and Modernity in South India*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 312 p.

Vatsyayan, K. 1998. The Crafting of Institutions. In *Independent India: First Fifty Years*, ed. by H. Karlekar. Delhi: Oxford University Press. 489–503.

Walker, M. E. 2014. *India's Kathak Dance in Historical Perspective*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing. SOAS Musicology Series. 174 p.

UDC 39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/53-71
Original Article

ARTISTIC TRADITIONS AND CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE STAGE PERFORMANCE PRACTICES AMONG WA (YUNNAN PROVINCE, CHINA)

This paper investigates the market dynamics and social mobility of the Wa entertainers, who are involved in music, dance, and other performing arts within China's contemporary urban cultural tourism sector. Unlike intangible cultural heritage bearers, who are often elderly, the Wa entertainer community predominantly comprises young members from their own ethnic group. Through a series of oral history interviews and participant observation conducted by the author in Mashan Village, Yunnan Province (a primary source of the Wa artists) and Kunming City (a major destination), the study uncovers the diversity within the community. Key findings indicate that the living conditions and lifestyle choices of the Wa entertainers not only affect the vitality of the Wa song-and-dance performing arts scene but also the broader development of the ethnic group, given the dual embeddedness of the Wa artists in both urban and rural settings. To foster transformative growth among the Wa entertainers, the study proposes strategies that include transitioning from a live to a mediated performance, shifting from off-site professional endeavors to local artistic community integration, and increasing government investment in human capital, all while preserving traditional apprenticeship systems.

Keywords: *Wa entertainers, performing arts field, cultural capitalization, social mobility, urban and rural areas, China*

Author Info: Jiang Yan-rong — Ph.D. Candidate in Ethnology, School of Ethnology and Sociology, Yunnan University (182 Yuhua Campus, Yunnan University, 121 Street, Wuhua District, Kunming City, Yunnan Province, China). E-mail: 125177727@qq.com

For citation: Jiang Yan-rong. 2025. Artistic Traditions and Contemporary Development of the Stage Performance Practices Among Wa (Yunnan Province, China). *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 53–71.

Introduction

The Wa, a time-honored transboundary ethnic group rooted in China's southwestern frontier, trace their lineage back to the ancient Pu people. Their language falls within the Mon-Khmer family within the Austroasiatic language system. Globally, Wa communities are present in Myanmar, Thailand, and Laos, with a marked concentration in northern Myanmar. Focusing on China, prior to the nation's founding in 1949, the Wa were solely found in Yunnan Province, residing in the Awa Mountain Area, a rich, subtropical region with complex geology. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Wa individuals have migrated to other parts of the country through a variety of social channels. As highlighted in the Wa genesis narrative *Si Mgang Līh*, the pivotal moment that

Fig. 1. The Wa ethnic rock band performs at a music bar in Kunming, Yunnan. Photo by the author, 2023

signified the Wa people's evolution into a civilized society, distinct from the animal world, was when they ventured out from Si Mgang, founded villages, cultivated the land, and embarked upon additional migrations.[1] Similar to the era of their ancestors, the new generation of Wa people is also "re-emerging from Si Mgang" to survive and develop. One of the groups worth our attention is the Wa young artists.

Since the 1990s, with the rapid development of China's cultural industry, Wa folk songs and dances have gradually stepped out of the Awa Mountain. They are loved by the vast audience for their original natural charm and unrestrained style. In the process of many visits to Ximeng Wa Autonomous County, Pu'er City, Yunnan Province, we found that the key to the good situation of the inheritance, innovation, and dissemination of Wa singing and dancing culture is that it has a heterogeneous but relatively complete inheritance group and system. In addition to inheritors at all levels of traditional music and dance projects under the state-led intangible cultural heritage system, as well as professional ethnic art troupes such as the Ximeng Ethnic Culture Team (the former Ximeng County Ethnic Song and Dance Troupe), there are also a group of market-oriented young artists who are actively inheriting the Wa ethnic song and dance culture. In terms of music, several well-known musicians with international influence have emerged, such as *Amei*, *Si Mgang Līh Band*, *Kawa Band*, *NZBZ*, etc., forming innovative musical genres such as "Yunnan Reggae", "Border Rap", and "Roots Rock". Regarding dance, the large-scale musical drama *Wa*

[1] *Si Mgang Līh* is the creation epic of the Wa people in Yunnan province, China. "Si Mgang" refers to the cave or gourd involved in the origin of human beings, while "Līh" means "come out" among each branch of the Wa people. It can be roughly divided into two different texts: "Man Out from the Cave" of the Wa branch and "Man Out from the Gourd" of the Burao branch.

Fig. 2. The band members perform wearing costumes that strongly reflect the Wa ethnic visual style. Photo by the author, 2023

Tribe, compiled and created by the Ximeng Ethnic Culture Team in 2011, entered China's premier art palace — the China National Centre for the Performing Arts, held two special performances, and toured in 7 provinces and 11 cities. In addition to these artists who have made certain professional achievements, more of my young Wa friends provide performance services in the field of entertainment, especially in the leisure and sightseeing activities in theme parks, tourist attractions, and other places. To refer to the difference between them and the above people, I call them "the Wa entertainers". Their main export places are Cangyuan Wa Autonomous County and Ximeng Wa Autonomous County.

Unlike the artists engaged in the state-led intangible cultural heritage system (*Wang, Zhang* 2022), these Wa artists are mainly young people. The new generation serves as the primary performers in the cultural tourism industry, traversing vast distances and continuously engaging with mainstream culture. Unlike residents who have not ventured beyond their hometowns, these young artists amass substantial economic, social, and cultural capital. Most notably, while they rely heavily on the social networks of their home region, their livelihood and economic activities take place in the bustling markets of Chinese cultural tourism—primarily in metropolises like Beijing, Shanghai, Guangdong, Shenzhen, and other eastern coastal cities (*Wu* 2020). The seasonal migration of this youth cohort between urban and rural areas naturally engenders a "dual embeddedness" across economic, social, and cultural spectrums, linking cities and villages. Due to the industry's age constraints, these individuals are poised to return to their roots, positioning them as pragmatic agents in rural revitalization efforts.

However, the current survival situation of the Wa entertainers is undoubtedly worrying. Based on the field theory, Chen Yan pointed out the problems in this field: "The disorderly

development leads to chaotic admission; the lack of capital restricts the sustainable development of song and dance art; the exit reasons are different, so it is difficult to finish well" (*Chen* 2022). It should not be ignored that COVID-19 forced many Wa artists to stay at home for a long time, and then they had to deal with a market environment radically different from the one before the outbreak. According to the estimates of industry insiders, as far as Ximeng County is concerned, the number of Wa entertainers performing in scenic spots is now less than 100.

Many questions have prompted us to explore in depth: What are the origins of the Wa performing arts industry and its driving force and operational logic in different periods? What are their living conditions in the city? What kind of impact have they had on their hometowns after returning home? Against the background of China's rural revitalization strategy, how should this group transform in the face of the industry's uncertainty?

This study is based on a long-term survey of the Wa entertainers in Mashan Village, Mengka Town, Ximeng Wa Autonomous County, Pu'er City, Yunnan Province, China. In June 2021 and during the Spring Festival of 2022, I conducted fieldwork in Yongye Village (a subgroup of Masan Village), focusing on the lives of returning Wa entertainers in the community. In addition to an in-depth understanding of their daily life through participant observation, I also interviewed members of the community for personal life histories as an auxiliary research means. Such a combination of methods was not just a compromise under COVID-19, but I also believe that "in most cases, memories are explanatory. This means that not merely unconsciously reorganizing events, individuals change them by mentioning certain things to bring them back to memory. Even the simplest description contains beliefs and symbols shared by the community" (*Hoppál* 2020: 52) Personal life histories reveal fragments of history, and comparing them and identifying what they have in common makes it possible to link the lives of the same community in different times and spaces, and thus identify the key characteristics and patterns of behavior in a specific historical period.

There are 57 households and 216 residents in Yongye Village. After household surveys and interviews, it is estimated that 60 people, or 27.8% of the total population, have been engaged in the Wa performing arts industry. This study conducted in-depth interviews with 31 Wa entertainers, including members of the older, middle-aged, and younger generations, to understand their living conditions within and outside of the village community across various historical periods. At the same time, interviews were conducted with the head of the Ethnic Song and Dance Troupe of the Ximeng County Culture and Tourism Bureau to gain insights into the local government's attitude and policies towards this industry. In subsequent research, I observed Wa entertainers performing at the Yunnan Ethnic Village (a vibrant cultural park), ethnic restaurants, and non-heritage bazaars in Kunming City, Yunnan Province, to further explore their urban lifestyles and working conditions. This research not only relied on oral data but also drew upon local archives and news reports for additional contextual information.

How the Wa Performing Art Industry Came into Being?

According to a survey conducted by the Cultural and Tourism Department of Ximeng County, since the early 1990s, a total of three batches of peasants in Ximeng County have left their villages to engage in the Wa performing art industry. The first group of Wa entertainers was organized by the Ximeng County government to perform in the "Wa Village", a folk village type attraction in the China Folk Culture Villages belonging to Shenzhen

Splendid China Development Co., Ltd. Shenzhen Splendid China Folk Village is a two-part theme park, combining "Splendid China" and "Chinese Folk Culture Villages" and realized the two parks as one in 2003. Because "Splendid China breaks through the original amusement park's construction concept, innovates the original amusement park's entertainment mode, and introduces the cultural theme that the amusement park does not have" (*Dong* 2016), it creates the miracle of "big investment, big output, fast recovery" of the tourist attraction, and is regarded as the milestone of China's theme parks. Its success triggered the first round of theme park investment and construction fever.

Fig. 3. A Wa ethnic artist performs a welcoming act at the entrance of a restaurant in Pu'er, Yunnan. Photo by the author, 2023

The Chinese Folk Culture Villages opened in October 1991 and was the landing place for the first group of Wa entertainers in Ximeng County. The Chinese Folk Culture Villages is the first large-scale cultural tour area in China, which gathers folk buildings, folk customs, and folk arts of various ethnic groups in one park. There are 22 villages in the typical ethnic style built in a 1:1 ratio, and "Wa Village" is one of them. In 1993, to fill up the content of the ethnic performance of the "Wa Village", and the company hoped that "the Wa Village would be a place for the Wa people", Ximeng County organized 20 to 30 Wa entertainers to perform specially arranged programs that could show ethnic characteristics and flavors, and one of the well-known ones was the Magical Awa Mountain. After accumulating some experience in the folk village, the members of this group of Wa entertainers spread out to various places and gradually became the leaders of the performing arts teams in various scenic spots.

The great success of Shenzhen Splendid China Folk Village marked the formal entry of China's tourism industry into the "theme park era". During this period, several "ethnic villages", "style parks", "expo parks" and other "folk village" type tourism products have sprung up. The mode of "artificial landscape & folk performance" not only meets the static viewing needs of tourists but also lets them participate dynamically. Thus, this approach was quickly

copied by many places at a time when there was a relative shortage of tourism products. In this context, the demand for the Wa entertainers in the scenic spots has surged. At the same time, the Wa people seem to possess natural talents in singing and dancing, making them popular among tourists and valuable to investors in scenic areas. From 1993 to 2002, the Wa entertainers who had entered the industry first began to recruit a large number of youths of the same ethnicity to enter the industry, and they gradually grew up to become the organizers and operators of the performance teams. When recruiting new members, they would give priority to their family members, that is, close relatives and in-laws, and then extend to the same clan, village, hometown, and other friends. There is no special age limit, but the co-ethnicity is the premise. According to the participants, the key reason was the deep skin color characteristic of the Wa. Like other Mon-Khmer-speaking groups, the Wa are mostly dark-skinned. At that time, the Wa was not well known to most domestic Chinese travelers, and some tourists were even startled when they occasionally heard the Wa performers speak Yunnan dialect or Mandarin because they mistook them for foreigners. When they learn that these people are actually Chinese, tourists often ask, "Are there any Wa people among the 56 ethnic groups in China?" In this case, the Wa's distinctive physical characteristics have become a symbol of "exoticism", making them the main selling points and recruitment conditions (*Fiskesjö* 2015: 497–523).

According to the recollection of the participants at that time, most of the young Wa entertainers were hired to play the roles of Africans, Maoris, and Amerindians. The only exception was Shenzhen Splendid China, where the "Chinese Wa" brand name was openly displayed. In 2002, in the "Window of the World", an exotic theme park with "Give me a day, I give you a world" as the slogan, the staff responsible for the African, Maori and American Indian culture performances were all Wa people. Among them, more than 20 people dance African, and more than 10 people dance Maori. Thus, at this stage, theme park investors were not investing in Wa culture, but in its commercial potential — they were gradually realizing that the "exotic" Wa culture had some market potential (*Fiskesjö* 2015: 497–523).

The first decade of the 20th century was an important period of China's reforms, opening up, and modernization drive. Under the requirements of economic transformation, "various inherited and even new festival symbols strongly focus on their economic role, which is a new phenomenon in the economy of ethnic minorities" (*Ma* 2001a). In order to promote economic development, in Ximeng Wa Autonomous County, the county Party Committee and government held the first "Yunnan Ximeng Wa Wooden Drum Festival" from April 10 to 12, 2003. During the festival, a large-scale art performance was held, which consisted of the folk performance of the Wa villages and a bonfire party. In 2004, it was renamed "China Wa Wooden Drum Festival", which would be held from April 11 to 13 every year. Although the activities within each festival are different, each township village has to show a song and a dance. This provides a field for folk artists to perform songs and dances, resulting in representative literary and artistic works composed, directed, and performed by folk artists.

Sai, a provincial non-genetic inheritor from Mashan Village, Mengka Town, Ximeng County, has learned and created the Wa dance by himself since he became the leader of the village literature and art team at the age of 18. He expressed the contents of his production and life in the form of dance. The modified "Wooden Drum" added performance movements such as fist clenching, foot stamping, leg lifting, front lifting, and hair shaking, which further enriched the form and dance vocabulary. He has participated in the "Wooden Drum Festival", rural amateur performance competitions and other cultural activities. At the same time, he led the team to perform in Beijing, Fujian, Shanghai, Chongqing, Jiangxi, Hebei,

Fig. 4. One of the pioneering Wa entertainers from Mashan Village who ventured out to perform is now teaching his grandson to play the Wa flute. Photo by the author, 2022

and other places, making it the first batch of artists to leave their hometown for performance.

The personal practice of Sai's Ethnic Culture capitalization shows that the new ethnic festival represented by the Wa Wooden Drum Festival promotes the development of the Wa performing art industry at two levels. First, economic interests drive local governments, local enterprises, and cultural holders to more actively explore national cultural resources, including singing and dancing, and develop them into demonstrative tourism products, so as to obtain more economic income. The second is to guide the change of values. The cultural festivals attract a lot of people, make the cultural holders fully realize their own cultural value, and meet the needs of modern tourism consumption. "The expansion of the scope of sending and receiving of festival symbols makes it possible, first of all, to overcome narrow ethnocentrism, and, more importantly, to enable people from other ethnic groups, outsiders, and foreigners to better integrate into the cultures of these nations. It not only understands the culture of these nations, but also understands the huge potential economic resources of these nations from the process of receiving information, which can lead to the investment of real and potential economic capital and the establishment of new development models" (*Ma* 2001b). As the economic and social impact of the Wooden Drum Festival continues to expand, the government, companies, and tourists are paying more and more attention to Wa culture, triggering a positive interaction between ethnic culture and tourism development. Specifically, tourism venues began to hire Wa entertainers to rehearse Wa songs and dances for special performances. Despite the limitations on the scale of the tourist attractions and labor costs, the Wa entertainers needed to learn many forms of songs and dances at the same time, including the folk songs and dances of other ethnic groups in China such as the Tibetans, Zhuang,

and Miao, as well as foreign dances such as the Hawaiian hula and street dances. However, nowadays tourists can already distinguish, recognize, and appreciate Wa folk songs and dances. The Wa entertainers also regarded these studies as a self-improvement. At this point, the Wa performing art industry became a new social reality, achieved through a combination of state support (i.e., state support for cultural development that benefits the nation) and the economic process of transforming cultural matters into new commodities (i.e., the capitalization of national culture).

In August 2014, the original Wa musical drama Wa Tribe was successfully performed at the China National Center for the Performing Arts. The Ximeng County Ethnic Culture Team became the first county-level ethnic culture team to enter the highest art palace in China. In the same year, with the support of the Ximeng County Government, Ximeng Wa Tribe Culture Co., Ltd. was formally established, responsible for organizing the training of Wa singing and dance performances, and delivering performers to major scenic spots such as "Window of the World" in Shenzhen, Beijing Happy Valley, and Yunnan Ethnic Village. However, in addition to the human resources platform of "Wa Mountain Song and Dance", which the Ximeng County government hopes to rely on the Ximeng Wa Tribal Culture Co., Ltd., more and more formal organizations and informal groups are "entering".

In this industry, formal organizations are registered enterprises, while informal organizations adopt a business model similar to small workshops, which industry insiders call "team" or "art troupe". Such groups are usually formed by an original artist who is familiar with the routines of performances, has certain choreography skills, and contacts with the boss of the scenic spot. Such people are often known as "captains", plus several relatives as core members. With the relationship with the owner or the person in charge of the scenic spot, the captain can know the requirements of the scenic spot for the number of people and the requirements of the program content, and can recruit, train and select the team members in his or her hometown as needed.

Former Wa artists working alone provide opportunities for new people to join. Xiao Long, a Wa girl from Man Village, is 25 years old and has seven brothers and sisters. After graduating from primary school at the age of 14, she never continued to study because her family could not afford her tuition fees. In order to provide for her brother to go to school, she got acquainted with the then captain Yang Jie through the introduction of her hometown, and he encouraged her to go out to perform. Her monthly salary has risen from 600 yuan to around 5,000 yuan today.

However, such an informal economy, which relies on the gradual expansion of interpersonal networks, is not yet well regulated, thus facing many challenges in the business process. According to the captain Yang Jie, the current problems are: being unable to provide formal invoice to the customer, to receive the public account transfer; to handle the performance certificate (he often can only choose to cooperate with private investment scenic spots); to sign labor contract with entertainers, and to purchase accident insurance for them. The captain of China, however, must handle all the affairs of the "big family" like a "parent", but in addition to getting the same salary as the artists, he will only get a small bonus, which usually depends on the number of artists.

Under such circumstances, these teams often encounter various risks, especially once the scenic spot defaults on the travel allowance and the wages — in this case the team can go bankrupt and dissolve because of the low liquidity, often forcing the Wa artists to resign, job-hop or even change careers. According to the author's statistics, the average

working period of entertainers in Mashan Village is 7.3 years, within which they have to change several jobs. Few people can be engaged in performance until retirement.

As an informal economy, the Wa performing art industry, in addition to its own internal defects, also has a subtle competition-cooperative relationship with the formal economy. The Ximeng Ethnic Culture Team (the former Ximeng County Ethnic Song and Dance Troupe) was founded in 1965. It is a performance group specializing in singing and dancing art performance with financial appropriation. It is now a public institution under the Bureau of Culture and Tourism of Ximeng County. The team is responsible for the important tasks of inheriting and carrying forward the traditional culture of the Wa people and meeting their growing cultural needs. The specific responsibilities include creation, performance, publicity and training of artistic talents. The Ximeng Ethnic Culture Team has created and arranged a large number of artistic performance products featuring Wa culture, which have won many awards in various competitions, and has been invited to perform in major cities at home and abroad. In addition, the troupe also trained a large number of ethnic singing and dancing talents with creative ability; some of the Wa artists who later underwent market-oriented transformation initially worked in the troupe.

Initially, song and dance works were taught to artists through training, and the troupe did not restrict their use of copyright. However, during the market-oriented performance, the Wa entertainers had to add some acrobatics and entertainment effects in order to give the show more visual impact. This practice is seen by the troupe as a distortion of the traditional Wa culture. The troupe and the Wa entertainers face different "stages", that is, perform for different audience groups. The differences in approach have led the troupe to temporarily withdraw the right to use their own dance and accompaniment music.

Exploring the development of the Wa performing arts industry since the early 1990s, and comparing the driving force and operation logic in different periods, we can indentify the development difficulties and potential crises encountered by the industry. The defects of the informal economy itself and the lack of overall planning for this informal economy have led to a certain degree of chaos in the industry, resulting in great uncertainty in the work and life of the Wa entertainers. However, the Wa artists are mostly young people of their own ethnicity. They are not only the actors of this region, but also the inheritors of their own culture. In the face of expanding social communication, their living state and lifestyle are not only crucial for the survival of the Wa performance art industry, but also intimately tied to the development of the ethnic community, which urgently requires our attention.

Community Life and Symbol Interaction

The Wa entertainers generally graduate from junior high school, aged about 16 or 17, and enter inland cities. This period is a critical stage for them to shape their personal values and norms of conduct. In a completely different cultural environment, the Wa youth must actively participate in community life in order to establish a foothold as soon as possible. For those Wa entertainers who work in the scenic area, the art troupe provides them with the basic framework of social life. Under the premise of preserving their cultural traditions, the art troupe enables them to play the reference and expressive function of cultural symbols, thus playing a decisive role in organizing the community life of the Wa entertainers.

The activities around the performance are the center of the social life of the art troupe members. Weekends and legal holidays are often the concentrated periods of performance

activities thus the labor and leisure time of Wa artists is reversed compared to that of ordinary people. Therefore, they generally do not set a fixed rest day, but use a shift system for rest and work arrangements as needed.

The daily performance is arranged according to the number of visitors to the park. For example, since the opening hour, one performance is performed every half an hour, each lasting one hour. An average of 5–6 performances per day is normal. In addition to the stage performances, the artists also need to receive daily training. The training mainly consists of working on physical fitness, flexibility, and rehearsals of commercial performances. The physical labor paid by entertainers to ensure the smooth completion of the performance is hard. A Wa girl recalled that after joining the troupe, she had to get up at 5 am to run, practice, then perform, often exhausted at the end of the day. When there is no performance arrangement, the art troupe adopts a closed management and participants have to ask for leave to go out. Also because the scenic area is generally located in the suburbs at a certain distance from the downtown area, the interpersonal communication is limited between the art troupe and colleagues, leaders and audience in the scenic area. Even so, these young people have far more contacts than their peers in the village society, and they constantly strive to expand their interpersonal relationships by organizing community activities and gatherings.

The young Wa people get together from time to time. These gatherings may be spontaneous or specifically organized, either private or public, for recreational or cultural purposes. The analysis of these social activities helps us to explore whether the characteristics and functions correspond to the traditional customs in the village, and how the Wa youth in the "cultural enclave" can establish contact with other ethnic colleagues and friends through the cultural strategy of symbol exchange and meaning sharing.

The most important public social event is the festival. The older generation of the Wa entertainers in Mashan Village recalled the New Rice Festival they had outside. The New Rice Festival is a traditional festival shared by the Wa, Lahu, and Dai ethnic groups in Ximeng County. The time for the New Rice Festival is set on the 14th to 16th of the eighth lunar month of each year. Generally, every family in the Wa village will choose a "good day" according to their rice maturity, and go to the field to pick up new crops and make rice porridge. For the Wa artists outside, the time for the festival is not fixed. Generally, they find a rest day in the eighth month of the lunar calendar and cook porridge with the new rice that their family members specially sent to them. This act is intended to taste new rice with the family members so that it can protect their peace and happiness outside. However, the latest generation of the Wa entertainers no longer celebrate the New Rice Festival, but mainly celebrate Chinese traditional festivals such as the Spring Festival, the Dragon Boat Festival, and the Mid-Autumn Festival. Part of the reason is that the elders in the family are not around to host the sacrificial ceremony. Thus, the festivals of all kinds tend to be consistent. More importantly, "These festivals are celebrated by everyone, and if we invite them, our colleagues and even our bosses will spend them with us." In other words, shared festivals achieve social communication in expanded interactions, in which symbols from different cultural backgrounds work together and constantly interact, forming a complex structure and rich library of elements.

Let us take The Spring Festival as an example. First, the Wa Youth will choose a place to build firewood stoves and fires. Experienced scenic owners usually set up a small kitchen for ethnic minority employees. There is often an open space in front of the kitchen, which can be used for singing and dancing activities. The Festival begins with food preparation — food

is the most important part of the gathering, which is not different from what we observed during the Spring festival in Mashan village, but in the village, given the demand for meat such as cooking porridge and roast, people often choose to slaughter domestic pigs as food supplies. The Wa entertainers cannot do this, so they will go to the market to buy pork and chicken, as well as various frozen skewers for convenient barbecue. Porridge is the most typical Wa dish. Cooking rice, meat, vegetables, and salt into a pot of thick porridge, is essential for festivals and entertaining guests. I have eaten chicken porridge, pork porridge, beef sausage porridge, vegetable porridge, and pickles porridge in Mashan village. Whether in Wa villages or cities, "ethnic cuisine is one of the few things that have brought communities together" (*Hoppál* 2020: 137) Even for those young people who left home, they don't do the ceremony, but remember all kinds of porridge dishes, production process and taste, and share them in colleagues, friends' birthday parties or wedding ceremonies, clearly showing that the food code is one of the main characteristics of this kind of social activities. For the group, sharing a traditional diet "makes every member of the group feel involved in the tradition". Furthermore, recalling the "taste of hometown" alleviates the cultural shock when adapting to the city culture and other cultures; for people with different cultural backgrounds, eating habits are the "symbol code" of the group most easy to perceive and identify (*Hoppál* 2020: 138). When entertainers communicate with people from other cultural backgrounds, ethnic dishes such as Wa porridge and barbecue "have the significance of culture and provide a way for outsiders to explain culture" (*Zheng* 2017). More importantly, in this process, the Wa artists not only accept it but even consciously simplify or choose the form of sharing in the interaction with the outsiders. For example, the Wa people like to eat spicy food. In addition to ginger, garlic, coriander, and citronella, there are special ingredients in porridge and bar-

Fig. 5. The "Yuwo" Wa art troupe is performing live in the village.
Photo by the author, 2022

becue, such as wild pepper, usually planted in the front and back of the house, which is the source of the special aroma of Wa cuisine. This is a necessary item for the Wa artists when they leave home. But in city parties, to adapt to more people's tastes, they choose to use fewer chili peppers, not stimulating wild pepper, or dressing alone, rather than adding dipping while cooking as in the village. So food does not have to be very authentic, improvements and innovations are acceptable because it is symbolic.

Culture has inheritance and transmission. Ethnosemiotics claims that, in order to steadily transmit unique information, specific cultures will use multiple symbols at the same time: "The diversity and simultaneous use of codes are the universal characteristics of culture" (Xia *Xun-xiang* 2020). In festival activities, we can observe the juxtaposition of various codes, such as diet, language, body, spatial relationship patterns, etc. These codes alternate with each other and jointly shape the structural characteristics of festival activities. At the same time, in some links, the importance of a particular code is highlighted.

Another cultural symbol that cannot be ignored in the Spring Festival gathering of young Wa people is music. When preparing food, someone plays the music on a trolley stereo, the playlist includes Yunnan Reggae (especially the music of the Wa *Kawa*, *Perman* and other bands), electric music (short video soundtracks of the Wa celebrities on Kuaishou and TikTok) and Wa pop music. These are the new forms of Wa music, but no traditional Wa tone can be heard.

After food, singing and dancing as the code of the body becomes important. Usually, the Wa youth use their mobile phones to connect to the Bluetooth stereo to play pop songs and sing with microphones. The singing code and the dancing code are constantly switched. When they are in a mood, they will also dance other ethnic dances they have learned in daily rehearsals, such as the lyrical Tibetan dance *Zhuoma*, which is often used as a supplement between the intense rhythms of the Wa dance.

In the community activities of the Wa entertainers, several codes of food, music, singing, and dance most often participate in the symbolic construction of nationality and identity and the exchange of symbols among different cultures. More precisely, these traditions are often consciously selected as expressions of ethnicity, and only a few cultural elements are needed to gain symbolism in the new cultural environment.

The daily practice of the Wa entertainers constantly reproduces this model, which mainly transforms the function of cultural symbols from condensing the emotions within the community to the representation of external expression, and becomes a new source of pride. We can say that this is the "self-reference system" (*Luhmann* 2006: 37–57), where the system produces its own operation and allows the system to continue to operate. But at the same time, the system is not totally closed: "If the new elements are not within the system, the system will be open to the environment, bring the new elements into the system, and the system boundary will be widened outward" (*Xing, Huang* 2021).

Dual Embedding between Urban and Rural Areas

Previous studies on rural floating populations in economic anthropology have predominantly focused on issues of de-embedding and cultural change. However, in the case of the Wa entertainers we observe that they are not merely unable to disengage from their local society; rather, they are doubly embedded into it due to their reliance on local social ties. This ultimately manifests as a dual embedding between urban and rural areas, embodied

Fig. 6. The Single-String Lyre performance team is rehearsing. Photo by the author, 2022

in economic, relational, and cultural dimensions. Primarily, we encounter economic embedding. The Wa performing arts industry emerged as a means of livelihood and an ethnic economic model crafted by certain Wa individuals amid the burgeoning cultural tourism sector in the 1990s—a pivotal era of economic transformation in China. They capitalize on their "experience-near" insights (*Geertz* 1983), particularly their embodied experiences in music and dance, resonating with the outsider perception that "ethnic minorities are naturally gifted in singing and dancing." Therefore, the industry itself exemplifies the embedding of the economy within culture. More specifically, as an export-oriented economic activity, economic embedding is evident in the urban lives of the Wa entertainers, reflected in aspects like economic income and consumption patterns. Conversely, the embedding extends in the opposite direction, notably manifested when Wa artists who earn income in cities remit savings to their kin residing in their hometowns. This forms a crucial component of household wage income.

Secondly, relationship embedding is evident in the urban context through the formation of a "cultural enclave" (*Castile, Kushner* 1981: 203–204) by the Wa entertainers. This enclave, a heterogeneous cultural island within the urban social landscape, operates as a both closed and open system. Its closure is rooted in the preservation of distinct cultural traits such as language, diet, music, and dance, fostering a community that mirrors their native culture. This results in a relatively isolated space where members easily cultivate a sense of trust and security. For instance, when a Wa girl, Ye, tried to connect with someone outside her troupe, she was discouraged by the leader due to a general distrust of outsiders. A case in point is Wa youth Kan, who once left the group to pursue solo performance ventures in bars, dance halls, and other small venues, a phase he referred to as "rushing".

However, upon suffering financial setbacks, he was welcomed back into the fold by the former leader, illustrating the supportive nature of the enclave, acting as a safety net for its members during times of hardship. On the other hand, the openness of the enclave is demonstrated by its inevitable engagement with external influences such as corporate culture and urban society. The Wa entertainers actively integrate into urban life, as evidenced by their efforts to learn Mandarin despite restrictions. Moreover, respected leaders within the troupe forge personal connections with influential figures in the tourism industry.

In conclusion, the relationship embedding experienced by the Wa entertainers in urban settings showcases a complex interplay between closure and openness, further complicated by the inherent instability of the art troupe as an informal economic organization. Driven by the fluctuating tourism industry, the periodic relocation of these troupes between provinces and cities challenges the continuity of social relations, yet contributes to the community's cohesion. The "cultural enclave" is not merely a self-contained bubble but a dynamic space that can function as a training ground for experiencing urban lifestyles, a platform for upward mobility, and a safety net when integrating into urban society.

In the countryside, the degree of relationship embedding is limited but also visible. This is mainly reflected in the social capital carried by the Wa entertainers "entering the countryside" to promote the construction and development of the original township and produce positive spillover effects. Through work, the experienced and active Wa entertainers can often accumulate a certain interpersonal network in the city, which can be effectively transformed into the related fields of rural areas and agricultural development under appropriate opportunities and conditions (*Zhong*, *Jian* 2010). A captain who has been in the industry for nearly 20 years told me that several scenic spot owners that she has cooperated with for a long time will come to Ximeng to support her work from time to time, and intend to invest in hotels in Mashan village. It can be seen that the addition of certain heterogeneous social capital carried by the returning Wa entertainers brings "the possible investment of economic capital and the establishment of new development models" (*Ma* 2001b) in the countryside.

Thirdly, cultural embedding involves the interplay between the village social culture that Wa artists bring into their urban workspaces and the urban and industrial cultures that permeate their original rural settings, driving changes in rural culture. From an ethnic semiotics perspective, cultural embedding is a constellation of symbolic incorporations, encompassing language, bodily expression, clothing, festivities, and customary practices. We've previously explored how the Wa entertainers employ diverse symbols to construct meaning within urban contexts, thereby elucidating their strategies for cultural embedding in urban environments. Here, our focus shifts to the reciprocal process of urban culture's infiltration into Wa culture, highlighting the dynamic intercultural dialogue.

In terms of employment, the norms of the modern enterprise system represent a form of heterogeneous embedding for the Wa youth. Their rural lifestyle, characterized by autonomous control over work schedules, contrasts sharply with the regimented environment of the scenic areas, where they must adhere to strict timetables and closed management. Initially, most Wa entertainers feel constrained by this new structure, but over time, they adapt and come to respect the rules of modern enterprises. In their day-to-day interactions, the theme park setting creates a unique milieu for multi-ethnic coexistence in the city (*Peng* 2016). Within this "backstage," various ethnic groups engage in communication and exchange, each bearing its own symbolic system. These small ethnic "cultural enclaves"

create a vibrant cultural space filled with diverse languages, complex ideas, and distinct customs, contrasting with the Mandarin-dominated urban culture. In this regard, the theme park functions as a "third space" (*Bhabha* 1994), enabling multiple cultures to interact and cross-reference each other. This facilitates a dialogue where cultures, despite their content differences and sharing formal similarities, can achieve mutual benefits and positive synergy, collectively enhancing their developmental potential (*Ren* 2008). The phenomenon of cultural coupling can also be reflected by observing the rural song and dance landscape. Songs and dances learned by the Wa entertainers from other ethnic groups in tourist spots are reintroduced to their home villages, enriching local performances and daily recreational activities. This cross-pollination not only enhances individual cultural capital but also diversifies the village's song and dance repertoire.

In a word, the dual embedding of the Wa entertainers between cities and villages, on the one hand, constructs the economic and social structure based on ethnicity in the city, and provides a beneficial mechanism for their members to continuously seek suitable identity positioning between cities and villages; on the other hand, it can also be regarded as a way to integrate modernity into rural areas. The role of the Wa entertainers as a "cultural bridge" between urban and rural areas offers a critical foundation for exploring strategies for transformation and sustainable development. This is particularly pertinent for discussions around the implementation of China's rural revitalization policy, which seeks to navigate the complexities and uncertainties faced by communities in transition.

Discussion and Conclusions

Based on the level of engagement between young individuals and rural communities, certain academics segment rural youth into three distinct categories: urbanized youth who have fully integrated into urban life, migrant youth who have encountered urban life yet maintain links to their rural origins, and indigenous rural youth who have spent a significant portion of their lives in rural areas (*Xia Zhu-zhi* 2019). Typically, urbanized youth exhibit little inclination to revert to rural settings, whereas rural youth frequently confront challenges such as a weak sense of agency and a scarcity of resources.

The Wa entertainers, functioning as migrant workers who have not undergone full urbanization, have garnered significant economic, social, and human capital through their professional mobility. This accumulation serves as a pivotal latent resource for advancing the rural revitalization efforts within the regions inhabited by the Wa community. However, limited by the general low education level of practitioners and the inherent defects of the informal economy, this group still faces severe challenges in achieving development and transformation in a highly uncertain environment. To this end, this paper discusses three aspects: from offline to online performance, "one area, one industry" in the off-site to on-site, and government investment in human capital to further promote the transformation of the Wa entertainers' group.

Let us analyze the first one, the shift from live performance to mediated performance. The COVID-19 pandemic has significantly disrupted urban tourism in China, leading to the suspension or digital adaptation of most live shows at tourist sites. As a result, the Wa entertainers, who once relied heavily on live performances for their income, faced considerable constraints. During this time, numerous Wa artists returned to their rural homes, finding themselves unexpectedly confined to the countryside. In response, some

Wa performers have leveraged their singing and dancing abilities to create “cloud-based” performances via new media platforms like short video apps and live streaming services, thereby visualizing and symbolizing their rural life experiences. Some of these individuals harnessed their accumulated fanbase and influence to generate income by promoting and selling rural agricultural products. Such media practices offer a novel and efficient pathway for the capital accumulation and career transformation of the Wa entertainers: they not only tap into various platform benefits and product sales for financial gain but also redefine their identities and roles through media engagement, transitioning from returning performers to online celebrities and ultimately evolving into “new farmers”. Although travel in China has largely shaken off the shackles of the pandemic, whether Wa ethnic artists will continue to maintain their media presence or return to live performance remains an open question requiring further investigation.

Another point is the motto “one area, one industry” in the shift of the performances from off-site to on-site venues. In the past, many Wa entertainers migrated from rural areas to the provincial capital of Kunming, and even to coastal cities in eastern China, in pursuit of greater opportunities. The new form of local industry emerging from their return is particularly noteworthy, as it concerns the future development and sense of belonging for these young individuals. For example, Mashan village, one of the export places of the Wa entertainers, occupies an important position in the history of the Wa at large. It is historically recognized as the first tribal settlement established by the Wa after they departed from Si Mgang. Today, owing to its abundant natural resources and the relatively intact preservation of the traditional Wa lifestyle, Mashan has the potential to evolve into a village with distinctive ethnic cultural features. Various levels of government have consecutively designated Mashan as a “National Key Village for Rural Tourism”, a “National Model Village for Ethnic Unity”, and a “Famous Tourism Village” in Yunnan province.

Driven by rural tourism, there is an obvious labor backflow trend in Mashan. Rural families diversify their income by hosting guests in their homes, thus combining farming activities with entertainment and education. Young people are selling Wa characteristic agricultural products and handicrafts through TikTok and other live-streaming platforms, while women have set up Wa Brocade cooperatives, which have successfully secured orders from many enterprises. Under the guidance of provincially recognized national intangible cultural heritage inheritors, the village has formed the “Yuwo” Wa art troupe and the Single-String Lyre performance ensemble; most of the members are the Wa entertainers who previously performed elsewhere. It can be seen that Mashan is at a critical juncture of transformation of the “one area, one industry” approach, moving from off-site to on-site. To achieve this transition and facilitate the return and stability of the Wa entertainers, it is essential to harness the synergistic power of mechanisms such as rural tourism, e-commerce, and the cultivation of farmer cooperatives, creating a supportive ecosystem that nurtures both cultural heritage and economic growth.

The next aspects are mentoring and human capital investment. As mentioned above, there are significant differences between the singing and dancing programs performed by the Wa entertainers and the “Wa tune” and the “circle dance” performed by the elderly people in the villages. These programs are carefully created by dedicated personnel and are characterized by intense rhythmic drums and exaggerated body movements. The series of physical skills used by the Wa entertainers in their performance are mastered through pre-employment training. However, their learning style is still rooted in the traditional lo-

cal inheritance mechanism, because the training still adopts the "mentoring" method, and its effectiveness is closely related to the physical sense that the Wa entertainers have long acquired in the village society.

The concept of "mentoring" underscores that the Wa entertainers typically learn without formal instruction from professional instructors, instead acquiring skills directly from seasoned performers. These experienced practitioners not only recruit newcomers to the field but also face the challenge of imparting their craft. Regarding dance learning, given its heavy reliance on bodily intuition, accurately emulating seasoned performers becomes crucial. Typically, the mentors will first exhibit the movements, elucidating the nuances of each gesture, before allowing learners to attempt them independently. Learners must meticulously recollect every detail of the mentor's demonstration, paying close attention to nuanced body postures, gestures, and expressions. Through persistent refinement of their movements and stances, learners cultivate a personal "body sense" evolving into a deeply ingrained physical habit. This method of honing physical habits via imitation stands as the paramount technique for enhancing the human capital of the Wa entertainers.

However, the effectiveness of this learning method hinges on the availability of mentors and resources (*Zhong*, *Jian* 2010). Within the village society, the younger generation acquires singing and dancing skills through direct participation in festivals and ceremonies, emulating the elders—referred to as *dax* in the Wa language, signifying respect and seniority. Elders may not provide detailed explanations but are quick to correct mistakes and respond to inquiries. Despite being repeatedly asked questions, they remain patient, embodying the ideal mentorship role. Yet, the repertoire of traditional "Wa Tone" and "Circle Dance" is inherently limited. Through daily labor, the Wa people develop a wealth of embodied knowledge, manifesting as an intuitive understanding of rhythm, coordination, and more. For young Wa entertainers, these embodied experiences hold the potential to transform into tangible economic capital within the performance field, but they must align with the physical techniques demanded by the performance domain. Consequently, for ambitious Wa artists seeking personal growth and professional development, relying solely on inherited knowledge or individual experience proves insufficient. Therefore, investing in human capital for the Wa entertainers is paramount, with education serving as the primary avenue. Prior to leaving their hometowns, entertainers should be equipped with the support of governmental bodies with pertinent information and skill sets, facilitating their integration into performing groups. Tourism enterprises, in turn, bear responsibility for offering professional training opportunities to artists as a complement to traditional mentorship practices. It is incumbent upon governmental agencies to construct a platform tailored to the needs of the Wa entertainers, ensuring that the human capital amassed off-site is efficiently channeled back into rural and agricultural sectors. This would significantly contribute to rural revitalization, bearing profound strategic implications.

References

Bhabha, H. K. 1994. *The Location of Culture (2nd ed.).* London, New York: Routledge. 440 p.

Bi Deng-cheng, and Sui Ga. 2009. *Si Mgang Līh (the Creation Epic of Wa People)*. Kunming: Yunnan People's Publishing House. 191 p.

Castile, G. P., and G. Kushner, G. (eds.). 1981. *Persistent Peoples: Cultural Enclaves in Perspective*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 296 p.

Chen Yan. 2022. Analysis of the Survival State of Wa Folk Song and Dance Artists under the Field Theory Perspective. *Beauty and Era* 2: 34–37.

Dong Guan-zhi. 2016. Theme Park's World View and China's Ambition. *Tourism Planning and Design* 1: 44–55.

Fiskesjö, M. 2015. Wa Grotesque: Headhunting Theme Parks and the Chinese Nostalgia for Primitive Contemporaries. *Ethnos* 80(4): 497–523. https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2014.939100

Geertz, C. 1983. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology.* New York: Basic Books, Inc. 244 p.

Hoppál, M. 2020. *Ethnosemiotics: Approaches to the Study of Culture*. Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press (China). 232 p.

Luhmann, N. 2006. System as Difference. *Organization* 13(1): 37–57. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508406059638

Ma Chong-wei. 2001a. The Application of Capitalization of a National Culture. *Ethno-National Studies* 1: 18–28;106–107.

Ma Chong-wei. 2001b. Festival Symbols of Yunnan Ethnic Minorities in the Economic Transforming Period. *Journal of Yunnan University of the Nationalities* 2: 67–71.

Ma Chong-wei. 2019. Construction of Knowledge Pedigree and Sharing of Human Wisdom: Focus on Intangible Cultural Heritage in China's Border Areas. *Thinking* 4: 22–32.

Peng Li. 2016. Discussion on Nationality Culture Theme Parks as a Comprehensive Carrier to Protect and Develop Nationality Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Region: An Analysis upon the Basis of Yunnan Nationalities Village. *Academic Exploration* 9: 151–156.

Ren Yi-ming. 2008. *Postcolonial: Critical Theory and Literature.* Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.

Wang Dan, and Zhang Yu. 2022. Research on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage Inheritors under the Age Structure: Based on the Perspective of Quantitative Analysis. *Journal of Qinghaiminzu University* 1: 140–153.

Wu Chong-qing. 2020. "Fellow Townsman": "Social Economy" or "Low-End Nationalization"? *Journal of Nanjing Agricultural University (Social Sciences Edition)* 5: 9–17.

Xia Xun-xiang. 2020. Enterprising "Localism" and the Self-urbanization of Farmers: With the Pastry Industry in Maoshi Town, Hubei Province as an Example. *Open Times* 4: 41–56; 5–6.

Xia Zhu-zhi. 2019. "Middle Youth" and the Path Choice of Rural Revitalization: An Introduction to the Advantages of the Youth Research Perspective. *China Youth Study* 8: 34–41.

Xing Jie, and Huang Jing-yi. 2021. Repositioning Translation System in Line with Luhmann's Social Systems Theory. *Chinese Translators Journal* 6: 15–22; 190.

Zheng Jia-jia. 2017. Leading to Cultural Space Consumption of Place Names: an Anthropological Study of the Place Names in the Core Area of Red River Hani Terrace. *Journal of Beifang University of Nationalities* 3: 49–54.

Zhong Zhen, and Jian Xiao-ying. 2010. A Study on the Learning Process of Rural Migrant Workers: A Survey in the Construction Sites in Beijing. *South China Population* 1: 57–64; 13.

UDC 39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/72-90
Original Article

DANCING THROUGH ANTHROPOLOGICAL BOUNDARIES: FEMALE ARTIST-ETHNOGRAPHERS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

This article examines the lives and works of five women who contributed to the field of anthropology in the mid-20th century, especially to the sub-discipline, anthropology of dance. It is about the African-American artist-anthropologists Katherine Dunham (1909–2006), Pearl Primus (1919–1994), Zora Neale Hurston (1891–1960), the Jewish-Ukrainian experimental filmmaker Maya Deren (1917–1961), and the American dancer and dance therapist Franziska Boas (1902–1988). Even though not all had formal anthropological training, they stood out for their creative achievements and theoretical approaches to accomplish an intersection between cultures, dance, education, social justice, and racial equality. As a female researcher in the anthropology of dance and the body, I find it particularly interesting to reconsider their innovative forms of ethnographic research and applied methodologies, including actively incorporating their bodies, creative ethnographic writing, and producing visual material challenging the anthropological canon. The aim is to delimit each ethnographer's key contributions and propose a strategy to provide a valuable base to develop post-colonial approaches for dance research, particularly on popular dance practice. I emphasize the innovative proposals regarding ethnographic fieldwork, documentation, visual anthropology, and a highly reflexive perspective combined with auto-ethnographic methodologies, which, at that time, were not considered in science or had yet to be developed. This contribution reinforces that these female anthropologists were visionary and their approaches should be revalued.

Keywords: *dance, ethnography, art, methodology, reflexivity*

Author Info: Koeltzsch, Grit Kirstin — Dr. (Social Sciences), MA (Theory and Methodology of Social Sciences), Assistant Professor and Researcher, CISOR/CONICET-National University of Jujuy, Argentina, Center for Indigenous and Colonial Studies (Avenida Bolivia 1239, 4600 San Salvador de Jujuy). E-mail: gkoeltzsch@fhycs.unju.edu.ar ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9331-0611

For citation: Koeltzsch, G. K. 2025. Dancing through Anthropological Boundaries: Female Artist-ethnographers in the 20th Century. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 72–90.

Funding: Archival work was supported by the grant "Travel to Collections — Research Scholar in the George A. Smathers Libraries" received from the University of Florida (U.F.) in 2019.

> Dance has been my vehicle. Dance has been my language, my strength. In the dance I have confided my most secret thoughts and shared the inner music of all mankind. I have danced across mountains and deserts, ancient rivers and oceans and slipped through the boundaries of time and space.
>
> Pearl Primus, 1983

Introduction

When students receive training in Anthropology and study the history of the discipline, they usually get the impression that it is a field dominated by a white male elite. When female anthropologists, such as Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict, finally appear in books, it must be admitted that they also belong to a kind of establishment and favored social group. This issue is nothing new; however, when I started my doctoral research with a focus on the anthropology of (popular) dances, I also began to question the taken-for-granted attitude that anthropology is a white male-dominated discipline, which it has been so for a long time, a fact that female issues were analyzed from a male gaze. In ethnography, "too often women and their roles are glossed over, under-analyzed, or absent from all but the edges of the description (*Reiter* 1975: 12). When it comes to dance, there is a tendency to trivialize such kind of research topics as often the academic in this field is also engaged with dance practice. However, in my doctoral thesis, I also tackled the issue of whether the sub-discipline anthropology of dance or dance ethnology considers Gertrude Kurath to be a precursor[1], among other women, trained at elite universities or dance academies (*Koeltzsch* 2021). Instead, I argue that dance anthropology and its beginnings go beyond the assumption of being a white elite discipline, as it is a science of diversity where women, immigrants, people from minority ethnic groups, and Afro-Americans contributed to the field. The problem is that they are usually not mentioned or have not received the corresponding work credits.

Considering the before-mentioned context, this paper aims to examine the lives and works of five women who contributed to the field of anthropology from the early mid-20th century, especially to the sub-discipline anthropology of dance. It is about the African-American artist-anthropologists Katherine Dunham (1909–2006), Pearl Primus (1919–1994), Zora Neale Hurston (1891–1960), the Jewish-Ukrainian experimental filmmaker Maya Deren (1917–1961), and the American dancer and dance therapist Franziska Boas (1902–1988). Even though not all of them had formal anthropological training, they stood out for their creative achievements and theoretical approaches to accomplish an intersection between cultures, dance, education, social justice, and racial equality.

Based on my initial question of why these women are not recognized in the discipline, I designed my research methodology with a focus on documentary analysis of material from important dance archives[2]. Furthermore, I carried out bibliographic research and applied bodily practices as a research tool, for example, taking lessons on the Dunham

[1] Kurath (1960) believed that dance ethnologists/ethnographers need in-depth training, including studying dance at top schools, such as Julliard and the best universities in the United States, as ideal conditions to initiate a career in dance research.

[2] In 2019, I earned a research grant from the University of Florida and carried out research at the Jerome Robbins Dance Division in New York.

Technique with Ned Williams Jr.[1] in New York, which allowed me to experience a practical approach from a disciple of Katherine Dunham. In some way, this also meant establishing personal contact. In addition, I tried to develop a further understanding of my body using performance auto-ethnography to actively immerse myself in comprehending kinesthetic sense and using cameras as tools for ethnographic research, especially considering what I learned from Maya Deren's work.

As a female researcher in the anthropology of dance and the body, I find it particularly interesting to reconsider their innovative forms of conducting ethnographic research and applied methodologies, including actively incorporating their bodies, creative ethnographic writing, and producing visual material challenging the anthropological canon. Therefore, this work aims to delimit the key contributions of each ethnographer, which are presented in the first part. In the second part, I outline a strategy for how the revealed information provides a helpful base for developing post-colonial approaches for dance research regarding popular dance practice. I emphasize the innovative proposals regarding ethnographic fieldwork, documentation, visual Anthropology, and a highly reflexive perspective combined with auto-ethnographic methodologies, which, at that time, were not considered in science or had not even been developed. In conclusion, to reinforce my assumption that these female anthropologists were visionary and that their approaches should be revalued in the field — these women made significant contributions to ethnography, dance theory, art, and methodology.

Artist, Researcher, and Educator: Katherine Dunham (1909–2006)

Katherine Dunham undoubtedly assumed a pioneering role in theoretical and artistic work within Dance Anthropology. However, she is not officially granted this role because few female anthropologists were recognized in the mid-20th century and because of her alternative approach combining dance research and performance. As Garcia (2017) recognizes, when she started her academic career at the University of Chicago in 1928, Dunham found herself in a world of racial and male-dominated anthropological discourses and practices. This situation has changed, albeit slowly.

Important to mention is that Katherine Dunham has always worked as an artist, researcher, and educator, considering her diasporic experience as an African-American woman, which resonates artistically and academically. A major issue of her research was to rethink the articulation of movement and the modern body. Due to her experience with dance from a very young age, movement was normal for her in different life situations (*Dunham* 1959). When she began to observe and study other groups' dances, she became aware of this "normality" of expressing herself through dancing. Therefore, she did not want to focus on the behavior of others as something exotic (*Dunham* 2005). Methodologically, she kept this aspect in mind throughout her work. Her theoretical contribution aimed to explain that dance fulfills different functions, establishing four criteria in her thesis "The dances of Haiti: form and function, organization and material aspects" (*Dunham* 1947). She established that dance is an individual or collective rhythmic notion for any of the following purposes (*Dunham* 2005: 510): 1. Play. Dancing for no other apparent reason than to amuse; 2. Release and

[1] Ned Williams Jr. (1930–2021) was born in Walterboro, SC, migrated to New York to work, and then began attending classes at Katherine Dunham School, where he earned a scholarship and became a member and performer with the Dunham Experimental Group.

building of emotional and physical tension. For example, sacred dances, funeral dances, and war dances; 3. Establishment of social cohesion or solidarity. This category includes all carnival dances; 4. Exhibition of skill. This would be individually or in a group, either the demonstration of amateur spontaneity or professional virtuosity.

One of her concerns was to link what is called popular dance and stage dance. Dunham compares both forms and concludes that: "As in the primitive community, specific movement patterns might be related to certain functions, so in the modern theater, there would be a correlation between a dance movement and the function of that dance within the framework of the theater" (*Dunham* 2005: 513). It becomes clear that she constantly transgressed the borders between anthropological research, performing in theaters, creating a modern dance technique, and appearing in Broadway musicals. Her broad knowledge of cultural patterns made it possible to bring diverse ethnic dances to the modern stage. Moreover, in the piece "Cabin in the Sky", she establishes a connection between dance in the carnival — whose function is sexual stimulation and liberation– through a Broadway musical. From Dunham's example of the interplay between everyday folk dances and professional stage dance, I applied this lens to my research, arguing that social actors also blur the lines between dance in everyday life and dramatizing it through movement (*Koeltzsch*, *Cruz* 2021a; 2021b). This shows that most popular dances happen in the same way, both in the community and on an artistic stage. This vision contributed to overcoming certain ambiguities in positioning dance between "science and art" or "exhibition and entertainment". According to Dunham (*Dunham* 2005: 515) this conflict does not arise in "primitive societies", as dance is accepted as a functional element, both on a personal and community level.

Fig. 1. Katherine Dunham. Photo: Department of Special and Area Studies Collections University of Florida, George A. Smathers Libraries Belknap, Collection, 34/G/6, Box 1

With her stage performances using a variety of ethnic elements, Dunham focused

on folk knowledge as an essential approach and dance as a meaningful practice, which stems from her anthropological training and from the perspective of her mentor, Melville Herskovits, who, at the time, sought to demystify black culture and the prejudices of American society regarding the history of African American people (*Herskovits* 1958). Both researchers tried to prioritize the informants' articulations. However, in Dunham's case, she highlights self-reflexivity by critically analyzing her entry into the field as an African American woman working with an Afro-descendant population in Haiti, recognizing her subjectivities, femininity, and belonging to the lower-middle class.

In "Island Possessed" she describes through a 'dense description' her first contact with the elite and aristocracy of Haiti that cuts across issues of race, detecting an upper-middle class behavior, more French than American, and that women have almost no contact with guests, being reduced to servant roles (*Dunham* 1994: 23). In 1936 when she first went to Haiti for fieldwork, she was a young woman, African American, a graduate student, traveling alone, which was not very usual at that time.

I would also like to point out her activism for racial equality, considering that embodied expressive culture was an essential tool for African descendants. However, she also recognized the international dimensions of the African diaspora to get involved in political activism and against racism (*Dee Das* 2017).

Analyzing her artistic work, it becomes clear that Dunham tried to learn dances from different cultures of the American continent (including Brazil, Andean dances, Tango, Caribbean, and Afro-American dances), but also from Africa and Asia. This fact contributed theoretically and artistically but was also used as an educational tool to foster intercultural communication. She developed a view towards human beings and recognized the emotions involved, but she did not apply categories such as race. As Katherine Dunham states: "I don't see any color in what we do. I see human emotions. It's only a fortunate accident that I have hit upon and used material chiefly of people with Negro backgrounds. But I feel I'd failed miserably if I were doing dance confirmed in technique or audience satisfaction to race, color, or creed. I don't think that it would be art, which is something that has to do with universal truth and a set of fundamental ideas, evaluations, and appreciations" (interview with *Elias* 1956: 17).

In other words, she tried to bring the dances to an audience not by racial criteria, of "color" or beliefs, but by considering them the most human expressions. She recognized dance as philosophy, in the search for understanding the human body, ourselves in contact with others, and thus, life itself. On the other hand, her diasporic affinity was always present, closely linked to Haiti, in a world organized in nation-states, which was of constant concern to her. She thus felt a diasporic tension because of "the disjunction between the symbolic uses of a place and the lived experience of people" (*Dee Das* 2017: 153).

In conclusion, this is only a short review of Katherine Dunham's immense oeuvre and her effort to combine an anthropological perspective with popular culture on and off stage, allowing her to disseminate her work effectively.

The Power of Dance: Pearl Primus (1919–1994)

Pearl Primus was born in Port of Spain (Trinidad and Tobago); as a child, she moved to the United States with her parents as labor migrants. However, even uprooted, her family never abandoned African and Trinidadian traditions; her grandfather was a voodoo doctor

and percussionist (*Glover* 1989: 2). Pearl Primus can be considered a dancer, anthropologist, and educator who had a significant impact on American arts and culture in the 20th century. She often used her dances and performances to protest the conditions of African Americans; above all, she brought ancient African dances to America after conducting fieldwork and learning dances on the African continent (*Schwartz*, *Schwartz* 2011). Her academic career was far from easy; after studying biology and pre-medicine, she could not find a job in a laboratory and failed to pursue a career in medicine because of racial obstacles. While working in various jobs, she trained in dance and studied education and psychology to complete a master's degree in Psychology at Hunter College in New York. Furthermore, she studied modern dance techniques with Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, and Charles Weidman. Her knowledge of the human body acquired in undergraduate classes in biology and medicine helped her considerably to understand the body's anatomy concerning bodily movements. Thus, within a short time and without specific training in her childhood, she learned the modern dance techniques of the masters, as mentioned above (*Glover* 1989: 31–32). In 1944, she founded her own dance company, allowing her to develop her method of blending African-American, Caribbean, and African dance styles with modern dance techniques.

Pearl Primus finally combined all her knowledge and experiences to start a doctorate in Anthropology at Columbia University. However, she then switched to New York University (NYU), earning her PhD in Anthropology in 1978 with her thesis entitled "An Anthropological Study of Masks as Teaching Aids in the Enculturation of Mano Children". One significant achievement was obtaining permission from NYU to dance her dissertation defense, which is, until today, an almost impossible undertaking due to academic rules and formal requirements. She intended that a successful presentation would open "a new dimension in teaching for other artists, musicians, and painters" (quoted in *Glover* 1989: 123).

In her creations, she incorporated academic and practical knowledge combined with inspiration; Primus considered dance a mirror to get to know other people, cultures, and people's behavior and psychology, especially observing issues related to the body and dance. Her observations included the ways of life of the humble people of the Southern states of the USA, living with them, and sharing the activities in their "black" churches (*Welsh Asante* 1994: X). In this way, developing a self-reflexive perspective, as Pearl Primus explains: "What I have been trying to express in my dancing is the culture of the Negro people. This has taken me into the field of Anthropology. I have to know the political, economic, and social life of people in order to explain them to others. Anthropology explains different peoples to one another by laying bare their cultural backgrounds" (cited in *Glover* 1989: 33).

In her theoretical approaches, she tried to demystify the vision of the "Puritan ethic" regarding African dances, considering them not having artistic forms, not being demanding, and emphasizing sexual content. Primus was convinced that art should not be set apart from some cultures as there is diversity and a broad understanding of art (*Glover* 1989). Her ideas emerged from fieldwork studying dances of more than 30 tribal groups during a year in Africa, mainly by participating in them. Later, this approach was called observant participation. Primus understood the meanings of these dances and the movements as involving her own body in the process. She wanted modern societies and academia to understand the value of dance studies, including dance as an art form, a tool for personal expression, understanding cultures, and bringing human groups together (*Glover* 1989: 129).

Like Katherine Dunham, she was engaged in scholarly research on African-American dance. Both women combined their artistic innovations with graduate work in Anthropology, a strategy that is effortful and deserves respect, and above all, it also marked their performances (*DeFrantz* 2004: 52). Both researched dance, music, art, and rituals related to Afro-Latin American cultures which should have been recognized. They were the first professionally trained black dancers who also applied an academic approach relating dance to their ancestry, which means, somehow, they introduced an auto-ethnographic perspective to dance studies. They were pioneers in education, setting up their schools and groups to contribute to the training of black artists. Both women were recognized artists with tours in America and the rest of the world. Primus created original pieces for modern dance involving her experiences of being a black woman in America (*Glover* 1989: 51). However, the fact that she danced at nightclubs, Broadway, and theaters alike, combining both her formal training and her curiosity about her African ancestors and diaspora could have been an obstacle to academic recognition.

Zora Neale Hurston: Anthropologist on the Edge of Canonical History (1891–1960)

Zora Neale Hurston was born in Notasulga, Alabama, but spent much time in Eatonville, Florida, always mentioning the latter as her birthplace. She studied at Howard University (taking language and literature), later at Barnard College, a women's college associated with Columbia, and thus trained in the tradition of Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead. Under the supervision of Franz Boas, she studied Anthropology and was to be the first black woman to graduate from this university. With her academic training and the sup-

Fig. 2. Pearl Primus in Prayer of Thanksgiving, Zaire. Photo: Jerome Robbins Dance Division, The New York Public Library. 1950–1959). Retrieved from https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/97ca5180-4bfa-013b-e88a-0242ac110003

port of Franz Boas, she began extensive fieldwork in the South of the United States, Eatonville (Florida), Haiti, Jamaica, the Bahamas, and Honduras, documenting cultural and religious traditions. She used ethnographic data to reconstruct people's lives, and folklore became a typical characteristic of her novels. She published many texts of diverse genres.

Zora Neale Hurston should be considered a novelist and a cultural anthropologist who was exceptionally gifted in writing. She conducted ethnographic work on music, dance, folklore, black cultures, and social issues, applying specific fieldwork techniques. Nowadays, this would be called the "postmodern approach", searching for new forms of ethnographic experience, using different interpretive techniques and innovative writing. Early on, she mixed genres in ethnographic writing, somehow anticipating anthropological approaches (*McClaurin* 2012).

As a methodological strategy, she rejects the authority of the insider/outsider position. She suggests that ethnographers cannot create spaces for themselves in societies where anthropologists define people as objects or others to view through the lens of the spyglass (*Hernández* 1993: 353). Her novel "Mules and Men" (1935) is an ethnography of African-American folklore in the Southern states where she recognizes her belonging to the black communities. It is about the community, and as she admits, no matter how much education she receives, she will always be "Zora" (*Hurston* 1990: 2). At that time, she developed an essential capacity for self-reflection, which permeates all her work.

In 1932, she took the initiative and presented herself through letters to a professor (Dr. Grover) of Rollins College (Florida), sending proposals to carry out a series of activities within the Anthropology and Music Department, such as concerts of black music, dances, and the presentation of folk tales. She called her project "Negro Theatre", for which she also applied for national grants. She could sustain her ideas well, and Edwin Grover supported her projects and publications, recognizing her excellent work. It is worth noting that Zora Neale Hurston can be considered an example of black women's agency at a time even more difficult than today, seeking to enter the academic sphere without social and economic capital.

Regarding her artistic creations and concerts, I would like to mention the piece "The Great Day", a program of original black folklore. It is one of her artistic works for the stage, combining various black Caribbean dances, music, and performances. It is advertised as a "powerful" program to bring black folklore and spirituality in its "authentic" form. In the historical context, considering the situation in the U.S. in the 1930s, this was an achievement as the play greatly impacted the general public. It was the result of several years of fieldwork observations. Despite emphasizing the African roots of Afro-American dance but analyzing it in more detail, Kraut (*Kraut* 2001: 71) proposes a more complex interpretation. "The Great Day" is a narrative that expresses a heterogeneous vision of the African diaspora, a discontinuity between America, Africa, and Caribbean folklore, and, somehow, anticipating "the black Atlantic" (*Kraut* 2001: 71). The latter is a notion of Paul Gilroy (1993), who not only thought in terms of continuity but also, above all, in the trajectories, ruptures, and cultural exchanges that are equally constitutive of the black diaspora.

Nevertheless, some critics claim that Zora Neale Hurston explicitly left aside the political question. In contrast, other critics find it between the lines of her descriptions (*Robbins* 1991: 6). I think, within all the discussions, the auto-ethnographic attempts should be recognized, as her production can be placed between autobiography and fiction, which enriches anthropological studies, in the same way as her novels were inspired by the cultural worlds of real-life African Americans, a transgression that challenges academic categorization.

Finally, I want to mention a posthumous work called "Barracoon", published for the first time in 2018. It is a non-fiction book, a life story, the account of an eyewitness of the last survivor of the slave trade. The manuscript is a historical document that no one wanted to publish during Zora Neale Hurston's lifetime. It is about the personal story of Oluale Kossola, also known as Cudjo Lewis, who was taken to North America on the last slave ship in 1860. In 1927, Zora Neale Hurston interviewed Oluale Kossola (he was 86 at the time of recording) about his life: his youth in present-day Benin, his capture and placement in the so-called "barracks," where enslaved people were locked up for sale, his time in Alabama, his liberation, and his subsequent search for his roots and identity in a country called the United States, which was highly racist in post-slavery times and during the 20th century, but somehow until present. An interesting fact is that Zora Neale Hurston lets the protagonist speak as a *griot*[1], she does not intervene; it is an unadorned narrative with authentic language.

Fig. 3. Zora Neale Hurston at Federal Writer's Project booth at New York Times Book Fair. Photo: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Photographs and Prints Division, The New York Public Library. "Digital Collections. 1937. Retrieved from: https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/898ec0bf-39fb-92e7-e040-e00a18063ff1

Finally, even though this is only a summary of her work, it reflects her approaches and methodologies, such as life history, developing anthropological writing techniques, and reflexivity, which should be recognized within Anthropology. However, there is also the issue of human dignity and keeping memory; Zora Neale Hurston was not even recognized in society; when she died, her belongings were burnt, and she was buried in an unmarked grave in Fort Pierce (Florida).

[1] "In parts of West Africa, someone who passes on their society's history, especially through stories, poems, and music, and who participates in ceremonies such as weddings and funerals". Definition: Cambridge Dictionary. Source: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/griot.

Dance in Human Societies: Franziska Boas (1902–1988)

Undoubtedly, Franziska Boas was much more than "just" the daughter of the famous anthropologist Franz Boas. She was a woman committed to developing new forms of dance and dance education, an activist for racial equality and social justice. However, she also worked on therapeutic approaches to dance. Franziska Boas was educated in public schools in Englewood, N.J., and in 1923, received a B. A. degree in Zoology and Chemistry from Barnard College. In addition, she was trained in dance, percussion, and arts. In 1933, she founded and directed the Boas School of Dance in New York. She developed improvisational modern dance theories advocating for percussion accompaniment for dance.

As Franz Boas' daughter, she was acquainted with anthropological theory and its disciplinary particularities, which is reflected in her ethnographic works and theoretical contributions to the field. Her concern was focused on the function of dance in human societies, so she conducted seminars on this subject and published her research (*Boas* 1972). She carried out fieldwork with the Kwakiutl on the Northwest coast of North America (Vancouver Island, BC), observing the daily life of this group and how dance plays a significant role from the cradle to the grave, as mothers comfort their babies with songs marking the rhythm beats with their feet from the very beginning of life. Boas detects the importance of dances for the Kwakiutl and analyzes the social and religious ceremonies where solo dancers frequently appear while group dances are rarely performed. In addition, she pays attention to different body techniques, such as the importance of the position of the knees, and that the ability to use the knees is a criterion for the Kwakiutl themselves to evaluate the performance of their members, whether male or female dancers (*Boas* 1972).

An important theoretical-methodological aspect is that dance studies contribute considerably to investigating non-verbal articulations. Furthermore, dance is vital in life, not only in "exotic" societies. Boas also analyzed contemporary society at her time and the dances performed by social actors in the streets and parks in New York. However, she also points out critical educational aspects regarding movement (*Boas* 1972). She relates dance to certain lifestyles, considering the urban dance movements (break dance and hip hop) that emerged in the 1970s in New York. Other theoretical contributions are her analyses of psychological and educational approaches and the development of fantasy and emotions through dance, emphasizing that the individual is more than a physical body (*Boas* 1942). She examines these issues for educational purposes, working with diverse groups of students. In this way, she simultaneously considers aspects related to the body, sensory experiences, and therapies with contributions to child psychiatry. She published the results (*Bender*, *Boas* 1941) of her research based on observations of children in the Psychiatric Division of Bellevue Hospital using music and spontaneous dance to treat and train children.

Another primary concern was integrating all groups and human experiences in dance. Doing voluntary work in a hospital, Franziska Boas pioneered the development of dance therapy, particularly its application for children with schizophrenia. Thus, she recommends modern dance as an art form that embraces all human beings' expressions, movements, and philosophies. Following her approach, "Modern dance must continue to explore the ways of men and women in all their activities. It must learn from movements and philosophy of all age groups and all types: from the healthy and the physically disabled, from the mentally integrated, and the neurotic. It must learn from the successful action and interaction of small and large groups, from war and peace. It must turn into its substance the experience of working people in every sort of occupation and industry, going to and from work, and during their work and at play" (*Boas* 1972: 2).

Fig. 4. Boas, Franziska. Photo: Julian Garret, Jerome Robbins Dance Division and Archive, The New York Public Library. MGZEA, NYPY680034015-F.

An important aspect is that she recognized the importance of movement and that society consists of various groups and individuals who have a social influence regarding movements, e.g., observing a worker going to work and back home. These situations are reflected in bodily articulations, which should motivate artists and researchers to destroy their "own gods" and to start "humbly at the bottom of the ladder" (*Boas* 1972: 2) to understand their movements and motivations. In other words, this is the beginning of self-consciousness as a researcher and reflexivity, a concept that anthropology has developed since the 1980s.

Beyond being a dancer and researcher, Franziska Boas was actively involved in dance education. As mentioned, in 1933, she opened her own dance school, and in 1944, another one together with Katherine Dunham, with whom she shared a common interest in education and anti-racist activism (*Dee Das* 2017). As an educator, she reaffirmed her commitment to society. Ascending from a family strongly marked by humanist ideals, she considered dance a political act, a form of social activism, and interracial interaction, generating opportunities for her students to create dance pieces during her workshops. Boas actively participated in the Civil Rights Movement and was concerned about social rights and racial injustice. Regarding her personal history, she had to cope with both anti-Semitic and homophobic insults because of her family's Jewish background and for having sexual relationships with women.

Finally, it is worth noting her conviction that all dances should be taken seriously and that it is not trivial entertainment. She clarified that dance makes it possible to acquire personal and communal knowledge in exchange students. During her last stage of life, for financial reasons, she moved first to Georgia and then to Sandisfield, Mass., where she taught dance to older adults in the community. Franziska Boas was less well-known

as a professional dancer or choreographer in modern dance than other women in the 20th century. However, she was able to combine her talent for dance with a wide range of professional branches, as well as social concern and commitment. Unfortunately, she is also not recognized in the field of (dance) anthropology. However, her contribution to dance research and education is considerable as she developed a unique approach, focusing on using dance to connect oneself with the body and others rather than proficiency in technique.

Crossroads: Anthropology and Filmmaking. Maya Deren (1917–1961)

Eleanora Derenkowskaya (*Елеонора Соломонівна Деренковська*)[1] was born in 1917 in Kyiv (today, Ukraine) during the Russian Revolution. She emigrated as a child with her Jewish family to New York, where her father shortened the family name to Deren and set up his psychiatric practice. She was a student activist in college and finished her B.A. degree at New York University in 1936. Her interest in dance led her to join the company of Katherine Dunham and accompany her as secretary on a national tour. Maya Deren can be considered a dancer, ethnographer, philosopher, and "visual poet"; above all, she gave birth to the American avant-garde film movement of the postwar era in America.

The contact with Katherine Dunham allowed her to acquire ethnographical knowledge. She became fascinated with Haitian dance and was particularly interested in the voodoo ritual. In 1947, she earned a Guggenheim Fellowship, which allowed her to fund fieldwork in Haiti. Her work was the beginning of a new approach to visual ethnographic research and ethnographic writing simultaneously. As DeBouzek (*DeBouzek* 1990: 7) recognizes, Deren approaches Haiti and voodoo as an artist-ethnographer with a different, non-authoritative perspective, furthermore, without formal constructions of supposed objectivity that was considered the only valid outcome in Anthropology. Maya Deren had already recognized that subjectivity cannot be separated from the researcher; thus, she included her perceptions and self-observations in ethnographic work.

It is worth noting here that the first writings on modernist film theory included dance and ritual. Deren's first article was published in 1942 and entitled "Religious Possession in Dancing", but she also describes the notion of "ritual" as "ritualistic both in form and content" (*Jackson* 2001: 50); for example, in her visual work "Ritual in Transfigured Time" (1946). She captured the experimental image of emotional and non-rational bodies, the bodily experience, and what a human being experiences in various situations. Her distinctive camera movement and sensuous approach are noticeable. As Evans (*Evans* 2022: 143) describes: "her innovative use of 16 mm film and essays setting out her aesthetic philosophy explored various modernist concerns, including experiments in non-linear time (what she termed "vertical" as opposed to "horizontal" time) and disjointed space through experimental techniques such as the jump cut. Deren was particularly interested in how these experiments with time and space could allow the film to work together with dance in a way that exceeded the possibilities of the theatre stage.

Her participation, dance movements, and cinematic techniques are innovative and establish a new approach regarding embodiment and multiple experiences of subjects within a culture. Later in anthropological theory, this was called "embodiment", as a new paradigm in anthropological research introduced by Csordas (1990). Maya Deren combines myth and ritual in dance and film, capturing the fluid and spontaneous movement of the Haitian ritual

[1] Ukranian spelling.

by tracing the process of possession. In this way, she created the most innovative representation method with the use of art in ethnography (*Hurd* 2007: 58).

Another contribution I derive from Deren's ethnography is towards an epistemology of the body, understanding the body as a carrier of knowledge. As DeBouzek summarizes, "Deren's description is evocative and sensual; above all, it emphasizes the importance of the human body as a transmitter of cultural knowledge" (*DeBouzek* 1992: 17). However, unfortunately, from the disciplinary field of Anthropology, Maya Deren was never recognized as an anthropologist. Indeed, her contribution was often denied. Interestingly, Alfred Metraux dismissed her work as "pseudoscientific", but later, in his research on Haiti (*Metraux* 1959), he repeatedly cites Maya Deren's data (see *DeBouzek* 1992: 9).

Fig. 5. Maya Deren. Still from the experimental short film "Meshes of the Afternoon", 1943.
Photo: Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository

Finally, her work was characterized by a humanistic approach through a gradual process of introspection. Deren (*Deren* 1983: 247–262) describes in detail her personal encounter and participation in a voodoo ritual in the chapter "White Darkness". Her human sensitivity made her understand not only the spiritual relationships but also the extensive empirical knowledge of Haitians about their "cosmo-vision", which she captures in movements, images, and ethnographic writing.

Perspectives of Visionary Women for Dance Analysis in Anthropology

Revising their diverse academic and artistic productions, these women anticipated three key concepts of postmodern anthropology (embodiment, reflexivity, auto-ethnography), which are helpful for transdisciplinary dance studies and general anthropological approaches. I want to point out the visionary approach to thinking bodily, considering emotion, movement, and sensorial issues to develop research methodologies from the body, thus including self-observation (auto-ethnography) and performative work to enhance ethnographic data.

These female anthropologists developed diverse narrative forms beyond what is called "objective" ethnography; they applied humanist ethics and aesthetics and recognized the ethnographer as a subject, therefore, as participants, i.e., all of us can be considered as textual and kinetic ethnographic bodies. One important finding is the development of visual methods and techniques to reveal ethnographic data, particularly by Maya Deren. However, all of them were performers who were actively involved in society and all social classes, which helped to disseminate anthropological research beyond the academy. Their engagement in education for professional and non-professional dancers and the general public is remarkable. Katherine Dunham, for example, opened a museum in East St. Louis, IL, in 1977, which not only exposes cultural objects but also includes a Community Service Program with diverse cultural activities. All women promoted initiatives and active participation in art, education, and society, which can be interpreted as diverse (black) feminism due to their heterogeneous education and experience and their social condition.

After studying their oeuvre, I started implementing their approaches in my research, which is not easy considering the boundaries of "traditional" anthropological research. However, I experimented with visual methods, montage, and bodily approaches in several instances. I will briefly give two examples.

Firstly, in 2019, during a research visit for archival work in New York, I took classes on the Dunham Technique, which involves polyrhythmic dance styles in continual motion, to understand the practical vision of Katherine Dunham. Katherine Dunham developed this specific technique, combining dance movements of Caribbean and African cultures with European-style ballet; however, during lessons, there is no other music than live drums. Dunham's disciple, Ned Williams Jr., was still teaching at 89 when I met him. Getting in contact and learning from him was a unique experience. Even though I have danced my whole life, and as far as I remember from my childhood onwards, I have also taken lessons in different dance styles, including classical ballet; I do not have professional dance preparation. Before starting the classes with Ned, I had mentioned this. However, he applied strict rules and accuracy with everybody. When he started drumming and giving instructions, I concentrated on following the lesson, which was challenging. When I saw myself in the mirror, I knew I was not a teenager anymore, and I wished I could have been more trained to enjoy this situation more. It had been a long time ago when I last stood in such a dance studio. From my late twenties onwards, I just enjoyed dancing without any pressure of becoming perfect, mainly focusing on Brazilian dances. In Ned's class, committing even a tiny mistake made him criticize me and repeat the exercise over and over again. Sometimes, he was rude and kind at the same time. I remember him shouting at me: "You are pretty and have a good presence, but your leg muscles must be stronger". There I was, a 46-year-old woman experiencing a new technique and teaching method, making me travel back in time, but also reflecting on different issues. His bodily presence somehow made me connect with this past period when Afro-American dancers tried to be recognized within a racist society, a fact that also hardens people. I read about Katherine Dunham's strict teaching style; she wanted her students to achieve the best results. As a dancer and for my research, I took this experience to observe my own body and dancing differently, particularly my muscles and how they also construct a language interacting with other bodies (see *Figures 6 and 7*). After returning home from New York, I started focusing on strengthening my leg muscles with specific exercises. The muscles are our rhetoric and emotional tools to reveal our interior existence.

The second aspect I want to mention is the visual work with a camera, considering Maya Deren's contributions and aesthetics. I experimented with slow motion and self-recording my movements, (see *Figures 6 and 7*), often randomly taken, not posing. I use an ordinary Xiaomi cell phone to take videos and photos. In the piece "Human and non-human dancing bodies"[1] I explored my movements and connection with my dogs, who always join me when improvising at home. These exercises are essential beyond intellectual work, as they help us recognize that we cannot escape from specific subjectivities and that we all have some embodied lenses. Furthermore, I was inspired by Deren's "Meshes of the Afternoon" and the work with shadows as an example of expressing mental uncertainty through pictures and unpacking emotions as valid as written narratives. The pictures are a microscope of time observing the most casual activities "to reveal in them a texture of emotional and psychological complexes" (*Deren* 1946: 47). These observations help me to understand the profound human complexity of expression.

Fig. 6 and 7. My muscles, my expression, my memory. Kinesthetic practice at home. Photos: Grit K. Koeltzsch, 2023

[1] See https://vimeo.com/user113027045

Conclusion

The overview of these five female pioneers in Anthropology gives insight into their approaches and shows that they stood out for developing diverse fieldwork methodologies and self-reflexive approaches. They made significant contributions to the sub-discipline Anthropology of Dance because they understood dance and movement as transformative forces beyond muscular and gravitational limitations and the importance of the human body as a transmitter of cultural and embodied knowledge.

Furthermore, there is also a personal issue. These women strengthened me in difficult moments in my career when I had doubts about choosing the proper discipline when I was criticized or ignored for sometimes not doing mainstream Anthropology, and when I felt misunderstood. Reading their work and watching their dance made me recognize my embodied knowledge, which was an impulse to continue and follow my road inspired by these role models who provided me with their knowledge and are women who reflect me.

Partly to answer my initial question, the discipline of Anthropology may still have a problem with alternative and art-based methods, especially transdisciplinary approaches, but also recognizing diverse feminisms and different femininities. We all bring our backgrounds and experiences to our research, including a different understanding of feminism. Katherine Dunham, Pearl Primus, Zora Neale Hurston, Franziska Boas, and Maya Deren were strong personalities, following their visions and leaving a legacy we should recognize and honor.

Archives

Jerome Robbins Dance Division and Archive, The New York Public Library.

Library of Congress, Franziska Boas Collection. https://infomotions.com/sandbox/liam/pages/httphdllocgovlocmusiceadmusmu006001.html

Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division.

University of Florida, Belknap Collection, George A. Smathers Library, 34/G/6, Katherine Dunham, Boxes 1–3.

University of Florida, Special and Area Studies Collections. Zora Neale Hurston Papers, Correspondence.

Visual sources

Hard Time Blues (Pearl Primus), performed by Paul Dennis 2014: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HKGrHKkkzzE

Maya Deren on film: https://archive.org/details/Maya_Deren_on_film

Maya Deren. A Study in Choreography for Camera (1945): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v-Dk4okMGiGic

Maya Deren. Meshes of the Afternoon (1943) — Maya Deren (Original Music by Feona Lee Jones): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JoETYvwI7I0

Pearl Primus, African American Dancer and Anthropologist: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cwzRe7sZa0A

Selections from the Katherine Dunham Collection. https://www.loc.gov/collections/katherine-dunham/about-this-collection/

References

Bender, L. and F. Boas. 1941. Creative Dance in Therapy. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 11 (2): 235–244.

Boas, F. 1942. Psychological Aspects in the Practice and Teaching of Creative Dance. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 2 (7): 3–20.
Boas, F. 1949. The Negro and the Dance as an Art. *Phylon* 10 (1): 38–42.
Boas, F. 1972. *The Function of Dance in Human Society*. New York: Dance Horizons. 63 p.
Csordas, T. J. 1990. Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology. *Ethos* 18 (1): 5–47.
DeBouzek, J. 1992. Maya Deren: A Portrait of the Artist as Ethnographer. *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 5(2): 7–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/07407709208571150
Dee Das, J. 2017. *Katherine Dunham: Dance and the African Diaspora*. New York: Oxford University Press. 288 p.
DeFrantz, T. 2004. *Dancing Revelations: Alvin Ailey's Embodiment of African American Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press. 320 p.
Deren, M. 1947. *An Anagram of Ideas on Art, Form and Film.* Yonkers, New York: The Alicat Book Shop Press. 52 p.
Deren, M. 1983. *Divine Horsemen. The Living Gods of Haiti*. Kingston, New York: McPherson. 350 p.
Dunham, K. 1947. *The Dances of Haiti.* Mexico, D. F.: Escuela Nacional de la Antropología e Historia. 124 p.
Dunham, K. 1959. *A Touch of Innocence*. New York: Harcourt, Brace. 312 p.
Dunham, K. 2005. *Kaiso! Writings by and about Katherine Dunham*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 718 p.
Elias, A. J. 1956. Conversation with Katherine Dunham. *Dance Magazine* (February 1956).
Evans, E. 2022. The "White Darkness". *Angelaki* 27 (3–4): 143–162. https://doi.org/10.1080/0969725X.2022.2093972
Garcia, D. F. 2017. *Listening for Africa. Freedom, Modernity and the Logic of Black Music's African Origins*. Durham: Duke University Press. 376 p.
Gilroy, P. 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. London: Verso. 261 p.
Glover, J. R. 1989. *Pearl Primus: Cross-Cultural Pioneer of American Dance*. Master Thesis, The American University, Washington, D.C.
Hernández, G. 1993. Multiple Mediations in Zora Neale Hurston's Mules and Men. *Critique of Anthropology* 13 (4): 351–362. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X9301300404
Herskovits, M. J. 1958. *The Myth of the Negro Past*. Boston: Beacon Press. 368 p.
Hurd, M. G. 2007. *Women Directors and Their Films*. Westport, CT: Praeger. 192 p.
Hurston, Z. N. 1990. *Mules and Men*. New York: Harper Perennial. 309 p.
Hurston, Z. N. 2020. *Barracoon: Die Geschichte des letzten amerikanischen Sklaven.* München: Penguin Verlag (e-book).
Jackson, R. 2001. The Modernist Poetics of Maya Deren. In *Maya Deren and the American Avant-Garde*, ed. by B. Nichols. Berkeley: University of California Press. 47–76.
Koeltzsch, G. K. 2021. *Performance dancística en la cultura popular en el contexto global. Danza y corporalidad en el Noroeste Argentino (NOA)* [Dance Performance in Popular Culture in the Global Context. Dance and Corporality in the Argentine Northwest]. Ph.D. diss., National University of Jujuy, Argentina.
Koeltzsch, G. K., and E. N. Cruz. 2021a. El placer del movimiento — cuerpos y danzas populares amefricanos en Argentina [The Pleasure of Movement — African Bodies and Popular Dances in Argentina]. *ESFERAS* 19: 129–137. http://dx.doi.org/10.31501/esf.v0i19.12871
Koeltzsch, G. K. and E. N. Cruz. 2021b. Cuerpos como voces plenas. Un montaje polifónico [Bodies as Full Voices. A Polyphonic Montage]. *ESFERAS* 19: 153–158.
Kraut, A. 2001. Re-scripting Origins: Zora Neale Hurston's Staging of Black Vernacular Dance. In *Embodying Liberation: The Black Body in American Dance,* ed. by D. Fischer-Hornung, A. D. Goeller. Münster: LIT Verlag. 59–78.
Kurath, G. P. 1960. Panorama of Dance Ethnology. *Current Anthropology* 1 (3): 233–254.

Lamothe, D. 2008. *Inventing the New Negro: Narrative, Culture, and Ethnography*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 232 p.

McClaurin, I. 2012. Zora Neale Hurston: Enigma, Heterodox, and Progenitor of Black Studies. *Fire!!!* 1 (1): 49–67. https://doi.org/10.5323/fire.1.1.0049

Metraux, A. 1959. *Voodoo in Haiti.* New York: Schocken Books. 400 p.

Primus, P. 1978. *An Anthropological Study of Masks as Teaching Aids in the Enculturation of Mano Children*. Ph.D. diss., New York University.

Primus, P. 1983. My statement. *Caribe* VII (1), Special Dance Issue.

Reiter, R. R. (ed.). 1975. *Towards an Anthropology of Women*. New York/London: Monthly Review Press. 416 p.

Robbins, H. A. 1991. The Ethnography of Zora Neale Hurston: A Postmodern Writer Before Her Time. *Arizona Anthropologist* 7: 1–10.

Schwartz, P., and M. Schwartz. 2011. *The Dance Claimed Me: A Biography of Pearl Primus*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 352 p.

UDC 39
DOI:10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/91-111
Original Article

STEPPING AWAY FROM IDENTITY THINKING? NON-IDENTITARIAN APPROACHES TO DANCE ANTHROPOLOGY

In search of possibilities for going beyond easily available and/or overcomplexified identity markers in dance anthropology, the article builds on Theodore Adorno's critique of identity/identitarian thinking, with a focus on applying identitarian and non-identitarian approaches in dance studies. Identitarian approaches are examined in the article through a discursive metaanalysis of Anglophone studies devoted to practicing dance in mirrored classrooms alongside an autoethnography of stage dancing inspired by the traditions of Scottish Highland dancing, with an emphasis on its contested 'authenticity'. Both of these case studies showcase the key epistemological risk of relying on identity thinking in anthropology: an intricate conceptual web of identity labels may become a barrier that hinders a deeper understanding of the (dance) phenomena this identitarian semiotic web conceptualises. Non-identity alternatives proposed in the article thus stem from a long-established tradition of dance phenomenology applied here to make sense of Jean Milligan's vision of 'controlled abandon' in Scottish country dancing. Another non-identitarian technique explored uses Walter Benjamin's concept of dialectical image to envision the constellated chronotope(s) of the Scottish (soft-shoe) step dancing tradition. The article argues that non-identitarian approaches can complement the established identity thinking strategies, allowing a cooperative reader to make sense of various dancing practices. The significance of reader cooperation highlighted in the article underscores the heuristic value of writer-reader dialogue in anthropology.

Keywords: *identity thinking, nonidentity thinking, dance anthropology, epistemology, dance phenomenology, Scottish dancing*

Author Info: **Alferov, Sergey V.** — UKA Fellow, Head teacher, Shady Glen Scottish & Welsh dance studio (123100 Shmitovskii Proezd, 19, Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: scotstepdance@gmail.com ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2393-0812

For citation: Alferov, S. V. 2025. Stepping Away from Identity Thinking? Non-Identitarian Approaches to Dance Anthropology. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 91–111.

As the local chieftain announces the time has come for the Sword dance competition finals within the frame of the Highland Games, an outdoor sporting and musical festival in Scotland (*Jarvie* 2004: 162), two of my dance students get onto a platform designed so that the spectators could better appreciate the dance geometry (see *Fig 1*). I am watching them dance while getting ready to contribute a couple of steps myself immediately after their sequence is over. The situation is both highly authentic and totally fake. 'Fake' because the whole thing is a scene from a family show 'Heather Mead' that premiered in Teresa Durova's theatre in Moscow, Russia, in September 2021 (*Lebedeva* 2021). This part of the story is set

in May 1902 in Scotland, where technological innovation goes hand in hand with (post-) Victorian traditionalism and patriarchy. Naturally for a Scottish-themed theatre show for family audiences, there will be more kilts, bagpipes, swords, fights, archery and time travel.

It has been convincingly argued that such clichés distort the sociocultural and historical heritage of the Scottish Highlands, retrospectively inventing and antiquating the 'concept of a distinct Highland culture and tradition' to be eventually also 'adopted by historic Lowland Scotland' in the late 18th — early 19th centuries (*Trevor-Roper* 2000 [1983]: 15–16) and further reinforced in Victorian Britain (*Jarvie* 2004: 164–165). From the 21st-century perspective, however, the time span of this 'invented' tradition looks rather impressive. There is documented evidence of a Scottish dance over a pair of crossed swords performed as early as 1778 (*Melin* 2018: 46) and, in a competitive setting, in 1832 (*Flett, Flett* 1996: 21). This may be somewhat less breathtaking than D. G. Maclennan's (*Maclennan* 1952: 15–17) misinterpretation of Tacitus (*Germ.* 24) as evidence for the Sword dance originating from ancient Caledonian spectacles (*Melin* 2018: 42), but one cannot disregard over 200 years of recorded history of this dance in Scotland.

Antiquating legends notwithstanding, when dancing *The Swords*, I feel genuinely connected to the continuous chain of transmitting the steps and the technique from one generation of dancers and teachers to the other. As a dancer who has learnt from a range of British and North American teachers and performed at various Highland Games in Scotland between 2010 and 2014, I believe that my 'cameo appearance' contributes a degree of authenticity to the theatre show in Moscow.

Unsurprisingly, the very concept of 'authenticity' has been somewhat suspect in dance studies, being overwhelmingly used in inverted commas (*Kraut* 2010: 36; *De Maaker* 2013; *Siegel* 2010: 189; *Winarnita* 2015). As Handler (*Handler* 1986: 2) puts it in a broad-

Fig. 1. The Sword dance scene from 'Heather Mead' at Teresa Durova's Theatre. Moscow. Photo by Mikhail Bratsilo, 2021

er anthropological context, authenticity is 'a cultural construct of the modern Western world' and thus an example of anthropological discourse as 'a working-out of our own myths'. When applied by dance ethnographers in modern urban settings, 'studying what is deemed 'authentic' in a community' may nevertheless have heuristic value, if only in order to 'unravel complex power relations' (*Winarnita* 2015: 497), with a clear emphasis on the negotiated nature of what 'participants from different backgrounds and generations […] see as authentic' (*Tallaj* 2018: 106).

This (implied or explicit) distancing from even a possibility of an authentic dancing experience reminds me of Sergey Averintsev's musings about the dangers our readiness to recite 'ready-made words' may pose to 21st-century societies (*Averintsev* 2005: 425). When facing 'the question of whose authenticity' (*Bakka* 2002: 69), a tangible proportion of dance researchers' accounts do not seem to pursue Averintsev's 'significant meaning(fulness)' as a deeply felt, lived connection to reality going beyond accepted/novel concepts and/or discursive practices (*Averintsev* 2005: 398–407). The 'contradictory character of reality and existence' (*Laplantine* 2010: 146) thus remains uncaptured and unaccounted for.

The starting point for writing this 'self-reflexive', autoethnographic account is therefore my own 'state of confusion' (*Savigliano* 2010: 237). The article attempts at bridging the gap between my experiences as an active participant in the Scottish dancing scene(s) across the globe since the early 2000s and the conceptualisation approaches contemporary Anglophone dance anthropology tends to offer for (theoretically) making better sense of such experiences.

The 'process of fitting observations into categories' (*Au* 2021: 1165) by dance ethnographers presents a serious challenge if seen in a practical context. For instance, when I enter my Scottish step/Highland dance class as a teacher or a rehearsal as a dancer and choreographer (see *Fig. 2*), I may be reminded of 'the existence of mirrors as an ominous and powerful presence' contributing to 'physical self-evaluation, behaviour regulation, body objectification, and competition' (*Green* 2002–03: 112). How can I possibly move under such petrifying conditions?

One may argue that as a teacher and/or choreographer I hold more power (*Zinga et al*. 2019: 114), but when I demonstrate a move or a step to other dancers, I must set a reliable example. I am therefore both evaluating myself and being evaluated by the students, at least those with enough experience to notice my technical errors (cf. *Radell et al*. 2014: 3). Thus, I am potentially unable to teach or create due to my fear of oppression or, alternatively, my guilt for being an oppressor in an inherently autocratic setting 'codified by dancing masters' of the past (*Lakes* 2005: 15). Such immobilising uncertainty stems from a popular Foucauldian argument that 'the mirror encourages body surveillance and often reminds the dancer that her body does not match the ideal body type' (*Dryburgh, Fortin* 2010: 100). Indeed, mine arguably does not.

Scholarly attempts at capturing an 'intense relationship which a dancer can develop with the mirror' (*Pickard* 2013: 12) allow us to examine where dance anthropologists might be losing touch with the realities we conceptualize.

> The constant focus on an **externalised view** of the **body**, as reflected in the **mirror**, **objectifies** the **dancer**'s **body** and requires **students** to strive to achieve a specific "**look**" while being "corrected" so that the **students** perform "proper" **dance** technique.
>
> *Green* 1999: 81

Fig. 2. Practising the ‘rocking movement’ in front of a mirror. Moscow 2018. Photo from the personal archive of the author. Photographer — Vladimir Lee

Mirrors that generally line one wall stand in for **observation** towers, creating a heightened sense of **visibility**. **Countless eyes** could be **watching** through the **mirror** without one knowing it.

Kleiner 2009: 244

Students in the **mirror class** [...] see themselves as **objects** instead of living, breathing, and moving **bodies**. Their **reflection**, which was once an **object**, seems more real than their own sensory selves [...] They often described **viewing** their **body** parts from the outside, a perspective that had little or no connection to their kinaesthetic identities.

Radell et al. 2014: 12

As **dance** professor Clyde Smith states, “the **dance classroom**, with their **mirrors**, **watchful teachers** and self-critical **students**” is an atmosphere of **surveillance** in which **power** produces **discipline** over **docile bodies**.

Berg 2016: 47–48

Chloe noted a ‘love–hate’ relationship with the **mirror**, suggesting that **dancers** are constantly negotiating **power** in the **studio** as they negotiate **seeing** and **being seen**.

Clark and Markula 2017: 448–449

Dancers spoke about how **surveillance** and **regulation** were foundational through the presence of **mirrors** in the **classroom**, corrections in **class**, and **teaching** styles.

Zinga et al. 2019: 112

Fig. 3. Mirrors as a surveillance tool in a dance class. Generated with WordClouds.com

Highlighting some of the key words forming the lexical field of 'docile bodies' (*Foucault* 1995: 135–169) in a mirror dance class (cf. *Fig. 3*) helps notice the conceptualisation pattern at play here. A somewhat surprisingly uniform conceptual web is used by researchers of ballet training to communicate scholarly 'precision, clarity and distinctness' (*Sherratt* 2002: 137) invoking Adorno's notion of 'identity/identitarian thinking', i.e. a mode of thinking and expression that 'says what something comes under, what it exemplifies or represents, and what, accordingly, it is not itself' (*Adorno* 2004 [1973]: 149). In this case, dance students are presented first and foremost as bodies, whereas mirrors are primarily tools of surveillance and (self-)objectification in a disciplinary/regulatory framework channelled and/or imposed by ballet teachers.

This dystopian 'master narrative' (*Ehala* 2018: 10) employs a discursive strategy that Sherratt (*Sherratt* 2002: 131) terms 'representational identification'. Establishing a relationship between a phenomenon (e.g., using mirrors) and a concept (e.g., mirror as a surveillance tool), this type of identity thinking subsequently incorporates the concept into a wider conceptual/semiotic web (cf. *Geertz* 1973: 4–5), e.g., that of 'systems of oppression and surveillance in dance classes'. As the concept 'is 'made like' the system' (*Sherratt* 2002: 131), identity thinking thus allows for radical de- or recontextualisation of practices, events and real-life situations. Herein lies one of the dangers of 'conceptual fetishism' (*Adorno* 2004 [1973]: 49) or 'being enamoured with concepts' (*Nuyen* 1990: 317). When learners striving to improve their dancing are identified as 'docile bodies', with the focus on the mirror as a symbol of power struggle as opposed to one of the many tools at the learners' and teachers' disposal, such a 'rigidised coding paradigm' (*Au* 2021: 1165) leaves too much of the 'real-time animated dynamics of lived experience' (*Sheets-Johnstone* 2023: 276) muted.

The tightly-knit conceptual web of 'docility' and 'surveillance' thus firmly shields the reader from the tangible, immediate, fluid and changeable nature of dance learning and teaching.

An old proverb comes to mind: "Do not blame the mirror if it's your own mug that's crooked" (*Gogol* 2019: 3). Added in 1842 as an epigraph to Nikolay Gogol's satirical play *The Government Inspector* (1836), this saying can be interpreted as a sample of 'timeless folk wisdom' (*McKenna* 2014: 327) inviting us to be more aware of our own weaknesses. Alternatively, it may be regarded as an anachronistic (or even 'eerily transhistorical' — *Marturano* 2020: 147) example of toxic objectifying negativity and prescriptive cultural normativity when it comes to defining beauty and ugliness. Although both interpretations are arguably justifiable, the latter somehow manages to drain all life from the proverb rendering it virtually pointless, with Gogol, who clearly thought otherwise, coming across as but another 'dead white man' (*Doja* 2020: 864).

Obviously, 'every identity comes with labels' (*Appiah* 2018: 8). The underlying hypothesis to be explored in this article is that only a few of these labels may have a heuristic value outweighing the epistemological limitations identity thinking carries, either explicitly or implicitly. As such, the central research questions to be addressed here are:

Q1: To what extent is identity thinking epistemologically valuable for dance studies?

Q2: Do viable alternatives to representational identification exist or is the 'to think is to identify' (*Adorno* 2004 [1973]: 5) dictum unavoidable in empirical inquiry?

Dance anthropology in general and dance autoethnography in particular can be at the forefront of bringing (back) a subtler balance between conceptual clarity/coherent identifiability of cultural phenomena, on the one hand, and ability to move beyond identity labels/conceptual 'photographic clichés' (*Laplantine* 2010: 141), on the other. Building on lived, tangible experience of a dancer as a 'situated being' (*Warburton* 2011: 69), a dance anthropologist as a participant and an observer can rely on a range of 'embodied insights' (*Hoppu* 2014) to counter and/or corroborate hypotheses and interpretations. No matter how elevated and 'springy' the dance style practised, experiences of dancing as a form of embodied or 'bodily' ethnography (*Hancock* 2018; *Förster* 2022) can help researchers make their analysis empirically and somatically grounded. Dance research thus invites balancing between first-person, second-person and sub-personal ('objective') epistemological stances. A researcher's own dancing, interacting with other practitioners as well as analysing filmed/observed 'dance realisations' (*Bakka, Karoblis* 2010) alongside notated dances are all complementary means of understanding and appreciating the 'shared experiences' of dancing in a range of contexts and settings (*Buckland* 2010: 340–342).

Identity Thinking: Values and Limitations

To address Q1, let us revisit the question 'whose authenticity?' (*Bakka* 2002: 69) that emerged in the context of my own and my dancing team's choreographic presence on a theatre stage. Identifying possible stakeholders and/or perspectives to address this question is clearly a prerequisite of addressing it. A list of these would include (but not be limited to):

- 'Contemporary'/historical authenticity: for turn-of-the-century Victorian Scots portrayed in the scene of the Highland games, certain elements of the dancers' outfits appear inauthentic: Aboyne dress for female dancers (*Fig. 4*) was introduced in

the 1950s (*Hood* 2022). Soft leather Ghillie shoes were not yet accepted footwear for Highland dancers either (*Ballantine* 2016: 142, 146). On the other hand, kilted men dancing over a pair of crossed swords and using motifs such as closed pas de basque or toe-and-heel movement as well as hand positions (*Mackenzie* 1910: 41–46) would be seen as common practice and thus accepted as authentic.

- Etymological/original authenticity: for the predominantly Gaelic-speaking Highlanders of the eighteenth century and earlier, the era before Culloden and, especially, Highland clearances (*Gow* 2009), competitive/balletic dancing may not deserve the label 'Highland dancing'. As argued by Ballantine (2016), an invented tradition that introduced excessively militaristic and masculine overtones to the dancing practices of Scottish Highlands and misrepresented most of the existing repertoire hardly deserves to be called 'Highland' dancing.
- Ethnic authenticity: ethnic Russians dancing for a predominantly Russian audience may be seen as not Scottish enough to physically embody the Scottish dancing tradition. Since a primordialist vision of ethnicity is reasonably strong in political and popular discourse in Russia (*Streletsky, Gorokhov* 2022) and beyond, it can be argued that there must be 'Scottish blood' running through the dancers' veins for them to be accepted as fully representative of the cultural practices they share onstage. To counter such objections, the theatre released a guided video tour exploring historical connections the Russian capital had with Scottish engineers, military people and merchants in the 17th–19th centuries (Teatr Terezy Durovoy 2021).
- Cultural authenticity: as active participants of the 'global' Scottish dancing community, Shady Glen dancers have been participating in dancing events in different countries and settings, getting positive feedback from dancers and teachers from Scotland and elsewhere, both formal (e.g. competition trophies, professional and amateur exam results, invitations to dance/teach at a range of events outside Russia) and less formal (e.g. comments from experienced teachers and dancers on- and offline). Unlike other participants of the show, the dancers are not impersonating the characters they portray, in many respects they are those characters. Our cameo appearance alongside our work on some of the choreography in the show thus helps accomplish what Durova sees as the necessary levels of 'immersion' in the target culture by the creative team, 'so as not to lie', especially to the younger audience (Telekanal Kultura 2019).

If identitarian thinking is further applied to the facets of 'authenticity' identified above, an evaluative cline can be generated in an attempt to pinpoint in what ways the dancers' presence in the *Heather mead* show may be deemed 'authentic' (see *Fig. 5*). An epistemological value of such an approach would be achieving a degree of certainty by applying a conceptual checklist to dissect the authenticity claimed by the dancers. Especially if such a conceptualisation manages to refrain from 'excess in descriptive and theoretical ardour' (*Marcus* 2015: 36) and stay reasonably clear, it may offer a practical way to identify and analyse a range of generally tangible issues linked to an otherwise vague umbrella term 'authenticity'.

A clear limitation, however, lies in the pinpointing strategy itself. Even when a seemingly straightforward concept such as 'a Highland dancer' is used as an identity label, the risk is twofold. Firstly, representational identification may lead to an unnecessarily static (pinpointed) positioning of dancing within a chosen conceptual framework (in this case,

'authentic–inauthentic'). The fluidity and situated nature of dancing experiences may thus be muted or even lost (cf. *Alferov* 2021: 185–187). Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, identity labels, when neatly organised, tend not just to misrepresent but to ultimately substitute the reality they are aimed at helping analyse (cf. *Finke and Sökefeld* 2018). This substitution means that a semiotic web of identity labels makes it significantly harder to see beyond the label itself, harder to use 'the scientific imagination to bring us into touch with the lives' of dancers (*Geertz* 1973: 16). Even a quick glance at Fig. 5 is enough to acknowledge: under very few if any circumstances would it be possible to revisit or get a feeling of immersion into a 'life-as-lived' (*Toren, de Pina-Cabral* 2009: 3) experience of onstage Highland dancing by examining this cline.

Overreliance on referential identification is thus likely to hinder the epistemological procedure of turning 'that which is initially only sensed and felt [...] into that which is clearly known' (*Gow* 2009: 34). Leading to 'over-complexifying a situated and lived social world' (*Au* 2021: 1162), conceptual labelling runs a significant risk of firmly isolating our analysis from what is being analysed. Such disconnectedness does not only stem from 'theoretical efforts at fixation and typification' (*Desjarlais, Throop* 2011: 92) but is also due to the sheer density of the conceptual web identity labels can create, even when trying to verbalise the changeable and fluid nature of dancing contexts and experiences.

Non-Identity Approaches

One of non-identitarian approaches to 'set reified objects in motion' is centred around a concept of 'dialectical image' (*Benjamin* 2002, *Pensky* 2004), i.e. a way of presenting and contemplating phenomena through a 'constellation' of 'what has been […] in a flash with the now' (*Lynteris* 2018: 162). This approach was quite common in mediaeval historiography in Scotland and beyond. For example, when the *Chronicle* of John of Fardun or *The Bruce* by John Barbour talk about the turbulent life and fate of Robert the Bruce (1274–1329 CE), this Scottish leader is presented alongside his Biblical counterpart, Judas Maccabaeus (*McKim* 1989: 14–18), whereas one of Bruce's loyal supporters, James Douglas (*c.* 1286–1330 CE), explicitly resembles a famed Roman political and military leader Fabricius (*McKim* 1989: 25–29). The Biblical and classical allusions thus help mediaeval authors in transcending space and time to communicate the significance of loyalty and readiness to overcome hardship when fighting for one's own people in a struggle against oppressors. What these allusions and parallels do not do is make the First War for Scottish Independence (1296–1328 CE) identical to the Maccabean Revolt against the Seleucids in Judaea (167–160 BCE) or the Pyrrhic War between Epyrus and the Roman Republic (280–275 BCE). Aimed at highlighting the significance of the Scottish experience, such ancient 'flashbacks' may be regarded as 'an anachronism of mediaeval historiography' (*Briggs* 2012: 393; cf. *Spiegel* 1983: 43). Alternatively/additionally, they represent 'a powerful sense of the past as present' (*Briggs* 2012: 393) and, more broadly, a thinking strategy that allows for noticing links and parallels without automatically assigning an identifying label.

Applying such a 'dialectical imaging' strategy to Scottish dancing, in particular the step dance repertoire associated with the Hebridean Isles, may assist in further exploring the epistemological opportunities this mode of non-identitarian thinking provides for a dance anthropologist. To this end, let us examine a dance experience that presents itself as a 'constellation' of stage performances in Moscow, Pyatigorsk, Arisaig, St. Andrew's, Vyborg

and the Isle of Skye; online and offline dance learning, teaching and rehearsing; browsing through dance instructions and academic publications; discussing avenues for transmitting the Hebridean dancing tradition and technique with colleagues and learners — as well as liaising with amazing dancers and musicians from Moscow, Inverness, Aberdeen and elsewhere. The experience in question brings together the smells of the sea and the river, wooden floorboards and old stone walls, theatre backstage and a concert hall auditorium, several community halls and, possibly, a pub. It evokes the sounds of Highland bagpipes and a vintage Scottish button accordion ('buttonbox'), the gentle shuffles and brushes of leather 'Ghillie' pumps and a more pronounced beat of harder leather dancing shoes on a range of surfaces, from a riverboat deck to a professional vinyl performance flooring. The timing somewhat subjectively stretches from the 1950s to the 2020s, but through the glimpses of written record it can go as far back as the 1840s, with explicit sociopolitical references to 1745–46. Kinaesthetically, the dancing experience is a dialectic of elevating into the air, rhythmic landing and an occasional feeling of floating along the dance floor, where slower motifs are combined with quicker moves. The step sequences are danced solo and in coordination with other dancers alongside formations requiring all the dancers' interaction, including eye contact and use of hands, together making up a choreography piece called *A Dance Tribute to Flora and Charlie* (Shady Glen Dancers 2022).

Fig. 4. A dancer wearing the Aboyne dress outfit and soft leather Ghillie pumps. Moscow, Teresa Durova's Theatre, September 2021. Photo by Mikhail Bratsilo, 2021

The description above is the result of me reflecting together with the other participants of this display dance on the possible 'flashbacks' the piece may entail. We have danced the *Tribute* in the Moscow International Performing Arts Centre twice: in December 2021 and March 2022, once accompanied by a live piper, Anatoly Isaev, and once using a recorded original set of tunes, *Shady Glen Jig*, composed and performed by a buttonbox player from Inverness Graeme MacKay. All the dancers agreed that when performing, we all prefer staying in the moment, being 'here and now'. However, looking back at the experience or

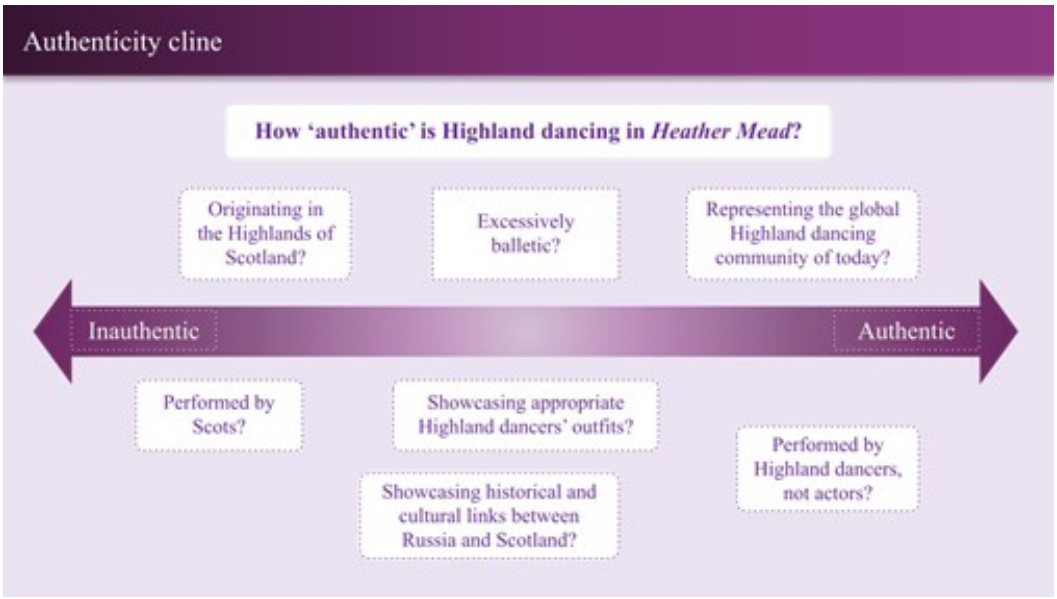

Fig.5. An 'authenticity' cline. Created by the author using Google Slides[tm]

while preparing for the show, we acknowledge that our performance builds on and/or is linked to a range of prior events, 'past leaking into the present' (*Franko* 2019: 155). What can be achieved if we notice and explicitly acknowledge our ability to blur some of the 'basic questions of documentation', namely: what, where, when and how (*Felföldi* 1999: 63)?

When? As discussed with my fellow dancers, our 2022 and 2021 displays bring back the memories and/or sensations of our much earlier performances: 2006, 2008, 2011 and 2016. Most of these we are reminded of *post hoc*, possibly due to similar musicality, especially in the case of Highland bagpipes played for us by Anatoly Isaev in 2022, 2016 and 2011. One of the dancers said that she tries to invoke the sensation of her very first 'big-stage' performance when just about to go onto stage, in order to intentionally revive the feeling of 'energy swap' between the performer and the audience and thus get 'into the zone'. Whether conscious of that 'in the moment' or not, when dancing in front of an audience, we rely on our prior performances no less than on rehearsing a particular piece in the dance studio.

On a more romanticising note, the music of the piece, especially the sound of the buttonbox, transports at least two of the dancers back to the late 1940s — early 1960s when Scottish dance music was regularly featured on British radio and, from 1952, television (*Hood* 1980: 114, 120–121), reflecting 'the national enthusiasm, almost mania, for Scottish country dancing' (*Shoupe* 2008: 115). As the title of the piece suggests, the core of the choreography relies on the competitive version of a solo dance *Flora MacDonald's Fancy* (UKA 2020) and two 'versions' of another solo dance *Over the Water to Charlie*: one from the Hebridean repertoire (*Melin* 2019: 72–73; *Flett, Flett* 1996: 66–71), the other from the Scottish step repertoire as taught by Mrs West and Wendy West (RSCDS 2013: 58–59). These 'versions' are so distinct in terms of the movements used as well as the technique that they may well be seen as two different dances set to the same 6/8 tune. Regardless, the names of the dances refer to the heavily romanticised Second Jacobite Rebellion, 1745–46

(*Trevor-Roper* 2009: 84), with Flora MacDonald helping Bonnie Prince Charlie escape mainland Scotland, getting 'over the sea to Skye' (*Melin* 2018: 49–53; cf. *Emmerson* 1972: 128). Unlike Shady Glen's other Flora-themed production (Shady Glen Dancers 2011), the *Tribute* does not directly invite the spectators to revisit the legends linked to the events of 1745–46. It does not aim to fully transport the audience in time, but rather provides a range of overtones, thus potentially creating a 'dialectical image' of either 'time frozen' and things unchanged, as in the case of the 2020s blurred with the 1950s, or, alternatively, time transcended by freely going back and forth through the moments of dancers' own experience or Scottish historical memory in search of informed inspiration.

Where? To further outline the *Tribute*'s chronotope, the locations corresponding to the above-mentioned dates may be added. Most locations are in Russia: 2022, 2021 and 2008 — Moscow International Performing Arts Centre, 2016 — Stavropol Opera and Ballet Theatre in Pyatigorsk, 2011 — The Yauza Palace Concert Hall, Moscow, 2006 — Vyborg Castle. 2006 corresponds to yet another memorable performance, this time in the Younger Hall of the University of St. Andrew's in Scotland, where I was part of the Scottish (ladies') step dance display team, the first male dancer to do that in the history of the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society (RSCDS), according to my dance teachers' feedback. For me, one of the key factors of what forms the geographical constellation merging the 2021–22 shows with some of my prior performances is the geometrical composition of the dance team, with me as the tallest dancer (and the only man) positioned in the centre. The use of space within a given choreography thus creates or rather highlights continuity that allows me to feel as if I am revisiting a range of locations, going beyond the geographical identification.

According to my fellow dancers, the constellation of spaces invoked by the *Tribute* also includes their travelling experiences: the sounds of Highland bagpipes bring back the memories of hiking on the Isle of Skye whereas the buttonbox transports us to an indoor venue for informal social dancing, often happening after an outdoors Highland dancing competition (for me this is associated with Arisaig Highland Games on the West coast of Scotland back in 2014, for one other dancer — a post-competition event on the Isle of Skye in 2012). For one of us, the sound of the buttonbox connects to the Outer Hebrides and their nature creating a 'time capsule', where things seem to remain as they once were.

For me as a dance learner and teacher, another important set of locations that forms the chronotope of the *Tribute* are spaces and venues for transmitting the steps, formations, technique and musicality. Some of them I have been to: several Helen Russell's step dance workshops in Moscow between 2006 and 2019, Moscow 2021 summer course devoted to three different 'versions' of *Over the Water to Charlie* attended and/or co-taught by all the participants of the *Tribute to Flora and Charlie*. Other spaces for and/or means of learning are part of the constellation as well: reading book pages with dance descriptions (*Melin* 2019; RSCDS 2011; UKA 2020), watching Sabra MacGillivray's online dance tutorials and reflecting on what 'moving naturally' means in Francis Peacock's *Sketches* (*Peacock* 1805), to name a few.

How? As performers, we often find ourselves in a situation where one 3-minute display is everything that is required for an event, meaning that a few of our

> display dances aim at unifying diverse styles and traditions, linking steps with different provenance, building on a wide range of learning contexts and locales to weave together glimpses of what we know and can do, potentially allowing uninitiated viewers to make sense of the Scottish dancing tradition as a whole. The dialectical image of our dancing in this context means we tend to make our performances short and 'compact' while dancing reasonably slowly in terms of the tempo to allow for nuanced footwork and flow of the movement. We showcase variety alongside similarities, common motifs and overlapping features of various aspects of the Scottish dancing repertoire. We value complexity yet aim at a 'natural' style of movement. We dance in synchrony, still appreciating each individual dancer's approach. We create new displays building on the well-established motifs/dancing 'vocabulary'.

Epistemologically, the strategy of dialectical imaging thus allows a dance anthropologist to acknowledge the complexity of lived dance experiences in their sociocultural contexts while maximising our awareness of the multiperspectivity ingrained in dealing with long-established dancing traditions and repertoires. The benefits of this awareness are nevertheless highly dependent on the anthropologist's readership/audience. If read within the identity thinking paradigm, the 'Where-When-How' sketch above can be perceived as a sample of relativising discourse that tries to undermine the tangible reality of Scottish dancing. What cannot be pinned to a certain space, time and manner of dancing may thus be seen as an arbitrary construct to be renegotiated depending on changing circumstances.

The importance of 'reading' — or, broader, interacting with — dance-related discourse in a non-identitarian way can be illustrated by responses to Dr Jean Milligan's concept of 'controlled abandon' (TAC 1963; RSCDS 2011). The concept refers to a dialectical relationship between 'achieving correct and beautiful technique' and dancing 'with ease and flight and happy abandon' (*Milligan* 1956: 28). For critics, the 'controlled style promoted' by Dr Milligan and the (R)SCDS has been seen as 'a degenerative refinement' contrary to 'the obvious Scottish taste for vigorous movement' (*Emmerson* 1997: 148). The idea of reaching the state of letting go ('abandon') through a degree of control over one's execution of steps and formations thus sounds like an oxymoron. As Flett and Flett (*Flett, Flett* 1957: 162) put it, 'the emphasis throughout traditional dancing in Scotland was [...] much more on enjoyment than it was on technique'.

Indeed, on the face of it, Scottish country dancers…

either:

- control their footwork, use of hands and deportment through self-surveillance while constantly double-checking whether they are in the right place at the right time in coordination with the other members of the 'set'

or:

- let go, relax and enjoy the moment.

Appreciating how 'abandon' can be 'controlled' requires going beyond this apparent dichotomy. Dialectical imaging outlined above may help see the claim that 'controlled abandon' is possible and desirable by examining it as one of the core beliefs inherited by the RSCDS from professional dancing masters of 18th-19th-century Scotland. Milligan (*Milligan* 1956: 29–30) explicitly credits Francis Peacock's *Sketches* (1805). Her understanding of the role 'preliminary training' plays in acquiring 'easy spontaneity [...] in the practice of any art' (*Milligan* 1956: 106–107) links very well with Peacock's articulation

of the role 'cultivation' plays in developing 'natural' dancing (cf. *Alferov* 2019). Linking mid-20th-century standardised technique and early-19th-century approaches to dance teaching is a risky enterprise, however: if approached in an identitarian way, as an indication of 'traditional evidence' to corroborate the RSCDS interpretation of the dance steps or music tempos (*Flett*, *Flett* 1957: 161), such linking will be seen as antiquating Scottish country dancing as a project to the point of falsifying its claim for 'continuity with a two-hundred-year history of dance-music practice' (*Shoupe* 2008: 116).

And yet, despite all the drastic sociocultural change the 20th (and indeed the 19th) century brought about, a degree of continuity is almost tangible in the day-to-day teaching and learning of country dancing in Scotland and elsewhere. If we allow for a 'constellated' chronotope, we may appreciate, for example, that Helen Russell's workshop 'with emphasis on good phrasing, sociability, rhythmic movement [..] good energy and posture' in April 2018 in Helensburgh, Scotland (TAS 2018: 5–6) entitled 'Controlled Abandon' is Russell's homage not only to Miss Milligan's vision and career between the 1920s and the 1970s in Scotland and way beyond but also to that of Francis Peacock of Aberdeen between the 1740s and the 1800s. This does not mean Russell follows either dancing teacher blindly or replicates exactly what they did. Rather, it points to the dialogic nature of Scottish dance teaching and learning asa reflective reexamination of past practices of dance teaching in Scotland, with experienced dancers and teachers literally embodying the transmission and production of knowledge, skills and approaches, thus bridging the gap between continuity and change, technique and enjoyment, control and abandon.

With reference to diverse forms of Scottish dancing, the concept of 'control' links the issues discussed in this article so far: internalised and external surveillance, (in)authenticity, and the contested chronotope(s) of the dancing tradition(s) of Scotland. As Ballantine (*Ballantine* 2016: 268) put it:

> The creation of a single style of Highland dancing by an authoritative board of control [SOBHD] meant that the variety of traditional styles that had been practised for many years had to be reclassified as *in*authentic. The standardised style became the 'true' style particularly when it adopted fictional histories to support its supposed authenticity.

Somewhat similarly to the RSCDS, (R)SOBHD control over competitive Highland dancing thus entails 'supposedly authentic' standardization of technique, which itself emphasizes, especially for an outside observer, 'tight control as in sharp extensions or snapping a foot to a position' (*Melin* 2019: 30). Curiously, Ballantine seems to distinguish between somatic control as part of the aesthetic promoted by Francis Peacock: 'grace, elegance, control and confidence' (*Ballantine* 2016: 52) and authoritative control over Highland dancing by the (R)SOBHD (*Ballantine* 2016: 32, 34, 149, 154, 268). For Melin, however, 20th-century regulatory efforts by dance teachers and organizations appear closely related to the increased technicality and somatic control over each dancer's movements. Opposed to 'lightness', 'stiffness, or tight control' was 'not part of the aesthetic' within the dancing repertoire of the Hebridean Isles, Melin (*Melin* 2019: 30) argues.

A tool to reexamine the complex relationship between lightness, stiffness and somatic control in various styles of Scottish dancing is offered by dance phenomenology. Offering 'immersion through selective disengagement' (*Kozel* 2007: 144), phenomenological

bracketing 'may not be epistemologically reliable' (*Rothfield* 2010: 316), especially if engaged with from an identitarian standpoint. What follows is an attempt to examine the role of readership in adding epistemological value to examining somatic control in Scottish dancing phenomenologically.

> I'm dancing together with our advanced class in a studio with a mirrored wall in late October 2023. Or performing in a duet to a recorded tune on a small stage in a local community centre in early February 2019. Or on a bigger stage alongside three other dancers performing to live music in April 2011. Or back in 2009 in my room counting to myself practising a sequence I just learnt from clear written instructions prepared by Ron Wallace. I'm practising/performing Wallace's *Dancer's Dream*, a balletic soft-shoe step dance that is rhythmically and technically intricate and, when danced with enough control, smooth, graceful and flowing.

Here the 'constellation' of chronotopes can be bracketed — 'I'm dancing on an even floor' would be an adequate opening. However, for a reader to be able to retrace my steps, they may need to position themselves in space if not in time. The context is meant to transport the reader to a space they may not have been to, initiating an immersion in a lived experience of dancing: looking afresh and possibly empathising with the dancing subject ('I'), whose gender, age and nationality are likewise 'bracketed'. The details provided are not meant to be clung to as identity labels or provide definite answers to the reader. Rather, they are to facilitate getting access to the immediacy of dancing experiences embodying 'controlled abandon'.

> 'Walk — two and three, and one — walk — walk'. No matter how many times I have danced step 5, I voice the rhythm inside my mind. The rhythmic cues allow me to follow the music and almost always get me through the step even after a long time without having practised it. Am I in control? Are the musicians? Or is the dance deviser still pulling all the strings as a remote puppeteer? When starting the step, I cannot be too sure. Not knowing if I will dance every motif including the entrechats exactly where they belong, I just allow myself to follow the rhythm and rely on the basic technique: turnout, pointed toes where necessary, clear extensions, positions as neat and tight as possible — the things I have been gradually improving for years. When dancing alone or in a team, I feel we are all in this together: the choreographer from North America relying on the Scottish musical and dancing vocabulary with its links to classical dancing, the musicians, the dancers wherever we may be, the spectators, if not too focused on their meals. Whose control? Whose abandon? Whose authenticity? Ours, theirs, mine. When dancing, I am shifting between enjoying the flow of my/our movements; sharing my enthusiasm with partner(s), learners and/or spectators; doing our very best so that the choreographer's concept gets embodied well; enhancing everyone's appreciation for the musical piece our movements visualise and the rich dancing tradition we represent. Is a certain Aberdonian dancing master promoting the social significance of walking with dignity and grace (*Peacock* 1805: 137–151) a member of 'our' team in this situation? Naturally. How can he not be?

If read critically, the account above can be easily dismissed as an example of romanticising, overcomplicating, relativising or even avoiding the initial question. If read cooperatively, however, with a willingness (and a certain effort) to shift perspective, this

phenomenological vignette can serve as a springboard for dialogic reflection.

With reference to Q2 above, it is clear that non-identitarian approaches to dance anthropology should complement rather than replace corresponding identitarian tools. In the case of applied phenomenology, Burch's (*Burch* 2021: 287–288) interdisciplinary framework offers a good example: it invites a researcher to 1) outline a problem lacking 'a monodisciplinary solution'; 2) apply 'core phenomenology' to zoom in on 'features of subjectivity' characterizing the problem and 3) further explore these features using non-phenomenological tools and techniques. If practiced as a cycle rather than in a linear way, the framework invites both the writer and the reader to shift between clearly delineated issues, on the one hand, and features that must appear 'blurred' for them to be noticed and/or appreciated, on the other.

* * *

As can be observed, this article's initial premise is somewhat identitarian in nature. Certain discursive practices in dance anthropology such as 'Foucauldian' analysis of power dynamics in mirrored classrooms or critique of 'authenticity' in 'traditional' dancing are labelled here 'identitarian', whereas other techniques such as dance phenomenology or the much lesser used by anthropologists dialectical imaging are deemed 'non-identitarian'. Using this distinction as a springboard for discussion is essential for this research project. This alone signals that stepping 'away' from identity thinking, as the title of the article suggests, may not be viable or indeed recommended. Rather, we as anthropologists and/or dance practitioners should be better able to step-dance *around* identity labels in order to examine what those reveal while minimising the risk of staying fixated on the labels themselves.

As pointed out by a Russian poet Fyodor Tyutchev in 1830, 'a thought once uttered is untrue' (*Tyutchev* 1830). In the context of dancing this often implies that 'the body knows more than words can say' (*Welch* 2019: 170). Consequently, for a (dance) anthropologist as a reader and a writer, a higher 'tolerance for unending ambiguity as an aspect of understanding' must complement and sometimes replace 'a satisfying explanation of a fixed object of analysis' (*Marcus, Cushman* 1982: 45). As Adorno (*Adorno* 2004 [1973]: 166) emphasised, we may want to 'attempt to express what that concept aims at, not to circumscribe it to operative ends'. Reader and writer awareness of non-identitarian approaches to interpreting observable phenomena can enhance this epistemological stance. The reader's willingness to go beyond conceptual labels allowing for some space in between 'identities' is at least as important here as the rhetorical and methodological strategies employed by the writer of (dance) anthropology.

Primary Sources and Materials

Bratsilo, M. 2021, September 22. *Iarkaia bitva za svobodu Shotlandii s pomoshch'iu vereskovogo meda* [A Vivid Battle for the Freedom of Scotland Aided by Heather Mead]. MosKul'tURA. https://moscultura.ru/otzyv/2021/yarkaya-bitva-za-svobodu-shotlandii-s-pomoshchyu-vereskovogo-myoda Accessed 20th January 2024.

Gogol, N. 2019. *The Government Inspector*. Translated by R. Cockrell. Richmond: Alma Classics.

Hood, L. 2022. *Highland Dancing Attire Marks 70th Anniversary at Aboyne Highland Games*. https://www.pressandjournal.co.uk/fp/news/aberdeen-aberdeenshire/4448991/highland-dancing-attire-marks-70th-anniversary-at-aboyne-highland-games/ Accessed 20th February 2024.

Lebedeva, N. 2021, September 28. V Teatre Terezy Durovoi prem'era — "Vereskovyi med." [A premiere at Teresa Durova's Theatre: 'Heather Mead']. *Rossiiskaia Gazeta*. https://rg.ru/2021/09/25/reg-cfo/v-teatre-terezy-durovoj-premera-vereskovyj-med.html Accessed 20th January 2024.

Maclennan, D. G. 1952. *Highland and Traditional Scottish Dances*. Edinburgh: T & A Constable. 96 p.

MacGillivray, S. n.d. *Over the Waters to Charlie: Online Dance Course. 6 Videos Included*. https://www.sabramacgillivray.com/shop/ Accessed 20th February 2024.

Mackenzie, D. R. 1910. *Illustrated Guide to the National Dances of Scotland: Containing an Alphabet of the Actual Step Positions for Self-Instruction and Improvement*. Stirling: Stirling Observer Press. Retrieved from https://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/collectiondisplay.php?Record_Type=DRM%20SD

Milligan, J. C. 1956. *Won't You Join the Dance? Manual of Scottish Country Dancing*. London: Paterson's Publications. 107 p.

TAC 1963. *Notes Taken from Miss Milligan's Talk of 1963*. Teachers' Association of Canada.

Peacock, F. 1805. *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing... Intended as Hints to the Young Teachers of the Art of Dancing*. Edinburgh: J. Chalmers & Co.

RSCDS. 2011. *The Manual of Scottish Country Dancing. Electronic Version with Updates*. Edinburgh: The Royal Scottish Country Dance Society.

RSCDS. 2013. *The St. Andrew's Collection of Step Dances*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1: *The dance descriptions, Revised 2013*. Edinburgh: The Royal Scottish Country Dance Society.

Shady Glen Dancers. 2011. *Flora MacDonald and Bonnie Prince Charlie*. https://youtu.be/oR2NS-RZXhA4?si=c_SKMbtqQs7tAm42 Accessed 24 Feb 2024.

Shady Glen Dancers. 2022. *A Dance Tribute to Flora and Charlie: Highlands, Islands and Lowlands*. https://youtu.be/0kAooxT0-r0 Accessed 20 Feb 2024.

TAS. July 2018. *The Scottish Country Dance Teacher*. Teachers' Association Scotland Newsletter.

Teatr Terezy Durovoy. 2021. *Fil'm "Moskovskaia Shotlandiia". Ekskursiia s Terezoi Durovoi* [Moscow's Scotland: A Guided Tour with Teresa Durova] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Zp8_8er0F0 Accessed 23 Feb 2024.

Telekanal Kul'tura. 2019. *Tereza Durova: Liniia Zhizni*. https://youtu.be/dKrgcw1sX_E?si=SzznG-vgRQX-GasW0 Accessed 23 Feb 2024.

Tyutchev, F. 1830. Silentium. Translated from Russian by V. Nabokov. http://nabokov-lit.ru/nabokov/stihi/stih-426.htm

UKA. 2020. *Highland, National and Hebridean Syllabus*. Blackpool: United Kingdom Alliance of Professional Teachers of Dancing.

References

Adorno, T. (1973) 2004. *Negative Dialectics*. London and New York: Routledge. 439 p.

Alferov, S. V. 2019. "Estestvennost'" v shotlandskom tantse s pozitsii etnolingvistiki ['Naturalness' in Scottish Dancing: An Ethnolinguistic Perspective]. *Vestnik Antropologii* 47 (3): 169–188. https://doi.org/10.33876/2311-0546/2019-47-3/169-188

Alferov, S. V. 2021. Voicing the Move: Discursive Practices of Scottish Dance Instructions. *Vestnik Antropologii* 2: 177–197. https://doi.org/10.33876/2311-0546/2021-54-2/177-197

Appiah, A. 2018. *The Lies that Bind: Rethinking Identity, Creed, Country, Color, Class, Culture*. London: Profile Books. 256 p.

Au, A. 2021. Over-Complexifying Social Reality: A Critical Exploration of Systematicity and Rigidification in Ethnographic Practice and Writing. *Qualitative Report* 26: 1161–1178. https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-37[15/2021.4068

Averintsev, S. S. 2005. *Sviaz' Vremen* [Times Interconnected]. Kiev: Dukh i Litera. 443 p.

Bachmann, M. 2017. Ambivalent Pasts: Colonial History and the Theatricalities of Ethnographic Display. *Theatre Journal* 69 (3): 299–319. https://doi:10.1353/tj.2017.0043

Bakka, E. 2002. Whose Dances? Whose Authenticity? In *Authenticity, Whose Tradition?* ed. by L. Felföldi and T. J. Buckland. Budapest: European Folklore Institute. 60–69.
Bakka, E., and G. Karoblis. 2010. Writing "a Dance": Epistemology for Dance Research. *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 42: 167–193. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41201384
Ballantine, P. 2016. *Regulation and Reaction. The Development of Scottish Traditional Dance with Particular Reference to Aberdeenshire, from 1805 to the Present Day*. Ph.D. diss. The University of Aberdeen.
Benjamin, W. 2002. *The Arcades Project*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Press. 1073 p.
Berg, T. 2016. *Ballet Pedagogy as Kinesthetic Collaboration: Exploring Kinesthetic Dialogue in an Embodied Student-Teacher Relationship*. Ph.D. diss. York University Toronto, Ontario.
Briggs, C. F. 2012. History, Story and Community: Representing the Past in Latin Christendom, 1050–1400. In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, ed. by S. Foot and C. E. Robinson. Vol. 2.*400–1400*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 391–413.
Buckland, T. J. 2010. Shifting Perspectives on Dance Ethnography. In *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader*, ed. by A. Carter and J. O'Shea. London and New York: Routledge. 335–343.
Burch, M. 2021. Make Applied Phenomenology what it Needs to Be: An Interdisciplinary Research Program. *Continental Philosophy Review* 54: 275–293. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11007-021-09532-1
Clark, M. I., and P. Markula. 2017. Foucault at the Barre and Other Surprises: A Case Study of Discipline and Docility in the Ballet Studio. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health* 9 (4): 435–452. https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2017.1309451
Clifford, J. 2015. Feeling Historical. In *Writing Culture and the Life of Anthropology*, ed. by O. Starn. New York: Duke University Press. 25–34.
Dawson, A. 2021. 'Let's Talk About Me — 101': Epistemological Vanity in Anthropology and Society. *Etnofoor* 33 (1): 73–90. https://www.jstor.org/stable/27034460
Desjarlais, R., and C. J. Throop. 2011. Phenomenological Approaches in Anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40: 87–102. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41287721
Doja, A. 2020. Celebrations of Lévi-Strauss's Heroic Legacy. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 26 (2): 864–871. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.13366
Dryburgh, A., and S. Fortin. 2010. Weighing in on Surveillance: Perception of the Impact of Surveillance on Female Ballet Dancers' Health. Research in Dance Education 11(2): 95–108. https://doi.org/10.1080/14647893.2010.482979
Ehala, M. (2018). Signs of Identity: The Anatomy of Belonging. Oxon and New York: Routledge. 182 p.
Ehala, M. (2018). Signs of Identity: The Anatomy of Belonging. Oxon and New York: Routledge. 182 p.
Emmerson, G. S. 1972. *A Social History of Scottish Dance: Ane Celestial Recreatioun*. Montreal and London: McGill — Queen's University Press. 352 p.
Emmerson, G. S. 1997. *Scottish Country Dancing: An Evolutionary Triumph*. Oakville, Ontario: Galt House Publications. 187 p.
Farrelly, F., F. Kock, and A. Josiassen. 2019. Cultural Heritage Authenticity: A Producer View. *Annals of Tourism Research* 79. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2019.102770
Felföldi, L. 1999. Folk Dance Research in Hungary: Relations among Theory, Fieldwork and Archive. In *Dance in the Field: Theory, Methods and Issues in Dance Ethnography* ed. by T. J. Buckland. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 55–70.
Finke, P., and M. Sökefeld. 2018. Identity in Anthropology. In *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, ed. by H. Callan. Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118924396.wbiea2142
Flett, J. F., and T. M. Flett. 1957. Social Dancing in Scotland, 1700–1914. *Scottish Studies* 2: 153–164.
Flett, J. F., and T. M. Flett. 1996. *Traditional Step-Dancing in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press. 219 p.
Förster, T. 2022. Bodily Ethnography: Some Epistemological Challenges of Participation. *Ethnography* 0(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/14661381211067452
Foucault, M. 1995. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books. 333 p.
Franko, M. 2019. The Dancing Gaze across Cultures: Kazuo Ohno's Admiring La Argentina. In

Choreographing Discourses: A Mark Franko Reader ed. by M. Franko and A. Nicifero. London and New York: Routledge. 154–173.
Geertz, C. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books. 470 p.
Gow, P. 2009. Answering Daimã's Question: The Ontogeny of an Anthropological Epistemology in Eighteenth-Century Scotland. *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 53 (2): 19–39. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23182419
Green, J. 1999. Somatic Authority and the Myth of the Ideal Body in Dance Education. *Dance Research Journal* 31 (2). https://doi.org/10.2307/1478333
Green, J. 2002–2003. Foucault and the Training of Docile Bodies. *Arts and Learning Research Journal* 19(1).
Hancock, B. H. 2018. Embodiment: A Dispositional Approach to Racial and Cultural Analysis. In *Approaches to Ethnography: Analysis and Representation in Participant Observation*, ed. by C. Jerolmack and S. Khan. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 155–183.
Handler, R. 1986. Authenticity. *Anthropology Today* 2 (1): 2–4. https://doi.org/10.2307/3032899
Hood, E. M. 1980. *The Story of Scottish Country Dancing: The Darling Diversion*. Glasgow: William Collins Sons and Company Ltd. 127 p.
Hoppu, P. 2014. Encounters in Dance and Music: Fieldwork and Embodiment. In *(Re)Searching the Field — Festschrift in Honour of Egil Bakka,* ed. by A. Fiskvik and M. Stranden. Bergen: Fakbolaget. 151–159.
Jarvie, G. 2004. Lonach, Highland Games and Scottish Sports History. *Journal of Sport History* 31(2): 161–175. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43610106
Kleiner, S. 2009. Thinking with the Mind, Syncing with the Body: Ballet as Symbolic and Nonsymbolic Interaction. *Symbolic Interaction* 32: 236–259. https://doi.org/10.1525/si.2009.32.3.236
Kozel, S. 2007. *Closer: Performance. Technology. Phenomenology*. Cambridge, MA, and London: MIT Press. 362 p.
Kraut, A. 2010. Recovering Hurston, Reconsidering the Choreographer. In *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader* ed. by A. Carter and J. O'Shea. London and New York: Routledge. 35–46.
Laplantine, F. 2010. *Je, Nous et les Autres*. Paris: Le Pommier. 159 p.
Lakes, R. 2005. The Messages behind the Methods: The Authoritarian Pedagogical Legacy in Western Concert Dance Technique Training and Rehearsals. *Arts Education Policy Review* 106 (5): 3–20. https://doi.org/10.3200/AEPR.106.5.3-20
Lynteris, C. 2018. The Frankfurt School, Critical Theory and Anthropology. In *Schools and Styles of Anthropological Theory,* ed. by M. Candea. London and New York: Routledge.
De Maaker, E. 2013. Performing the Garo Nation? Garo Wangala Dancing between Faith and Folklore. *Asian Ethnology* 72 (2): 221–239. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23595477
Marcus, G. E. 2015. The Legacies of *Writing Culture* and the Near Future of the Ethnographic Form: A Sketch. In *Writing Culture and the Life of Anthropology,* ed. by O. Starn. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 35–51.
Marcus, G. E., and D. Cushman. 1982. Ethnographies as Texts. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11: 25–69. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2155775
Marturano, M. 2020. Ovid, Feminist Pedagogy, Toxic Manhood, and the Secondary School Classroom. *The Classical Outlook* 95 (4): 147–151. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26983714
McKenna, K. J. 2014. *Parabasis* in Nikolai Gogol's *The Inspector General*: The Proverbial Medium. *Proverbium* 31: 317–329.
McKim, A. M. 1989. "Gret Price Off Chewalry": Barbour's Debt to Fordun. *Studies in Scottish Literature* 24 (1): 7–29. https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/ssl/vol24/iss1/4
Melin, M. 2018. *A Story to Every Dance: The Role of Lore in Enhancing the Scottish Solo Dance Tradition*. Dublin: Lorg Press. 111 p.
Melin, M. 2019. *Hebridean Step Dancing: The Legacy of Nineteenth-Century Dancing Master Ewan MacLachlan*. Dublin: Lorg Press. 113 p.
Nuyen, A. T. 1990. Adorno and the French Post-Structuralists on the Other of Reason. *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 4 (4): 310–322. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25669971

Pensky, M. 2004. Method and Time: Benjamin's Dialectical Images. In *The Cambridge Companion to Walter Benjamin*, ed. by D. S. Ferris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 177–198.

Pickard, A. 2013. Ballet Body Belief: Perceptions of an Ideal Ballet Body from Young Ballet Dancers. *Research in Dance Education* 14 (1): 3–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/14647893.2012.712106

Radell, S. A., M. L. Keneman, D. D. Adame, and S. P. Cole. 2014. My Body and its Reflection: A Case Study of Eight Dance Students and the Mirror in the Ballet Classroom. *Research in Dance Education* 15: 161–178. https://doi.org/10.1080/14647893.2013.879256

Rothfield, P. 2010. Differentiating Phenomenology and Dance. In *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader* ed. by A. Carter and J. O'Shea. London and New York: Routledge. 303–318.

Savigliano, M. (2003) 2010. Gambling Femininity: Tango Wallflowers and Femmes Fatales. In *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader* ed. by A. Carter and J. O'Shea. London and New York: Routledge. 236–249.

Sheets-Johstone, M. 2023. Exploring the Aesthetic Uniqueness of the Art of Dance. In: *The New Yearbook for Phenomenology and Phenomenological Philosophy: Volume 21, Special Issue, 2023: Aesthetics, Art, Heidegger, French Philosophy*, ed. by B. C. Hopkins and D. De Santis. London and New York: Routledge. 256–278. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003434801-16

Sherratt, Y. 2002. *Adorno's Positive Dialectic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 254 p.

Shoupe, C. A. 2008. The 'Problem' with Scottish Dance Music: Two Paradigms. In *Driving the Bow: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic 2*, ed. by I. Russell and M. A. Alburger. Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen. 105–120.

Siegel, M. 2010. Bridging the Critical Distance. In *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader,* ed. by A. Carter and J. O'Shea. London and New York: Routledge. 188–196.

Spiegel, G. M. 1983. Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative. *History and Theory* 22 (1): 43–53. https://doi.org/10.2307/2505235

Streletsky, V. N., and S. A. Gorokhov. 2022. Cultural Geography in Russia in the Early 21st Century: Current State and Key Research Areas. *Regional Research of Russia* 12: 67–79. https://doi.org/10.1134/S2079970522020083

Tallaj, A. 2018. Religion on the Dance Floor: Afro-Dominican Music and Ritual from Altars to Clubs. *Civilisations* 67: 95–110. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26867739

Toren, C., and J. de Pina-Cabral. 2009. Introduction: What Is Happening to Epistemology? *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 53 (2): 1–18. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23182418

Trevor-Roper, H. (1983) 2000. The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland. In *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 15–42.

Trevor-Roper, H. 2009. The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 282 p.

Warburton, E. 2011. Of Meanings and Movements: Re-languaging Embodiment in Dance Phenomenology and Cognition. *Dance Research Journal* 43: 65–83. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0149767711000064

Welch, S. 2019. *The Phenomenology of a Performative Knowledge System: Dancing with Native American Epistemology*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. 215 p.

Winarnita, M. S. 2015. The Politics and Poetics of Authenticity: Indonesian Migrant Women and Cultural Representation in Perth, Australia. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 171 (4): 489–515. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43818744

Zinga, D., D. S. Molnar, M. Connolly, and N. Tacuri. 2019. Governed and Liberated Bodies: Experiences of Young Female Competitive Dancers. *Journal of Childhood Studies* 44 (3): 106–119. https://doi.org/10.18357/jcs00019177

MUSEUMS AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

UDC 39+069
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/112-128
Original Article

© *Valentina Klyuchareva*

BROADCASTING OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE MUSEUMS OF NORTHERN KAZAKHSTAN: THE MUSEUM'S ROLE IN THE FORMATION OF IDEAS ABOUT THE PAST

The museum space of a region is responsible for the formation of the historical memory of its inhabitants, consolidating the foundations of national identity in the minds of citizens. The article reveals the role of historical museums in broadcasting historical and cultural heritage in Northern Kazakhstan. Using the example of republican, urban, and rural museums, the author shows how the main theme of the exhibitions has been changing in response to the new historical narrative of the sovereign republic. The paper focuses on the following museums of the North Kazakhstan and Akmola regions: the Museum of the History of the city of Kokshetau, the Museum complex "Residence of Abylai Khan" (Petropavlovsk), the Malik Gabdullin Museum (Kokshetau), Syrymbet Historical and Syrymbet Historical-Ethnographic Museum named after Sh. Ualikhanov (Aiyrtau district of North Kazakhstan region). The ways of staging the historical past and the use of interactive technologies are analyzed. Main sources of information are the materials of the ethnographic expedition of 2023, mass media, memoirs, office documents. The study shows that in the years of independence, the museum business in Kazakhstan has undergone major changes: the historical narrative influenced the theme of the exhibitions centering them around the national history. The analysis of the influence of museums on the formation of historical memory and national identity revealed a departure from traditional museum strategies and strengthening of cultural and educational work.

Keywords: *historical and cultural heritage, museums, national identity, historical memory, Northern Kazakhstan, post-Soviet period*

Author Info: Klyuchareva, Valentina V. — Research Engineer, the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography Siberian Brunch RAS; Junior Researcher, Omsk State University named after F. M. Dostoevsky (Omsk, Russian Federation). E-mail: valentina1497@mail.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0003-8121-3875

For citation: Klyuchareva, V. V. 2025. Broadcasting of Historical and Cultural Heritage in the Museums of Northern Kazakhstan: The Museum's Role in the Formation of Ideas about the Past. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 112–128.

Funding: The study was carried out within the framework of the Russian Science Foundation № 23-28-01069, https://rscf.ru/project/23-28-01069/

References

Amanzholova, D. A. 2017. "Ya dushoi boleiu za literaturu". Iz zapisi besedy s Geroem Sovetskogo Soiuza M. Gabdullinym. 1943 g. [«I'm a Fan of Literature». From a Recording of a Conversation with the Hero of the Soviet Union M. Gabdullin. 1943]. *Rossiiskie regiony*: *vzgliad v budushchee* 4 (2): 106–149.

Assman, A. 2014. *Dlinnaia ten' proshlogo: memorial'naia kul'tura i istoricheskaia politika* [A Long Shadow of the Past: Memorial Culture and Historical Politics]. Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie. 328 p.

Assman, A. 2019. *Zabvenie istorii — oderzhimost' istoriei* [Oblivion of History — Obsession With History]. Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie. 552 p.

Golovnev, A. V. 2019a. Vizualizatsiia etnichnosti: muzeinye proektsii [Visualization of Ethnicity: Museum Projections]. *Ural'skii istoricheskii vestnik* (65): 72–81. https://doi.org/10.30759/1728-9718-2019-4(65)-72-81

Golovnev, A. V. 2019b. Muzeinoe myshlenie: soblazn otkrytiya i instinkt khraneniya [Museum Thinking: the Temptation of Discovery and the Instinct of Storage] *Kunstkamera* 3 (5): 9–18. https://doi.org/10.31250/2618-8619-2019-3(5)-9-18

Halbwachs, M. 2005. Kollektivnaia i istoricheskaia pamyat' [Collective and Historical Memory]. *Neprikosnovennyi zapas* 2 (40). https://magazines.gorky.media/nz/2005/2/kollektivnaya-i-istoricheskaya-pamyat.html

Kaliadina, I. S. 2015. Strategiia prodvizheniia sovremennogo muzeia kak kul'turno-sotsial'nogo fenomena i odnogo iz faktorov razvitiia territorii [The Strategy of Promoting the Modern Museum as a Cultural and Social Phenomenon and One of the Factors of the Territory's Development]. *Mezhdunarodnyi nauchnyi zhurnal «Innovatsionnaia nauka». Kul'turologiia* (10): 224–225.

Kocheryzhkina, Yu. V. 2012. Klassifikatsiia muzeev Petropavlovska [Classification of Petropavlovsk Museums]. *Mezhvuzovskii vestnik* 1 (18): 14–18.

Kozhakhmetov, B. K., G. M. Safarova, and E. R. Usmanova. 2010. Muzei Kazakhstana v XXI veke. Analiz situatsii [Museums of Kazakhstan in the XXI Century. Situation Analysis]. *Gorokhovskie chteniia: materialy pervoi regional'noi muzeinoi konferentsii* [Gorokhov Readings: Materials of the First Regional Museum Conference], ed. by N. O. Ivanova. Chelyabinsk: Prospekt. 95–128.

Kozhokar, V. A. 2022. *Muzei Severo-Vostochnogo Kazakhstana v XIX — nachale XXI vv.* [Museums of North-Eastern Kazakhstan in the XIX — early XXI Centuries]. Ph.D. diss., Tomsk State University. http://vital.lib.tsu.ru/vital/access/manager/Repository/koha:000895256 (accessed February 19, 2024).

Mastenitsa, E. N. 2008. Kul'turnoe nasledie v sovremennom mire: kontseptualizatsiia ponyatiia i problematiki [Cultural Heritage in the Modern World: Conceptualization of the Concept and Issues]. *Trudy Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo instituta kul'tury* 180: 252–262.

Mazur, L. N. 2019. Memorial'nye muzei politicheskikh deyatelei v prostranstve istoricheskoi pamyati sovremennoi Rossii [Memorial Museums of Political Figures in the Space of Historical Memory of Modern Russia]. *Dialog so vremenem* 66: 100–119.

Mazur, L. N. 2022. Narodnyi muzei kak forma initsiativnoi kommemoratsii v proshlom i nastoyashchem [The National Museum as a Form of Initiative Commemoration in the Past and Present]. *Budushchee nashego proshlogo-7: Istoricheskaia pamiat' i kommemorativnye praktiki. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii. 26–27 noyabria 2021 g.* [The Future of our Past-7: Historical Memory and Commemorative Practices. Materials of the International Scientific Conference. November 26–27, 2021], ed. by E. V. Barysheva, S. S. Novoselsky, and K. A. Medvedev. Moscow: RSUH. 52–62.

Mazur, L. N. 2023. Muzei malykh gorodov Rossii: osobennosti mediatsii lokal'noi istorii [Museums of Small Towns in Russia: Features of Mediation of Local History]. *Istoriia i arkhivy* 5 (3): 71–88.

Medeuova, K. A., U. M. Sandybaeva, Z. Zh. Naurzbaeva et. al. 2017. *Praktiki i mesta pamyati v Kazakhstane* [Practices and Places of Memory in Kazakhstan]. Astana: L. N. Gumilyov ENU. 320 p.

Nikolaenko, G. A., and E. V. Evsikova. 2016. Novaia kontseptsiia istoricheskoi pamyati: ot M. Khal'bvaksa k A. Assman [A New Concept of Historical Memory: from M. Halbwaks to A. Assman]. *Kul'turnaia pamiat' i kul'turnaia identichnost': materialy Vserossiiskoi (s mezhdunarodnym uchastiem) nauchnoi konferentsii molodykh uchenykh (XI Kolosnitsynskie chteniia)* [Cultural Memory and Cultural Identity: Materials of the All-Russian (With International Participation) Scientific Conference of Young Scientists (XI Kolosnitsyn Readings)]. Yekaterinburg: Izdatel'stvo Ural'skogo universiteta. 122–126.

Nora, P. 1999. *Natsiia — pamyat'* [The Nation is a Memory]. *Frantsiia — pamyat'* [France is a Memory]. St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta. 17–50.

Piotrovskii, M. B. 2019. Muzei — khraniteli pamiati i pamiatnikov [Museums — Keepers of Memory and Monuments]. *Vestnik Rossiiskoi akademii nauk* 89 (12): 1210–1213.

Tomilov, N. A. 2012. *Muzeologiia kak otrasl' znanii: izbrannye lektsii dlia studentov vysshikh uchebnykh zavedenii* [Museology as a Branch of Knowledge: Selected Lectures for Students of Higher Educational Institutions]. Omsk: Nauka. 100 p.

UDC 39+069
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/129-147
Original Article

© *Elizaveta Komova*

YAMAL'S ETHNO-CULTURAL HERITAGE IN CYBERSPACE: MUSEUMS IN THE VKONTAKTE SOCIAL NETWORK

Museum expositions (including virtual ones) are a bright and popular form of presentation of ethnic resources. The Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug is one of the most museumified regions of the Russian Arctic and has vast experience in implementing various ethnic projects. Many local initiatives have their origin in cyberspace, which not only helps in the museum's daily activities, but also contributes to the popularisation of museum collections. Therefore, the aim of the research was to study the trends of digitalisation of culture through the museum space: in the groups of museums in the YNAO in the social network VKontakte. The focus of the study was on the content with ethnic specificity. Different formats (text, photo-illustrative, videographic and audio-sound) were used in the creation of posts. Ethnic holidays, festivals, master classes, excursions are popular information occasions for publication. In addition to the events held in the physical space of the museum, the projects created specifically for virtual visitors — digital library, cycles of videos, contests, etc. — were considered. A questionnaire consisting of 12 questions was prepared for the study. More than 100 subscribers from 14 museums took the cyber survey. Thus, in the social network VKontakte the studied museums are registered as open groups, the subscribers have access to the use of various tools of virtual interaction (writing on the wall, creating and discussing topics, etc.), on average they regularly update their pages. In addition, the respondents assigned museum groups the role of an enticing informer for the virtual audience, the main goal of which is to convert it into a real one.

Keywords: *Yamal, museums, Internet, social network, heritage, ethno-resource, ethno-content*

Author Info: **Komova, Elizaveta A**. — Postgraduate student, Junior researcher, Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation). E-mail: el_fedorova21@mail.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8895-106X

For citation: Komova, E. A. 2025. Yamal's Ethno-Cultural Heritage in Cyberspace: Museums in the *VKontakte* Social Network. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 129–147.

Funding: The research was supported by the Russian Science Foundation grant No. 23-78-10079, https://rscf.ru/project/23-78-10079/

References

Golovnev, A. V. 1995. *Govoriashchie kul'tury: traditsii samodiitsev i ugrov* [Speaking Cultures: Samoyed and Ugrian Traditions]. Ekaterinburg: UrO RAN. 600 p.

Golovnev, A. V. 2004. *Kochevniki tundry: nentsy i ikh fol'klor* [Tundra Nomads: Nenets and Their Folklore]. Ekaterinburg: UrO RAN. 343 p.

Golovnev, A. V. 2019. Muzeinoe myshlenie: soblazn otkrytiia i instinkt khraneniia [Museum Think-

ing: The Temptation of Discovery and Storage Instinct]. *Kunstkamera* 3(5): 9–18. https://doi.org/10.31250/2618-8619-2019-3(5)-9-18

Golovnev, A. V., S. Yu. Belorussova, and T. S. Kisser. 2021. *Virtual'naia etnichnost' i kiberetnografiia* [Virtual Ethnicity and Cyberethnography]. Saint Petersburg: MAE RAN. 280 p.

Goode, G. B. (1891) 1991. *The Origins of Natural Science in America*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press. 411 p.

Johnson, M. A., and W. Sink. 2013. Ethnic Museum Public Relations: Cultural Diplomacy and Cultural Intermediaries in the Digital Age. *Public Relations Inquiry* 2(3): 355–376. https://doi.org/10.1177/2046147X13491762

Kelly, L. 2013. The Connected Museum in the World of Social Media. In *Museum Communication and Social Media*, ed. by K. Drotner and K. C. Schrøder. New York: Routledge. 88–109.

Kisser, T. S. 2019. Muzei real'nyi i virtual'nyi (opyt rossiiskikh nemtsev) [Museum Real and Virtual (The Experience of Russian Germans)]. *Ural'skii istoricheskii vestnik* 4(65): 82–89. https://doi.org/10.30759/1728-9718-2019-4(65)-82-89

Komova, E. A. 2023. Etnokul'turnoye naslediye v muzeyakh Yamala: kontseptsii i ekspozitsii [Ethnocultural Heritage in Yamal Museums: Concepts and Displays]. *Yezhegodnik finno-ugorskikh issledovaniy* 4: 587–596. https://doi.org/10.35634/2224-9443-2023-17-4-587-596

Kurinskikh, P. A. 2021. Perspektivy razvitiia sotsial'nykh setei v deiatel'nosti muzeev RAN [The Perspective of Using Social Networks in Local Museums of Russian Academy of Sciences]. *Vestnik Kemerovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta kul'tury i iskusstv* 54: 24–32.

Ryndina, O. M. 2018. Kody traditsionnoi kul'tury i etnicheskaia identichnost' v sovremennosti [Codes of a Traditional Culture and an Ethnic Identity in the Modern Era]. *Kul'tura v evraziiskom prostranstve: traditsii i novatsii* 1(2): 40–44.

Ryndina, O. M. 2019. Etnicheskaia kul'tura, tsifrovizatsiia i neotraditsionalizm [Ethnic Culture, Digitalization and Neo-Traditionalism]. *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* 35: 264–274. https://doi.org/10.17223/22220836/35/24

Sizova, I. A. 2016. Muzei i sotsial'nye seti: napravleniia raboty [Museums and Social Networks: Areas of Work]. In *Trudy Tomskogo oblastnogo kraevedcheskogo muzeia im. M. B. Shatilova: Materialy mezhregional'noi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii "Shatilovskie chteniia — 2014"* [Proceedings of the Tomsk Regional Museum of Local Lore Named After M. B. Shatilov. M. B. Shatilov: Materials of the Interregional Scientific-Practical Conference 'Shatilov Readings — 2014'], ed. by K. N. Shirko. Tomsk: Izdatel'stvo 'Veter'. 57–61.

Sizova, I. A. 2022. Monetizatsiia muzeinykh onlain-produktov: mekhanizmy, strategii, primery [Monetizing Online Museum Products: Mechanisms, Strategies, and Examples]. *Voprosy muzeologii* 13 (1): 140–148. https://doi.org/10.21638/spbu27.2022.110

Sizova, I. A., and V. E. Gordin. 2022. Tsifrovizatsiia muzeev: trudnosti, uspekhi, perspektivy (po materialam sotsiologicheskogo issledovaniia) [The Digitalization of Museums: Challenges, Successes, and Prospects (On the Materials of Sociological Research)]. *Informatsionnoe obshchestvo* 4: 35–44. https://doi.org/10.52605/16059921_2022_04_35

Underberg, N. M., and E. Zorn (eds.). 2013. *Digital Ethnography: Anthropology, Narrative, and New Media*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 127 p.

Weil, S. 1999. From Being About Something to Being for Somebody: The Ongoing Transformation of the American Museum. *Daedalus* 128(3): 229–258.

UDC 39+069
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/148-162
Original Article

"AND HERE WE HAVE THE MOTHER SWA": THE TRANSMISSION OF (QUASI-) ETHNOGRAPHIC KNOWLEDGE IN MODERN MUSEUMS OF "RUSSIAN SUPERSTITIONS"

The paper examines the current ethnographic knowledge and its distortions around old and new local history and ethnographic museums, both public and private. The current development of the concept of "museum" is discussed together with its semantic content, thanks to which commercial craft and other practices receive legitimation in the form of conventional museum activities. The paper analyzes the self-presentations of a special category of new Russian ethnic museums — museums of Russian superstitions, which aim to present the spiritual life of our ancestors, sometimes demonstrating an uncritical attitude towards the sources of information available in modern culture, subject to the obvious influence of uncertainty. Using the example of a museum-workshop in the village of Vladimirskoye, Nizhny Novgorod region, the author shows the ways by which quasi-ethnographic knowledge is transmitted and disseminated, and discusses the current position of ethnographic knowledge as perceived by the wide audience.

Keywords: *ethnography, scientific knowledge, ethnic museums, folk culture, new paganism, popular culture*

Author Info: Korolev, **Cyril M.** — Ph.D., Director, The Patria Center for History and Culture (Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation), Visiting Fellow, IEA RAS, (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: cyril.korolev@gmail.com ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8831-2970

For citation: Korolev, C. M. 2025. "And Here We Have the Mother Swa": The Transmission of (Quasi-)Ethnographic Knowledge in Modern Museums of "Russian Superstitions". *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 148–162.

Funding: The article was carried out as the framework of the research project: within the framework of the Scientific Research Program related to the study of the ethnocultural diversity of Russian society and aimed at strengthening Russian identity, 2023–2025.

References

Baiburin, A. 2004. Etnograficheskii muzei: semiotika i ideologiia [The Enthographic Museum: Semiotics and Indeology]. *Neprikosnovennyi zapas* 33(1): 81–86.

Baudrillard, J. 1981. *Simulacres et Simulation* [Simulacra and Simulation]. Paris: Galilée. 158 p.

Beskov, A. 2020. Simvoly razdora: runicheskaia pis'mennost' v zerkale rossiiskoi i zapadnoi pressy [Symbols of Discord: Runic Writing as Seen by Russian and Foreign Media]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta*. *Seriia 7. Filosofiia* 1: 77–92.

Bokareva, M. 2023. Proekt "Zimenki': bol'shaia sem'ia muzeev narodnoi istorii i kul'tury [The Zimenki Project: A Big Family of Folk Culture Museums]. *Noosfernye issledovaniia* 16: 25–33.

Bourdieu, P. 2007. *Sotsiologiia sotsial'nogo prostranstva* [The Sociology of the Social Space]. Moscow: Institut eksperimental'noi sotsiologii; Saint Petersburg: Aleteiia. 251 p.

Cameron, D. F. 1971. The Museum, a Temple or the Forum? *Curator* 14(1): 11–24. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2151-6952.1971.tb00416.x

Chuprov, A. 2013. Eshche raz o tak nazyvaemoi novoi khronologii [Once More About the So-called New Chronology]. *Sotsium i vlast'* 3(41): 95–99.

Forum. 2007. Etnograficheskie muzei segodnia [Ethnographic Museums Today]. *Antropologicheskii forum* 6: 6–132.

Forum. 2020. Tendentsii izmeneniia nauchnogo landshafta [Trends of Scientific Landscape Changing]. *Antropologicheskii forum* 46: 11–124.

Fritze, R. H. 2009. *Invented Knowledge: False History, Fake Science and Pseudo-Religions*. London: Reaktion Books. 304 p.

Geertz, C. 2004. *Interpretatsiia kul'tur* [The Interpretation of Cultures]. Moscow: Rossiiskaia politicheskaia entsiklopediia. 470 p.

Golovnev, A. V. 2021. Novaia etnografiia Severa [The New Anthography of the North]. *Etnografia* 1(11): 6–24.

Grin'ko, I. 2023. Novoe muzeinoe myshlenie: antropologicheskii podkhod [New Museum Thinking: an Anthropological View]. *Sotsial'nye i gumanitarnye nauki. Otechestvennaia i zarubezhnaia literatura*. *Seriia 5: Istoriia* 3: 247–265. https://doi.org/10.31249/hist/2023.03.13

Hofstede, G. 2001. *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations*. (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 596 p.

Hofstede, G. 2011. Dimensionalizing Cultures: The Hofstede Model in Context. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture* 2(1): 1–26. https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/orpc/vol2/iss1/8/ https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1014

Ivanova, A. 2019. "Uzelkovoe pis'mo' lokal'noi identichnosti. K voprosu o sovremennykh formakh sokhraneniia i prezentatsii mestnym soobshchestvom istoricheskoi i etnokul'turnoi informatsii [A Knot Writing of Local Identity. To the Modern Forms of Preserving Historical and Ethno-/Cultural Information by a Local Community]. *Kenozerskie chteniia — 2019. Grazhdanskie initsiativy v zapovednom uklade*: *sbornik materialov IX Vserossijskoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferencii s mezhdunarodnim uchastiem* [Kenozerskie Readings — 2019. Civic Initiatives in the Reserved Way of Life: Collection of Materials of 9th All-Russian Scientific-Practical Conference with International Participation], ed. by M. N. Meliutina, S. I. Drovnina, S. N. Marich; E. F. Shatkovskaia. P. 161–171.

Korolev, C. 2018. Kot Baiun i kvazifol'klornaia sostavliaiushchaia sovremennoi massovoi kul'tury [The Bayun Cat and the Quasi-Folklore Element of Modern Popular Culture]. *Antropologicheskii forum* 39: 52–87. https://doi.org/10.31250/1815-8870-2018-14-39-52-87

Korolev, C. 2019. *Poiski natsional'noi identichnosti v sovetskoi i postsovetskoi massovoi kul'ture* [The Quest for National Identity in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Popular Culture]. Saint Petersburg: Nestor-istoriia. 374 p.

Korolev, C. 2021. "Vozvrashchenie istorii': obshchestvennye muzeinye initsiativy skvoz' prizmu simvolicheskoi politiki [History Returns: Public Museum Initiatives Through the Mirror of Sumbolic Politics]. In *Simvolicheskie aspekty politiki pamiati v sovremennoi Rossii i Vostochnoi Evrope* [Symbolic Aspects of Memory Politics in Contemporary Russia and Eastern Europe], ed. by A. I. Miller, V. V. Lapin. Saint Petersburg: EU publishing. 199–212.

Kozlov, V., and A. Smirnova. 2018. *Iz istorii Soiuza kraevedov Rossii i sovremennogo kraevedcheskogo dvizheniia. 1990–2018 gg*. [From the History of Public Ethnography Movement, 1990–2018]. Moscow: Kraevedenie. 122 p.

Kupriianov, P. 2016. Obraz traditsionnoi kul'tury v istoricheskom muzee: proizvodstvo, osobennosti i funktsii [The Image of Traditional Culture at a Historical Museum: Its Production, Specificities, and Functions]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 6: 11–26.

Kupriianov, P., and N. Savina. 2020. Sovremennyi muzei russkoi derevni: proizvodstvo sel'skosti byvshimi gorozhanami [Modern Museums of the Russian Village: Production of Rurality by Ex-Urban Residents]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 6: 12–30.

Lesiva, A. 2021–2022. Predposylki i priroda fenomena pozdnesovetskogo spirituality [Initial Search for and the Nature of the Late Soviet Spirituality]. *Veter perestroiki* 89–94.

Malinova, O. 2013. *Konstruirovanie smyslov: issledovanie simvolicheskoi politiki v sovremennoi Rossii* [Constructing of Meanings; a Study of Symbolic Politics in the Modern Russia]. Moscow: INION RAN. 380 p.

Mastenitsa, E. 2020. Muzei v nachale tret'ego tysiacheletiia: vedushchie tendentsii razvitiia [A Museum at the Gate of the Third Millennium: Leading Currents of Development]. *Obshchestvo. Sreda. Razvitie* 3: 46–54.

Matlin, M. 2023. Svoeobrazie retransliatsii legendy o grade Kitezhe v videotekstakh blogerov YouTube [Specifics of the Kitezh Legend Re-Translation in the YouTube Blogging]. *Nauchnyi dialog* 12(5): 173–191. https://doi.org/10.24224/2227-1295-2023-12-5-173-191

Olson, L. 2004. *Performing Russia — Folk Revival and Russian Identity*. London and New York: Routledge. 296 p.

Petrova, N. 2013. Kikimora Viatskaia i Koshchei Tverskoi, ili Feiklornaia karta Rossii [Kikimora of Vyatka and Koschei of Tver, or The fake-lore map of Russia]. In *Fol'klor XXI veka: Geroi nashego vremeni* [XXI Century Folklore: Heroic of our Time], ed. by M. D. Alekseevskii. Moscow: GRTsRF. 30–38.

Poliakova, O. 2021. Gorizont razvitiia virtual'nykh muzeev v XXI veke [The Limits of Virtual Museums' Development in the 20th Century]. *The Scientific Heritage* 80(4): 23–25. https://doi.org/10.24412/9215-0365-2021-80-4-23-25

Pozanenko, N., and A. Pozanenko. 2021. "Dva ucheniia, dva uklada: anastasiiskie i rerikhovskie pereselentsy v sel'skoi mestnosti [Two Credos, Two Lives: The Anastasian and Rerikh Redidents in the Country]. *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Filosofiia. Sotsiologiia. Politologiia* 64: 163–171.

Roife, A. 2007. Marginal'nye formy istoriograficheskoi fantazii XX veka [Marginal Forms of Historiographic Fantasy in the 20th Century]. *Voprosy kul'turologii* 5: 33–37.

Smirnov, G. 2023. Opti-misticheskii postskriptum: priglashenie k diskussii o Palekhskom kraevedcheskom muzee [An Optimystic P. S.: An Invite to Discuss the Palekh Museum of Local History]. *Noosfernye issledovaniia* 1: 41–44.

Svistunov, A. 2018. Formy sushchestvovaniia traditsii v sovremennom rossiiskom obshchestve [Forms of Tradition in the Modern Russia]. *Sotsial'no-gumanitarnye znaniia* 11: 203–211.

Zavadskii, A., V. Sklez, and K. Suverina (eds). 2019. *Politika affekta: muzei kak prostranstvo publichnoi istorii* [The Politics of Affect: Museums as a Space of Public History]. Moscow: NLO. 400 p.

ANTHROPOLOGY OF GENDER

UDC 39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/163-174
Original Article

MASCULINE MODELS IN MODERN ICELAND IN THE CONTEXT OF GENDER POLICY REFORM AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS OF 2008–2011

The article examines the masculine patterns and images that are the most popular among modern Icelanders. The author shows how the reforms in gender legislation in the early 2000s and the economic crisis of 2008–2011 have contributed to the emergence of new masculine models in Iceland, such as the "caring father", and led to a rethinking of the role of more conventional, dominant gender images which appealed to the Viking Age. The crisis and new gender legislation have created a more inclusive environment, that has contributed to the emergence not of the one new, dominant masculine model, but of many non-mutually exclusive masculine identities that intersect and coexist. The work also touches on the main perspectives that exist in the anthropological literature on the problems of the intersection of masculine and national discourses in Iceland. The models which researchers use to explain the emergence and existence of certain masculine images in Icelandic society are described as well. It is also shown how these images are utilized in the construction of Icelandic national myths and the modern Icelandic nation.

Keywords: *Iceland, masculinity, gender, intersectionality, crisis, historiography.*

Author Info: **Snedkov, Gennady A**. — Postgraduate Student, the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: jgus@bk.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7797-4271

For citation: Snedkov, G. A. 2025. Masculine Models in Modern Iceland in the Context of Gender Policy Reform and the Economic Crisis of 2008–2011. *Herald of Anthropology* (*Vestnik Antropologii*) 1: 163–174.

References

Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso. 240 p.

Arnalds, A. A., G. B. Eydal, and I. V. Gíslason. 2013. Equal Rights to Paid Parental Leave and Caring Fathers — the Case of Iceland. *Icelandic Review of Politics and Administration* 9(2): 323–344. http://dx.doi.org/10.13177/irpa.a.2013.9.2.4

Centonze, A. L. 2011. Iceland's Financial Meltdown. *Journal of Financial Education* 37(1/2): 131–166. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41948662

Einarsdóttir, T., and G. M. Pétursdóttir. 2017. Well-earned Respectability or Legitimation of Masculinities? Powerful and Publicly Celebrated Men in Pre- and Post-Collapse Iceland. *Women's Studies International Forum* 61: 48–57. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2017.02.001

Einarsdóttir, T., G. L. Rafnsdóttir, M. S. Sigurdardóttir, and M. T. Torfason. 2020. Networks, Homogeneity and Gender in Icelandic Business Elites. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*

36: 17–60. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scaman.2019.101091

Gíslason, I. V. 2017. Fathers on Leave Alone in Iceland: Normal Paternal Behavior? In *Comparative Perspectives on Work-Life Balance and Gender Equality*. *Fathers on Leave Alone,* ed. by O'Brien, M. and K. Wall. Springer Open. 147–162. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-42970-0_9

Gíslason, I. V. 2007. *Parental Leave in Iceland: Bringing the Fathers in. Developments in the Wake of New Legislation in 2000*. Akureyri: Jafnréttisstofa. 35 p.

Gíslason, I. V., and S. Simonardóttir. 2018. Mothering and Gender Equality in Iceland: Irreconcilable Opposites? *Social Policy & Society* 17(3): 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746417000525

Gremaud, A.-S. N. 2010. The Vikings are Coming! A Modern Icelandic Self-image in the Light of the Economic Crisis. *Nordeuropa forum* 20 1(2): 87–106. https://doi.org/10.18452/8040

Jóhannsdóttir, A., and I. V. Gíslason. 2018. Young Icelandic Men's Perception of Masculinities. *Journal of Men's Studies* 26(1): 3–19. https://doi.org/10.1177/1060826517711161

Jónsson, A. K. 2018. Family Policies, Childbearing, and Economic Crisis: The Case of Iceland. *Demographic Research* 39: 561–592. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26585340

Koester, D. 1995. Gender Ideology and Nationalism in the Culture and Politics of Iceland. *American Ethnologist* 22(3): 55–63.

Loftsdóttir, K., and L. Jensen. 2014. *Crisis in the Nordic Nations and Beyond*. London: Ashgate. 188 p.

Loftsdóttir, K. 2010. Loss of Innocence: The Icelandic Financial Crisis and Colonial Past. *Anthropology Today* 26(6): 9–13. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8322.2010.00769.x

Loftsdóttir, K. 2014. Vikings Invade Present-Day Iceland. In *Gambling Debt: Iceland's Rise and Fall in the Global Economy,* ed. by E. P. Durrenberger and G. Palsson. Denver: University Press of Colorado. 3–14.

Pesonen, A. 2015. Encouraging Work-Family Balance to Correct Gender Imbalance: A Comparison of the Family and Medical Leave Act and The Iceland Act on Maternity/Paternity and Parental Leave. *Houston Journal of International Law* 37(1): 157–196.

Þorvaldsdóttir, T. 2011. The Gender-Equal North: Icelandic Images of Femininity and Masculinity. In *Iceland and Images of the North*, ed. by S. R. Ísleifsson, D. Chartier. Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, "Droit au Pôle" series, and Reykjavík: Reykjavíkur Akademían. P. 405–434.

UDC 39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/175-188
Original Article

GENDER ORDER IN THE CONTEXT OF TRANSFORMATION: GENDER CONTRACTS AND RESOURCES INVESTED IN THEM IN RUSSIA IN 1991–1999

The article summarizes the results of a study of changes in the gender order in Russia during the period of radical transformation of social foundations after the fall of the Soviet Union and during the formation of a democratic and market state in the 1990s. During the fieldwork, 52 narratives were collected and analyzed using phenomenological analysis, which allowed us to get an idea of how gender contracts were transformed and what strategies men and women chose to adapt to the changes. As a result, it was found that the contracts of a "housewife" and a "working mother" remained the dominant female gender contracts. However, the transition period imposed an additional burden on them forcing them to "invest" a significant time resource in finding and preparing food, making clothes, maintaining comfort at home. In the context of the crisis of the previously paternalistic state, part of the care work was shifted to women, who were forced to spend a significant amount of time on it to the detriment of the quality of adaptation to the market economy. At the same time, men in the 1990s gained access to the gender contract of the "entrepreneur," but often found themselves forced to sacrifice their security and stability. If, for various reasons, a man could not successfully integrate into the new economic realities, he found himself subject to a possible crisis of masculinity.

Keywords: *gender contracts, gender order, the nineties, transition period, crisis of masculinity*

Authors Info: **Golovina, Anna V.** — Research Intern at the Center for Applied History, Institute of Social Sciences, The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: golovina-av@ranepa.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1594-0244
Arkhipova, Maryana N. — Ph.D. in History, Senior Lecturer, Department of Ethnology, Faculty of History, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Center for Applied History, Institute of Social Sciences, The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: arkhipova-mn@ranepa.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3332-1292

For citation: Golovina, A. V., and M. N. Arkhipova. 2025. Gender Order in the Context of Transformation: Gender Contracts and Resources Invested in Them in Russia in 1991–1999. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 175–188.
Funding: The article was prepared as part of the research work of the Center for Applied History of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) "Socio-economic Reforms in the Context of the Evolution of the Social Structure of Russian Society at the Turn of the Century".

References

Abramov, R. N. 2012. Vremya i prostranstvo nostal'gii [Time and Space of Nostalgy]. *Sociologicheskij zhurnal* 4: 5–23.

Andrienko, Yu. V. 2001. V poiskakh ob"iasneniia rosta prestupnosti v Rossii v perekhodnyi period: kriminometricheskii podkhod [In Search of an Explanation for the Rise in Crime in Russia During the Transition Period: A Criminometric Approach]. *Ekonomicheskii zhurnal Vysshei shkoly ekonomiki* 5 (2): 194–220.

Borozdina, E., E. Zdravomyslova, and A. Temkina. 2019. Zabota v postsovetskom prostranstve mezhdu paternalismom i neoliberalizmom: feministskie issledovaniia [Care in the Post-Soviet Space Between Paternalism and Neoliberalism: Feminist Research]. In *Kriticheskaia sotsiologiia zaboty: perekrestki sotsial'nogo neravenstva* [Critical Sociology of Care: Crossroads of Social Inequality], ed. by E. Borozdina, E. Zdravomyslova, A. Temkina. Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Evropeiskogo universiteta v Sankt-Peterburge. 6–23.

Busygina, N. P. 2009. Fenomenologicheskoe opisanie i interpretatsiia: primery analiza dannykh v kachestvennykh psikhologicheskikh issledovaniiakh [Phenomenological Description and Interpretation: Examples of Data Analysis in Qualitative Psychological Research]. *Moskovskii psikhoterapevticheskii zhurnal* 2(61): 52–76.

Buyandelgeriyn, M. 2008. Post-Post-Transition Theories: Walking on Multiple Paths. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37: 235–250. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.37.081407.085214

Fahs, B., and E. Swank. 2016. The Other Third Shift? Women's Emotion Work in Their Sexual Relationships. *Feminist Formations* 28 (3): 49–69. https://doi.org/10.1353/ff.2016.0043

Karl, T. L., and F. Shmitter. 2004. Demokratizatsiia: kontsepty, postulaty, gipotezy (Razmyshleniia po povodu primenimosti tranzitologicheskoi paradigmy pri izuchenii postkommunisticheskikh transformatsii) [Democratization: Concepts, Postulates, Hypotheses (Reflections on the Applicability of the Transitological Paradigm in the Study of Post-Communist Transformations)]. *Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniia* 4: 6–27.

Karozers, T. 2003. Konets paradigm tranzita [The End of the Transit Paradigm]. *Politicheskaia nauka* 2: 42–65.

Kon, I. 2009. *Muzhchina v meniaiushchemsia mire* [A Man in a Changing World]. Moscow: Vremia. 496 p.

Konnel, R. 2015. *Gender i vlast'. Obshchestvo, lichnost' i gendernaia politika* [Gender and Power. Society, Personality and Gender Politics]. Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie. 432 p.

Magnussen, S. et al. 2006. What People Believe About Memory. *Memory* 14 (5): 595–613.

Maslov, D. V. 2022. *Ot sovetskogo cheloveka k rossiianinu: reformy i sotsial'naia evoliutsiia individa (seredina 1980-kh — 1990-e gg.)* [From Soviet Man to Russian: Reforms and Social Evolution of the Individual (mid-1980s — 1990s)]. Moscow: Nauchno-politicheskaia kniga, 359 p.

Nartova, N. A. 2008. Gendernyi kontrakt sovremennogo rossiiskogo obshchestva i nekonventsional'nye gendernye identichnosti [Gender Contract of Modern Russian Society and Non-Conventional Gender Identities]. *Zhenshchina v rossiiskom obshchestve* 3: 56–64.

Puzyreĭ, A. A. 1997. Manipulirovanie imaĭevtika: dve paradigm psihotekhniki [Manipulation and Maieutics: Two Paradigms of Psychotechnics]. *Voprosy metodologii* 3–4: 148–165.

Rastou, D. A. 1996. Perekhody k demokratii: popytka dinamicheskoi modeli [Transitions to Democracy: An Attempt at a Dynamic Model]. *Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniia* 5: 5–15.

Tartakovskaia, I. N. 2002. Muzhchiny na rynke truda [Men in the Labor Market]. *Sotsiologicheskii zhurnal* 3: 112–125.

Temkina, A. A., and A. Rotkirkh. 2007. Sovetskie gendernye kontrakty i ikh transformatsiia v sovremennoi Rossii [Soviet Gender Contracts and Their Transformation in Modern Russia]. *Rossiiskii gendernyi poriadok: sotsiologicheskii podkhod*: 11–12.

Volkov, V. V. 2020. *Silovoe predprinimatel'stvo, XXI vek: ekonomiko-sotsiologicheskii analiz* [Power Entrepreneurship, 21st Century: Economic and Sociological Analysis]. Saint Petersburg: Evropeiskii universitet v Sankt-Peterburge. 350 p.

Zdravomyslova, E. A., A. Rotkirkh, and A. A. Temkina. 2009. Vvedenie. Sozdanie privatnosti kak sfery zaboty, liubvi I naemnogo truda [Creating Privacy as a Sphere of Care, Love and Wage Labor]. In *Novyi byt v sovremennoi Rossii: gendernye issledovaniia povsednevnosti* [New Everyday Life in Modern Russia: Gender Studies of Everyday Life], ed. by E. A. Zdravomyslova, A. Rotkirkh and A. A. Temkina. Saint Petersburg: Evropeiskii universitet v Sankt-Peterburge. 7–32.

Zdravomyslova, E., and A. Temkina. 2002. Krizis maskulinnosti v pozdnesovetskom diskurse [The Crisis of Masculinity in Late Soviet Discourse]. In *O muzhe (N) stvennosti* [On Masculinity], ed. by S. Ushakin. Saint Petersburg: Evropeiskii universitet v Sankt-Peterburge. 432–451.

Zdravomyslova, E., and A. Temkina. 2007. Neotraditsionalizm(y) — transformatsiia gendernogo grazhdanstva v sovremennoi Rossii [Neotraditionalism(s) — Transformation of Gender Citizenship in Modern Russia]. In *Rossiiskii gendernyi poriadok: sotsiologicheskii podkhod* [Russia's Gender Order: A Sociological Approach], ed. by E. Zdravomyslova and A. Temkina. Saint Petersburg: Evropeiskii universitet v Sankt-Peterburge. 205–207.

Zdravomyslova, E. A., and A. A. Temkina. 2003. Gosudarstvennoe konstruirovanie gendera v sovetskom obshchestve [State Construction of Gender in Soviet Society]. *Zhurnal issledovanii sotsial'noi politiki* 1(3/4): 299–302.

UDC 39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/189-199
Original Article

© *Karolina Koval*

THE DIARIES OF M. L. KAZEM-BEK AS A SOURCE ON THE HISTORY OF THE DAILY LIFE OF AN EDUCATED URBAN WOMAN OF THE LATE 19TH — EARLY 20TH CENTURY

The article examines and analyzes the diaries of an educated St. Petersburg woman M. L. Kazem-Bek (1855–1918). As a personal document, the diaries of Maria Kazem-Bek provide a unique look at her thoughts, feelings and events that she experienced in her daily life. In addition, the woman's notes reveal details of her daily routine, including activities, reading, attending events, communicating with friends and family members. The analysis of M. L. Kazem-Bek's diaries allows to understand how educated urban women of that time carried out their self-expression, overcame social restrictions, and combined family responsibilities and self-realization. They also helped to reveal aspects of an educated woman's daily life that were previously little known.

Keywords: *women's daily life, Maria Kazem-Bek, the source of everyday life, diaries, ego documents*

Author Info: Koval, Karolina S. — Postgraduate Student, the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: karolinakoval@yandex.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0786-9986

For citation: Koval, K. S. 2025. The Diaries of M. L. Kazem-Bek as a Source on the History of the Daily Life of an Educated Urban Woman of the Late 19th — Early 20th Century. *Herald of Anthropology* (*Vestnik Antropologii*) 1: 189–199.

References

Barker, A. 1998. Reading the Texts — Rereading Ourselves. In *Women and Russian Culture. Projections and Self-Perceptions*, ed. by R. Marsh. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books. 42–59.

Belova, A. V. 2013. Zhenskaia povsednevnost' kak predmet istorii povsednevnosti: istoriograficheskii i metodologicheskii aspekty [Women's Daily Life as a Subject of the History of Everyday Life: Historiographical and Methodological Aspects]. In *Rossiiskaia povsednevnost' v zerkale gendernykh otnoshenii: sbornik statei* [Russian Everyday Life in the Mirror of Gender Relations: A Collection of Articles], ed. by N. L. Pushkareva. Moscow: NLO. 25–67.

Dunaeva, Yu. V. 2017. Ego-dokumenty v istoricheskoi nauke XX — nachala XXI V. (svodnyi referat) [Ego-documents in the Historical Science of the 20 — Early 21 Century (Summary Report)]. *Sotsial'nye i gumanitarnye nauki. Otechestvennaia i zarubezhnaia literatura. Ser. 5. Istoriia: Referativnyi zhurnal* 3: 14–21. https://doi.org/2017.03.004-005

Kudriashova, A. A. 2022. Dnevnik Elizavety D'iakonovoi kak istochnik po istorii gendera v Rossii [The Diary of Elizaveta Dyakonova as a Source on the History of Gender in Russia]. *Zhurnal Instituta Naslediia* 1(28). 1–11. https://doi.org/10.34685/HI.2022.68.35.003

Minets, D. V. 2011. Dnevnik Marii Bashkirtsevoi kak avtobiograficheskaia praktika: lingvogendernoe prochtenie [The Diary of Mariya Bashkirtseva as Autobiographical Practice: Linguistic and Gender Reading]. *Teoriia i praktika obshchestvennogo razvitiia* 8: 380–82.

Pushkareva, N. L. 2019. Evristicheskaia tsennost' avtobiografii dlia genderologa: sopostavliaia teoreticheskie itogi rossiiskikh i zarubezhnykh avtobiograficheskikh issledovanii [The Heu-

ristic Value of Autobiographies for Gender Studies: Comparing the Theoretical Results of Russian and Foreign Studies]. *Vestnik Rossiiskogo universiteta druzhby narodov. Seriia: Istoriia Rossii* 12(2): 214–45.

Rostovtsev, E. A. 2006. Dnevnik N. N. Platonovoi (Shamoninoi) kak istochnik po istorii istoricheskoi nauki [The Diary of N. N. Platonova (Shamonina) as a Source on the History of Historical Science]. In *Vremena i sud'by: Sbornik statei v chest' 75-letiia Viktora Moiseevicha Paneiakha* [Times and Fates: Collection of articles in honour of the 75th anniversary of Viktor Moiseevich Paneyakh]. Saint Petersburg: Evropeiskii Dom. 270–318.

Sekenova, O. I. 2021. Praktiki nauchnoi povsednevnosti v ego-dokumentakh pervykh russkikh zhenshchin-istorikov vtoroi po-loviny XIX — nachala XX vv. [The Practices of Scientific Everyday Life in Ego Documents of the First Russian Female Historians in the Second Half of the 19th — the Early 20th Centuries]. *Vestnik Kostromskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta* 27(1): 39–44.

Staryshkina, A. A. 2019. Ego-dokumenty kak istochnik dlia izucheniia kartiny mira russkikh zhurnalistok kontsa XIX — nachala XX v. [Ego-documents as Sources for Exploring Worldviews of Russian Women-Journalists of the late 19th — early 20th Century]. *Istoricheskii kur'er* 2(4): 13. https://doi.org/10.31518/2618-9100-2019-2-13

UDC 94(6)+39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/200-209
Original article

© *Natalia Zakharova*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY IN TRADITIONAL YORUBA CULTURE

The article is devoted to the family and marriage relations in the traditional culture of the Yoruba people. Family and marriage in the culture of the Yoruba people were a cultural dominant that determined the ideological views of African intellectuals and greatly influenced cultural and political life. The preservation of traditional institutions, primarily the community, the extended family, and polygamous marriage, became one of the major tenets of early African nationalism. The concept of marriage in the Yoruba tradition should be understood as an agreement between two large family groups, and marriage norms were closely related to legal norms regulating property relations, inheritance, guardianship, land use, and the roles distribution. The author focuses on the issues of marriage conditions, the status of a man and a woman in an extended family group, the distribution of labor and power within the family and the possibilities of divorce proceedings in traditional culture.

Keywords: *Yoruba, family and marriage relations, traditional culture, polygamy*
Author Info: Zakharova, Natalia A. — Postgraduate student, P. G. Demidov Yaroslavl State University (Yaroslavl, Russian Federation). E-mail: n.a.zakharova@list.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2368-6696
For citation: Zakharova, N. A. 2025. Marriage and Family in Traditional Yoruba Culture. *Herald of Anthropology* (*Vestnik Antropologii*) 1: 200–209.

References

Adeboye, O. A. 2006. Diaries as Cultural and Intellectual Histories: Some Examples from Twentieth-Century Yorubaland. In *Yoruba Identity and Power Politics*, ed. by T. Falola and A. Genova. Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press. 74–95.

Barnes, S. T. 1990. Ritual, Power, and outside Knowledge. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 20 (3): 248–268. https://doi.org/10.2307/1580886

Boserup, E. 2007. *Woman's Role in Economic Development*. New York: Routledge. 306 p.

Connell, R. 2015. *Gender i vlast': obshchestvo, lichnost' i gendernaia politika* [Gender and Power. Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics]. Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie. 432 p.

Denzer, L. 1994. Yoruba Women: A Historiographical Study. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* (27)1: 1–39. https://doi.org/10.2307/220968

Frenkel, M. Yu. 1977. *Obshchestvennaia mysl' Britanskoi Zapadnoi Afriki vo vtoroi polovine XIX v*. [Social thought of British Western Africa in the Second Half of the 19th Century]. Moscow: Nauka. 295 p.

Galletti, R., K. D. S. Baldwin, and I. O. Dina. 1956. *Nigerian Cocoa Farmers: An Economic Survey of Yoruba Cocoa Farming Families*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 774 p.

Mann, K. 1985. *Marrying Well: Marriage, Status, and Social Change among the Educated Elite in Colonial Lagos*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 194 p.

Mann, K. 1981. Marriage Choices among the Educated African Elite in Lagos Colony, 1880–1915. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 14(2): 201–228. https://doi.org/10.2307/218043

McIntosh, M. 2009. *Yoruba Women, Work and Social Change*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 336 p.

Olderogge, D. A. 1983. *Epigamiia* [Epigamy]. Moscow: Nauka. 280 p.

Sinitsyna, I. E. 1989. *Chelovek i sem'ya v Afrike* [Man and Family in Africa]. Moscow: Nauka. 311 p.

Shields, F. 1997. *Palm Oil and Power: Women in Era of Economic and Social Transition in 19th Century Yorubaland (South-Western Nigeria).* PhD diss., University of Stirling. 321 p.

Sudarkasa, N. 1986. The Status of Women in Indigenous African Societies. *Feminist Studies* 12(1): 191–103. https://doi.org/10.2307/3177985

Sudarkasa, N. 1975. Female Employment and Family Organization in West Africa. In *New Research on Women and Sex Roles,* ed. by D. McGuigan. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Continuing Education of Women. 49–64.

FUNERAL RITES

UDC 39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/210-225
Original Article

THE LAST JOURNEY WITH NO RETURN AND RESURRECTION: DIFFERENT WAYS OF BODY AND SOUL IN SLAVIC FUNERAL RITE. PART TWO: THE ROUTE OF THE SOUL

After death dissolves the soul-body union, the spirit lingers some time near the forsaken body, travels around the universe and visits the home occasionally. First, it persistently stays at home, but with time it comes back less and less often, moves to the periphery of living space, coming farther and farther to the world of the dead, and eventually becomes one of the ancestors. The journey of the corpse to the cemetery also shared with the soul must be without return, transgressed by no one, and different from the roads of living thus preventing death from returning. On the contrary, the soul of the dead is expected to return to take part in remembrance rites, where the fates and shares of the living and the dead are measured and divided and mutually beneficial communication is held. In spring souls of the departed also visit the living relatives, coming back from the dead with the waking nature, returning birds, and reviving herbs. The ultimate return of the soul comes with the reincarnation to a newborn baby, young animal, bird, or even tree. That is the crucial difference between the roads of funeral and remembrance rites designed for various parts of personal metaphysical union: the soul and the body.

Keywords*: soul, body, death, way, funeral, remembrance, inversion, reincarnation*
Author Info: **Andrunina, Maria A.** — Ph.D. in Philology, Researcher, the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: mary-andr@mail.ru
For citation: Andrunina, M. A. 2025. The Last Journey with no Return and Resurrection: Different Ways of Body and Soul in Slavic Funeral Rite. Part Two: The Route of the Soul. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 210–225.

References

Adamowski, J. 1999. *Kategoria przestrzeni w folklorze. Studium etnolingwistyczne* [The Category of Space in Folklore. Ethnolinguistic Study]. Lublin: Wydawn. Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej. 254 p.

Anuchin, D. 1890. *Sani, lad'ia i koni kak prinadlezhnost' pokhoronnogo obriada Arkheologo-etnograficheskii etiud* [The Sledge, the Boat and Horses as Items of Funeral. Archeological-ethnographic essay]. Moscow. 146 p. (Drevnosti. Trudy Moskovskogo Arheologicheskogo obshchestva. Vol. 14).

Afanasev, A. N. 1861. Zametki o zagrobnoi zhizni po slavianskim predaniiam [The Notes on Afterlife according the Slavic Tales]. In *Arkhiv istoricheskikh i prakticheskikh svedenii, otnosiashchikhsia do Rossii, izdavaemyi N. Kalachovym* [Archive of Historical and Practical Information

Relating to Russia, ed. by N. Kalachov]. Vol. 3. Saint Petersburg. 3–21.

Afanasev, A. N. 1995. *Poeticheskie vozzreniia slavian na prirodu. Opyt sravnitel'nogo izucheniia slavianskikh predanii i verovanii v sviazi s mificheskimi skazaniiami drugikh rodstvennykh narodov* [The Poetic Views of Slavs Towards Nature. The Attempt of Comparative Studies of Slavic Tales and Beliefs in Connotaion with Mythology of Other Relative Notions]. Moscow, 1865–1869. Vol. 1–3. Reprint. Moscow: Sovremenii pisatel'. Vol. 1. 411 p.; Vol. 2. 396 p.; Vol. 3. 414 p.

Baiburin, A. K. 1983. *Zhilishche v obriadakh i predstavleniiakh vostochnykh slavian* [The Dwelling in Rites and Views of Eastern Slavs]. Leningrad: Nauka. 188 p.

Biegeleisen, H. 1930. *Śmierć w obrzędach, zwyczajach i wierzeniach ludu polskiego* [The Death in Rites, Customs and Beliefs of Polish People]. Warsaw: Dom Książki Polskiej Spółka AKC. 344 p.

Dobrovolskaia, V. E. 2005. Suevernye predstavleniia, sviazannye s perekhodom v mir mertvykh. Na materiale regionov Russkogo Severa i Tsentral'noi Rossii [Superstitious Notions Connected with the Transition to the World of the Dead. On the Data from Russian North and Central Russia]. In *Slavianskaia traditsionnaia kul'tura i sovremennyi mir. Sbornik materialov nauchnoi konferentsii* [Slavic Traditional Culture and the Modern World. Collection of Proceedings of the Scientific Conference], ed. by A. S. Kargin. Moscow: Gosudarstvennyi respublikanskii tsentr russkogo fol'klora. Vol. 8. 107–119.

Dworakowski, S. 1935. *Zwyczaje rodzinne w powiecie Wysoko-Mazowieckim* [Family Rites in Mazovian Province]. Warsaw: Nakł. Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego. 191 p.

Konobrodska, V. 2007. Polis'kij pohoval'nij i pominal'ni obryadi [Polesyan Funeral and Remembrance Rites]. In *Etnolingvistichni studii* [Ethnolinguistic Studies]. Vol. 1. Zhitomir: Polissya. 356 p.

Kotula, F. 1962. *Z Sandomierskiej puszczy (gawędy kulturowo-obyczajowe)* [From the Sandomierz Forest (Tales of Culture and Customs)]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo literackie. 264 p.

Kremleva, I. A. 1993. Pokhoronno-pominal'nye obriady u russkikh: traditsii i sovremennost' [The Funeral-remembrance Rites of Russians: Traditions and Contemporaneity]. In *Pokhoronno-pominal'nye obychai i obriady* [Funeral and Memorial Customs and Rites], ed. by Z. P. Sokolova, and I. A. Kremleva. Moscow: IEA RAN. 8–47.

Kuharonak, T. I. 1990. Syamejnaya abradnasc' belarusaў [The Family Rites of Belorussians]. In *Syam'ya i syamejny byt belarusaў* [Family and Family Life of Belarusians], ed. by V. K. Bandarchyk, G. M. Kurylovich, L. V. Rakava, et. al. Minsk: Navuka i tekhnika. 189–249.

Listova, T. A. 1993. Pokhoronno-pominal'nye obychai russkikh (na materialakh Pskovskoi i Smolenskoi oblastei) [The Funeral-remembrance Rites of Russians (on the Data from Pskov and Smolensk Provinces)]. In *Pokhoronno-pominal'nye obychai i obriady* [Funeral and Memorial Customs and Rites], ed. by Z. P. Sokolova, and I. A. Kremleva. Moscow: IEA RAN. 48–83.

Loginov, K. K. 1993. *Semeinye obriady i verovaniia russkikh Zaonezh'ia* [Family Customs and Beliefs of Zaonegie Russians]. Petrozavodsk: Karel'skii nauchnyi tsentr RAN. 229 p.

Nevskaia, L. G. 1980. Semantika dorogi i smezhnykh predstavlenii v pogrebal'nom obriade [The Semantics of Road and Corresponding Notions in the Funeral Rite]. In *Struktura teksta* [The Structure of the Text], ed. by T. V. Tsiv'ian. Moscow: Nauka. 228–239.

Nevskaia, L. G. 1990. Balto-slavianskoe prichitanie: Rekonstruktsiia semanticheskoi struktury [The Baltic-Slavic Keens: Reconstruction of the Semantic Structure]. In *Issledovaniia v oblasti balto-slavianskoi dukhovnoi kul'tury. Pogrebal'nyi obriad* [Studies in the Field of Balto-Slavic Spiritual Culture. Funeral Rites], ed. by V. V. Ivanov, and L. G. Nevskaia. Moscow: Nauka. 135–146.

Plotnikova, A. A. 2013. Semantika «naoborot» v yazyke slavyanskoi pokhoronnoi obriadnosti [The Semantics of "Vice Versa" in the Language of Slavic Funeral]. In *Ethnolinguistica Slavica. K 90-letiiu akademika N. I. Tolstogo* [Ethnolinguistica Slavica. To the 90th Anniversary of Academician N. I. Tolstoy], ed. by S. M. Tolstaia. Moscow: Indrik. 92–100.

Sedakova, O. A. 1990. Tema «doli» v pogrebal'nom obriade (vostochno-yuzhnoslavianskii material) [The Notion of "Share" in Funeral Rite (Eastern and Southern Slavic Data)]. In *Issledovaniia v oblasti balto-slavianskoi dukhovnoi kul'tury. Pogrebal'nyi obriad* [Studies in the Field of Balto-Slavic Spiritual Culture. Funeral Rites], ed. by V. V. Ivanov, and L. G. Nevskaia. Moscow:

Nauka. 54–63.

Sedakova, O. A. 2004. *Poetika obriada. Pogrebal'naia obriadnost' vostochnykh i iuzhnykh slavian* [The Rite's Poetics. Funeral Customs of Eastern and Southern Slavs]. Moscow: Indrik. 320 p.

Shepping, D. R. 1889. *Dokhristianskoe vozzrenie cheloveka na smert' i zagrobnuiu zhizn'* [Pre-christian Notions of Death and Afterlife]. Moscow: Tipo-litografiia Vysochaishe utverzhdennogo tovarishestva I. N. Kushnerev i Ko. 28 p.

Skowronek, I. 1970. Zwyczaje i obrzedy rodzinne [Family Rites and Customs]. In *Monografia powiatu Myślenickiego*. Vol. II. *Kultura ludowa* [Monograph of Myślenice County. Vol. II. Folk culture], ed. by R. Reinfuss. Kraków: Wydawnictwo literackie. 233–257.

Stefaniuk, M. 2005. Śmierć i pogrzeb u Polaków zamieszkujących rumuńską Bukowinę [The Death and Funeral of the Polish in Romanian Bukovina]. *Twórczość Ludowa*. *Kwartalnik stowarzyszenia twórców ludowych* R. XX 1–4 (60): 80–88.

Tolstaia, S. M. 2008. *Prostranstvo slova. Leksicheskaia semantika v obshcheslavianskoi perspektive* [The Space of the Word. Lexical Semantics in Common Slavic Perspective]. Moscow: Indrik. 528 p.

Tolstoi, N. I. 1995. *Yazyk i narodnaia kul'tura. Ocherki po slavyanskoj mifologii i etnolingvistike* [The Language and Traditional Culture. The Essays on Slavic Mythology and Ethnolinguistic]. Moscow: Indrik. 512 p.

Zavoiko, G. K. 1914. Verovaniia, obriady i obychai velikorossov Vladimirskoi gubernii [Beliefs, Rites and Customs of Great Russians in Vladimir Province]. *Etnograficheskoje obozrenije* 3–4: 81–178.

Zelenin, D. K. 1991. *Vostochnoslavyanskaia etnografiia* [Eastern Slavic Ethnography]. Moscow: Nauka. 511 p.

UDC 394
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/226-234
Original Article

© *Bagila Tajetdinova*

TEBERIK AND *ZHYRTYS* IN THE KARAKALPAK FUNERAL RITES

In every culture, one can observe many customs related to the worship of death. The article is devoted to the study of funeral rituals practiced by the Karakalpaks, and the types of gifts usually presented at funeral ceremonies. At Karakalpak funerals it is customary to make offerings called "teberik" and "zhyrtys". Moreover, there is a certain order of their presentation. An analysis of these customs reveals that they contain elements of a magical nature and echo non-Islamic beliefs, such as the veneration of ancestral spirits. The article also discusses the rituals of washing the body of the deceased, as well as the special gifts usually given to those involved in this funeral rite. Such practices indicate deep cultural traditions associated with ideas about death and the afterlife in this ethnic community. The data presented in the study were concretized based on field records obtained during expeditions to various regions of Karakalpakstan. Empirical material was collected in the Muynak, Kungrad, Chimbay, Karauzyak, and Amudarya districts, as well as in the city of Nukus, the administrative center of the Republic of Karakalpakstan. The use of field research methods, including observation, interviewing, and recording of ritual practices, ensured the reliability and detail of the data presented in the work.

Keywords*: Karakalpaks, gift exchange practices, teberik, zhyrtys, iyis, funeral rites*
Author Info: **Tajetdinova, Bagila N.** — Intern-Lecturer of the Department of "History of Uzbekistan and Karakalpakstan", Karakalpak State University named after Berdakh (Nukus, Karakalpakstan, Uzbekistan). E-mail: bagilatazetdinova@gmail.com ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0006-6334-0207
For citation: Tajetdinova, B. N. 2025. *Teberik* and *Zhyrtys* in the Karakalpak Funeral Rites. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 226–234.

References

Akhmetova, I., and Ķ. Kaliev. 2023. Qazaq jáne túrik xalıqtarında jasalatın ólim ritualindag'i áyeldiń roli. [The Role of a Woman in the Olim Ritual Performed in the Kazakh and Turkish People]. *Vestnik Evraziiskogo natsional'nogo universiteta imeni N. Gumilova. Seriia Istoricheskie nauki. Filosofiia. Religiovedenie* 145(4): 193–204.

Bekmuratova, A. 1969. *Byt i sem'ia karakalpakov v proshlom i nastoiashchem* [The Life and Family of the Karakalpaks in the Past and Present]. Nukus: Qaraqalpaqstan. 117 p.

Esbergenov, Kh. 1964. *Qaraqalpaqlardıń geypara dástúrleri haqqında* [The Unique Traditions and Customs of Karakalpaks]. Nukus: Qaraqalpaqstan. 105 p. (In Karakalpak).

Esbergenov, Kh., and T. Atamuratov. 1975. *Traditsii i ikh preobrazovanie v gorodskom bytu karakalpakov* [Traditions and Their Transformation in the Urban Life of the Karakalpaks]. Nukus: Qaraqalpaqstan. 211 p. (In Russian).

Kamalova, R. 1996. Sotsial'no-nravstvennye aspekty v traditsionnoi svad'be karakalpakov [Socio-moral Aspects in the Traditional Karakalpak Wedding]. *Vestnik Karakalpakskogo otdeleniia Akademii nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan* 2: 89–94. (In Russian).

Khozhaniiazova, G. 2023. Qaraqalpaq toilarinda agayin-tuwisqanlardin o'z-ara ja'rdem ma'selesi. [On the Issue of the Tradition of Mutual Assistance of Relatives at Karakalpak Weddings]. *Karakalpak Vestnik (Karakalpak State University after Berdakh)* 1(59): 224–227. (In Karakalpak).

Kurbanova, Z. I. 2021. *Karakalpakskiy kostyum: traditsii i novatsii* [Karakalpak costume: traditions and innovations]. Nukus: Ilim, 2021. 238 p.

Kurbanova, Z. I. 2024. Tekstilnie tradisii karakalpakov: kuraq i jirtis v semeynix obryadax [Textile Traditions of Karakalpaks: Quraq and Zhyrtys in Family Rites]. *Narodi i religii Evrazii* 29(4): 107–124. (In Russian). https://doi.org/10.14258/nreur(2024)4-06

Kurbanova, Z. I., I. V. Oktyabrskaya, and Z. K. Suraganova. 2024. Tekstil' kak tovar i simvol. Ritual'nyi daroobmen u karakalpakov i ego tsentral'noaziatskie paralleli [Textiles as Product and Symbol. Ritual Gift Exchange Among the Karakalpaks and its Central Asian Parallels]. *Arkheologiia, etnografiia i antropologiia Evrazii* 52(4): 141–151. https://doi.org/10.17746/1563-0110.2024.52.4.141-151

Kusekeev, U. 1934. *Etnografiya KKASSR*. [Ethnography of KKASSR] Turtkul. Rukopisniy fond. Fundamental'noy biblioteki KKO AN RUz. Inv. № 932. (In Karakalpak).

Mauss, M. 2011 (1925). Ocherk o dare [The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies]. In Mauss, M. *Obshchestva. Obmen. Lichnost'. Trudy po sotsial'noi antropologii* [Societies. Exchange. Personality. Studies in Social Anthropology], ed. by A. B. Gofman. Moscow: KDU. 134–285. (In Russian).

Oshanov, O. 2021. As beriw jáne tas músin [Trizna and Stone Sculptures]. *Qazaqstan arxeologiyası* 1(11): 101–119. (In Kazakh). https://doi.org/10.52967/akz2021.1.11.101.119

Susokolov, A. 2006. *Kul'tura i obmen. Vvedenie v ekonomicheskuiu antropologiiu* [Culture and Exchange. The Introduction to Economic Anthropology]. Moscow: Russkaia panorama. 445 p. (In Russian).

Werner, Cynthia. 1998. Household Networks and the Security of Mutual Indebtedness in Rural Kazakstan. *Central Asian Survey* 17(4): 597–612.

UDC 39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/235-254
Original Article

© ***Dimitri Egorov***

THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE CHUVASH FUNERAL RITES

Based on a wide range of archival, published sources, field materials and literature, the article examines the mythological essence and semantics of the funeral customs and rituals of the Volga-Ural Chuvash in historical retrospect, revealing their local features and variations . Funeral traditions are the most conservative, archaic and relatively stable components of family rituals and sacred components of spiritual culture. However, the Chuvash funeral rites have not been previously studied from the mythological perspective. Under the influence of neighboring and historically contacting ethnic groups and their cultures, traditional beliefs and world religions (primarily Christianity), Chuvash funeral customs and rituals have been transformed and syncretized for many centuries, but they managed to preserve their ancient mythological features. This allows specialists to understand the archaic worldview of the Chuvash and their ancestors, to identify religious stratifications, and to trace the evolution of the studied ritual. In memorial practices, the juxtaposition of life and death, the living and the deceased, the earth and the other world is clearly expressed. The main mythological semantics of these rituals is to facilitate the resettlement of the souls of the dead to the afterlife (to the heavenly kingdom) and to ensure their safe posthumous existence; to prevent the return of the dead to the house; to protect the living from the negative effects of the deceased, as well as from evil spirits.

Keywords*: mythology, Chuvash, funeral customs and rituals, the deceased, death*
Author Info: **Egorov, Dimitri V.** — Ph.D. in History, Leading Researcher in the Historical Branch, Chuvash State Institute of Humanities (Cheboksary, Russian Federation). E-mail: egorov2202@mail.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0005-7277-0543
For citation: Egorov, D. V. 2025. The Mythology of the Chuvash Funeral Rites. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 235–254.

References

Ashmarin, N. I. 2003. *Chuvashskaia narodnaia slovesnost': Issledovaniia. Avtobiografiia, vospominaniia. Pis'ma* [Chuvash Folk Literature: Research. Autobiography, Memoirs. Letters], ed. by V. G. Rodionov. Cheboksary: Izdatel'stvo Chuvashskogo universiteta. 430 p.

Ashmarin, N. I. 1930. *Slovar' chuvashskogo yazyka* [Dictionary of the Chuvash Language]. Cheboksary: Chuvashskaia kniga. Vol. V. 420 p.

Ashmarin, N. I. 1935. *Slovar' chuvashskogo yazyka* [Dictionary of the Chuvash Language]. Cheboksary: Chuvashskoe gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo. Vol. VIII. 355 p.

Denisov, P. V. 1959. *Religioznye verovaniia chuvash. Istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherki* [Religious Beliefs of the Chuvash. Historical and Ethnographic Essays]. Cheboksary: Chuvashskoe gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo. 408 p.

Egorov, D. V. et al. (eds.). 2018. *Chuvashskaia mifologiia: etnograficheskii spravochnik* [Chuvash Mythology: an Ehnographic Reference Book]. Cheboksary: Chuvashskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo. 591 p.

Nikolskii, N. V. (ed.). 1906. Etnograficheskii ocherk Mil'kovicha, pisatelia kontsa XVIII v. o chu-

vashakh [An Ethnographic Essay by Milkovich, a Writer of the End of the XVIII Century about the Chuvash]. *Izvestiia Obshchestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii pri Kazanskom universitete* XXII (I): 34–67.

Filimonov, A. 1869. O religii nekreshchenykh cheremis i votiakov Viatskoi gubernii [About the Religion of Unbaptized Cheremis and Votyaks of Vyatka Province]. *Viatskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti* 21: 431–442.

Fokin, P. P. 1989. Sovremennaia semeinaia obriadnost' chuvashei [Modern Family Rituals of the Chuvash]. In *Voprosy traditsionnoi dukhovnoi kul'tury chuvashei* [Questions of the Traditional Spiritual Culture of the Chuvash]. Cheboksary: Chuvashskii nauchno-issledovatel'skii institut. 75–99.

Kakhovskii, B. V. 1984. Dokhristianskii pogrebal'nyi obriad chuvashei kak material k etnogenezu [The Pre-Christian Funeral Rite of the Chuvash as a Material for Ethnogenesis]. In *Bolgary i chuvashi* [Bulgarians and Chuvash]. Cheboksary: Chuvashskii nauchno-issledovatel'skii institut. 121–139.

Kamenskii, N. T. (Nikanor). 1879. Sovremennye ostatki yazycheskikh obriadov i religioznykh verovanii u chuvash [Modern Remnants of Pagan Rituals and Religious Beliefs among the Chuvash]. *Izvestiia po Kazanskoi eparkhii* 2: 45–56.

Komissarov, G. I. 1911. Chuvashi Kazanskogo Zavolzh'ia [Chuvash People of the Kazan Trans-Volga region]. *Izvestiia Obshchestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii pri Kazanskom universitete* XXVII (5): 311–432.

Magnitskii, V. K. 1881. *Materialy k ob"iasneniiu staroi chuvashskoi very* [Materials for Explaining the Old Chuvash Faith]. Kazan': Tipografiia Imperatorskogo universiteta. 267 p.

Mesarosh, D. 2000. *Pamyatniki staroi chuvashskoi very* [Monuments of the Old Chuvash Faith]. Cheboksary: Chuvashskii gosudarstvennyi institut gumanitarnykh nauk. 360 p.

Mokshin, N. F. 1968. *Religioznye verovaniia mordvy* [Religious Beliefs of the Mordvins]. Saransk: Mordovskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo. 159 p.

Pantusov, A. 1867. Chuvashskie pover'ia v Kurmyshskom uezde [Chuvash Beliefs in Kurmyshsky District]. In *Materialy dlia istorii i statistiki Simbirskoi gubernii* [Materials for the History and Statistics of Simbirsk Province], ed. by M. Arnoldov. Vol. 4. Simbirsk: Gubernskaia tipografiia. 47–56.

Petrov, I. G. 2020. Odezhda pokoinika v kontekste pokhoronno-pominal'nykh obychaev i obriadov chuvashei [The Clothes of the Deceased in the Context of Funeral and Memorial Customs and Rituals of the Chuvash]. *Vestnik Chuvashskogo universiteta* 4: 86–99.

Petrov, I. G. 2021. Zaprety v pokhoronno-pominal'nykh obychaiakh i obriadakh chuvashei [Prohibitions in Funeral and Memorial Customs and Rituals of the Chuvash]. *Tomskii zhurnal lingvisticheskikh i antropologicheskikh issledovanii* 4 (34): 159–167.

Prokop'ev, K. P. 1903. *Pokhorony i pominki u chuvash* [Funerals and Commemorations of the Chuvash]. Kazan': Tipolitografiia Imperatorskogo universiteta. 39 p.

Rekeev, A. V. 1896. Iz chuvashskikh predanii i verovanii [From Chuvash Traditions and Beliefs]. *Izvestiia po Kazanskoi eparkhii* 21: 417–424.

Rekeev, A. V. 1897. Iz chuvashskikh predanii i verovanii [From Chuvash Traditions and Beliefs]. *Izvestiia po Kazanskoi eparkhii* 2: 49–52.

Salmin, A. K. 2016. *Prazdniki, obriady i verovaniia chuvashskogo naroda* [Holidays, Rituals and Beliefs of the Chuvash People]. Cheboksary: Chuvashskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo. 687 p.

Sboev, V. A. 1856. *Issledovaniia ob inorodtsakh Kazanskoi gubernii* [Research on the Foreigners of the Kazan Province]. Kazan': Izdanie knigoprodavtsa Dubrovina. 188 p.

Stoliarova, G. R. 2006. Istoriia formirovaniia i obryadnost' chuvashei-yazychnikov Tatarstana [The History of the Formation and Ritual of the Chuvash Pagans of Tatarstan]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 2: 96–115.

Timriasov, S. N. 1876. Pokhorony i pominki u chuvash-yazychnikov der. Ishalkinoi Chistopol'skogo uezda Savrushskogo prikhoda [Funerals and Commemorations of the Chuvash Pagans of the Village of Ishalkino of the Chistopolsky District of the Savrushsky Parish]. *Izvestiia po Kazan-*

skoi eparkhii 9: 269–274.

Toidybekova, L. S. 2007. *Mariiskaia mifologiia. Etnograficheskii spravochnik* [Mari Mythology. Ethnographic Reference Book]. Ioshkar-Ola. 312 p.

Tolstoi, N. I. 1995. *Yazyk i narodnaia kul'tura. Ocherki po slavianskoi mifologii i etnolingvistike* [Language and Folk Culture. Essays on Slavic Mythology and Ethnolinguistics]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Indrik. 512 p.

Vishnevskii, V. P. 1846. *O religioznykh pover'iakh chuvash* [About the Religious Beliefs of the Chuvash]. Kazan'. 26 p.

Vladykin, V. E. (ed.). 2003. *Udmurtskaia mifologiia* [Udmurt Mythology]. Izhevsk: Udmurtskii institut istorii, yazyka i literatury Ural'skogo otdeleniia RAN. 196 p.

Vorobiev, N. I., and G. M. Hisamutdinov (eds.). 1967. *Tatary Srednego Povolzh'ia i Priural'ia* [Tatars of the Middle Volga Region and the Urals]. Moscow: Nauka. 540 p.

Yagafova, E. A., and I. G. Petrov. 2023. *Religioznye praktiki chuvashei: traditsii i ikh transformatsiia* [Religious Practices of the Chuvash: Traditions and their Transformation]. Samara: Samarskii gosudarstvennyi sotsial'no-pedagogicheskii universitet. 352 p.

UDC 39+9
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/255-270
Original article

© *Polina Karas*

SPATIAL ORGANIZATION AND LOCAL MYTHOLOGICAL WORLDVIEW AMONG THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF WESTERN SIBERIA: AN EXPERIENCE OF VISUAL SCHEMES CONSTRUCTION

The organization of the living space varies between ethnic communities which is partly due to the different mythological systems operating in these communities. The article proposes to consider the structure of traditional settlements and adjacent developed territories of some ethnic groups of Western Siberia in combination with their mythological picture of the world. As an example, the author took a visualized scheme prepared by the famous theorist of cultural geography V. N. Kalutskov using the example of a Pomor village in the North of Russia. To construct the schemes, information with a specific ethnolocal and cultural reference was selected for the following ethnic communities: Yaskolba (Swamp) Tatars, Agan Khanty and Nenets of the Yamal and Gydan tundra. Testing of the approach showed its good adaptability to work with widely varying ethnographic materials. The resulting schemes proved to be both clear and informative, thus promising to be conveniently used both for analytical work and as illustrative material in scientific and educational activities.

Keywords: *cultural landscape, visual anthropology, Nenets, Khanty, Siberian Tatars, patron spirits, demonic creatures*

Author Info: Karas, Polina L. — Junior Researcher, Institute of Northern Development Problems, Tyumen Scientific Centre of Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Tyumen, Russian Federation). E-mail: karas.polin@gmail.com ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3034-5734

For citation: Karas, P. L. 2025. Spatial Organization and Local Mythological Worldview Among the Indigenous Peoples of Western Siberia: An Experience of Visual Schemes Construction. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 255–270.

References

Bakieva, G. T. 2021. Sakral'nye mesta v traditsionnoi kul'ture zabolotnykh tatar [Sacred Places in the Traditional Culture of the Swamp Tatars]. In *Bashkiry v kontekste mezhdistsiplinarnykh issledovanii tiurkskikh narodov Evrazii* [Bashkirs in the Context of Interdisciplinary Studies of the Turkic Peoples of Eurasia], ed. by Yu. M. Yusupov. Ufa: Samrau. 99–104.

Bakieva, G. T. 2022. Demonicheskie sushchestva u zabolotnykh tatar (po materialam polevykh issledovanii) [Demonic Creatures Among the Swamp Tatars (Based on Field Research)]. In *Narody Sibiri i Dal'nego Vostoka s drevnikh vremon do nashikh dnei* [Peoples of Siberia and the Far East from Ancient Times to the Present Day], ed. by N. I. Drozdov. Krasnoyarsk: Sibirskii

federal'nyi universitet. 303–308.

Bakieva, G. T. 2023. *Legendy, predaniia, mify Zabolot'ia. Issledovaniia i teksty* [Legends, Traditions, Myths of Zabolotye. Research and Texts]. Tomsk: Izdatel'stvo Tomskogo universiteta. 152 p.

Golovnev A. V., N. P. Garin, and D. A. Kukanov. 2016. *Olenevody Yamala (materialy k Atlasu kochevykh tekhnologii)* [Reindeer Herders of Yamal (Materials for the Atlas of Nomadic Technologies)]. Ekaterinburg: Izdatel'stvo UrO RAN. 152 p.

Golovnev, A. V. 1995. O kul'te ngytarma i sidryang u nentsev [On the Cult of Ngytarma and Sidryang Among the Nenets]. In *Mirovozzreniye narodov Zapadnoy Sibiri po arkheologicheskim i etnograficheskim dannym* [Worldview of the Peoples of Western Siberia Based on Archaeological and Ethnographic Data: Abstracts of Reports], ed. by E. L. L'vova. Tomsk. 45–48.

Golovnev, A. V. 1995. *Govoryashchiye kul'tury: traditsii samodiytsev i ugrov* [Speaking Cultures: Traditions of Samoyeds and Ugrians]. Ekaterinburg: Izdatel'stvo UrO RAN. 600 p.

Golovnev, A. V. 2004. *Kochevniki tundry: nentsy i ikh fol'klor* [Tundra Nomads: Nenets and Their Folklore]. Ekaterinburg: Izdatel'stvo UrO RAN. 344 p.

Isachenko, A. G. 2001. Obraznoe vospriiatie v geograficheskom poznanii mira [Imaginative Perception in Geographical Knowledge of the World]. *Izvestiia Rossiiskogo geograficheskogo obshchestva* 3. 133: 24–33.

Kaganskii, V. L. 2001. *Kul'turnyi landshaft i sovetskoe obitayemoe prostranstvo: sbornik statei* [Cultural Landscape and Soviet Inhabited Space: Collection of Articles]. Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie. 576 p.

Kalutskov, V. N. 2011. *Etnokul'turnoe landshaftovedenie: uchebnoe posobie* [Ethnocultural Landscape Studies: Textbook]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo geograficheskii fakul'tet MGU. 109 p.

Kalutskov, V. N. 2008. *Landshaft v kul'turnoi geografii* [Landscape in Cultural Geography]. Moscow: Novyi khronograf. 320 p.

Khomich, L. V. 1977. Religioznye kul'ty u nentsev [Religious Cults among the Nenets]. In *Sbornik Muzeia antropologii i etnografii.* Vol. 33. *Pamiatniki kul'tury narodov Sibiri i Severa* [Collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. Vol. 33. Cultural Monuments of the Peoples of Siberia and the North], ed. by I. S. Vdovin. 5–28.

Korusenko, M. A., Yu. I. Ozheredov, and A. A. Yarzutkina. 2013. *Mifologiia sibirskikh tatar v simvolakh obrazov i veshchey (opyty prochteniia*) [Mythology of the Siberian Tatars in the Symbols of Images and Things (Reading Experiences)]. Vol. V. St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie. 264 p.

Korusenko, M. A. 2007. Liudi i dukhi v zhilishche sibirskikh tatar [People and Spirits in the Dwelling of the Siberian Tatars]. In *Etnoistoriia i arkheologiia Severnoi Evrazii: teoriia, metodologiia i praktika issledovaniia* [Ethnohistory and Archeology of Northern Eurasia: Theory, Methodology and Research Practice], ed. by A. V. Kharinskii. Irkutsk: IrGTU. 495–497.

Korusenko, M. A., and A. M. Diianova. 2011. Traditsionnoe mirovozzrenie barabinskikh tatar vo vtoroi treti XX — nachale XXI veka: predstavlenie o dukhakh-khoziaevakh osvoennykh prostranstv [Traditional Worldview of the Baraba Tatars in the Second Third of the 20th — Early 21st Centuries: The Idea of the Master Spirits of the Developed Territories]. *Vestnik arkheologii, antropologii i etnografii* 2: 186–195. https://www.ipdn.ru/_private/a15/186-195.pdf

Korusenko, M. A., and A. M. Diianova. 2012. Traditsionnoe mirovozzrenie barabinskikh tatar vo vtoroi treti XX — nachale XXI veka: predstavleniia o dukhakh-khoziaevakh «chuzhikh» prostranstv [The Traditional Worldview of the Baraba Tatars in the Second Third of the 20th and Early 21st Centuries: Ideas About the Master Spirits of "Alien" Spaces]. *Vestnik arkheologii, antropologii i etnografii* 1: 83–91. https://www.ipdn.ru/_private/a16/83-91.pdf

Korusenko, M. A., and V. V. Merzlikin. 2005. Metskei, ubyr, otskur v mifologicheskikh predstavleniiakh sibirskikh tatar (opyt analiza obrazov) [Metskei, Ubyr, Otskur in the Mythological Representations of the Siberian Tatars (Experience of Image Analysis)]. In *Narody i kul'tury Sibiri: izuchenie, muzeefikatsiia, prepodavanie* [Peoples and Cultures of Siberia: Study, Museumification, Teaching], ed. by M. L. Berezhnova, N. A. Tomilov. Omsk: Izdatel'stvo Omskogo

universiteta. 144–159.

Kulemzin, V. M. 1984. *Chelovek i priroda v verovaniiakh khantov* [Man and Nature in the Beliefs of the Khanty]. Tomsk: Izdatel'stvo Tomskogo universiteta. 192 p.

Lar, L. A. 1998. *Shamany i Bogi* [Shamans and Gods]. Tyumen: Izdatel'stvo Instituta problem osvoyeniia Severa SO RAN. 39 p.

Lar, L. A. 2003. *Kul'tovyye pamiatniki Yamala. Khebidia ya* [Cult Objects of Yamal. Hebidya Ia]. Tyumen: Izdatel'stvo Instituta problem osvoyeniia Severa SO RAN. 173 p.

Lavrenova, O. A. 2010. *Prostranstva i smysly: Semantika kul'turnogo landshafta* [Spaces and Meanings: Semantics of Cultural Landscape]. Moscow: Institut Naslediia. 330 p.

Lehtisalo, T. 1998. *Mifologiia yurako-samoedov (nentsev)* [Mythology of the Yurako-Samoyeds (Nenets)]. Tomsk: Izdatel'stvo Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. 136 p.

Martynova, E. P. 1998. *Ocherki istorii i kul'tury Khantov* [Essays on the History and Culture of the Khanty]. Moscow: Nauka. 235 p.

Matveev, A. V. 2015. Gorizontal'naia struktura mifologicheskogo prostranstva [Horizontal Structure of Mythological Space]. In *Istoriia i kul'tura tatar Zapadnoy Sibiri* [History and Culture of the Tatars of Western Siberia], ed. by G. F. Gabdrakhmanova. Kazan: Artifakt. 478–483.

Perevalova, E. V., and K. G. Karacharov. 2006. *Reka Agan i ee obitateli* [The Agan River and Its Inhabitants]. Ekaterinburg; Nizhnevartovsk: UrO RAN; Studiya «GRAFO». 352 p.

Spodina, V. I. 1995. *Metodicheskoe posobie po etnografii korennykh narodov Zapadnoi Sibiri* (*Khanty*) [Methodological Manual on the Ethnography of the Indigenous Peoples of Western Siberia (Khanty)]. Megion. 176 p.

Tikhomirova, M. N. 2006. Oberegi v traditsionno-bytovoi kul'ture zabolotnykh tatar (po polevym materialam) [Amulets in the Traditional Everyday Culture of the Swamp Tatars (Based on Field Materials)]. In *Materialy IX Vserossiiskoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii* [Materials of the IX All-Russian Scientific and Practical Conference]. Tyumen. 117–118.

Valeev, F. T. 1976. O religioznykh predstavleniiakh zapadnosibirskikh tatar [On the Religious Ideas of the West Siberian Tatars]. In *Priroda i chelovek v religioznykh predstavleniiakh narodov Sibiri i Severa* [Nature and Man in the Religious Beliefs of the Peoples of Siberia and the North], ed. by I. S. Vdovin. Leningrad: Nauka. 320–331.

Valeev, F. T., and N. A. Tomilov. 2006. Sibirskie tatary [Siberian Tatars]. In *Tiurkskie narody Sibiri* [Turkic Peoples of Siberia], ed. by D. A. Funk, N. A. Tomilov. Moscow: Nauka. 26–124.

Yarzutkina, A. A. 2012. *Ritualy dostatka: Traditsionnye zemledel'cheskie, skotovodcheskie i promyslovye kul'ty sibirskikh tatar* [Rituals of Prosperity: Traditional Agricultural, Cattle Breeding and Fishing Cults of the Siberian Tatars]. Saint Petersburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie. 320 p.

Yarzutkina, A. A. 2015. Mifologicheskie predstavleniia i relikty doislamskikh verovanii [Mythological Representations and Relics of Pre-Islamic Beliefs]. In *Istoriia i kul'tura tatar Zapadnoi Sibiri* [History and Culture of the Tatars of Western Siberia], ed. by G. F. Gabdrakhmanova. Kazan: Artifakt. 483–493.

UDC 39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/271-281
Original Article

© ***Anastasia Kinyaeva***

DARGAH: MIRACLES, MYSTICS, SINGERS AND DJINNS

In the article, the author examines the phenomenon of dargahs (tombs of Muslim saints) in India from the point of view of folk ideas about the miraculous, mystical and magical. The article is based on the materials collected during the field study that took place in July and August 2023 in the cities of Delhi, Lucknow and Badayun, the expedition in November 2024, which included work in Delhi, Agra, Sikri, Aligarh, Fatehpur-Sikri, and on information from the press and open Internet sources. In this work, the author refers to the narratives of pilgrims and examines the main types and sources of miracles mentioned in connection with dargahs. The article is divided into chapters devoted to miracles related to saints and their followers, to the miraculous influence of qawwali performed in dargahs and to the possession and the exorcism of jinns. Examining the experiences of the pilgrims, the author concludes that by considering the phenomenon of dargahs through the prism of the miraculous, the researcher opens up the possibility of a comprehensive study of seemingly disparate cultural and religious practices that go beyond a specific religion or a community.

Keywords: *dargah, India, Sufism, qawwali, folk religion, spiritual healing, jinns*
Author Info: Kinyaeva, Anastasia V. — Intern Researcher and Ph.D. student, the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: avkinyaeva@gmail.com
ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0005-9862-988X
For citation: Kinyaeva, A. B. 2025. Dargah: Miracles, Mystics, Singers and Djinns. *Herald of Anthropology* (*Vestnik Antropologii*) 1: 271–281.

References

Kinyaeva, A. 2023. Kto takie kavvaly: traditsiia kavvali v Severnoi Indii i ee khraniteli [Who Are the Qawwals: The Tradition of Qawwali in Northern India and Its Keepers]. *Studia Religiosa Rossica: nauchnyi zhurnal o religii* 4: 76–87. https://doi.org/10.28995/2658-4158-2023-4-76-87

Nayyar, A. 1988. Origin and History of the Qawwali. Islamabad: Lok Virsa Research Centre. 31 p.

Saha, S., A. Chauhan, M. Hamlai, V. Saiyad, S. Makwana, K. Shah, and A. Pandya. 2021. Unique Collaboration of Modern Medicine and Traditional Faith-Healing for the Treatment of Mental Illness: Best Practice from Gujarat. *Journal of Family Medicine and Primary Care* 10: 521–526. http://doi.org/10.4103/jfmpc.jfmpc_979_19

Schimmel, A. 1999. *Mir islamskogo mistitsizma* [Mystical Dimensions of Islam]. Moscow: Aleteia, Enigma. 416 p.

Suvorova, A. A. 1999. *Musul'manskie sviatye Yuzhnoi Azii XI–XV vekov* [Muslim Saints of South Asia in the 11th–15th centuries]. Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Nauk, Institut Vostokovedeniia. 296 p.

Yoginder, S. 2004. Shared Hindu-Muslim Shrines in Karnataka: Challenges to Liminality. In *Lived Islam in South Asia: Adaptation, Accommodation and Conflict*, ed. by I. Ahmad, and H. Reifeld. Delhi: Social Science Press. 166–186.

UDC 39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/282-293
Original Article

© ***Maria Shcherbak***

TIBETAN ASTROLOGY AND MAKING TALISMANS

Daily life for Tibetans is closely connected with astrology and predictions. Astrologers calculate favorable dates for weddings and funerals, sowing and harvesting, and also create amulets and talismans to ward off misfortune and promise good luck to their owners. Despite the influence of globalization, Tibetans are not only in no hurry to abandon traditional ideas about astrology and its influence on human life, but also strongly support the transfer of ancient knowledge to new generations. This became especially relevant in the 1960s after the annexation of Tibet by the PRC, the flight of the 14th Dalai Lama to India and the emergence of a large Tibetan diaspora in Asia, Europe and the Americas. The Tibetan government in exile is developing numerous social and economic programs aimed at preserving and transmitting traditional knowledge, arts and crafts within the diaspora. Traditional astrological practices are no exception. The preservation and transmission of astrological knowledge contributes to the continuity of generations and the transmission of "Tibetanness" to generations of refugees born outside of Tibet, and the popularity of Eastern astrological systems in the West has made Tibetan astrology one of the ways to attract tourists and, consequently, finance to Dharamsala. The article examines the traditional Tibetan ideas about astrology, identifies the systems that influenced its formation, and also describes the symbols, talismans and amulets most commonly used in everyday life.

Keywords: *Tibet, astrology, talismans, Klachakra, bon*

Author Info: Shcherbak, Maria B. — Junior Researcher, the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: Mariam.net@mail.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6998-1829

For citation: Shcherbak, M. B. 2025. Tibetan Astrology and Making Talismans. *Herald of Anthropology* (*Vestnik Antropologii*) 1: 282–293.

Funding: The study was carried out as a part of the research plan of the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology.

References

Beer, R. 2016. *Tibetskie buddiiskie simvoly* [Tibetan Buddhist Symbols]. Moscow: Orientalia. 366 p.

Berzin, A. 2006. *Izbrannye trudy po buddizmu i tibetologii* [Selected Works on Buddhism and Tibetology]. Vol. II. Moscow: Otkrytyi Mir. 208 p.

Cornu, Ph. 1999. *L'astrologie tibétaine* [Tibetan Astrology]. Paris: Guy Trédaniel. 294 p.

Crook, J., and H. Osmantson. 1994. *Hymalayan Buddhist Villages. Environment, Resources, Society and Religious Life in Zagskar, Ladakh*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas Publishers. 854 p.

Gumilev, L. N., and B. I. Kuznetsov. 1969. Dve traditsii drevnetibetskoi kartografii [Two Traditions of Ancient Tibetan Cartography]. *Vestnik Leningradskogo universiteta* 1969: 88–101.

Dylykova-Parfionovich, V. S. 2018. *Kalachakra.* Vol. 1. *Vselennaia* [Kalachakra. Vol. 1. The Universe]. Moscow: Soiuz Dizain. 62 p.

Kuznetsov, B. I. 1998. *Drevnii Iran i Tibet (istoriia religii bon)* [Ancient Iran and Tibet (History of the Bon Religion)]. Saint Petersburg: Evraziia. 352 p.

Kuznetsov, B. I. 2001. *Bon i mazdaizm* [Bon and Mazdaizm]. Saint Petersburg: Evraziia. 224 p.

Strelkov, A. M. 2008. Buddiiskoe uchenie Kalachakra: istochniki, struktura, soderzhanie [Buddhist Teaching of Kalacakra: Sources, Structure, Content]. *Vestnik Russkoi khristianskoi gumanitarnoi akademii* 9(1): 114–132.

Terent'ev, A. A. 2003. *Opredelitel' buddiiskikh izobrazhenii* [Guide to Buddhist Images]. Saint Petersburg: Nartang. 304 p.

Wadell, L. A. 1895. *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism: With its Mystic Cults, Symbolism and Mythology, and in Its Relation to Indian Buddhism*. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 686 p.

UDC 39+9
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/294-304
Original article

LIU SANJIE: SONG FAIRY AND HER WORK IN TOURISM

The article examines the legend of the Zhuang people, the largest PRC national minority dwelling in the Guangxi Autonomous Region, about the "Song Fairy" Liu Sanjie. Liu Sanjie ("Third Sister Liu") is a Zhuang mythological character, an orphan who has a magical talent for singing songs. Various plot versions are recorded, but in general they describe her as a kind and hardworking girl. She sings songs, fights with the landlord, and defeats the poets sent by him in a song contest. In the end, she and her lover die in the river and then ascend to Heaven. In other versions, they both float down the river from the evil landlord's soldiers. The work examines the history of Liu Sanjie's appearance, manifestation and use in modern culture, and her character's transition from a myth to a tourist attraction. The author draws a conclusion about the desacralization of the mythological image and illustrates it with several examples of its partial use in tourism, crime control, anti-COVID measures propaganda etc.

Keywords: *Liu Sanjie, mythology, tourism, mass culture*

Author Info: Glinkin, Vitaly S. — Ph.D. in History, Senior Teacher, Department of Oriental Studies, Faculty of Politics and History, Tomsk State University (Tomsk, Russian Federation). E-mail: glinkinvs@yandex.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8440-3901

For citation: Glinkin, V. S. 2025. Liu Sanjie: Song Fairy and Her Work in Tourism. *Herald of Anthropology* (*Vestnik Antropologii*) 1: 294–304.

References

Glinkin, V. S. 2022. *Chzhuany v kontekste natsional'noi politiki Kitaia* [Zhuang in the Context of China's National Policy]. Tomsk: Veter. 2022. 184 p.

Glinkin, V. S. 2021. Etnograficheskie muzei Guansi i kul'tura chzhuan v ikh ekspozitsiiakh [Guangxi Anthropological Museums and the Representation of Zhuang Culture]. *Vestnik NGU. Seriia: Istoriia, filologiia* 20 (4): 125–134. https://doi.org/10.25205/1818-7919-2021-20-4-125-134

Its, R. F. 1972. *Etnicheskaya istoriya yugo-vosotochnoi Asii* [Ethnic History of the South East Asia]. Leningrad: Nauka. 308 p.

Jiang Ping. 2015. Gaige kaifang yilai zhuangzu chuantong wenhuade cunxu yu bianqian [The Survival and Changes of Zhuang Traditional Culture Since the Reform and Opening Up]. *Guangxi minzu yanjiu* 5: 99–106.

Kudinova, M. A., D. V. Cheremisin, and S. A. Komissarov. 2019. O semantike osnovnogo siuzheta na pisanitsakh Khuashan' (Guansi-Chzhuanskii avtonomnyi raion, Kitai) [Semantics of the Main Scene in Huashan Rock-Paintings (Guangxi-Zhuang Autonomous Region, China)]. *Vestnik NGU. Seriia: Istoriia, filologiia* 18 (4): 51–60. https://doi.org/10.25205/1818-7919-2019-18-4-51-60

Kaup, K. P. 2000. *Creating the Zhuang. Ethnic Politics in China*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 221 p.

Li Zhiqiang. 2012. Chengzhenhua beijing xia Zhuangzu Liaoge wenhua de baochi he chuancheng de sikao [Reservation and Transmission of Zhuang Liaoge Culture in the Conditions of Urbanisation]. *Baise xueyuan xuebao* 25(2): 70–73.

Liu Chunhong, and Tang Fengling. 2014. Fei wuzhi wenhua yichan lüyou de kaifa shi chuancheng tansuo

- yi Guangxi Pingguo “Liaoge” wei li [Development and Inheritance of Intangible Cultural Heritage through Tourism: A Case Study of Pingguo Liao Song in Guangxi]. *Chanye Jingji* 5: 198–200.

Moskalyov, A. A. 1979. *Guangxi-Zhuanskiy i Ningxia Hueiskiy avtonomnye raiony KNR* [Guangxi Zhuang and Ningxia Hui Autonomous Regions of the PRC]. Moscow: Nauka. 154 p.

Ping, Fen. 2009. Zhuangzu Liu Sanjie xingxiang lishi shanbian yu xiandai jiangou [The History of Changes and Modern Construction of Zhuang Heroine Liu Sanjie]. *Gehai* 4: 9–11. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/41451462.pdf

Quan, Liu. 2021. Cultural Exploitation in Chinese Politics: Reinterpreting Liu Sanjie. *Prometheus* 37 (2): 111–136.

Ren, Xubin. 2023. Liu Sanjie wenhua: cong lingnan minjian wenhua fuhao dao zhonghua wenhua fuhaode qinggan niudai [Liu Sanjie Culture: Feelings Connection from South China Folk Name to all-China Folk Name]. *Nanning Shifan Daxue* 44 (6): 44–50.

Wang Xianzhi, and Yudi Jisheng. 1999 (1992). *Beauty of Writings About the Marginal Lands*. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju. 7128 p.

Xiong Yingwen. 2020. Ontology of Liu Sanji Myth in Works of the Modern Chinese Researchers. *Manuscript* 13 (3): 208–211.

Xiong Yingwen, and S. A. Mozgot. 2021. Liu Sanjie: The Image of a Woman in the Traditional Folk Drama of Guangxi «Cai Diao». *Journal of Musical Science* 9(1): 100–107.

ANTHROPOLOGY OF RELIGION

UDC 39+9
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/305-322
Original article

©Valeri Biguaa

THE ANCESTRAL CULT OF DZHAPUA IN THE SYSTEM OF ABKHAZIAN TRADITIONAL RELIGION

Based on the author's field materials, the paper studies one of the many clan (family) prayers that function as an institution of the Abkhazian traditional religion, from the perspective of its archaic roots and the modern state. It provides a detailed description of the ritual practice and the interpretation of its main elements. A complex study of the cult allowed the author to clarify its origin, to determine its functional purpose, and to attempt to suggest the etymology of its name.

Keywords: *Abkhazian traditional religion, clan, clan cult, clan organization, rite, ritual, prayer, sacrifice, ritual dance*

Author Info: Biguaa, Valeri L. — Dr. of History, Leading Researcher, Institute of Humanities Research, Academy of Sciences of Abkhazia, Professor, Abkhaz State University (Sukhum, Republic of Abkhazia). E-mail: valera.biguaa@yandex.com

For citation: Biguaa, V. L. 2025. The Ancestral Cult of Dzhapua in the System of Abkhazian Traditional Religion. *Herald of Anthropology* (*Vestnik Antropologii*) 1: 305–322.

References

Avidzba, V. Sh. (ed.). 2015. *Abkhazskii biograficheskii slovar'* [Abkhazian Biographical Dictionary]. Moscow — Sukhum: Abkhazskii institut gumanitarnykh issledovanii im. D. I. Gulia AN Abkhazii. 832 p.

Biguaa, V. L. 2018. *Ritual'nyi mir traditsionnoi religii abkhazov* [The Ritual World of the Traditional Religion of the Abkhazians]. Moscow: MAX Press. 301 p.

Biguaa, V. L. 2020. Otgoloski rodovogo kul'ta u abkhazov: molenie Kharanievtsev [Echoes of the Ancestral Cult of the Abkhazians]. *Vestnik antropologii* 2: 95–105. https://doi.org/10.33876/2311-0546/2020-50-2/95-105

Biguaa, V. L. 2021. Etnografiia abkhazskogo rodovogo kul'ta: molenie Ablebovykh [Ethnography of the Abkhazian Family Cult: Prayer of Ablebovs]. *Vestnik antropologii* 3: 228–243. https://doi.org/10.33876/2311-0546/2021-3/228-243

Biguaa, V. L. 2023. Marshanova dolia Boga kak rodovoi kul't v sisteme traditsionnoi religii abkhazov ["Marshanov's Share of God as a Family Cult in the System of Traditional Religion of Abkhazians]. *Vestnik antropologii* 1: 198–216. https://doi.org/10.33876/2311-0546/2023-1/198-216

Biguaa, V. 2023. *Abkhazkaia traditsonnaia religiia* [Abkhazian Traditional Religion]. Sukhum: Abkhazskii gosudarstvennyi universitet. 434 p.

Botiakov, Yu. M., and A. I. Dzhopua. 2009. Famil'nyi prazdnik na sviatilishche Dzhakhasheiar-nykha v sovremennoi Abkhazii [Family Holiday at the Dzhakhasheyar-nykha Sanctuary in Modern Abkhazia]. *Lavrovskii sbornik. Materialy XXXIII Srdneazatsko-Kavkazskikh chtenii 2008–2009 gg. Etnologiia, istoriia, arkheologiia, kul'turologiia* [Lavrov Collection. Materials of the XXXIII Central Asian-Caucasian Readings 2008–2009. Ethnology, History, Archeology, Cultural Studies]. Saint Petersburg. 82–87.

Dbar, S. A. 2007. Obychai i obriady, obriady, sviazannye s ukhodom za rebenkom [Customs and Rituals, Rituals Associated with Childcare]. In *Abkhazy* [Abkhazians], ed. by Yu. D. Anchabadze and Yu. G. Argun. Moscow: Nauka. 312–321.

Dzhapua, A. 2007. Svjatynja roda Dzhapua «Dzhahashk'ar» [Shrine of the Dzhapua Clan "Dzhakhashkyar"]. *Alashara* 173–178.

Inal-ipa, Sh. D. 1965. *Abkhazy (istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherki)* [Abkhazians (Historical and Ethnographic Essay)]. Sukhumi: Alashara. 895 p.

Inal-ipa, Sh. D. 1976. *Voprosy etno-kul'turnoi istorii abkhazov* [Questions of the Ethno-Cultural History of the Abkhazians]. Sukhumi: Alashara. 463 p.

Kaslandzia, V. A. 2005. *Abkhazsko-russkii slovar'* [Abkhazian-Russian Dictionary]. Sukhum. 720+704 p.

Krylov, A. B. 2001. *Religiia i traditsii abkhazov* [Religion and Traditions of the Abkhazians]. Moscow: Institut vostokovedeniia RAN. 405 p.

Kvarchia, V. E. 2002. *Abkhazskaia toponimika* [Abkhazian Toponymy]. Sukhum. 688 p.

Kvarchia, V. E. 2006. *Istoricheskaia i sovremennaia toponimiia Abkhazii (istoriko-etimologicheskoe issledovanie)* [Historical and Modern Toponymy of Abkhazia (Historical and Etymological Research)]. Sukhum: Akademiia nauk Abkhazii, Abkhazskii institut gumanitarnikh issledovanii imeni D. I. Gulia. 328 p.

UDC 39+9
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/323-336
Original article

SHAMANS WITHOUT DRUMS: HISTORICAL MEMORY IN THE NARRATIVES OF TUVANS

The paper considers the reflection of the historical memory of Tuvans in the narratives that mention the religious situation during the period of the Tuvan People's Republic and the USSR. The topics covered include the persecution of shamans, the ban on shamanic activities, the concealment or confiscation of ritual attributes, the destruction of shamanic burials, and the underground shamanism in 1929–1990. Shamans had to adapt to the new situation, to change their cult paraphernalia and to use smaller ritual objects for the purpose of conspiracy due to the dictates of the time. The rituals were forced to be secret and therefore silent, without drums or ritual costumes, which had never happened before in shamanic practice. Oral stories recorded from both lame people and specialists in magic recall times of anti-shamanistic propaganda and describe the punishments applied to specialists in magic. The underground existence of ritual practice helped to preserve the features of original Tuvan shamanism, which, unlike in other Siberian regions, was not interrupted during the anti-religious period. After the ban on the shamanic tradition Tuvan people did not stop performing collective consecration rites — dagylga, which is a great merit of the underground shamanism.

Keywords*: Tuvan shamanism, narrative, historical memory, religious situation, persecution of shamans, destruction and concealment of shamanic attributes, secret ritual*

Author Info: Yusha, Zhanna M. — Dr. of Philology, Leading Research Fellow, Department of Ethnography of Siberia, Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation). E-mail: zhanna-yusha@yandex.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4076-4553

For citation: Yusha, Z. M. 2025. Shamans Without Drums: Reflection of Historical Memory in the Narratives of Tuvans. *Herald of Anthropology* (*Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 323–336.

References

Alekseev, N. A. 1980. *Rannie formy religii tiurkoiazychnykh narodov Sibiri* [Early Forms of Religion of the Turkic-speaking Peoples of Siberia]. Novosibirsk: Nauka. 320 p.

Alekseev, N. A. 1984. *Shamanizm tiurkoiazychnykh narodov Sibiri* [Shamanism of the Turkic-speaking Peoples of Siberia]. Novosibirsk: Nauka. 233 p.

Diakonova, V. P. 1975. *Pogrebal'nyi obriad tuvintsev kak istoriko-etnograficheskii istochnik* [Tuvan Funeral Rite as a Historical and Ethnographic Source]. Leningrad: Nauka. 164 p.

Diakonova, V. P. 1981. Tuvinskie shamany i ikh sotsial'naia rol' v obshchestve [Tuvan Shamans and Their Social Role in Society]. In *Problemy obshchestvennogo soznaniia aborigenov Sibiri i Severa* [The Problems of Social Consciousness of Aborigines of Siberia and the North], ed. by I. S. Vdovin. Leningrad: Nauka. 129–164.

Funk, D. A., and N. A. Alekseev (eds.). 2008. *Tiurkskie narody Vostochnoi Sibiri* [Turkic Peoples of Eastern Siberia]. Moscow: Nauka. 422 p.

Grumm-Grzhimailo, G. E. 1926. *Zapadnaia Mongoliia i Uriankhaiskii krai. Antropologicheskii i etnograficheskii ocherk etikh stran* [Western Mongolia and Uriankhai Region. Anthropological and Ethnographic Sketch of These Countries]. Leningrad: Gublit. 412 p.

Karalkin, P. I. 2008. Ostatki shamanizma u tuvintsev i puti ikh preodoleniia [Remains of Shamanism Among Tuvans and Ways to Overcome Them]. In *Kul'tura i traditsii korennykh narodov Severnogo Altaia* [Culture and Traditions of Indigenous Peoples of Northern Altai], ed. by A. V. Malinov. Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'skii dom Sankt-Peterburskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. 231–249.

Katanov, N. F. 1907. *Obraztsy narodnoi literatury tiurkskikh plemen. Teksty, sobrannye i perevedennye N. F. Katanovym* [Samples of Folk Literature of Turkic Tribes. Texts Collected and Translated by N. F. Katanov]. Vol. 9. *Narechiia uriankhaitsev (soiotov), abakanskikh tatar i karagasov* [Dialects of Uryankhai (Soyot), Abakan Tatars and Karagas People]. Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk. 649 p.

Kenin-Lopsan, M. B. 1987. *Obriadovaia praktika i fol'klor tuvinskogo shamanstva. Konets XIX — nachalo XX v.* [Ritual Practice and Folklore of Tuvan Shamanism. The End of the 19th — the Beginning of the 20th Century]. Novosibirsk: Nauka. 162 p.

Kenin-Lopsan, M. B. 2009. *Tuvinskie shamany* [Tuvan Shamans]. Moscow: Maska. 238 p.

Kharitonova, V. I. 2018. Tuvinskii (neo)shamanizm kak kul'tovaia i tselitel'skaia praktika v sovremennom mire [Tuvan (Neo)Shamanism as a Religious and Healing Practice in Contemporary World]. *Novye issledovaniia Tuvy* 4: 47–76.

Kon, F. Ya. 1936. *Za piat'desiat let. Ekspeditsiia v Soiotiiu* [For Fifty Years. Expedition to Soyotia]. Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel'. 360 p.

Mänchen-Helfen, O. 1992. *Journey to Tuva. An Eye-Witness Account of Tannu-Tuva in 1929*. Los Angeles: Ethnographics Press University of Southern California. 292 p.

Mänchen-Helfen, O. 2007. Puteshestvie v aziatskuiu Tuvu [Travel to Asian Tuva]. In *Uriankhai Tyva depter. Antologiia nauchnoi i prosvetitel'skoi mysli o drevnei tuvinskoi zemle i ee nasel'nikakh, ob Uriankhae — Tannu-Tuve, uriankhaitsakh — tuvintsakh, o drevnostiakh Tuvy* [Uryankhai Tyva Depter. Anthology of Scientific and Enlightenment Thought about the Ancient Tuvan Land and its Inhabitants, about Uryankhai — Tannu-Tuva, Uryankhai — Tuvinians, about the Antiquities of Tuva]. Vol. 6. *Tannu-Tuvinskaia Respublika (1921–1944)* [Tannu-Tuvin Republic], ed. by S. K. Shoigu. Moscow: Slovo. 220–351.

Pimenova, K. V. 2007. Predstavleniia o zlykh dukhakh, porche i obriady ochishcheniia u sovremennykh tuvinskikh shamanov [The Notions of Evil Spirits and Curse, and Cleansing Rites among Today's Shamans of Tuva]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 4: 86–100.

Potanin, G. N. 1883. *Ocherki Severo-Zapadnoi Mongolii* [Essays of Northwestern Mongolia]. Saint Petersburg: Tipografia V. Kirshbauma. Vol. 4. 944 p.

Potapov, L. P. 1960. Materialy po etnografii tuvintsev raiona Mongun-Taigi i Kara-Kholia [Materials on the Ethnography of the Tuvans of the Mongun-Taiga and Kara-Khol Region]. In *Trudy Tuvinskoi kompleksnoi arkheologo-etnograficheskoi ekspeditsii (1957–1958)* [Proceedings of the Tuva Integrated Archaeological and Ethnographic Expedition (1957–1958)], ed. by L. P. Potapov. Moscow, Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, Leningradskoe otdelenie. Vol. 1. 159–182.

Potapov, L. P. 1969. *Ocherki narodnogo byta tuvintsev* [Essays on the Folk Life of Tuvans]. Moscow: Nauka. 402 p.

Vainshtein, S. I. 1961. *Tuvintsy-todzhintsy: Istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherki* [Tuvinians-Todzha: Historical and Ethnographic Essays]. Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura. 218 p.

Vainshtein, S. I. 1991. *Mir kochevnikov tsentra Azii* [The World of the Nomads of Central Asia]. Moscow: Nauka. 296 p.

Vainshtein, S. I., and M. Kh. Mannaj-ool (eds.). 2007. *Istoriia Tuvy* [History of Tuva]. Novosibirsk: Nauka. Vol. 2. 430 p.

Vainshtein, S. I., and N. P. Moskalenko. 1995. Problemy tuvinskogo shamanstva: genezis, izbrannichestvo, effektivnost' lechebnykh kamlanii, sovremennyi renessans [Problems of Tuvan Shamanism: Genesis, Chosenness, Effectiveness of Healing Rituals, Modern Renaissance]. In *Shamanizm i inye rannie*

religioznye predstavleniia: K 90-letiiu doktora ist. nauk, professora L. P. Potapova [Shamanism and Other Early Religious Conceptions: On the 90th Anniversary of Dr. of Historical Sciences, Professor L. P. Potapov], ed. by D. A. Funk. Moscow: IEA RAN. Vol. 1. 38–51.

Yakovlev, E. K. 1900. *Etnograficheskii obzor inorodcheskogo naseleniia doliny Yuzhnogo Eniseia i ob"iasnitel'nyi katalog etnograficheskogo otdela muzeia* [Ethnographic Overview of the Non-Native Population of the Southern Yenisei Valley and Explanatory Catalog of the Ethnographic Department of the Museum]. Minusinsk: Izdatel'stvo V. A. Danilova. 212 p.

Yusha, Zh. M. 2022a. Zhanrovaia spetsifika shamanskikh narrativov v fol'klornoi traditsii tuvintsev [Genre Specificity of Shamanic Narratives in the Folklore Tradition of Tuvans]. *Critique and Semiotics* 2: 258–274. https://doi.org/10.25.205/2307-1737-2022-2-258-274

Yusha, Zh. M. 2022b. Ustnye rasskazy o shamanskom stanovlenii v fol'klornoi traditsii tuvintsev [Oral Stories about Shamanic Formation in the Folklore Tradition of Tuvans]. *Siberian Journal of Philology* 4: 21–33. https://doi.org/10.17223/18137083/81/2

Yusha, Zh. M. 2024. Predstavleniia tuvintsev o golovnykh uborakh shamanov [The Tuvan Depictions of Shamanic Headdresses]. *Tomskii zhurnal lingvisticheskikh i antropologicheskikh issledovanii* 3(45): 113–122.

UDC 39+9
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/337-352
Original article

© *Uladzimir Auseichyk*

THE SETTLEMENT OF OLD BELIEVERS IN THE NORTH-WEST OF BELARUS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XVII — FIRST HALF OF THE XVIII CENTURIES

The article focuses on the settlement of the Russian Old Believers in the northwestern Belarusian lands in the second half of the XVII – first half of the XVIII century. We analyze the results of previous studies dealing with this issue, characterize their sources and methodology. We come to the conclusion that although a number of publications have considered the early history of the Old Believers in the northwestern region of Belarus, the question of their settlement here in the second half of the XVII – first half of the XVIII century remains unresolved. To date, the published studies have failed to provide solid facts about the Old Believers' settlement in the region during this period. Therefore, more serious questions of the early history of the Old Believers in the region still seek resolution. For example, the places of initial settlement have not been identified, no attempt has been made to analyze the intensity of migration and to count the number of newcomers.

Keywords: *Old Believers, northwestern Belarus, ethnic history, historiography, settlement, ethnic group*

Author Info: **Auseichyk, Uladzimir E.** — Ph.D. in History, Associated Professor, Polotsk State University (Novopolotsk, Republic of Belarus). E-mail: u.auseichyk@psu.by ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6433-0039

For citation: Auseichyk, U. 2025. The Settlement of Old Believers in the North-West of Belarus in the Second Half of the XVII — First Half of the XVIII Centuries. *Herald of Anthropology* (*Vestnik Antropologii*) 1: 337–352.

References

Anoszko, S. 2020. Staroobrzędowcy na białoruskich ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVII–XVIII stuleciu [Old Believers in the Belorussian Lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17th–18th Centuries]. *NURT SVD: półrocznik misjologiczno-religioznawczy* 1: 93–111.

Auseichyk, U. 2021a. Rassialenne i demagrafichnaia kharaktarystyka staraveraŭ paŭnochna-zakhodniai Belarusi ŭ drugoi palove XIX — pachatku XX st. [Settlement and Demographic Characteristics of the Old Believers of Northwestern Belarus in the Second Half of the 19th and Early 20th Centuries]. *Vesnik Grodzenskaga dziarzhaŭnaga ŭniversiteta imia Ianki Kupaly. Seryia 1. Gistoryia i arkhealogiia. Filasofiia. Palitalogiia* 13 (1): 57–67.

Auseichyk, U. 2021b. Staravery paŭdneva-ŭskhodniai Belarusi: gistaryiagrafiia i suchasny stan dasledavanniaŭ [Old Beliefs of Southeastern Belarus: Historiography and Current State of Research]. *Vestnik PGU. Seriia A. Gumanitarnye nauki. Istoricheskie nauki* 1: 136–146.

Gorbatskii, A. A. 2004. *Staroobriadchestvo na belorusskikh zemliakh* [Old Believers in the Belarusian lands]. Brest: Brest Derzhavnii Universitet. 305 p.

Hedeman, O. 1930. *Historja powiatu Brasławskiego* [History of the Braslav District]. Wilno: Polska Druk. Nakładowa «Lux». 434 p.

Iwaniec, E. 1977. *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców na ziemiach polskich XVII–XX w.* [From the History of Old Believers in Poland in the 17th and 20th Centuries]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. 295 p.

Morozova, N. 2020. Starovery glazami predstavitelei drugikh khristianskikh konfessii Rechi Pospolitoi: iezuit Ian Aloizii Kulesha [Old Believers through the Eyes of Other Christian Denominations within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Jesuit Jan Aloysius Kulesha]. *Slavistica Vilnensis* 65(2): 54–64. https://doi.org/10.15388/SlavViln.2020.65%282%29.47

Ovseichik, V. E. 2022. Iz istorii izucheniia staroobriadchestva severo-zapadnoi Belarusi: obzor literatury (vtoraia polovina XVIII v.–1980 gg.) [From the History of the Study of Old Believers in Northwestern Belarus: A Review of the Literature (Second Half of the 18th Century–1980)]. *Slavistica Vilnensis* 67(2): 141–149.

Ovseichik, V. E. 2023. Iz istorii izucheniia staroobriadchestva severo-zapadnoi Belarusi: obzor literatury (sovremennyi etap) [From the History of the Study of Old Believers in Northwestern Belarus: Review of the Literature (Current Stage)]. *Slavistica Vilnensis* 68(1): 102–115. https://doi.org/10.15388/SlavViln.2023.68(1).98

Ovseichik, V. E. 2024. Staroobriadtsy severnoi Belarusi v seredine XIX v.: rasselenie i chislennost' [Old Believers of Northern Belarus in the Middle of the 19th Century: Settlement and Numbers]. *Etnografiia* 1(23): 169–188. https://doi.org/10.31250/2618-8600-2024-1(23)-169-188

Pastuszewski, S. 2015. Staroobrzędowcy na ziemiach białoruskich [Old Believers on Belarussian Lands]. *Roczniki Bialskopodlaski* XXIII: 159–207.

Podmazov, A. A. 1970. *Staroobriadchestvo v Latvii* [Old Believers in Latvia]. Riga: Liesma: 111 p.

Potashenko, G. 2000. Emigraciya staroobryadcev v Velikoe knyazhestvo Litovskoe: 1700-1760 [Emigration of Old Believers to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: 1700–1760]. *Staroobryadchestvo: istoriya, kul'tura, sovremennost': Materialy V nauch.-prakt. konf., g. Moskva, 20-21 noyab. 2000 g.* Ed by V. I. Osipov, E. I. Sokolova. Borovsk. 76–86.

Potashenko, G., 2006. *Staroverie v Litve: vtoraia polovina XVII — nachalo XIX vv. Issledovaniia, dokumenty i materialy* [Old Belief in Lithuania: Second Half of the 17th — early 19th Centuries. Research, Documents, Materials]. Vilnius: Aidai. 543 p.

Sivitskene, M. 1997. Iz istorii russkogo starozhilcheskogo naseleniia Litvy [From the History of the Russian Old-Timer Population of Lithuania]. *Slavistica Vilnensis* 46(2): 153–164.

Zavarina, A. A. 1986. *Russkoe naselenie vostochnoi Latvii vo vtoroi polovine XIX — nachale XX veka: Istoriko-etnograficheskii ocherk* [Russian Population of Eastern Latvia in the Second Half of the 19th — early 20th Centuries: Historical and Ethnographic Essay]. Riga: Zinatne. 246 p.

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

UDC 572
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/353-368
Original Article

© Victoria Rostovtseva, Marina Butovskaya, Anna Mezentseva, Nadezhda Dashieva

«INVERSED» SEXUAL DIMORPHISM OF THE UPPER FACIAL WIDTH TO HEIGHT RATIO IN BURYATS AND ITS INTERPRETATION IN LIGHT OF NEW METHODOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Population differences in sexual dimorphism of human facial shape are widely studied in modern scientific literature. One of the facial features that attracts the attention of researchers in the context of sexual differences, as well as mechanisms of sexual selection, is the upper facial width-to-height ratio (fWHR), measured as the ratio of the bizygomatic diameter to the upper height of the face. Until recently, sexual variability of fWHR was considered unidirectional (in men, the values are higher than in women), which was shown in numerous studies performed on modern living representatives of different racial groups. In a number of studies, significant sex differences in this trait were not found. Despite the wide coverage of populations studied to date throughout the world, indigenous groups of Siberia and the Russian Far East still remain virtually unstudied in terms of sexual variability of this facial trait. In one of the recent works, for the first time, the opposite direction of sex differences in fWHR was discovered in the Buryat population, in which women had higher values of the trait than men. In this work, fWHR was measured using photographs taken with standardized head position in the Frankfurt horizontal plane. This method of head positioning during photo shooting is almost never used in Western studies of fWHR. Instead, the natural head position is most often used. One of the recent methodological studies demonstrated that head positioning during photo shooting has a considerable effect on the two-dimensional projection of the facial shape in frontal perspective. Sex differences in shape are more pronounced when the head position is standardized in the Frankfurt horizontal plane. In the present work, we reproduced the results that revealed the opposite direction of sexual dimorphism in fWHR in Buryats on an independent sample of Buryats of the same age using head positioning both in the Frankfurt horizontal and in the natural position. The results confirmed the significant sexual dimorphism of fWHR in Buryats (women have higher fWHR than men) in both variants of head orientation. The methodological aspects associated with the definition of the fWHR are also discussed.

Keywords*: sexual dimorphism, sex differences, facial shape, Buryats, facial width-to-height ratio, fWHR, population differences*

Authors Info: **Rostovtseva, Victoria V.** — Ph.D., Senior Research Scientist, the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: victoria.v.rostovtseva@gmail.com ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1846-9865

Butovskaya, Marina L. — Corresponding Member RAS, Ph.D., Dr. Habil., Professor, Chief Researcher, the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: marina.butovskaya@gmail.com ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5528-0519

Mezentseva, Anna A. — Ph.D., Researcher, the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: khatsenkova@yandex.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6149-8971

Dashieva, Nadezhda B. — Ph.D., Dr. Habil., Professor, Head of the Research Laboratory of History and Theory of Culture in the East Siberian State Institute of Culture, (Ulan-Ude, Russian Federation). E-mail: dashieva-n@yandex.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3652-2535

For citation: Rostovtseva, V. V., M. L. Butovskaya, A. A. Mezentseva, and N. B. Dashieva. 2025. «Inversed» Sexual Dimorphism of the Upper Facial Width to Height Ratio in Buryats and Its Interpretation in Light of New Methodological Evidence. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 353–368.

Funding: The study was supported by the Russian Science Foundation, grant №. 23-18-00277.

References

Alekseev, V. P., and G. F. Debets. 1964. *Kraniometriia (metodika antropologicheskikh issledovanii* [Craniometry (Methodology of Anthropological Research)]. Moscow: Nauka. 127 p.

Baken, E., M. Collyer, A. Kaliontzopoulou, and D. Adams. 2021. Geomorph v4.0 and gmShiny: Enhanced Analytics and a New Graphical Interface for a Comprehensive Morphometric Experience. *Methods in Ecology and Evolution* 12: 2355–2363.

Butovskaya, M. L., V. V. Rostovtseva, and A. A. Mezentseva. 2022. Facial and Body Sexual Dimorphism Are Not Interconnected in the Maasai. *Journal of Physiological Anthropology* 41(1): 3. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40101-021-00276-8

Carré, J. M., and C. M. McCormick. 2008. In Your Face: Facial Metrics Predict Aggressive Behaviour in the Laboratory and in Varsity and Professional Hockey Players. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 275(1651): 2651–2656. https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2008.0873

Cassi, D., C. De Biase, I. Tonni, M. Gandolfini, A. Di Blasio, et al. 2016. Natural Position of the Head: Review of Two-Dimensional and Three-Dimensional Methods of Recording. *British Journal of Oral and Maxillofacial Surgery* 54(3): 233–240. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bjoms.2016.01.025

Fiala, V., V. Třebický, F. Pazhoohi, J. D. Leongómez, P. Tureček, S. A. Saribay, R. M. Akoko, and K. Kleisner. 2021. Facial Attractiveness and Preference of Sexual Dimorphism: A Comparison Across Five Populations. *Evolutionary Human Sciences* 3: e38. https://doi.org/10.1017/ehs.2021.33

Geniole, S. N., A. E. Keyes, C.J. Mondloch, J. M. Carré, and C. M. McCormick. 2012. Facing Aggression: Cues Differ for Female Versus Male Faces. *PloS One*: 7(1): e30366. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0030366

Geniole, S. N., T. F. Denson, B. J. Dixson, J. M. Carré, and C. M. McCormick. 2015. Evidence from Meta-Analyses of the Facial Width-To-Height Ratio as an Evolved Cue of Threat. *PloS One* 10 (7): e0132726. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0132726

Geniole, S. N., and C. M. McCormick. 2015. Facing Our Ancestors: Judgements of Aggression Are Consistent and Related to the Facial Width-To-Height Ratio in Men Irrespective of Beards. *Evolution and Human Behavior* 36(4): 279–285. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2014.12.005

Hodges-Simeon, C. R., G. Albert, G.B. Richardson, T. S. McHale, S. M. Weinberg, M. Gurven, and S. J. Gaulin, 2021. Was Facial Width-To-Height Ratio Subject to Sexual Selection Pressures? A Life Course Approach. *PloS One* 16(3): e0240284. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0240284

Houlton, T. M., N. Jooste, A. Uys, and M. Steyn. 2020. Lip Height Estimation in a Southern African Sample. *South African Dental Journal* 75(8): 415–424.

Huh, H., D. Yi, and H. Zhu. 2014. Facial Width-To-Height Ratio and Celebrity Endorsements. *Personality and Individual Differences* 68: 43–47. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2014.03.044

Kleisner, K., L. Priplatova, P. Frost, and J. Flegr. 2013. Trustworthy-looking Face Meets Brown Eyes. *PloS One* 8(1): e53285. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0053285

Kleisner, K., P. Tureček, S. C. Roberts, J. Havlíček, J. V. Valentova, R. M. Akoko, J. D. Leongómez, S. Apostol, M. A. Varella, and S. A. Saribay. 2021. How and Why Patterns of Sexual Dimorphism in Human Faces Vary Across the World. *Scientific Reports* 11(1): 5978. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-021-85402-3

Kleisner, K., Š. Pokorný, and V. Černý. 2024. Sexually Dimorphic Traits Are Associated with Subsistence Strategy in African Faces from the Sahel/Savannah Belt. *American Journal of Human Biology* 36(4): e24008. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajhb.24008

Kollipara, R., B. Walker, and A. Sturgeon. 2017. Lip Measurements and Preferences in Asians and Hispanics: A Brief Review. *The Journal of Clinical and Aesthetic Dermatology* 10(11): 19–21.

Kordsmeyer, T. L., D. Freund, S. R. Pita, J. Jünger, and L. Penke. 2019. Further Evidence that Facial Width-To-Height Ratio and Global Facial Masculinity Are Not Positively Associated with Testosterone Levels. *Adaptive Human Behavior and Physiology* 5: 117–130.

Kozlov, A., G. Vershubsky, and M. Kozlova. 2007. Indigenous Peoples of Northern Russia: Anthropology and Health. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* 66 (sup1): 1–184. https://doi.org/10.1080/22423982.2007.11864604B

Kramer, R. S. 2017. Sexual Dimorphism of Facial Width-To-Height Ratio in Human Skulls and Faces: A Meta-Analytical Approach. *Evolution and Human Behavior* 38(3): 414–420. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2016.12.002

Kramer, R. S., A. L. Jones, and R. Ward. 2012. A Lack of Sexual Dimorphism in Width-To-Height Ratio in White European Faces Using 2D Photographs, 3D Scans, And Anthropometry. *PloS One* 7 (8): e42705. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0042705

Lefevre, C. E., G. J. Lewis, T. C. Bates, M. Dzhelyova, V. Coetzee, I. J. Deary, and D. I. Perrett. 2012. No Evidence for Sexual Dimorphism of Facial Width-To-Height Ratio in Four Large Adult Samples. *Evolution and Human Behavior* 33(6): 623–627. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2012.03.002

Lefevre, C. E., G. J. Lewis, D. I. Perrett, and L. Penke. 2013. Telling Facial Metrics: Facial Width Is Associated with Testosterone Levels in Men. *Evolution and Human Behavior* 34(4): 273–279.

Mezentseva, A. A., V. V. Rostovtseva, and M. L. Butovskaya. 2024. Facial Cues to Physical Strength Are Not Always Associated with Facial Masculinity: Comparative Study of Europeans and Southern Siberians. *American Journal of Human Biology* 36(1): e23974. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajhb.23974

Mezentseva, A. A., V. V. Rostovttseva, and M. L. Butovskaya. 2024. Analiz formy litsa vo frankfurtskoi gorizontali i estestvennom polozhenii golovy: metodicheskoe issledovanie [Facial Shape in the Frankfurt horizontal and Natural Head Position: A Methodological Study]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo uiversiteta. Seriia XXIII. Antropologiia* 2: 85–92.

Mitteroecker, P., and P. Gunz. 2009. Advances in Geometric Morphometrics. *Evolutionary Biology* 36(2): 235–247.

Robertson, J. M., and B. E. Kingsley. 2018. Sexually Dimorphic Faciometrics in Black Racial Groups from Early Adulthood to Late Middle Age. *Evolutionary Psychology* 16(4): 1474704918811056. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474704918811056

Robertson, J. M., B. E. Kingsley, and G. C. Ford. 2017. Sexually Dimorphic Faciometrics in Humans from Early Adulthood to Late Middle Age: Dynamic, Declining, And Differentiated. *Evolutionary Psychology* 15(3): 1474704917730640. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474704917730640

Rohlf, F. J. 2015. The Tps Series of Software. *Hystrix* 26(1): 9–12. https://doi.org/10.4404/hystrix-26.1-11264

Roosenboom, J., K. Indencleef, M. K. Lee, H. Hoskens, J. D. White, D. Liu, J. T. Hecht, G. L. Wehby, L. M. Moreno, C. Hodges-Simeon, E. Feingold, M. L. Marazita, S. Richmond, M. D. Shriver, P. Claes, J. R. Shaffer, and S. M. Weinberg. 2018. SNPs Associated with Testosterone Levels Influence Human Facial Morphology. *Frontiers in Genetics* 9: 497. https://doi.org/10.3389/fgene.2018.00497

Rostovtseva, V. V. 2021. *Forma litsa sovmennykh buriat: Polovye razlichiia i sviaz' s pal'tsevym indeksom* [The Face Shape of the Tribal Buryats: Gender Differences and the Relationship with the Finger Index]. Ph.D. diss., Moscow State University.

Rostovtseva, V. V., A. A. Mezentseva, S. Windhager, and M. L. Butovskaya. 2020. Second-to-fourth Digit Ratio and Facial Shape in Buryats of Southern Siberia. *Early Human Development* 149: 105138. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.earlhumdev.2020.105138

Rostovtseva, V. V., A. A. Mezentseva, S. Windhager, and M. L. Butovskaya. 2021. Sexual Dimorphism in Facial Shape of Modern Buryats of Southern Siberia. *American Journal of Human Biology* 33(2): e23458. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajhb.23458

Rostovtseva, V. V., M. L. Butovskaya, A. A. Mezentseva, and F. J. Weissing. 2023. Effects of Sex and Sex-Related Facial Traits on Trust and Trustworthiness: An Experimental Study. *Frontiers in Psychology* 13: 925601. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.925601

Stirrat, M., and D. I. Perrett. 2010. Valid Facial Cues to Cooperation and Trust: Male Facial Width and Trustworthiness. *Psychological Science* 21(3): 349–354. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797610362647

Summersby, S., B. Harris, T. F. Denson, and D. White. 2022. Tracking Sexual Dimorphism of Facial Width-To-Height Ratio Across the Lifespan: Implications for Perceived Aggressiveness. *Royal Society Open Science* 9(5), 211500. https://doi.org/10.1098/rsos.211500

Tanikawa, C., E. Zere, and K. Takada. 2016. Sexual Dimorphism in the Facial Morphology of Adult Humans: A Three-Dimensional Analysis. *Homo* 67(1): 23–49. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jchb.2015.10.001

Wen, G., and L. Zheng. 2020. Facial Width to Height Ratio Predicts Physical Aggression in Committed Relationships in Men and Dominance in Women in China. *Personality and Individual Differences* 157: 109832. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2020.109832

Weston, E. M., A. E. Friday, R. A. Johnstone, and F. Schrenk. 2004. Wide Faces or Large Canines? The Attractive Versus the Aggressive Primate. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London. Series B: Biological Sciences* 271 (suppl_6): S416–S419. https://doi.org/10.1098/rsbl.2004.0203

Weston, E. M., A. E. Friday, and P. Liò. 2007. Biometric Evidence That Sexual Selection Has Shaped the Hominin Face. *PloS One* 2 (8): e710. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0000710

Zelditch, M., D. Swiderski, and H. D. Sheets. 2012. *Geometric Morphometrics for Biologists: A Primer*. New York and London: Elsevier Academic Press. 437 p.

UDC 572
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/369-388
Original Article

THE SIYA MONASTERY OF ST. ANTONIUS CLERGY: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE REMAINS

The article is dedicated to the study of the remains of the clergy from the Siya Monastery of St. Antonius in the Arkhangelsk region. The monastery was founded in 1520 by the hieromonk Antonius of Siya. During restoration in 2022, the remains of clergymen were discovered in the tomb of the Trinity Cathedral. Anthropological study was conducted in July 2024 at the monastery complex. Seven male skeletons of varying preservation conditions were examined using standard anthropological protocols. Photogrammetry was performed on the preserved skulls of four individuals, anthropological reconstruction of appearance was made based on the acquired 3D models. The postcranial skeleton was analyzed to estimate the height and body constitution, the identified pathologies and injuries were recorded. The analysis revealed several possible trauma and markers of experienced stress, which may indicate a deficiency of vitamins in their diet. In most cases, the men lived to an old age. Current archival information about the buried individuals does not yet allow for personal identification. Thus, the final results of the study will be published after a thorough examination of archival sources, should they be found.

Keywords: *anthropological reconstruction, cranial study, osteological examination, The Siya Monastery of St. Antonius*

Authors Info: **Rashkovskaya, Yulia V**. — Trainee Researcher, the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: j.pelenitsyna@gmail.com ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3378-9151

Veselovskaya, Elizaveta V. — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, the Russian State University for the Humanities (Moscow, Russian Federation); Chief Researcher, the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: veselovskaya.e.v@yandex.ru ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2932-9884

Karushev, Alexander Yu. — Assistant to the Vicar of the Siya Monastery of St. Antonius, Head of the Monastery's Church and Archaeological Office (Kholmogorsky district, Arkhangelsk Region, Russian Federation). E-mail: karushew@yandex.ru

For citation: Rashkovskaya, Yu. V., E. V. Veselovskaya, and A. Yu. Karushev. 2025. The Siya Monastery of St. Antonius Clergy: An Anthropological Study of the Remains. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 369–388.

Funding: The study was supported by the Russian Science Faundation, grant No 24-28-00819.

References

Alekseev, V. P. 1966. *Osteometriia. Metodika antropologicheskikh issledovanii* [Osteometry. Meth-

odology of Anthropological Research]. Moscow: Nauka. 250 p.

Alekseev, V. P., and G. F. Debets. 1964. *Kraniometriia. Metodika antropologicheskikh issledovanii* [Craniometry. Methodology of Anthropological Research]. Moscow: Nauka. 250 p.

Balueva, T. S., and E. V. Veselovskaia. 2004. Novye razrabotki v oblasti vosstanovleniia vneshnego oblika cheloveka po kraniologicheskim dannym [New Developments in the Field of Restoring Human Appearance Based on Craniological Data]. *Arkheologiia, etnografiia i antropologiia Evrazii* 1: 143–150.

Bunak, V. V. 1941. *Antropometriia* [Anthropometry]. Moscow: Uchpedgiz. 368 p.

Fedosova, V. N. 1986. Obshchaia otsenka razvitiia komponenta mezomorfii po osteologicheskim dannym (osteologicheskaia metodika) [General Assessment of the Development of the Mesomorphy Component According to Osteological Data (Osteological Methodology)]. *Voprosy antropologii* 76: 104–116.

Gerasimov, M. M. 1955. *Vosstanovlenie litsa po cherepu (sovremennyi i iskopaemyi chelovek)* [Reconstruction of the Face on the Skull (Modern and Fossilized Person)]. Moscow: USSR Academiia Nauk. 585 p.

Khrisanfova, E. N. 1978. *Evoliutsionnaia morfologiia skeleta cheloveka* [Evolutionary Morphology of the Human Skeleton]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta. 216 p.

Kirillov, A. V. 1895. Podvizhniki blagochestiia, pochivaiushchie v usypal'nitse Antonievo-Siiskogo monastyria [Ascetics of Piety Resting in the Tomb of the Antonievo-Siysky Monastery]. *Arkhangel'skie eparkhial'nye vedomosti* 17: 469–474.

Kozlov, N. V. 1865. Antoniev Sijskij monastyr' [The Siya Monastery of St. Antonius]. In *Materialy dlia geografii i statistiki Rossii, sobrannye ofitserami General'nogo shtaba. Arkhangel'skaia guberniia* [The Materials for Geography and Statistics of Russia, Collected by Officers of the General Staff. Arkhangelsk Province], ed. by N. V. Kozlov. Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia E. Veimara. 339–340.

Lebedinskaia, G. V. 1998. *Rekonstruktsiia litsa po cherepu (metodicheskoe rukovodstvo)* [Facial Reconstruction Based on the Skull: Methodological Guidelines]. Moscow: Staryi sad. 125 p.

Pashkova, V. I. 1963. *Ocherki sudebno-medicinskoj osteologii. Opredelenie pola, vozrasta i rosta po kostjam skeleta cheloveka* [Essays on Forensic Osteology. Determination of Sex, Age and Height from Human Skeletal Bones]. Moscow: Medgiz, 1963. 156 p.

Roginskii, Ya. Ya., and M. G. Levin. 1978. *Antropologiia* [Anthropology]. Moscow: Vysshaya shkola. 501 p.

Nikanor. 1895. *Inok Paisii, ktitor Siiskogo monastyria i ego trudy: (k predstoiashchemu 200-letnemu yubileiu pamiati O. Paisiia)* [Monk Paisius, Rector of the Siya Monastery and His Writings: (on the Upcoming 200th Anniversary of the Memory of Paisius)]. Saint Petersburg: Sinodal'naia tipografiia. 10 p.

Tikhonov, A. G. 1997. *Fizicheskii tip srednevekovogo naseleniia Evrazii po dannym osteologii* [Physical Type of Medieval Eurasian Population According to the Osteology Data]. Ph.D. diss. abstract, Russian Academy of Sciences. 36 p.

Veselovskaya, E. V. 2018. «Algoritm vneshnosti» — kompleksnaia programma antropologicheskoi rekonstruktsii ["The Algorithm of Appearance" — A Comprehensive Program of Anthropological Reconstruction]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Seriia 23: Antropologiia* 2: 38–54. https://doi.org/10.32521/2074-8132.2018.2.038-054

REVIEWS

UDC 39
DOI: 10.33876/2311-0546/2025-1/389-395
Book review

© Nurbiy Kurov

THEATERS AND MUSEUMS AS PLATFORMS FOR SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Book Review: Social Inclusion in the Museum and Theatre Space: a methodical collection / [editor T. V. Ovchinnikova]; compiler N. G. Sleptsova. Arkhangelsk: Lotsiya, 2023. 85 p.

This review is dedicated to the collection of methodological articles entitled "Social Inclusion in Museum and Theatre Spaces" and draws upon several articles based on practical experience in this field. The primary focus of the collection is on educators in inclusive educational settings, methodological specialists, resource centre personnel, psychologists, and students enrolled in pedagogical training programmes, and on parents. The use of these resources, with possible adaptations to cultural and religious sensitivities in specific regions of Russia, has the potential to be an effective means of promoting the successful integration of people with special needs into modern society.

Keywords*: Inclusion, disability, museum spaces, disability studies*

Author Info: **Kurov, Nurbiy Zaurovich** — Junior Researcher, the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow, Russian Federation); Postgraduate student, the Russian Academy of Sciences N. N. Miklouho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Moscow, Russian Federation). E-mail: bnurbi@gmail.com ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1341-0899

For citation: Kurov, N. Z. 2025. Theaters and Museums as Platforms for Social Integration. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 1: 389–395.

Funding: The study was carried out within the framework of the Russian Scientific Foundation. Project No. 23-18-00214.

References

Akoeva, N. B., and N. G. Denisov. 2017. Muzei kak prostranstvo sotsial'noi adaptatsii liudei s ogranichennymi vozmozhnostiami zdorov'ia [Museum as a Space of Social Adaptation of People with Disabled Health Opportunities]. *Kul'turnoe nasledie Rossii* 2: 219–223. https://sciup.org/170174133

Dolzhenkova, M. I., O. A. Dorozhkina, L. A. Romanina, and O. G. Prokhorova. 2018. Tekhnologii teatroterapii v sovremennoi sotsial'noi reabilitatsii [Technologies of Theater Therapy in Modern Social Rehabilitation]. *Vestnik TGU* 7(177): 7–11. https://doi.org/10.20310/1810-0201-2018-23-177-59-69

Nosenko-Shtein, E. E. 2018. Antropologiia invalidnosti: problemy i zadachi [Anthropology of Disability: Problems and Tasks]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 1: 5–11. https://doi.org/10.7868/S0869541518010013

Ovchinnikova, T. V., and N. G. Sleptsova (eds.). 2023. *Sotsial'naia inkliuziia v muzeino-teatral'nom prostranstve: metodicheskii sbornik* [Social Inclusion in the Museum and Theater Space: A Methodical Collection]. Arhangel'sk: Lotsiaa. 85 p. https://lotsiya.ru/obzorknig/sotsialnaya-inklyuziya

Scientific Journal

HERALD OF ANTHROPOLOGY (Vestnik Antropologii)

2025. № 1

Editor-in-Chief — M. Yu. Martynova

Editors of Ethnology, Social and Cultural Anthropology papers —
M. Yu. Martynova, O. A. Zykina
English language editor — T. A. Syutkina
Editor of Physical Anthropology papers — O. M. Grigorieva

Desktop Publishing — N. A. Belova
Cover Design — E. V. Orlova

Signed for print 06.03.2025 Format 70 x 108/16
32,5 conventional printing sheets; order 1

Copying Equipment Department
N.N. Miklouho-Maclay RAS Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology
119991 Moscow, Leninskiy prospect, 32A